



Architectural Record 1942-1967

Chapters from the history
of an architectural magazine

Phoebus Ilias Panigyrakis

ARCHITECTURAL RECORD

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GRAM
UNION

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Architectural Record 1942-1967

Chapters from the history
of an architectural magazine

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Sic transit gloria architecti
Doug Haskell, 1959

Propositions

These propositions are regarded as opposable and defensible, and have been approved as such by the promoters Herman van Bergeijk and Carola Hein.

- 1 Architectural practice, its accompanying fields of theory, criticism and curation are all products of their respective professional, financial and historical context and are therefore limited by them. This applies to this thesis as well.
- 2 The midcentury magazine is the first mass medium to have an effect on architectural production and set the terms of its systematic emergence to the public eye.
- 3 Contemporary architects are dependent on architectural editors to access their market, who are in turn dependent on publishers and advertisers.
- 4 Capitalism's economic lifecycles and crises produce recurrent waves of avant-garde art and architecture rendered operational as useful mechanisms of confusion.
- 5 By the 1970s when the architectural profession engaged with the fields of private marketing and advertising consultation services, the media apparatus had completed its systematization to offer the same exact services.
- 6 In-between 1942 and 1967 modernism entered contemporaneity, propaganda turned into public relations, and ideology turned into lifestyle. And reporting became operational and opinionated, as it is today. This however does not criminalize the editor/author. No more than the reader.
- 7 The contemporary figure of the genius architect is a made-up image, sustained by magazines and other media of architecture to sell more kitchenware.
- 8 Architectural magazines' main services (beyond that of reporting and continuing education) consist of: a) consoling architects of their societal relevance, b) pampering them against the stresses conformed to them by engineers and clients, and c) sustaining their anxieties and/or suppressing ideological impulses to fit their professional milieu and market profile.
- 9 The midcentury architectural media turned the revolutionary ethics of modernism into a revolutionary outfit. Particularly the american ones.
- 10 Consolation, comfort and architectural anxieties that are systematically produced and sustained through architectural magazines, are later on reproduced between architects-clients and internally, between members of architectural practices.

Stellingen

Deze stellingen worden als tegenstelbaar en verdedigbaar beschouwd en zijn als zodanig goedgekeurd door de promotors Herman van Bergeijk en Carola Hein.

- 1 De architectuurpraktijk en de industrie van theorie, kritiek en conservatie die daarbij behoren, zijn allemaal producten de hun respectievelijke professionele, marktgerichte en historische context en zijn daarom door hun beperkt. Dit geldt ook voor de architectuurgeschiedenis.
- 2 Het 20^{ste} eeuwse tijdschrift is het eerste massa medium dat een effect had op de architectuur en de en de voorwaarden voor de systematische opkomst ervan voor het publiek vastlegt
- 3 Hedendaagse architecten zijn afhankelijk van architectonische redacteurs. Deze op hun beurt zijn afhankelijk van adverteerders en uitgevers.
- 4 De economische levenscycli en crises van het kapitalisme zorgen voor terugkerende golven van avant-garde kunst en architectuur die operationeel worden gemaakt als nuttige mechanismen van verwarring.
- 5 Op het moment dat het architectenvak zich bezig ging houden met marketing en reclame, was het media-apparaat al georganiseerd voor hetzelfde doel, dit ter vervanging van hun dienstverlening.
- 6 Tussen 1942 en 1967 werd het modernisme contemporain. Tussen 1942 en 1967 veranderde de propaganda in de relatie met het publiek en ideologie in lifestyle. Tussen 1942 en 1967 veranderde de berichtgeving in opinievorming. Dit is niets ten nadele van redacteur/auteur. Evenmin van de lezer zelf.
- 7 De hedendaagse figuur van de geniale architect is een verzonnen beeld, dat wordt ondersteund door tijdschriften en het media-apparaat van de architectuur om aan hun meer keukengerei te verkopen.
- 8 De belangrijkste diensten van architectuurtijdschriften (naast de verslaggeving en voortdurende educatie) bestaan uit: a) het troosten van architecten met hun maatschappelijke relevantie, b) het verwennen van architecten tegen de stress die ingenieurs en opdrachtgevers op hen uitoefenen, en c) het in stand houden van hun angsten en het onderdrukken van hun ideologische impulsen wanneer deze in contrast komen te staan met hun professionele omgeving en marktprofiel.
- 9 De Amerikaanse architectuurmedia maakten van de radicalisme van het modernisme een uniform.
- 10 Troost, comfort en architecturale angsten worden systematisch geproduceerd en in stand gehouden door architecturale tijdschriften.

Preface

The hidden persuaders of architecture

In a 1959 letter to Walter Gropius discussing the reporting of architecture from the American press industry, editor Doug Haskell ended his letter with a Latin proverb: *Sic transit gloria architecti – Thus passes the glory of the architect.*¹ And while he meant this as a light complement to the weary architect, Haskell pointed to a deeper truth: that the media apparatus for the promotion and placement of architects had by then been concretely systematized. Awards, exhibitions, magazines and professional networks gradually turned from ancillary services of the profession to its leading driving force.

An unofficial body of "hidden persuaders" had been structured: editors, reporters, publishers, critics, curators, academics and directors of museums, cultural institutions and industrial organizations. Through this scope, the architectural editors of the mid 20th century became central nodes in the network of architectural practice. It is no accident that in discussing the position of editor-in-chief in 1954, the publishers of the *Architectural Record* called it the "top of the field" (see p.184), which by the way nowadays has been proven to be a literary truth.²

Despite that, the history of architecture is still fixated on studying singular figures of heroic men and women architects; instead of the environment that produces them. And not without reason.³ With this gap in mind, this study addresses the life and work of the people behind the scenes of architectural practice. The self-declared "tastemakers" that quietly shed the limelight to the architect's pedestal. To be more specific, it is the midcentury history of the *Architectural Record*, the most circulated American magazine that targeted closely than any competitor the core audience of practicing architect.

¹ Haskell to Gropius, 2 July 1959, folder: "The Architects Collaborative," Haskell papers, Columbia University.

² One example is Robert Ivy, once editor-in-chief of the *Architectural Record* (1996-) who transitioned to CEO of the *American Institute of Architects* (2011-).

³ In short, the display of exemplary "avant-garde" figures serves both the administrative management of architectural firms as well as advertisers, manufacturers and salespeople that use the image of individual "signature" architects to sell and add value to their products.

If anyone is wondering of the shortcomings, challenges and formalisms of contemporary architecture, they only have to look to the media that frames it, operationalizes it and ultimately conditions it.

Acknowledgments

It would be erroneous for a study on the median environment that conditions architecture to not recognize the environment that defined it itself. In that aspect, there are three areas needed to be acknowledged: on educational, research and personal levels.

In terms of the education program that this dissertation is a part of, I would like to acknowledge: My supervisors, Carola Hein and Herman van Bergeijk for seeing this dissertation through from the start to the very end; The doctoral committee of TU Delft for admitting me in the program of doctoral studies in November 2015; The Graduate School and the Board of Doctorates of TU Delft for overseeing the Doctoral Education Program; The External Committee consisting of Marina Lathouri, Mark Jarzombek, Carsten Ruhl and Nathalie de Vries for validating the scientific quality of this work; The Doctoral community of TU Delft consisting of the fellow PhD and post-doc researchers that provided a valuable body of peers and leading examples for the development of both this here research and researcher. They also sustained a vivid environment of camaraderie that cannot be understated. Outside of TU Delft, I need to sincerely thank: Prof. Mark Jarzombek of MIT for allowing me to be part of the research community of his department chair during my six-month stay in the US; and Prof. Kim Forster, formerly of the Canadian Centre of Architecture, who administered the 2017 Doctoral Program of the CCA, where the writing of this dissertation actually started.

In terms of research, this study in essence demanded the compilation from scratch of an archive for the *Architectural Record*, since –ironically– the magazine never held archival records of its own history. For that reason, this study was largely based on a collection of documents from an extensive list of different sources relevant to the magazine and its editorial team in the defined time-frame. As such, it could not have been carried out without the contribution of the institutions and people that safe-keep these documents and rendered them accessible to this research. It should be noted here that it was due to Herman van Bergeijk's supervision that this study was directed towards archival research and to a primarily historical character.

But more than the institutional sources, this research owes the outmost to Susan Bailey Thompson and the Bailey family that allowed access to the personal archive of Elisabeth Kendall Thompson (1910-1998), the *Record's* Senior Editor and

responsible for the stunning achievement of reporting on the architecture of the Western half of the United States during the midcentury years and running the magazine's Western Edition (see Chapter 3). It has been an extreme privilege, and resulted in findings beyond my wildest expectations. These documents offered a unique review of the most dignified figure in architectural journalism of her time and the boldest testament to the role and value of editors for the discipline and practice of architecture.

Having said this, here are listed the names of several librarians and archivists that need to be specially mentioned for contributing to this research: Nancy Hadley, American Institute of Architects, (AIA Archives & Records); Nicole Richards, Columbia University (Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library); Marianne Martin, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, (John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library); Myles Crowley, MIT (Distinctive Collections Repository); April C. Armstrong, Princeton University (G. Mudd Manuscript Library); Mandi D. Johnson, Georgia Tech; Ann E. Smith Case; Jessica Erin McGill Heim and Nathaniel Parks, Art Institute of Chicago; Rebecca Goldman, Wellesley College; John Pollack and Erin Muzikane, University of Pennsylvania (Kislak Center for Special Collections). In addition, I am indebted to Martin Aurand of Carnegie Mellon University and the architect/professor Gerard Damiani for sharing information on John Knox Shear.

Beyond this list of archival sources, some more people contributed in different ways. George Smart and the US Modernist team that has digitalized and published the back issues of most US architectural magazines. Suzanne Stephens, current managing-editor of the *Architectural Record* who has responded to my questions on the magazine. Johnathan Barnett for our small but precious talk, that gave me an impression of the *Record* around 1960 that cannot be transmitted through books and papers. Special mention should also be given to Adrian Täckman, whose concurrent research on the F.W. Dodge Corporation, and his willingness to converse about it, both contributed with specific information and motivated me for continuing this effort.

Finally, on a personal level, I foremost need to thank my parents George and Vassiliki and my sister Artemis for being supportive and constant role models, as well as my close friends and colleagues that provided conversations to measure the value of this research. Secondly, I want to heartily thank Brenda Atchinson and the Atchinson family for welcoming me and hosting me in Boston, MA throughout the six months of my stay. I could not have had a more welcoming home. Thirdly, I want to thank the various people that employed and collaborated with me in parallel with my doctoral studies, contributing both with financial support and valuable experience: Pnina Avidar, Alda Alagic and David Dooghe of Fontys Academy of Architecture and

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Lastly, I am indebted to Véro Crickx for giving me a glimpse of what it actually means to design architectural journals, books and dissertations in this day and age and beyond the confines of historical research.

I hope this work reflects the collective effort that has been put into it and stands to expectations. It has been a both hard and rewarding undertaking, and "the road goes ever on and on."

– Phoebus Ilias Panigyraakis,
Kallitechnoupoli, 20th July 2020

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Abstract

This PhD thesis examines the editorial policies and publishing history of the American periodical *Architectural Record* in the quarter century from 1942 to 1967. Operating since 1891, the *Architectural Record* is the longest-living and most circulated professional magazine of architecture, with a strong and lasting impact on the development of the discipline and the profession in the US and abroad. As an archive of architectural knowledge, its history during the mid-20th century is revealing the paradigm shift that occurred in-between the emergence of Modernism in pre-war Europe and its transition to Post-Modernism in the second half of the 20th c., as a largely American issue. The success and influence of the magazine was due to the resources of its parent corporations, F.W. Dodge and McGraw-Hill, its support and acknowledgement by professional and academic organizations and the connections, commitment and inventiveness of its editors. The editorial campaigns of the magazine trace the struggle for the adaptation of the modern movement in the American context and through that to its subsequent global eminence as “contemporary architecture,” a term popularised by the *Record*.

In the midst of the media revolution, the architectural magazines saw the transformation of the profession to an information-based business, beyond an art and an engineering science. At a time when “architectural composition” was redefined into “architectural design.” Amongst the greater media revolution emerging aggressively in the US, the *Architectural Record* undertook the task of catering for the needs of the practising architect in the post-industrial, managerial and information age. And while initially the magazines were following the architectural developments, reporting on literal images of architecture, by 1967 its editors were educating, managing, consulting and navigating the profession through its new markets. This trajectory peaked in the *Record's* editorial campaign for “the image of the architect” that exemplified the phenomenon of how magazines were lobbying for the profession. A phenomenon that is still largely unexplored and that defines 21st architectural practice and design.

But more than any theoretical sub-narrative, this thesis is dedicated to the history of the people and events that took place behind the pages of this era-defining magazine through the archives and living records of their time.

Samenvatting

Dit onderzoek is gericht op het redactionele beleid en publicatiegeschiedenis van de Amerikaanse tijdschrift *Architectural Record*, van 1942 tot 1967. Actief sinds 1891, de *Architectural Record* is de langstlevende en meest verspreide tijdschrift, met een sterke impact op het vak en de discipline van architectuur in de Verenigde Staten en daarbuiten. Als een archief van architectonische kennis, onthult zijn geschiedenis in het midden van de 20e eeuw de paradigmaverschuiving die plaatsvond tussen de bloei van Modernisme in het vooroorlogse Europa en de overgang naar Postmodernisme in de tweede helft van de 20e eeuw, die een grotendeels Amerikaanse kwestie was. Het succes en de invloed van het tijdschrift waren te danken aan de middelen van de moederbedrijven, *F.W. Dodge* en *McGraw-Hill*, de steun en erkenning door professionele en academische organisaties en de connecties, inzet en inventiviteit van de redacteurs. De redactionele campagnes van het tijdschrift traceren de strijd voor de aanpassing van de Moderne beweging in de Amerikaanse context en daarmee tot de daaropvolgende wereldwijde bekendheid als 'hedendaagse architectuur,' een term die gepopulariseerd werd door de *Architectural Record*.

Midden in de 20e eeuw gekanaliseerd de architectuurtijdschriften de transformatie van het beroep van architectuur naar een op informatie gebaseerd bedrijf, voorbij een kunst en een ingenieurswetenschap. In een tijd waarin 'architectonische compositie' opnieuw werd gedefinieerd als 'architectonisch ontwerp.' Onder de grotere mediarevolutie die zich agressief in de VS voordeed, nam het *Architectural Record* de taak op zich te nemen in de behoeften van de praktiserende architect in het postindustriële, management- en informatietijdperk. En terwijl de tijdschriften aanvankelijk de architectonische ontwikkelingen volgden en verslag deden van letterlijke beelden van architectuur, waren de redacteurs in 1967 bezig met het opleiden, beheren, raadplegen en navigeren van het beroep door zijn nieuwe markten. Dit traject kwam samen in de redactionele campagne van de *Record* voor 'the image of the architect' die het fenomeen illustreerde van hoe tijdschriften lobbyen voor het beroep. Een fenomeen dat nog grotendeels onontgonnen is en dat de 21e architectonische praktijk en ontwerpen definieert.

Maar meer dan welk theoretisch verhaal dan ook, is dit proefschrift gefocust aan de geschiedenis van de mensen en gebeurtenissen die plaatsvonden achter de pagina's van dit tijdperkbepalende tijdschrift.

Περίληψη

Η παρούσα διδακτορική διατριβή έχει ως θέμα τις πολιτικές σύνταξης και την εκδοτική ιστορία του Αμερικανικού περιοδικού *Architectural Record* κατά την περίοδο 1942-1967. Έχοντας ιδρυθεί το 1891, το *Architectural Record* είναι το περιοδικό με την μακροβιότερη παρουσία και την πιο υψηλή κυκλοφορία ανάμεσα στα επαγγελματικά αρχιτεκτονικά έντυπα της Αμερικής. Έχει έτσι, μακρά και ισχυρή επίδραση στον τομέα, τόσο ως προς την πρακτική εξάσκηση όσο και τη θεωρητική γνώση εντός και εκτός των συνόρων των ΗΠΑ. Ως ένα εκτενές αρχείο αρχιτεκτονικής γνώσης, η ιστορία του περιοδικού στα μισά του 20^{ου} αιώνα είναι αποκαλυπτική ως προς τη μετάλλαξη του κινήματος του Μοντερνισμού από την ανάδυσή του στην προ-πολεμική Ευρώπη στο κράμα του Μετα-μοντερνισμού που εμφανίστηκε ισχυρά στην Αμερική του δεύτερου μισού του 20^{ου} αιώνα.

Η επιτυχία και η συνεισφορά του περιοδικού οφείλεται στις υποδομές και διαθέσιμους πόρους των εκδοτικών του εταιριών, τις F.W. Dodge Corporation και McGraw-Hill, οι οποίες συγχνεύτηκαν στον μεγαλύτερο όμιλο εταιρειών εκδόσεων της Αμερικής. Επίσης καθοριστική ήταν η υποστήριξη του περιοδικού από επαγγελματικές και ακαδημαϊκές οργανώσεις αρχιτεκτόνων, καθώς και στις διασυνδέσεις, τις προσπάθειες και την επιμονή της συντακτικής ομάδας. Οι επικοινωνιακές καμπάνιες και οι στρατηγικές και πολιτικές σύνταξης του περιοδικού αποτυπώνουν την προσαρμογή του Μοντερνισμού στο περιβάλλον που διαμόρφωσαν τα μέσα μαζικής ενημέρωσης της μεταπολεμικής Αμερικής και την παγκόσμια εγκαθίδρυση της "σύγχρονης αρχιτεκτονικής," έναν όρο που έγινε δημοφιλής συγκεκριμένα μέσω του *Architectural Record*.

Με την επανάσταση των ΜΜΕ, τα αρχιτεκτονικά περιοδικά πρόσθεσαν στην εξέλιξη του επαγγέλματος μια επιχειρησιακή αντίληψη βασισμένη στη ροή των πληροφοριών, ως μια τρίτη παράμετρο πέραν της αρχιτεκτονικής ως τέχνη και ως επιστήμη. Σε μία εποχή όπου ο όρος "αρχιτεκτονική σύνθεση" επαναπροσδιορίστηκε ως "αρχιτεκτονικός σχεδιασμός." Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, το *Architectural Record* ανέλαβε το καθήκον της εξυπηρέτησης των αναγκών των αρχιτεκτόνων σε μια μετα-βιομηχανική εποχή της πληροφορίας και της επιχειρηματικότητας. Και παρόλο που αρχικά τα περιοδικά αποσκοπούσαν στην παρακολούθηση των αρχιτεκτονικών εξελίξεων, και στη μετάδοση αρχιτεκτονικών εικόνων, κατά το 1967 οι συντάκτες του *Record* εκπαιδευαν, συμβούλευαν και καθοδηγούσαν το επάγγελμα προς τις νέες του αγορές. Ιδιαίτερα η πορεία αυτή κορυφώθηκε με τη σειρά άρθρων που επιμελήθηκαν οι

συντάκτες του *Architectural Record* καθ' όλη τη δεκαετία του 1960' υπό τον τίτλο "η εικόνα του αρχιτέκτονα," η οποία αποδεικνύει το φαινόμενο της διαχείρισης του δημόσιου προφίλ του αρχιτεκτονικού επαγγέλματος από ομάδες συμφερόντων των Μέσων Μαζικής Ενημέρωσης (lobbying). Ένα φαινόμενο που ακόμα επηρεάζει την πρακτική της αρχιτεκτονικής του 21^{ου} αιώνα.

Αλλά πέρα από οποιοδήποτε θεωρητικό νήμα, η διατριβή ασχολείται με την ιστορία των ανθρώπων και των γεγονότων που συντελέστηκαν πίσω από τις σελίδες του σημαντικότερου αυτού περιοδικού.

Introduction

Architecture in an era of affluence

“It might be very good for the profession of architecture, and for its practitioners, if architects took a new look at present day affluence, and the opportunities for design that it presents. Do the big work[...] but do some of the small work too. Spread your services and –forgive me- study your markets.”¹ – Emerson Goble

These words from Emerson Goble’s last editorial as editor-in-chief of the *Architectural Record* in 1967 were completing a project of 25 years in the making: that of rendering the American architect conscious of the ongoing changes of the profession that was heavily being affected by the developing business culture. Addressing the communication problem of architects, the *Architectural Record* structured an editorial policy of educating architects and guiding them through the era of affluence and the complex markets of the post-WWII building industry.

Fifty or so years later, young architects are globally conditioned by the media in a world where the ubiquity and affluence of architectural forms is a plain fact. Within this world, stratification operates more by stylistic relation and market preferences than by region or discourse. The wild formalistic attitudes of contemporary “star-architects” (“architects-tycoons” for Goble) and the lack of any coherent body of scientific or ideological principles to provide a system of architectural composition, reflect a condition of confusion where any sensibility is left defenceless. The transition that took effect in mid-20th c. USA was part of an ongoing mass-media revolution spearheaded by the magazine format: dominated by coloured photos, on big glossy paper, that circulated in numbers unparalleled in history. The “Glossies” of the architecture world, the professional magazines, shaped the architectural profession into an information-based business. Simply put by Goble, the architect was expected to embrace the new world of affluence, and consider the telephone as a more useful tool than the pencil.²

¹ Emerson Goble, “An architect’s specialty; Scale of things to come”, *Architectural Record*, (November 1967): 9.

² Emerson Goble, “Architects and drawings; Will there be a change?”, *Architectural Record*, (October 1967): 9.

In another text of Goble, the introduction to the 1956 *Record Houses* special issue, he argued in favour of the state of “delightful confusion” of mid-century architecture as a result of the “conscious effort” to use the variety of aesthetics, techniques and forms for the “delight of a man’s soul”. The culture of affluence that has so much characterized 20th century seemed to have found its spokesperson in Goble and the rest of the editorial team of the *Architectural Record* along with the competing architectural magazines. Surprisingly, in mid-century America there were no fewer than three national magazines of architecture to circulate nationally, of which today only one remains.

In contrast to its competition, the *Architectural Record* was most closely affiliated with architects-engineers. The equally promising magazine *Progressive Architecture* was focused more on architects-designers and draughtspersons. The third one, the *Architectural Forum* published by TIME Inc. and headed by its visionary founder Henry Luce, was vastly gaining the leading position among them and completed the picture of the three professional magazines informally known as “the glossies” due to their lively content, large format and most importantly in contrast to the more intellectual but equally influential “small magazines” published by artistic circles or student organizations. And while the “small” ones were widely popular amongst architecture students, the “glossies” were seen as indispensable for the vast majority of professional architects in the United States. For them the architectural magazines were the main medium of communication with their professional body, the main source of information for news regarding material and techniques and more importantly, the trend setter and guideline for successful business. Around the same time, in March 1961, the first part of *Progressive Architecture*'s “Symposium on the State of Architecture” indicated that although almost everyone agreed there was a considerable amount of confusion in architecture, few could agree on the reasons for it. The word most often used to describe the jury’s comments about the entries of the symposium’s design awards was: “chaos”. This was illustrated in the November 1962 issue of *P/A*, when Craig Ellwood’s crisp modernist villa in Hillsborough, California, appeared back to back with Herb Greene’s idiosyncratic “Prairie Chicken house” in Snyder, Oklahoma.³ The affluence that Goble championed was still a taboo, going against the push for consensus and professional discourse towards a collective architectural practice.

In the 21st century, the only survivor of mid-century magazines of architecture is the *Architectural Record*, whose history during the post-WW II era reveals a hard-working team of editors struggling to lead the architects through the changing

³ *Encyclopedia of Architecture & Construction*, s.v. “Architectural Press U.S.” by Michael A. Tomlan: 289

conditions of the emerging leading power of the global building industry which was becoming the USA. For the editors of the magazine it was clear that the modern architect occupied no “ivory tower” of artistic grandeur, nor was it in solitude with its creations. Instead, his developing profession was demanding from architects to be alert in “analysing the problems of commerce, anticipate future trends” and make “researches, surveys and investigations.”⁴ In short, according to the editors of the *Architectural Record*, the forward-looking architect needed to develop into an entrepreneur focusing on profit, speed and efficiency. And adapt to the market's need of affluence, comfort and delight.

In that context, the legacy of the modern movement of the 1920s and 30s needed to be deconstructed. Facing the biggest building boom of modern history during the early 1950s the prosperous masses of America turned to architecture with expanded needs, desiring more than the Bauhaus-doctrined modern movement had to offer. The editors proclaimed: “Why should a modern house have to have a flat roof? Why should it have to have its structure exposed? Why shouldn't it have anything its owners really want, including a curve or two, even a Victorian curve?” This reaction of the “owners” was channeled through architectural magazines to professionals. Opening to them the horizons of the consumer market and changing their state of mind as to what their service has to offer and the new image of their profession. And this is where the *delightful confusion* that still binds contemporary architecture originated from. On par with an era of affluence that the world witnessed but never fully comprehended.

The current study

This study of the *Architectural Record* trails the process by which a group of journalists, publishers, and contributors (architects and academics) attempted to influence the development of architecture in the decades of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s through and behind the pages of the magazine. Their aims were to provide an informative apparatus for the discipline that defined the practice of architecture as a vital and constructive function in early post-war society, and to shape the way in which architects thought and approached the design process and business strategies. The editorial agenda that the *Architectural Record* established in the early 1940s and carried into the 1960s was influenced by two factors: a) the working mentality of its editors and b) the business orientation of its publishing companies F.W. Dodge Corporation and McGraw-Hill. Important as well, was the distinctive

⁴ “The Expanding Scope of the Architectural Service,” *Architectural Record*, (1942).

historical pedigree of the journal that extended back to its foundation in 1891 and continued to influence the magazine's content and appeal in the intra and post war period. As such, this is a study in the history of both the ideas and working processes of the magazine and how these were translated into the dissolution of modernism and the structuring of "contemporary" architecture.⁵ From 1942 to 1967 there was a transition that summarized the state of 20th century architecture and set the bases for what we experience in the 21st.

Methodology

Modernism, as its name indicates, strived to be forever relevant to the latest "now." And by definition, historicizing modernism has always been problematic. That is why, it is most often defined in contrast to its predecessors and its promising future. The same applied for the medium of the magazine. If there is a medium that is always portrayed as "young" and committed to the present, then that is the magazine. Despite and against this methodological issue, this research used the following methods.

Content Analysis

A major object of study in this research is the actual content of the original issues of the *Architectural Record* between 1942 and 1967, mainly referring to its editorial content. The advertising content that made up 60-70% of the total page numbers per issue is only considered here to the extent that it affected, or was affected by its editorial content. The graphic design too, is only referred to the degree that it signaled changes in the editorial history of the magazine or reflected decisions by editors and management. Further than that, special publications of the magazine such as the mid-May special issues of *Record Houses* and the *Architectural Record Book series* authored and edited by the magazine's own editorial team constitute significant sources and unless they are authored by external contributors they are considered equally important study matters with the regular issues themselves.

⁵ Lichtenstein, "Editing Architecture: *Architectural Record* and the growth of modern architecture: 1928-1938," (PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 1990), 10.

Archival Research

Archival material collected from a variety of sources provides this research with original and primary information. Such information was the biographical stories of the editors, collaborators and publishers of the magazine, as well as letters and other internal documentation that reveal the history of midcentury architectural journalism behind the pages of the magazines. The fact that the *Architectural Record* didn't keep a central archive is a gap in the history of American architecture that this study attempted to bridge through compiling documents of various archives. The loss of the Dodge-McGraw Hill corporate archive, which existed up to 2009, is an additional loss of incalculable value.

Some of the major archival sources that are being used in the study are (in alphabetical order) the: AIA archives (for various records); Columbia University archives (Frank Lloyd Wright papers, Douglas Putnam Haskell papers, James Marston Fitch papers, Peter Blake papers); Elisabeth Kendall Thompson personal archive kept by her family; Harvard University archives (Walter and Ise Gropius papers, Joseph Fairman Hudnut papers); MIT archives (John Ely Burchard papers), Princeton University archives (Stamo Papadakis papers, Dept of Architecture Records: on John W. Ragsdale and John Knox Shear); Smithsonian Archives of American Art (Architectural League papers, Henry Russell Hitchcock papers); Syracuse University archives (Pietro Belluschi papers, Marcel Breuer papers, William Lescaze papers, Alan and Mary Dunn papers); University of California Berkeley archives (Elisabeth Kendall Thompson papers); University of California Santa Barbara archives (Maynard Lyndon papers); University of California Los Angeles archives (Richard and Dion Neutra papers); University of Pennsylvania archives (Lewis Mumford papers); Wellesley College archives (Alumni Records: on Jeanne Davern); Colonial Williamsburg archives (Lawrence Kocher papers); Hagley Museum and Library archives (Ernest Dichter papers); Yale University archives (Johnathan Barnett papers, Naum Gabo papers, Arch. Dept. *Records*: Harold D. Hauf, Eero Saarinen papers). For a more complete list of sources consulted, see Appendix #1. Several ones, have also been omitted which could potentially bear useful information, such as the Walter McQuade or the Cathrine Bauer papers.

Finally, a series of rare books and journals were accessed in specific libraries, e.g. the *Architectural Record Western Edition* issues were only found complete in the public library of San Francisco, while the 1933 F.W. Dodge booklet "Selling the architect" was only available from the library of Virginia Tech. University.

Concurrent Research

This study takes place amongst a greater examination of architectural magazines which is slowly becoming an independent field of architectural history. More and more nation-wide discourses are focusing their interest in their heritage of architectural history hidden in the pages of architectural magazines with the study of unique cases of magazines being a central core of the field. Unfortunately, the focus on magazines during the midcentury period is still of limited scope. Two such recent studies dealt with the British journals *Architectural Design* (Erdem Ertem, 2011) and *Architectural Review* (Steve Parnell, 2003). Another one, on the 20th c.-wide history of the Italian *Casabella* (Chiara Baglione, 2008). Lastly, one publication so far, was focused on the history of an American case of the midcentury period, the *Architectural Forum* (Sarah M. Dreller, 2015). These four publications constitute the main sources for the study of the architectural press, its context and condition during the period of interest.

The period from the 1940s until the 1970s is considered to have been the apogee of the magazine industry. Even during the intra-war years the magazines thrived in circulation mainly because of the printing advances of images, something that the information-oriented newspapers lacked and that radio could not compete with. Magazines such as *Life Magazine* made a break-through using of photo-journalism that weighed on lifestyle issues, and made an aim of aestheticizing the “war years” of the 1940s, contributing greatly to the propaganda and political gains of the US during WWII and the Korean war. The turn of the 1970s however brought two grand obstacles for the magazine industry: the oil crisis and the introduction of the television sets in American households. However, the demise of the magazines was not the end of their influence. On the contrary, the “magazine culture” of consumerism and affluence was carried on by television. The emergence of the internet in the following decades could be argued to have amplified the magazine’s cultural directives both in general as well as in architecture.

Other methods

Other methods used in the dissertation include interviews, and correspondence with the author – most importantly with former editor, Prof. Johnathan Barnett, the only figure that is featured in the dissertation that was available and willing to converse. Correspondences with academic and independent scholars was also of great value both in terms of sharing historical documentation as well as guiding the theoretical and contextual information that frames it.

Chapter summaries

The first introductory chapter on the history of American architectural periodicals and their ascendance to a mass audience, is followed by the five main chapters of the book. Out of them, three chapters follow the editorial history of the magazine in consecutive periods according to major changes of leading editors: Chapter #2 (1942-1951); Chapter #4 (1951-1958); and Chapter #6 (1958-1967). In-between them, two additional stand-alone chapters bring to light the most important archival *Records* of the time: a) Chapter #3 features the story of Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, senior editor in charge of the *Architectural Record's* Western Edition, whose personal archive is kept by her family and is the single greatest archival record of American architectural journalism; b) Chapter #5, presents the “Dichter Report,” a marketing study on the competitiveness of the magazine from 1959 marking the very first documentation of marketing studies on architecture

Chapter 1

This chapter introduces the historical context of the current study on the *Architectural Record* in a tripartite way: a) through the general history of the early years of architectural journalism, b) through an introduction of 20th c. architectural magazines that formed the *Record's* competition; and c) through a brief review of the foundation and early 20th century history of the *Architectural Record* up to 1942 and our period of interest. Since an underlying theme under examination here is the transformation of modernism to post-modernism during the mid-century decades, the aim of this chapter is to delineate the basic points of this historical shift.

As a genre the architectural magazines originated along with the birth of the architectural profession, catering to its needs. But through the information age of the first half of the 20th c. and the media revolution that peaked for the magazines in the second half of the 20th c., the architectural magazines reached the stature of representing and structuring the profession's public image. And while the European magazines have been noted for their production of theoretical knowledge for architects, from the latter half of the 19th century onwards the American magazines were innovating in their publishing techniques, graphics and overall depiction of architectural imagery. The link between architectural imagery and the image of the profession, two notions that form the core of post-modern and contemporary architecture, lay central in the history of US magazines and that of the *Architectural Record* in particular.

Chapter 2

Modernist architecture dawned with renewed force in the American scene at the beginning of the 1940s. Due to the imminent war it had become apparent that the architectural production would heavily weigh towards functionalism, and factories, hospitals, airports and barracks were gaining exposure in the pages of the architectural magazines. But the *Architectural Record*, had by then lost its well-functioning editorial team of the 1930s and was in need of editors capable to deal with the upcoming challenges and lead their audience through them. This chapter documents the history of the editorships of Kenneth Kingsley Stowell (1942-1949) and Harold Dana Hauf (1949-1951). Both of whom brought particular skills that proved useful to the magazine and shaped the most functionalist-oriented period of its history. On the one hand, Stowell's notion of modernism was connected to a profit-oriented mind-set that could be applied on a national scale usefully for the war effort and the consecutive period of re-adjustment and was summarized in his motto "Design for democracy." In parallel he expanded the magazine's network, through his presidency of the Architectural League of New York backed by his predecessor, Lawrence Kocher (then Director of Architecture at Black Mountain College), and Joseph Hudnut, dean of Harvard's GSD. Hauf on the other side held a different view towards modernism: he emphasized the need for disseminating structural and technical information on which he had specialty as a Yale professor and an advisor to the AIA and the US navy.

During 1942-1951 the editorial team was fortunate to have further significant additions. Foremost was Douglas Putnam Haskell, an editor connected to Lewis Mumford and Frank Lloyd Wright who rose the ranks to become the most important figure of American architectural journalism. Then was Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, who was assigned with the Western Section being based in California that steadily became the first woman editor to have such a broad influence on the professional scene. Alan Dunn, a cartoonist who had made his name in the pages of the *New Yorker* contributed with his signature cartoons whose importance should not be overlooked. And lastly, Thomas Holden, the president of the *Record's* publishing company *F.W. Dodge Corporation* was responsible for the magazine's building analytics and statistics took a new importance as part of the war and "market adjustment" phase.

Throughout the pages of the magazine, we witness the blooming of modernism in the US scene that rose in support of the war production and quickly had to readjust to the changing conditions of the intra and post-war period. Stowell's notion of "design for democracy" condensed the *Record's* versatility to address the two most prominent problems of the time: a) the architectural profession's need to embrace

functionalism due to the war effort and b) modernism's quick return to pluralism in order to address the needs of the emerging consumer market. The architect had to be groomed to fit both roles in a period when functionalism and formalism heavily contrasted.

Chapter 3

From 1947 until 1975, the *Architectural Record* operated the Western editorial office in Berkeley, California headed by the editor Elisabeth Kendall Thompson. Thompson, had worked for several years in the New York office before being assigned to California to report on the architecture of the eleven western states. That was a time when West-coast based architects such as William Wurster, Richard Neutra, Pietro Belluschi and Walter Netsch were changing the US architectural landscape and west-coast magazines such as *Arts and Architecture* were making strides in their competitiveness. To this changing situation, the *Architectural Record's* western office, was responsible for the production of the western edition of the magazine that added to the material of the national edition the “Western Section®”: a number of pages with ads, news and articles of specific interest to western architects.

This proved to be a unique venture in the history of US professional journals of architecture and has never been repeated until today. The person that single-handedly run the western section was Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, who managed her difficult task by establishing a network of corresponding professional architects and architectural photographers (e.g. J. Shulman, E. Stoller, M. Baer, R. Sturtevant). She was also attending all major conferences and events of the western states while going often on field trips to report on the latest architectural landmarks. And all of this while being in constant communication with the *Record's* New York office to synchronise the publishing production process. Despite the problems that inevitably arose due to the distance and complexity of the situation, Thompson pulled through remarkably. She was eventually held in high esteem by the F.W. Dodge Corporation publishers who – after a point– would turn to her judgement for the most serious editorial and managerial matters.

Intellectually, her writings were connected to the ideas of Lewis Mumford, and along with her colleague Douglas Haskell, she contributed to establish the public's awareness on Bay Region architecture and the Bay Region Style, by instigating the 1949 SFMA exhibition that popularized the movement and brought a sense of common objective amongst San Francisco Bay architects. Following the focus of the magazine towards practicing architects, from her first editorials she joined the effort to advance the professionals' awareness towards their public image, common goals

and social contribution for which she was awarded an honorary AIA fellowship in 1968 – the first woman to achieve that considering she wasn't a practicing architect and only such second person, after Haskell. On her own, she wrote articles beyond the magazine, in academic and professional circles, edited three books of the *Architectural Record Book Series* and participated in AIA committees for awards and public relations policies while also she was a key consultant in Donald MacKinnon's 1959 psychological study on architects' creativity.

Despite all this, both the story of Elisabeth Kendall Thompson and the overall trajectory of the western edition of the *Architectural Record* has been an episode highly unrecognised in architectural history. The archive kept by her family offers the complete point of view of the editor, her struggles, efficiency and work ethic. From there she emerges as the figure who raised the west coast modernist architects to prominence and to whom they largely owe their recognition.

Chapter 4

While the 1940s epitomized the long-awaited embrace of modernism and functionalism in American architecture, the 1950s signalled the departure from “modernity” and the invention of “contemporaneity.” The history of the *Architectural Record* during the years 1951-1958 not only attests to this fact, but also posits the magazine as a major factor in this change. The start of the Korean War brought the departure of the conservative Harold Dana Hauf, and an interim succession by Emerson Goble until a new editor was found to take the lead: Joseph B. Mason. As the first and only editor-in-chief in the history of the *Record* with a journalistic instead of an architectural background, Mason brought a new ethos to the *Record* emphasizing on the modernization, extemporization and effective communication of the magazine. Then followed contributions of significant critics, such as John Ely Burchard, Lewis Mumford and Siegfried Giedion whose book *A decade of contemporary architecture* (1954) was credited to have triggered the semiological change from “modern” to “contemporary” architecture.

This transition period of the magazine was intensified with the sudden leave of Mason and the appointment of the highly promising John Knox Shear. The change initiated by Mason was brought to a faster pace under Shear. His article series “One hundred Years of Significant Buildings”, his criticism towards Frank Lloyd Wright, his editorial campaign for the preservation of modernist architecture and his outspoken editorials (e.g. “Forget the International Style”) put modernist architecture into a new perspective as something from the past that needed to be re-examined and put aside. But most importantly, Mason and Shear pinpointed the major change of

1950s America: the housing market. It was the focus to individual consumers and the suburban “American dream” that challenged the issue of functionalism and the ethical constraints of modernist architects. The early 1950s architect was now bid by the *Record* editors to serve the desires of the customers (“be it a flat roof or a pitched one”). And through their articles and *Record* books (such as the *Treasury of Contemporary Houses*, 1954) and the newly-inaugurated special issues *Record Houses*, Mason and Shear introduced the architect to the rising consumer market and attempted to model the profession accordingly.

Shear’s untimely death in 1958, signalled a sudden end to this historical phase of the magazine. But it did not halt the shift away from modernism and towards “contemporary architecture” carried on by the all-experienced Goble in the 1960s.

Chapter 5

In 1959 the F.W. Dodge Corporation, publisher of the professional magazine *Architectural Record*, commissioned the Institute for Motivational Research, Inc. to conduct the first marketing report to touch upon the field of architecture. In the span of one and a half years, the commission produced a report of 5 documents and over 300 pages in total, under the unifying title “*A motivational research study of the editorial, sales, advertising and promotional problems of the Architectural Record.*” The authoring working group was led by the Austrian psychologist-turned-marketer Ernest Dichter. The Institute’s report focused mainly on the matter of the magazine’s competitiveness but also addressed at length the matter of the “image and self-image of the architect.” The methodology for the study included in-depth interviews of architects and engineers combined with the notorious “psycho-economic” analysis of Dichter’s.

From the part of the *Architectural Record* there are no *Records*, in publications or archival material, mentioning Dichter or his report. Despite that fact, as early as 1959 the editor-in-chief Emerson Goble introduced to the readers a series of articles titled “The image of the architect” that continued well into the mid 1960s and bore obvious resemblance to Dichter’s work. This series of articles examined the American architect’s “professional role”, “status”, “public relations” and “competence” to respond to the calls of the fast changing market of the post-war period. Dichter’s report opened the way to the study of the architects’ image and self-image and methods through which the *Record* could ultimately rend it operative for its own purposes of dealing with its competition that changed in the long run the terms of publishing amongst U.S. architectural periodicals. This chapter aims to present the Dichter report and introduce it in its historical context while the parallels and specific changes that it brought to the *Record* during the 1960s is the

subject of the following chapter (#6). The Dichter report signifies the emergence of marketing strategies in mid 20th century American architecture, whereas the role of the publishers and editors is shown to be a central link between architecture and marketing, which was still a field in its nascency. This provides evidence that the media revolution of the 1950s was closely connected with the shift of the architectural profession from an artist/engineer to a market-oriented businessperson which is still the global paradigm at hand in the 21st century.

Chapter 6

Following the rapid transitions after the sudden death of John Knox Shear in 1958, came the time for Emerson Goble to be entrusted by the publishers as editor-in-chief after seventeen years as managing editor. His series of articles titled "The image of the architect" characterized his long period of editorship and built upon Dichter's marketing report of 1960. 1962 saw the buy-out of F.W. Dodge Co. by McGraw-Hill and its merger into the largest publishing organization that added considerable resources to the magazine and a major expansion of its *Architectural Record Books* series. The "image of the architect" editorial campaign featured experts and professionals that presented business strategies of architectural companies. At the same time, individual members of the editorial team allegedly engaged in marketing and management consulting for architects (e.g. Jeanne Davern), some of the first in the field.

The same ideas were transferred to the AIA, where former editor Harold Hauf was serving as director of national public relation and another editor, Dudley Dunt, was publisher of the *AIA Journal* specifically to increase its competitiveness just like Dichter did for the *Record*. Goble himself organized regional AIA conferences on the "image of the architect" training the professionals. The balance with applicable and theoretical content was kept with the continuation of Lewis Mumford contributions on the city and the addition of experienced architects and academics (e.g. W. Gropius, P. Rudolph) as consultants to the magazine. Goble's leave of retirement of 1967, left the *Record* on a strong and stable standing with a conservative philosophy that won them the competition in the long run. By then, the identity of the *Record* (past or future) was established as the magazine for "architects not architecture".

This came to complete the change of architecture from a profession to a business and the establishment of architectural magazines as the medium that guides the architects' business mentality and the place where their public image is constructed. A historical turning point of 20th c. modernist and contemporary architecture and the root of the US-based model of business that is today imposed globally.

1 *The Architectural Record* in its context

Magazines and the profession in the course of modernism

“Beyond the age of information lies the age of choice”
– Charles Eames⁶

1.1 Introduction

This introductory chapter deals with the historical context of architectural magazines, and the *Architectural Record* in particular for the purposes of setting forward its history during 1942 to 1967, the period of focus in this dissertation.

From their emergence in the late 18thc., the mission of professional journals of architecture has been to serve their audience by informing, educating, and inspiring them. Of course, as the intrepid architect Charles Eames observed, information relates to; and precedes choice. And as such, the genre of architectural magazines by attending to the needs of architects gradually got hold of their choices and ultimately, their desires.

⁶ Charles Eames, Aspen Design Conference, June 1978. Reproduced in: Demetrios Eames, Carla Hartman (ed.), *Essential Eames: Words & Pictures*, (Weil am Rhein: Vitra Design Museum, 2017).

1.2 On the history of architectural journalism

1.2.1 Early architectural periodicals

While the first recorded periodical to feature subjects of architectural interest were in France⁷ and Germany,⁸ the professional journalism of the United States traditionally traced its roots to the United Kingdom.^{9,10} There, the first architecture-related periodical was the monthly *The Builder's Magazine*, that started in London in 1774¹¹ and was quickly followed by similar publications that gradually developed their format closer to what may be considered fitting to a magazine of contemporary standards.

Those early magazines still addressed building matters broadly, ranging from construction techniques to artillery engineering. And they were closer to partitioned books instead of what we know of architectural magazines nowadays. It was in 19th century France where these publications adopted a magazine-like format and gained their specificity by focusing on the architectural profession. The magazine *Journal des Batiments Civils* that started in 1800 clearly distinguished architects from

⁷ *Encyclopedia of American architecture*, s.v. "Magazine, architectural," by William Dudley Hunt Jr.: 331

⁸ The first magazines that emerged in Germany were the *Magazin für Ingenieur und Artilleristen*, 1777-1795, the *Allgemeines Magazin für die Burgliche Baukunst*, 1789-1796 and the *Sammlung nützlicher Aufsätze die Baukunst betreffend*, 1797-1806; with the first one being titled the world's first architectural periodical (according to Rolf Fuhlrott). However, an older source, cites the first "genuine architectural magazine" to have been published in Berlin in 1829, presumably referring to the *Journal für die Baukunst*. Sources: Jan Philipp, Klaus, *Um 1800, Architekturtheorie und Architekturkritik in Deutschland zwischen 1790 und 1810*, chapter: "Die Ersten Architekturzeitschriften," Edition Axel Menges, 35; Rolf Fuhlrott, *Deutschsprachige Architektur-Zeitschriften: Entstehung und Entwicklung der Fachzeitschriften iir Architektur in der Zeit von 1789-1918* (Munich: Verlag Dokumentation, 1975); Hurtado Toran, Eva, "Las Publicaciones Periodicas de Arquitectura: Espana 1897-1937" (PhD dissertation, Universidad Politecnica de Madrid, 2001), 34; Parnell, Steve, "Architectural Design, 1954-1972: The architectural magazine's contribution to the writing of architecture" (PhD dissertation, University of Sheffield, 2011), 5; Casson, Hugh, "On Architectural Journalism" in *Concerning Architecture*, Hitchcock et al, Penguin Press, 1967.

⁹ Op. cit. Tomlan, 266.

¹⁰ Especially the early British ones such as the *Architectural Review*, the *Architect's Journal*, the *Builder*, the *Architect and Building News* provided the main points of departure for American publishers. Op. cit. Parnell, Steve.

¹¹ Op. cit. Parnell, 5.

the rest of the building professionals by relying on the artistic basis of architecture. In contrast to the teachings of the École Polytechnique that strongly propelled the engineering professions on the basis of the ongoing advancements of science, the architectural profession needed to assure its standing by persuading the public on the benefits of building with artistic quality. However, the magazine that should be considered the historical foundation of contemporary architectural press is the *Revue Générale de l'Architecture et de Travaux Publiques* established in 1840 and more specifically its publisher, Cesar Daly who thought of the magazine as a project of the Enlightenment, in continuation to the work of the encyclopaedists and going against both the École Polytechnique and the Beaux Arts historicists.

A similar tendency towards a professional audience appeared in Britain with *The Architectural Magazine* of 1834, coinciding with the founding of the Institute of British Architects of the same year. American building publications, were introduced even during colonial times but the first serious attempt to engage the American architectural field was the *Architectural Magazine* of 1834-9.

1.2.2 The genre of professional magazines

Throughout the 19th c. the development of architectural press run in parallel with changes in the formation of the professional field of architecture. At the same time when institutions and educational system were being introduced, the magazines emerged as a mechanism for the production and accumulation of knowledge, that being either social (news), professional (practical information) or commercial (advertisements). For architects to gain the formal status of “profession” there needed to be a) a system of knowledge and education, and b) the creation of the market that would enable this knowledge-system to turn into an actual service.¹² Those early periodicals of the 19th c. provided intellectual activity for architecture’s definition as an autonomous scientific field and practice. In all, publishing was another step in the process of specifying the profession along with the formation of associations, clubs, university-level education, the regulation of architect’s fee schedules and the introduction of laws to frame their services.¹³

¹² Op. cit. Parnell, 10.

¹³ Mary Norman Woods, “The American Architect and Building News, 1876-1907,” (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1983).

Slowly the magazines became the construction ground for the collection of common ideas of the architectural profession separate to the rest of the professions of the building industry. Since their emergence, what differentiated architectural magazines from other building publications was, naturally, their periodical timing of new issues and its implications. By struggling to amass subscribers, magazines were instrumental in gathering a community of architects which gradually became stronger. Their timed issues allowed the magazines to offer the latest information on construction techniques, design trends and ideas, the newest governmental decisions, and the most updated changes regarding the architects' rights as professionals and their responsibilities towards their clients, and the greater community. This way architects fell in line with their historical context of the industrial revolution: gaining technological and bureaucratic status and being modern, values that would have significantly smaller impact in previous ages. By enlisting social events, awards, competitions, name changes of firms, letters to the editors and other news; the magazines became indispensable for the social as well as the professional needs of architects.

Following the US Civil War, more periodicals emerged in the States that set the tracks for the field's future development: the 1869 *Architectural Review and American Builder Journal*, the 1876 *American Architect and Building News* and the 1879 *Inland Architect and Builder* published in Chicago. Those three were soon followed by other, namely: *Building; Carpentry and Building; Builder and Woodworker; Decorator and Furnisher; Building Review*; and *The Builder*.

For the purposes of assisting the profession, those early US magazines set the common goal of avoiding any aesthetic guidance or questioning, favouring all styles of architecture firms in order to prioritize the education and unity of the profession so that they would all correctly charge their fees, resist bribes and be formally educated.¹⁴ On that basis, once the profession was organized, the magazines shifted to cover the aesthetic ground as well. Consequently, early American journals kept a technical profile such as *The Architects and Mechanic's Journal* (New York 1859), the *Architectural Review and American Builders Journal* (Philadelphia 1868-1870) and the *American Architect and Builder's Monthly* (Philadelphia 1871-1871). Although such magazines contributed greatly in defining the concept of design as the pivotal trait of the architect, once the basic guidelines for the profession were set, new magazines reached deeper and wider considerations.

¹⁴ Ibid.

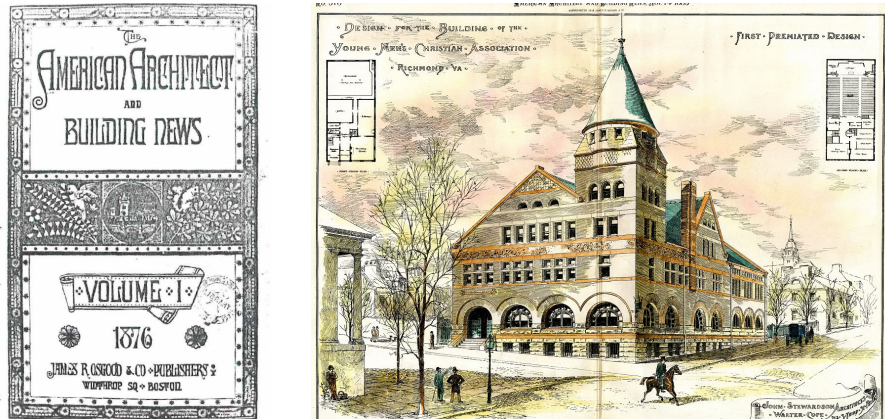


FIG. 1.1 *The American Architect and Building News*, the major predecessor to the *Architectural Record*, with emphasis on images and strong ties to professional organizations.

1.2.3 The AABN and the new generation of US magazines

The first magazine to gain a firm and stable position was the weekly¹⁵ Boston-based *American Architect and Building News* of 1875, [Fig. 1.1] which became a stepping stone for the genre's development. Being the first magazine to be published under a major publishing company, the AABN journal reached a high standard of printing quality, kept a steady financial course and extended its connections to professional organizations – namely the American Institute of Architects, founded in 1857.¹⁶ Capitalizing upon the success of the ABNN, its technological innovations, formatting and editorship; a new generation of magazines rose in the 1890s –including the *Architectural Record* – that expanded upon its weaknesses and shortly superseded it. Magazines such as the *Inland Architect* (Chicago, 1883-1908) or the *California Architect and Building News* (San Francisco, 1879-1900) invested into their respective regions while keeping close relationships with the newly formed local bodies of architects (e.g. The Chicago Architecture Club and the regional AIA Chapters) following the same route of the AABN.

¹⁵ In that aspect, the AABN was following the example of the UK magazine *Builder*. Source: Op. cit. Tomlan, 268

¹⁶ The publisher, James R. Osgood considered the magazine mainly a business matter, but nevertheless he struggled to get the professional community's support by negotiating with the AIA to publish their proceedings and other material. Op. cit. Woods.

On the other hand, the emergence of the *Architectural Record* in 1891 was due to a different factor. The reliance of the AABN, and its competitors on architects for their source material made it impossible to publish any criticism to the buildings featured and so, could not provide a magazine in the sense of a forum of different opinions to their readers. Moreover, most of those magazines were published weekly, or by-weekly following closely building news and construction bids. Instead, a monthly or quarterly review-publication was seen more fitting to a critical and intellectual journal such as the *Record* aimed to be, so that its staff would have “the leisure to reflect on the material” and not be “as close to its contributors.”¹⁷

Other noteworthy magazines of the 1890s, were the *Brickbuilder* of 1892, and the *Architectural Review* of 1896 that attempted to take an intellectual approach similar to the *Record*. The *Brickbuilder* was renamed to *Architectural Forum* in 1917 while the *Architectural Review* spawned a new magazine, *Pencil Points* in 1920, slanted specifically to draftsmen, designers and specification writers rather than professional architects until 1944 when it redefined its professional audience and was re-titled to *Progressive Architecture*. Those three, the *Forum*, *Record* and *Progressive Architecture* would be the dominant national magazines for the rest of the 20th century [Fig. 1.2]. The AABN, renamed to *American Architect*, lasted until 1938 when it was absorbed by the *Architectural Record*.

1.3 Architectural magazines in the 20th c.

The US entered the 20th c. with the field of architectural journalism well established and defined by: a) “an older generation of periodicals continuing to report the latest developments”¹⁸ such as the leading *American Architect and Building News* and the New York-based *Architecture and Building*; and b) “a newer generation that was more devoted to criticism and analysis,”¹⁹ meaning, the *Architectural Record* and the *Architectural Review* (later *P/A*).

¹⁷ Woods, Mary Norman, “The First American Architectural Journals: The Profession’s Voice”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 48, No. 2, (June 1989).

¹⁸ Op. cit. Tomlan, 275

¹⁹ Ibid.



FIG. 1.2 *Architectural Record*, *Progressive Architecture* (/Pencil points), *Architectural Forum*. The three major professional magazines of the mid-century decades in the US.

According to Tomlan, what characterised this era, was the growing tendency towards specialization credited to the examination of the width of architectural thought by the *Record* and the *Review*.²⁰ And so, the *Brickbuilder* was devoted to bridge the gap between architects and clay producers; *Pencil Points* was targeted to draughtspeople; the *Architect* was devoted to a higher economic class and the newly established *American Institute of Architects' Quarterly Bulletin* to the needs of the AIA. But while the American magazines were focused on securing a targeted audience along with financial support, especially in Europe, the ongoing developments were identifying the innovative genre of magazines with the growing influence of the modernist movement.

1.3.1 Magazines and the modern movement

With the increased pace of industrialization the architectural profession began a process of reformulation that held the magazines in the epicentre of architectural practice. The newly formed notion of avant-garde architects was depended on leaflets, books and magazines for the creation of architectural circles of progressive tendencies that would reach a critical mass in the 1920s and the formation of the modernist movement.

²⁰ Op. cit. Tomlan, 266.



FIG. 1.3 *Architectural Review*, *L' Architecture d' Aujourd'hui*, *Casabella*, and *Domus*. The European periodicals effectively popularized modernism in the first half of the 20th c. and served as contrasting paradigms to the American ones.

Repeatedly, it has been underlined that the modernist periodicals were instrumental for the rise of international movements and innovative avant-garde architects. Beginning with Art Nouveau's *Ver Sacrum* (1896-1903), the Futurists' *Lacerba* (1913-15), the Dutch *De Stijl* (1917-31) and then with Le Corbusier's and Ozenfant's *L'Esprit Nouveau* (1920-1925), Mies van der Rohe's *G* (1923-26), and the *Bauhaus* (1928-1933) the magazines became the free carriers of innovative architectural ideas. And the role of those "little" avant-garde magazines of limited scope and audience was coupled with the wider-reaching, industry-changing monthly reviews that brought together the work of modernist collectives and functioned as pillars for the development of an international movement throughout the next decades: the Italian *Domus* (1928) and *Casabella* (1928), the French *L'Architecture d' Aujourd'hui* (1930); and the English *Architectural Review* (1896) and *Architectural Design* (1930) [Fig. 1.3].

In the American scene, a similar tendency can be traced in the division between specialised magazines and wider-scope magazines; but the issue of modernism was heavily debated with no magazine wholly endorsing it. A strong hesitation over the acceptance of the modern movement, is obvious in Phillip Johnson's description of the International Style exhibition of 1932:

"Inspired in part by the pioneer Frank Lloyd Wright, modern architecture in Europe has reached a definition of style through the work of four leaders, Le Corbusier in Paris, Oud in Rotterdam, Gropius and Mies van der Rohe in Berlin. In the last decade, the style has become international. This International style has little in common with the capricious and illogical work of the "modernistic" architects who have recently won such popularity in America."²¹

In this quote two tendencies can be seen: A) one of appropriation of modernism as something innate to American architecture (Wright) and b) the strong scepticism to a holistic embrace of modernism in the USA. Although developments in construction industry were rapid for the past fifty years, and the pioneering work of American architects other than Wright such as Maybeck and Irving Gill,²² the general feeling was that of falling behind from Europeans in the institutionalisation of modernist architecture. The need for Americans to be finally included, is mirrored in the term “International Style” as a global event. As so, in the 1930s begun an official admittance of modernism amongst the dominant styles in the US. However, it would take until the 1940s till modernism would be de facto adopted and widely applied, due to the war situation and the heightening industrial production that rendered technology, science and engineering as fundamental aspects of design; to that extent as to completely replace the naturalist or historicist narratives of other architectural styles of early 20th c. American architecture.

Whereas in the 1930s cultural institutions such as the MoMA, educational institutions such as the Harvard GSD, Columbia and Georgia Tech and the professional triad of magazines (*Forum*, *P/A* and *Record*) successfully introduced modernism, in the early 1940s they established it as the dominant style and an issue that the US were centrally involved with the inclusion of European masters amongst American practitioners: Belluschi (from Italy), Gropius and Mies van de Rohe (Germany), Aalto (Finland), Breuer (Hungary), Neutra (Austria). By the 1950s, the accumulation of European modernism and its institutionalization was well-established, and with all the pieces set, started a period when the new American model of business took hold of the course of modernism. The emergence of the consumer market as the primary source of clientele for architects, the definition of the profession in technical terms and its evolution from a sole practice to a profit-oriented business, led it consecutively to its incorporation in bigger scale companies.

By the 1960s, the tendencies could be distinguished in two: a) the blatant rejection of functionalism and the European version of modernism, and b) the appropriation and recognition of American contribution to these ideas such as Lewis Mumford’s theoretical project. And that point the term “modernism” was

²¹ “Rejected Architects,” exhibition Pamphlet back cover text, 1931, reprinted in Terence Riley, *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art*, (New York: Rizzoli, 1992).

²² Side note on the 1930s: While skyscrapers and modernist villas were becoming more and more popular, in academic and artistic circles modernism hadn’t managed to gain dominance. This is also seen in the numerous state buildings built from 1930 till 1945 in classicist styles by architects such as John Russel Pope: eg. the National Archives and the Jefferson Memorial of Washington D.C.

already being replaced with that of “contemporary” shedding away any idealistic and European connotations. In a sense, the American magazines gradually introduced, incorporated and abandoned modernism without ever acknowledging a revolution in architectural design, in the US or abroad.²³

These developments were accompanied with the gradual development of the role of the architect.

1.3.2 The evolving role of the architect

The course of modernism is one constant consideration regarding the history of 20th century architectural periodicals. Another one is the changing role of the professional architect. And while modernism seemed to pit the 20th century architects as an engineer, a stronger tendency in America was that of the architect as a businessperson.

1.3.2.1 1920s: Architects and engineers

The major changes in the building industry that occurred in the 1920s with the rising use of concrete, glass and plastic products indeed led to the closing ties between architects and engineers. The study of precedent examples of architecture as delineated by the Beaux Arts curriculum was replaced by a heavy load of technical information of building processes and products. As for architectural design, the consideration of nature-based decoration was replaced gradually by abstract forms, such as the Art Deco movement that was prevalent in the majority of American skyscrapers well into the 1940s. The inclusion of architecture in mass production, meant for the magazine that there needed to take place changes in the use of the imagery that till then was depicting colourful plates of historical references, offered for imitation purposes. Instead, the information of industrial applications and the push for innovation were now more urgent services from the part of architectural publications. Around that time, begun also a change in the audience of the magazines with the subscription of more and more engineers, following the changes in practice:

²³ Robert Alan Benson, “Douglass Putnam Haskell (1899-1979): The early critical writings,” (PhD dissertation, Ann Arbor, 1987), 70.

“Engineers, who are less exactly distinguished from architects in the U.S. than in Europe, began increasingly to encroach upon the architectural preserve in the form of architectural-engineering (A-E) agglomerations.”²⁴

1.3.2.2 1940s: An information-based discipline

As Huyngmin Pai suggests, the further involvement of architecture in capitalist markets was only possible under the perception of having an underlying rational structure and was expressed with the architectural magazines' “transition to design” that pushed for the rejection of old authorities and radical social and industrial adjustments.²⁵ While the shift towards engineering and the advocating for modernism started in the 1920s and 1930s, it was the second World War and the intensification of the industry that remodelled the magazines, and especially the *Architectural Record* practically into architectural handbooks.

1.3.2.3 1960s: Engaging the markets

After the mid 1950s a new turn was taking place for the role of the architect who was “embracing the managerial and marketing approach so dear to American business philosophy.”²⁶ By 1970 the shift had been completed with the entrepreneurial turn of the profession resulting in its incorporation. An article from 1971 in *Fortune* magazine was probably the first to draw the American public's attention to this conversion. Besides John C. Portman it singled out among others Charles Luckman Associates of Los Angeles, that was acquired in 1968 by a large corporation which wished to diversify into real estate; and CRS Design Associates of Houston, perhaps the first architectural team to incorporate; and RTKL Inc. of Baltimore, which had recently merged with a California software computer company. Common to the firms mentioned in the article was a commitment to marketing architecture aggressively.²⁷

²⁴ Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

²⁵ Op. cit. Pai, 158.

²⁶ Op. cit. Saint, 154.

²⁷ Saint, *ibid.*

1.3.3 Architectural magazines in the media revolution

From 1940 to 1975, magazine publishing experienced an unprecedented rise being the foremost mass medium of visual content, before the introduction of television in the early 1970s. Among magazines such as *Life*, *Time*, *Sports Illustrated* that redefined cultural production and consumption globally, the booming industry also affected the field of architecture. The three main categories can be discerned in architectural periodical publishing: a) the shelter magazines, b) the little magazines and c) the monthly reviews aimed to professionals.

Shelter Magazines, Little Magazines and the “Glossies”

Shelter magazines refer to titles such as *House Beautiful* (1896, Hearst Corporation), *House & Home* (1952, Time, Inc.) *House and Garden* (1901, Condé Nast Publications); mostly responsible for transiting a lifestyle culture and a sense of consumerism to the architectural field. More prevalent during the 1950s when the focus of the architectural profession returned to house design, the Shelter magazines were instrumental in the inclusion of the profession’s clients to single families, individual males and females and a general shift to the private sector. The little magazines refer to small scale publications targeted to strictly defined audiences. Regional magazines, university and student magazines, and brochures of artistic circles. Those magazines never posed any threat national magazines but they did contribute in altering architectural culture with the introduction of innovative and intellectually challenging content, most characteristically during the 1960s.

As for the professional magazines, the triad of *Architectural Forum*, *Progressive Architecture* and *Architectural Record* was led into an era of rising circulation following the trends of the wider magazine industry.

The introduction of Census Bureau in 1890 and the Auditing Bureau of Circulation²⁸ in 1914 and the admittance of architectural magazines in the end of the 1940s, provided verifiable figures that solidified advertising revenues. With these auditing services the professional magazines differentiated themselves from any other regional or small-scale publication. Even magazines of particular innovations and cultural impact, such as the *Arts & Architecture* magazine of John Entenza did not pose significant competition to the business model adopted by the three big ones.

²⁸ Today called the Alliance for Audited Media.

Because with the knowledge of the exact numbers of readership and circulation and their geographical distribution nationally and regionally, the business models of professional magazines radically changed by maximizing their sales of advertising space to product manufacturers who promoted their material to an identified professional audience.

Especially the *Architectural Record*, whose publishing company F.W. Dodge Co. offered multiple "information services" to building industry professionals secured its financial stability mainly from advertising sales instead of subscription revenue. Which is what made the magazine so resilient and ultimately led it to outlive its competition. The *Architectural Forum* on the other hand, which was continuously leading in circulation numbers, operated with losses throughout its mid-century years under the ownership of Henry Luce, publisher of Time Inc., whose theory of "Americanization" demanded the expansion of his media conglomerate to all fields of cultural production.

In contrast to their European equivalents and the avant-garde little magazines, the three professional magazines were characterised by their image-based content and were habitually described as "the Glossies."²⁹ And despite the somewhat lack of theoretical production, their dedication to the profession and their popularity posited them in the centre of the discipline's midcentury history and defined the medium-conditioned architectural production of today.

1.3.4 Defining the professional magazine: Content, service and audience

What makes up the specific audience –otherwise called, "qualified audience"– of architectural professional magazines is generally composed of practising architects, engineers, landscape architects, and other environmental professionals. Serving both advertisers and architects, the professional magazines' content was defined by Tomlan as:

"a colourful package of information in text and pictures, generally covering their professional needs, as the management and, in particular, the editorial staff of the magazines view those interests."³⁰

²⁹ Wytold Rybczynski, "Glossies: The decline of architectural magazines," Slate. Nov. 15, 2015, <https://slate.com/culture/2006/11/the-decline-of-architecture-magazines.html>

³⁰ Op. cit. Hunt, 238.

Depending on their audience, the professional magazines' content can be divided into the purposes of informing, inspiring, advertising and lastly socializing architects. Accordingly, the topics that varied in relation to each magazine's audience consisted of information on new buildings, technical details, legal and business matters; critical and philosophical content meant to sensitize and re-direct design practices; product reports and literature on construction materials, building products and systems of application; and lastly, the covering of events such as conventions, forums, education, academic and professional meetings, awards and competitions that were often organized by the magazines themselves.

As for the structure of professional magazines of architecture as business organizations, they were divided into three groups:

- A editorial staff,
- B business group and
- C management group. With their corresponding responsibilities being: a) editorial content production,
- D advertising and circulation and
- E management and delegation of the editorial tasks and processes.

As such, the leading figures of each group, the editor-in-chief, publisher and managing editor were the ones setting the policies and structure of the overall operation.

1.4 **A brief history of the *Architectural Record***

After the consideration of the general context of magazine publishing and the history of professional periodicals of architecture, another element deemed important for the understanding of the mid-century history of the *Architectural Record*, we will here refer briefly to the history of the journal since its establishment in 1891 up to the midcentury years.

This will be divided into:

- 1 the early history of the magazine in the late 19th c.
- 2 the era of professionalization of the magazine in the early 20th c.

- 3 a reference on the 1930s and the magazine's ties to modernism
- 4 the state of the professional field in the mid-century years, considering the *Record's* publishers and competitors.

1.4.1 1891- 1914: A literary and publishing experiment

The early history of the *Architectural Record* begins in 1891 when it was founded as the “selected journal for detailed analysis” of the built environment through a literary and critical lens, triggered –as already mentioned– by the success and printing developments of the *American Architect and Building News*. As advertised, the new publication was set “to keep the architects and the general public of the United States and Canada in touch with the progress of architecture, building and decoration at home and abroad”³¹ using as contributors leading literary figures and numerous illustrations.³²

Headed by the newly-appointed editor-in-chief Harry W. Desmond, the magazine set from the beginning a firm standing as the foremost intellectual architectural magazine – whose purpose was explained in its first ever article “By way of introduction” ending with a poem of his own writing. These early literary efforts were paired with contributions by the celebrated political writer Herbert Croly.^{33,34,35} and critical pieces by Montgomery Schuyler, the man noted to be “the first writer to produce an extensive body of architectural criticism in America.”³⁶ Furthermore, what differentiated the early *Record* from its peers was the inclusion of historical pieces by renowned scholars instead of the habitual mentioning of history by architects themselves.³⁷

31 *Real Estate Record and Builders' Guide*, (June 13, 1891): 1215. Cited in op. cit. Lichtenstein, 19.

32 Op. cit. Lichtenstein, 19.

33 Herbert Croly remains as a celebrated historical figure, for his work as an intellectual and for being the co-founder of *The New Republic* a progressive literary magazine of the early 20th c.

34 The father of Herbert Croly, David was co-founder of the *Real Estate Record* but Herbert took interest in his father's organization after his death in 1889 and two years later became involved with the editing and writing of newly created *Architectural Record*. Op. cit. Lichtenstein, 18.

35 Levy, David W., *Herbert Croly of the New Republic, The Life and Thought of an American Progressive*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), 75.

36 Paul Goldberger, “Organic remedies: Building and the city,” *Salmagundi*, No. 49, (Summer 1980): 87-98, accessed 5 February 2020, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40547365?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.

37 Op. cit. Lichtenstein, 25.

And lastly, what completed the picture of the magazine's intellectual mission were articles by people such as Russel Sturgis, (architect and co-founder of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York) that expanded the artistic field of architecture.

A second tendency of the early *Record*, was that of entrepreneurial and business-related content. The man behind the *Record*, Clinton W. Sweet, was –apart from publisher– was originally a clothing manufacturer who gradually held several enterprises that were meant to work in synergy with his new architectural venture. Since 1868, Sweet had established the *Real Estate Record and Builders' Guide*, that was dealing with news of land transactions which had attracted the advertising clients from the building industry.³⁸ The *Architectural Record* was meant to address the architects who made part of his established audience and also, to act as preparation groundwork for the *Sweet's Indexed Catalogue of Building Construction*, the annual building product catalogue enlisting all active manufacturers, that started publication in 1905 and which is still in circulation.³⁹

A close friend and associate of Sweet's was Frederick Warren Dodge, who would soon gain a more lasting effect on the *Record* than its founder. Hailed as the father of building statistics⁴⁰ Dodge dealt with the financial and statistical analytics of the building industry that were featured at the *Record*. The annual analytics of Dodge, were used to present the pulse of the building market, as well as predictions for the following years.⁴¹

With those resources and the building market in heightening production, the *Record* was to tackle the factual side of architectural business and its financial matters, beyond the literary issues set forth by Desmond and Sweet:

“The *Architectural Record* is a publication with somewhat of a purpose over and above a purely commercial one. This is due to the very character of the field which the magazine must occupy, as well as to intention.”⁴²

³⁸ On real estate transactions, Lichtenstein lists: deeds, quit claims, mortgages, judgments, liens, sales and purchases, (op.cit., 50).

³⁹ Cecil D. Elliot, *The American Architect from the Colonial Era to the Present*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Inc., 2003), 61.

⁴⁰ Roger W. Babson, “F. W. Dodge: A Tribute,” *Architectural Record*, (Jan., 1916).

⁴¹ James Terry White (ed), *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol 20, 353.

⁴² Henry W. Desmond, “By way of introduction,” *Architectural Record*, Vol.1, No. 1, (July-Sept, 1892): 3.

As a literary source, instead of a solely portfolio-based journal, the *Record* was to become the key medium through which the architectural community came into touch with historical, critical and cultural issues and the market analytics and material catalogues provided a new array of content contradictory to Sweet's original intentions. This dynamic between literary and business content would be a point of contention through the mid-century period, with the eventual predominance of the latter. To the editors' own accounts, the magazine went on for a quarter of a century before it became really a "professional" magazine.⁴³

1.4.2 1914-1928: Turning towards the profession

Consecutive developments of the early 1910s brought an end to the magazine's early literary mission with: a) the change of ownership to Frederick W. Dodge and the installment of the F. W. Dodge Corporation that fully absorbed Sweet's publications in 1912; b) the abrupt passing of Desmond and Schuyler in 1914 that stripped the magazine from its most talented writers; and c) Herbert Croly's leave in favour of political journalism as editor of the *New Republic*. Instead, Michael A. Mikkelsen became the newly appointed editor-in-chief that gently led the *Architectural Record* in a direction of growing concern on the interests of the profession.

Mikkelsen, who had been editor of *the Real Estate Record* since 1896 and with a doctorate on economics, initially built upon the scholarly and literary tone of the magazine⁴⁴ but now with a renewed agenda. This included regular reviews of contemporary buildings, instead of literary pieces, following the increased building activity of the post-WWI years. New types such as industrial buildings and worker housing meant the change of discourse from artistic to material matters, followed by business issues of practice.⁴⁵ The appeal to a professional audience was mirrored with the inclusion of professional architects in the editorial team at the same time with Mikkelsen's increased involvement in F. W. Dodge Co.'s managerial matters, rising to the post of director in 1923. The further developments of the building boom of the 1920s, brought forward projects such as schools, office buildings, skyscrapers and a further specialization of the magazine's content that distanced itself from the layman. The shift to professionals was finalized with the appointment of architect

⁴³ Goble, Emerson, "75 years of the Record", *Architectural Record*, Vol 131, No 7, (July 1966): 9.

⁴⁴ Op. cit. Lichtenstein, 39.

⁴⁵ Op.cit. Lichtenstein, 42.

Alfred Lawrence Kocher as associate editor in 1927, in charge of the main editorial work, who led the magazine into its most celebrated period of the 1930s.

1.4.3 1928-1938: Lawrence Kocher's modernist project

The *Architectural Record* verged towards a modernistic trajectory⁴⁶ under the editorship of Lawrence Kocher, between 1927 and 1938. A celebrated educator and practitioner, Kocher turned the *Record* into a pioneering advocate of modern architecture as the culmination of specialization and mass-production,⁴⁷ having himself authored significant architectural projects such as the Aluminaire House with Albert Frey from 1931. Some of his contributing staff were Henry Russel Hitchcock, Knud Lonberg-Holm, and Douglas Haskell (later editor-in-chief of the *Forum*⁴⁸) while he also attracted writings by people such as Frederick Ackerman and Lewis Mumford, all of them sharing modernism's conviction of distancing themselves from 19th c. historicism and as result slowly defined design from a craft to information-management of "functional data" and the market's needs as can be understood from articles such as *Effects of Style on Cost* from 1929.⁴⁹ During the 1930s, the *Architectural Record* absorbed the *Architect* magazine (1931) and the *American Architect and Building News* (1938)⁵⁰. The other two magazines, *Pencil Points* (later *Progressive Architecture*) and the *Architectural Forum* (renamed from *Brickbuilder*) slowly caught up in becoming themselves carriers of modernist trends and ideas.

The technological basis of the magazine was strengthened with the regular employment of Knud Lonberg-Holm and his close associate Theodore Larson, who headed the *Record's* technical section and Sweet's research division. According to Lichtenstein and Fitch, "they were part of a group of men at Dodge who were

⁴⁶ Pai, Hyungmin, "The Portfolio and the Diagram: Architecture, Discourse and Modernity in America," (PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2002).

⁴⁷ Op. cit. Lichtenstein.

⁴⁸ Gabriele Esperdy (introduction) "Architecture and popular taste," *Places Journal*, May 2015, <https://placesjournal.org/article/future-archive-architecture-and-popular-taste>.

⁴⁹ Robert L Davison; Alfred E. Poor; H. Reynolds, "Effect of style on cost," *Architectural Record*, (April 1929): 402.

⁵⁰ From then on the *Record's* official full title was: "*Architectural Record Combined with American Architect and Architecture*." Therefore at least to some extent the contribution and mission of the AABN was absorbed into the *Record*. Source: Susan Doubilet, "A critical survey of the *Architectural Record*, 1891-1938, and the American architectural periodicals it absorbed, 1876-1938," (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1981).

convinced that pure technology would bring political and social progress.”⁵¹ Issues of city planning were presented by Henry Wright, while latest news on science, technology and engineering were presented by contributors such as Howard T. Fisher and Robert L. Davison. By the mid 1930s, the most essential change was related to the increased attention on the issue of modernity which had replaced the older preoccupation with the formation of a distinct American Style.⁵²

1.4.4 1938-1941: Years of flux and turbulence

The retirements of Mikkelsen in 1937 and Kocher in 1938, brought a new reality for the editorial team of the magazine. The basic structure established in the last year of Kocher’s editorship kept the magazine’s content solidly organized in the three sections of “Building news,” “Design Trends,” and “Building Types”; but the editors had to face growing competition and a changing field of political and economic flux. The next in line for the leadership of the magazine, were the experienced editors James M. Fitch and Roger Sherman, and the formerly *American Architect* editor Henry Saylor, who were noted for their emphasis on intellectually stimulating content.⁵³ The absorptions of competing magazines in March 1938 by Dodge brought a large staff that lasted only for a few months before the turbulent years of WWII brought a renewed crisis. The upheaval of the early 1940s started with the consecutive departures of Fitch for the army, Saylor for the *Architectural Forum*, and Sherman for the *Florida Architect*. On the other hand, continuing changes in administration brought the transfer of Emerson Goble (from the *National Real Estate Journal*) as managing editor and the appointment of Thomas Holden as newly elected President of F.W. Dodge Co. The fiftieth anniversary of the magazine in 1941 was celebrated with a series of historical articles, that made the magazine appear as receding to the past and oblivious to the present.

Finally, with the entering of the USA to the WWII, a stable editorial environment was established with the turn of 1942 and the appointment of Kenneth Kingsley Stowell as editor-in-chief.

⁵¹ Op. cit. Lichtenstein, p. 133.

⁵² Op. cit. Lichtenstein, 141.

⁵³ Op. cit. Tomlan, 283.

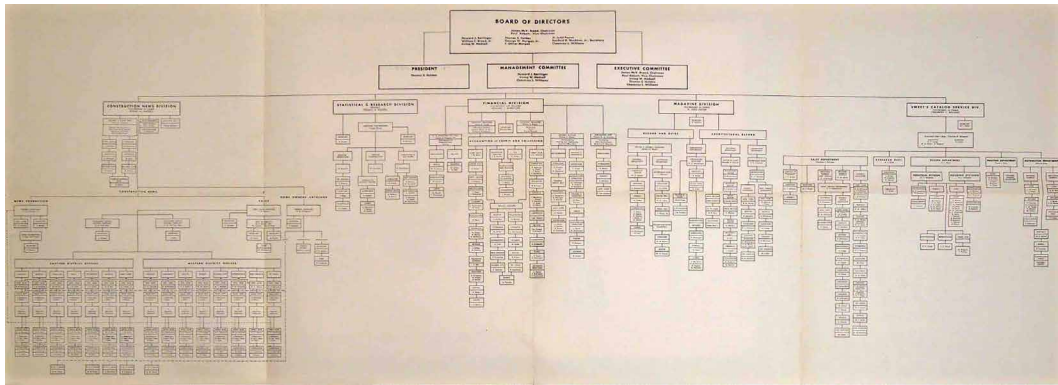


FIG. 1.4 F.W.Dodge's organizational structure, circa 1930. Source Adrian Täckman.

1.5 Publishers and competitors

Apart from the chronological consideration of the history of architectural journalism and the history of the *Architectural Record*, a brief mention should be made on the publishing company F. W. Dodge Co., and the business model that it had in contrast to its competitors, Time Inc. that published *Architectural Forum* and Reinhold Publishing Inc. that published *Progressive Architecture* (formerly *Pencil Points*).

1.5.1 F. W. Dodge Corporation (*Architectural Record*)

As already mentioned, apart from the *Architectural Record* and *the Real Estate Record and Builders Guide* (which ceded in 1922), Dodge was engaged in a number of publications and by the 1930s was expanding speedily in the fields of news and statistical services of the building industry. Regarding its organizational structure, in addition to its magazine division, it also sustained a "construction news division", a "financial division," a "statistical and research division" and a "Sweet's Catalog service division" [Fig.1.4]. As indicated on the cover of publicity brochures, Dodge was now described as a company offering "Building market publications and services."

More specifically they were the following publications/services, which related directly or indirectly to the *Architectural Record*:

- *Sweet's Catalog*, the annual filing of manufacturers' products kept architects updated on the complete list of building products on a national scale. As a complete compilation of manufacturers' informative booklets the Sweet's Catalog aimed to contribute to the architects' task of "sorting, classifying, filing, refiling and replacement of individually distributed catalogs."⁵⁴
- The *Home Owner's Catalog* was another publication similar to Sweet's but not annual and targeted specifically to clients instead of manufacturers. In essence it was a selected compilation of product manufacturers' advertisements targeted to homeowners in simple, comprehensive terms. The aim was to familiarize clients with the general issue of house building, recommending in the process the careful selection of a competent architect, stressing the importance of the architects' supervision of overall construction. Together with Sweets, these two publications posited the architect as the intermediary between clients and producers, and sustained advertising sales to the *Architectural Record*, that indirectly affected its editorial content.
- The *Dodge Construction Reports* was a personalised daily building news service that would report to individual's specific requirements for bids and contracts connecting architects and engineers with real estate brokers, financial institutions and contractors in their region and specified field of practice. Through the *Dodge Reports*, F.W. Dodge Co. was not only publishing news but becoming an information registry on any transaction, bid and contract of the building industry. And while by mid 1930s, this service was limited to the Eastern states, by the early 1950s the operation was covering the whole country.
- The *Dodge statistical research services*, was the main output of Dodge's "Statistical and research division," that concerned the analysis of the information transmitted through *Dodge Reports*. Yearly reports and indexes for current and future building production in a national scale were being published in the *Architectural Record*, or other public and trade press. And regional or otherwise targeted market reports were being developed to serve "bankers, material supply interests, marketing executives, public officials, and all others interested." The *Dodge Statistics* were even bluntly mentioned "to guide the editorial and circulation plans of the *Architectural Record*."⁵⁵

Lastly, from 1930 onwards, Dodge expanded its reach to construction newspapers such as the *Daily Pacific Builder* (San Francisco), the *Dodge Construction News* (Chicago-Denver-San Francisco), the *Southwest Builder and Contractor* (Los Angeles)

⁵⁴ *Building market publications and services*, (New York, NY: F. W. Dodge Corporation, 1936), p. 20.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 14

and the *Daily Journal* (Colorado, Wyoming). Either through acquisition or through the reformation of the role of Dodge reporters (from the statistical research service) the network of Dodge statisticians expanded gradually to journalism reporting daily on construction project activity, bids, project funding announcements and other legal notices. The archive of Elizabeth Kendall Thompson indicates that *Record* editors were kept up to date by regional Dodge newspaper journalists and during the 1950s there was an effort to achieve greater synergy even though the extent of this collaboration is still ill-defined. Another correspondence, this time between Louis Kahn and Maxwell Levinson, from 1938 indicates that the expanding network of Dodge personnel discouraged new publishing ventures that wanted to set up networks to follow the implementation of modern techniques of building.⁵⁶

A general historical account of the publishing and research activities of Dodge throughout the century has still yet to be compiled, despite its importance both as an organizational and informative center as well as a hive for important individuals that built up a network of researchers, editors, architects and academics that left its imprint on American architectural history. There is however, a more precise history of its architectural publications and their absorption by the *Architectural Record* during the years 1891 to 1938.⁵⁷ Beyond that, the growing development of Dodge and its expansion between 1930 and 1960 solidified the *Record's* reputation as being the most work-oriented of the professional magazines throughout its mid-century history. As for F.W. Dodge Co., its merger with McGraw Hill in 1962 created one of the world leaders amongst industrial publishers and still, one of the greatest companies in US history.

1.5.2 Time Inc. (*Architectural Forum*)

While Dodge was turning to building-information services, the business models of the *Record's* competitors were different. The role of the *Architectural Forum* as a Time Inc. experiment, has recently been explored in detail by Sarah M. Dreller who summed up its publishing history during the mid-century years as an unusual attempt to nurture a sense of community for the building industry as a whole that

⁵⁶ Levinson was writing to Kahn regarding their plan of setting up “take-off stations” for the renewed magazine Shelter: “this is quite different from the original plan and was so changed because of what I found after investigating the activities and facilities of the F.W.Dodge Corporation. I found that Dodge has 29 estimating centers of Subs and Material Men located in the following cities...” Source: Maxwell Levinson to Louis Kahn, August 14, 1939. CCA. Levinson fonds.

⁵⁷ Op. cit. Susan Dubilet.

spawned creativity and experimentalism. But being an experiment-publication costed dearly in the long term. *Architectural Forum* as a TIME Inc. publication functioned for thirty-two years without being financially secure in an effort to function as a foothold of TIME inc. in the building industry following the “Americanization” ideology of its founder Henry Luce, who along with titles such as *Fortune*, *Sports Illustrated*, *LIFE*, *People* etc. wanted to spread American culture in all industrial fields, nationally and internationally. While consistently far ahead of its competitors in both circulation and quality of content, the *Architectural Forum* ceded publication in 1964. As Dreller writes, “Time Inc.’s accomplishments with *Forum* hastened the magazine’s end, in other words, possibly deterring future experimentation as a result.”⁵⁸ The story of the *Architectural Record* is opposite to the *Forum* in that regard. Steadily conservative, and in a much lower note than the *Forum*, it outlasted its competitors without expanding its reader-base holding to a core of practicing architects and engineers that would yearn income from advertisements.

1.5.3 Reinhold Publishing Co. (*Progressive Architecture*)

As for *Progressive Architecture*, its publishing company Reinhold was much closer to the F.W. Dodge model, but on a smaller scale and more focused on the matter of education than professionals of the building industry. Originally published independently as *Pencil Points*, the magazine was a side-publication of the *Architectural Review* headed by publisher Ralph Reinhold (who had even served as business manager of the *Architectural Record* in the early 1910s). Closely targeting draftsmen, designers and specification writers from the beginning, *Pencil Points/ Progressive Architecture* slowly transitioned from a wider view of design to a closer definition of the profession and business of drafting but this attempt, was never as decisive as Dodge’s or wide-reaching as Time Inc.’s.

As early as 1924, *Pencil Points* established an employment bureau, “a national clearing house for architects desiring to employ men and for men seeking positions in architects’ offices”; in an effort to follow the draftsmen augmenting professionalization. This tendency was strengthened with the incorporation of draftsmen in architects’ clubs that slowly turned the magazine into a de facto architectural publication. Ten years later, in 1934 the establishment of Reinhold Publishing Co. was followed with a significant production of monograph publications,

⁵⁸ Sarah M. Dreller, “*Architectural Forum*, 1932-1964: A Time Inc. experiment in American Architecture,” (PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2015), xv.

centred around the topics of physics, chemistry, metallurgy, architecture and the arts, which even though they reached a strong degree of detail, they remained in the field of education than of technical application. The changing of the name to *Progressive Architecture* in 1943, signalled a renewed effort of redefinition. As the editors proclaimed “we have shifted our position somewhat in the direction of stressing design rather than draftsmanship.”

During the mid-century years, despite its relatively lesser resources, *P/A* was kept steadily second in circulation following the attentive personal vision of Ralph Reinhold and a coherent team headed by the editors-in-chief: Whitehead (1921-1933), Kenneth Reid (1933-1946) and Thomas H. Creighton (1946-1963). Without experiencing the hardships and editorial shuffling of the *Architectural Record*, *P/A* was expanding upon the innovations of the leading *Forum* and establishing its own traditions; such as the *P/A* awards and congregated a growing audience of architects and draftsmen. The *Record*, in third place, would often trail the leading journals’ decisions and fit them into Dodge’s overarching operations.

This pattern came to an abrupt end in 1964 with the folding of *Architectural Forum*. The remaining two contenders struggled in competition in a time of general restructuring of the whole publishing industry that saw the buy-out of Dodge into a McGraw-Hill Company in 1962 establishing the most dominant contender in the field. The competitive race ended ultimately in 1994 with the folding of *P/A* that left the *Architectural Record* as the only professional architectural magazine of national circulation.

1.6 Midcentury magazines and the course of modernism

Modernism in Europe has always been portrayed as a homogenous architectural movement, even when this was not truly the case. Architects such as Hugo Haring or Hans Scharoun have been censored from the annals of modernist history because of their individualistic formalism, notwithstanding their pivotal role in the formation of the movement.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Sarah Williams Goldhagen, “Something to Talk about: Modernism, Discourse, Style,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (Jun., 2005): 144-167.

On the contrary, in America plurality both in architectural form and amongst the body of architects was never a question. Instead of suppressing pluralism in favour of modernism, the American architectural scene opted for the contrary: the suppression of modernism in favour of pluralism. Even in the turn of the 1930s when modernism gained prominence it was never considered to be the *unique* style to follow. As Pokinski puts it:

“Americans by 1929 were persuaded by the logic, viability and timelessness of modernism and were ready to espouse many of its aspects. They were not prepared however, to be radical.”⁶⁰

Multiple issues contributed to the establishment of modernism in the 1930s USA but still it was only considered as an additional style, building upon the pool of historical styles instead of being the force that would erase all past historicism and built the world anew. European aphorisms such as Le Corbusier's “the styles are a lie” or Muthesius' brute dilemma “Style-Architecture vs the Art of Building” never found solid ground in America. And even when there was an effort to officially train American architects into the European notion of modernism, it was referred with the more abstract term “International Style” barren of all the social implications, historical validity and polemic aspirations. Instead, it was presented as a global fact. American Modernism traditionally bore the mark of eclecticism an American tradition to which modernism succumbed being desensitized in the process. Ironically, according to Tafuri, eclecticism in the US was also rooted to European influences: “Republican virtues for Jefferson, the austere elementariness of Greek democracy for Latrobe, Gothic sacredness for Gilbert's “Cathedrals of Commerce.”⁶¹

From the view of American modernists, modernism as style was not a problem, since all styles bore functional and instrumental attributes anyway. To Europeans this seemed as: “an attitude directly antithetical to the ideological value attributed to the new, nonfigurative language by the European avant-garde in these same years. In a certain sense, a continual de-idealization of architecture was taking place in the United States.”⁶²

⁶⁰ Deborah Frances Pokinski, *The Development of the American Modern Style*, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984), 64. Originally this book was presented as a thesis in 1982 at Cornell University with the title “The Most Appropriate Style.”

⁶¹ Manfredo Tafuri, “The Disenchanted Mountain: The Skyscraper and the City.” In: *The American City: From the Civil War to the New Deal*, Gino Ciucci et al., (Boston: MIT Press, 1973), 391.

⁶² Tafuri, op. cit., 395.

This de-idealization of architecture in the US context can be traced in the midcentury years with the equation of the "style-problem" with the "ideological" problem. The one bearing the danger of superficiality and sense of confusion in search of new formalisms and the other the dangers of the rigidness of the functionalist and revolutionary tendency of modernism.

One characteristic instance of this phenomenon, can be found in a questionnaire sent by the editors of the *Architectural Record* to notable American architects in 1954. There, a question over "the tendency to 'copy' dominant styles" and whether it was a serious problem; was succeeded by another one on the issue of "ideological confusion" and how educators of architecture "can reduce it."⁶³ In the context of this specific questionnaire, this dual danger is presented as an impediment to the transition of architecture students from education to practice.⁶⁴ With the editors serving here, as representatives of both the building market and the professional architects in an effort to report on their common problems and the contrast of the students to the business' standards.

This brings us to the question not of "if" but to "what extent" magazines molded architects to the needs of the market. Taking in mind that the midcentury decades were a specifically urgent period for the architects' incorporation – another specific American issue gaining traction globally– that resulted into their disassociation with the tradition of architecture as a means of cultural expression and led them into information-based design and conceptual experimentations.⁶⁵ Or as Charles Eames put it, "from an expression of art, to an expression of purpose."⁶⁶

Although it is an issue largely untouched by architectural historians (Sarah Dreller's research is a very rare example), TIME Inc. Dodge/McGraw, Hearst and the rest of the mass media consortia affected deeply the production architecture, along with the complete cultural landscape that they redefined and that we are still grappling with. The current study is however not about the publishing organizations, but about the editors, as the in-between agents between the mass media revolution and corporate networks and the practice of architecture in its transition from the modernist era towards contemporaneity.

⁶³ Payne to Wright, 5 March 1954, Frank Lloyd Wright papers, Document: A146D07. Columbia University.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ The story of this transition is reflected in: Hyungmin Pai, *The Portfolio and the Diagram: Architecture, Discourse, and Modernity in America*, (Boston: MIT Press, 2002), 334.

⁶⁶ "Design Q&A," 'Qu'est ce que le design?' Exhibition 1972

2 Design for democracy

The editorships of Kenneth Stowell and Harold Hauf 1942-1951

*“Any good architect can design the building,
but it takes an artist to land the job”*

– Kenneth Stowell⁶⁷

2.1 Introduction: Turning the page

In 1942 a new era was inaugurated for the history of the *Architectural Record*. With the high times of the 1930s left in the past and a consecutive period of transition from 1938 to 1941, that saw a large part of the editorial team gone, it was a challenging and difficult new beginning. Things were not only changing for the *Architectural Record*, but for the field of architectural journalism as a whole. The *Encyclopedia of Architecture*, summarized the situation of American periodicals in the 1940s, like this:

“the Architectural Forum, with over than 38.000 subscribers, was twice as large as either of its competitors, aiming to please not only architects, but also clients, contractors, real estate agents, and financiers. Pencil Points, emerging as

⁶⁷ Kenneth Stowell, “Design for sale,” *Architectural Record*, (Aug. 1943): 41.

Progressive Architecture after the war, also showed a healthy increase, but stood a distant second in circulation. [...] Placing third was the *Architectural Record*, which did little to improve its position, preferring to cling to a staid format, emphasizing technological developments and business matters."⁶⁸

As seen here, throughout the 1940s the *Record* was facing a difficult situation amongst a greater period of transition for the standards of architectural publishing. It was losing the key figures of its 1930s editorial team and was entering the 1940s with guest contributors and newcomers that needed time to readjust. The highly productive but otherwise austere years of the war and the subsequent years of economic readjustment were responded from the *Record* by clinging to "technical developments" – as the *Encyclopedia* mentions. Elaborating on that, this chapter examines the editorships of the *Record's* most "technical" editor-in-chiefs: Kenneth Stowell (1942-1949) and Harold Hauf (1949-1951) and how they led the magazine to the 1950s with a competitive circulation and recovered from its "former premodern editorial stand."⁶⁹

The story of mid-20th century architecture and its relationship with the affluent society of post-WWII American society, starts with its exact opposite and the austere years for the war. As the vice-president of *F.W. Dodge Corporation* Judd Payne stated in already in 1942, the years of "*Building as usual*" were "gone by the board" while "*Building for Defense* assumes new importance." It was at this time that the US architectural scene embraced promptly the modernist ideals, and both its functional efficiencies and political rhetoric of social benefit. Against this changing situation, the *Record* stayed "technical." Which did not do much to improve its competitive position, but proved to be a resilient strategy that held the professional architects to the core of its audience and put forth the foundations for its future advancement.

2.1.1 The state of the *Architectural Record* in 1942

The first years of the 1940s, saw a rapid succession of editors-in-chief only seemingly in charge of the editorial team. The void left by the departure of Kocher in 1938 and Mikkelsen was filled in the short term by a succession of editors from the existing team:

⁶⁸ Op. cit. Tomlan, 286.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

Orville C. Anderson, James Marston Fitch and Roger Wade Sherman.⁷⁰ And while Kocher and Mikkelsen were still acting as consultants to the magazine informally and behind the scenes, the death of Mikkelsen in 1941 brought the magazine to a tipping point.

Content-wise, the structure still remained intact with three main sections:

- 1 *Building News* reporting on new buildings, social events and political news that affected the industry,
- 2 *Design Trends*, featuring technical news on building products, methods or prototype buildings.
- 3 *Building Types*, which was the main feature content that characterized each issue with an in-length review of a specific building type: schools, hospitals etc.

This structure was for the editors, “the original and logical plan of giving ‘three magazines in one.’”⁷¹ Furthermore, the interim years before the arrival of the new editor-in-chief were heavily depending on reproductions of the magazine’s old material, on account of its 50-year anniversary. As for the design, all the main features were being presented conventionally in a dry fashion, seemingly in sympathy to *F.W. Dodge’s* technical publications, with no major distinction between the *Record’s* technical and the more cultural content.

On top of the editorial situation and the employment crisis came to be added the worsening economic situation of the early 1940s that brought a drop in subscriptions, and increased production costs. The early 1940s also brought rapid changes to the profession’s market with increasingly bigger commissions and less clients. The emergence of large-scale builders was largely a recent development, and a result of the Defense Housing Program, the war, and the introduction of mortgage insurances by the Federal Housing Authority.⁷² Facing this situation, the magazine was in need of new solutions and persons capable of adapting to the new situation.

⁷⁰ Handwritten notes of Douglas Putnam Haskell traced his own account of the *Record’s* leading editors from its founding till 1960: “1) Desmond*, 2) Croly*, 3) Mikkelsen* (Kocher), 4) Kocher, 5) Anderson, 6) Sherman, 7) Fitch, 8) Stowell*, 9) Hauf, 10) Mason, 11) Shear*, 12) Goble. (Editors-in-chief marked with an “*”).” Undated document, folder: “*Architectural Record*-personal,” Haskell Papers, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library Department of Drawings & Archives, Columbia University.

⁷¹ R.C. Mac Dougall (F.W. Dodge Co. Business manager) to Marcel Breuer, 29 Sept 1938, Marcel Breuer papers, Syracuse University.

⁷² Op. cit. Tomlan, 286.

Never minding the difficulties, the articles of the *Architectural Record* were nothing but pessimistic. The growth of the architectural profession and its future perspectives were the main object of the *Record's* encouraging articles and the future editor-in-chief was expected to connect the political and professional developments. The man that was eventually hired to cover Kocher's gap was Kenneth Kingsley Stowell [Fig.2.1], appointed in early 1942, at the time when the US had just entered WWII after the Pearl Harbor attack of December 7 and the subsequent Declaration of War. Stowell would lead the *Record* through his own declarations on the role of the architect during and after the war.



FIG. 2.1 Lawrence Kocher (L) and his successor as editor-in-chief at the *Record*, Kenneth Stowell (R). Both men led careers that successfully combined editing, practicing and teaching architecture. On the back of the photograph it was written: "Lake Champlain, August 1935." Source: John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library. A. Lawrence Kocher Collection (1921-1973), box 5 article #13 "People." Colonial Williamsburg, VA.

2.2 Kenneth Stowell, at the helm of the *Record*

2.2.1 Background

Architect, teacher and editor Kenneth Kingsley Stowell (1894-1969) was born in New York City as the second child of three.⁷³ Following his family's elite educational background,⁷⁴ Stowell graduated from Dartmouth College in 1916 with a Bachelor in Science and from Harvard University in 1921 with a master's degree in architecture.⁷⁵ Between 1921 till 1924 Stowell underwent 3 years of architectural practice as an architectural designer in New York based firms,⁷⁶ one of them being that of Joseph Hudnut, the future and first Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Design.⁷⁷ Like Hudnut, and almost at the same time, Stowell quickly transitioned to academia.

⁷³ Extensive information exists on the history of the Stowell family. The Stowells trace their origin to the early days of American colonialism as descendants of one Samuel Stowell, a 16th c. settler of Hingham Massachusetts and even further as descendants of Sir Adam de Stawelle a Norman knight of the 11th century, himself a settler in Somerset, England. Their genealogy is to be found in a self-titled book of 1922. Of Ken Stowell's immediate family it is reported that his mother name was Louise (Kingsley) Espenscheid from Williamsburg, NY while his father's name was William Leland Stowell. Source: William Henry Harrison Stowell, *Stowell genealogy: A Record of the descendants of Samuel Stowell of Hingham, Mass.,* (Rutland, VT: The Tuttle Co.,1922), 7.

⁷⁴ Kenneth's father William from Woodbridge CT was: a physician, an 1881 graduate of the New York University, president of the City Hospital Alumni Society 1899, and second vice-president of the New York County Medical Society 1909. His grandfather Alexander David Stowell was: a Congregational minister, a School Superintendent, and a County School Commissioner with a graduate degree from Yale from 1853. *Ibid.* 623.

⁷⁵ "Obituary," *New York Times*, (January 24, 1969): 47.

⁷⁶ In Stowell's AIA membership file, the "office training" entry briefly states "3yrs New York Offices" and names the offices of "Alexander B. Trowbridge; William L. Bottomley; Joseph Hudnut." Although Bottomley and Trowbridge had the most notable firms, it was Stowell's connection with Hudnut that would prove most productive in the long term. Source: "Kenneth Stowell," AIA membership file, AIA archives.

⁷⁷ Hudnut's office that only functioned from 1919 to 1923 was active with neo-Georgian churches, country homes and commercial buildings. The latter ones, would be subject of Stowell's book in the near future and it might be expected that both of the young architects came into contact with modernizing principles through this specific typology. More information on Hudnut and his early years: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Hudnut, Joseph," by Anthony Alofsin, Vol. 1, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 558.



FIG. 2.2 Modernize Main Street competition jury ca autumn 1935. Stowell is second from the right behind the panels. Source: Gabrielle Esperdy, *Modernizing Main Street*, 2008, 87.

PROGRAM
**"MODERNIZE MAIN STREET"
 COMPETITION**

Sponsored by LIBBEY-OWENS-FORD GLASS COMPANY
 Conducted by THE ARCHITECTURAL RECORD
 KENNETH K. STOWELL, A.S.A., Professional Adviser

\$11,000 IN CASH PRIZES
 (\$5 PRIZES IN ALL)

	Total
FIRST PRIZE, for each Problem	\$1,000
SECOND PRIZE, for each Problem	750
THIRD PRIZE, for each Problem	500
HONORABLE MENTIONS (40)	50
	\$11,000

FIG. 2.3 An ad of the competition from the *Architectural Record* with Stowell mentioned as adviser.

2.2.1.1 Georgia Tech 1924-1927

In 1924, Stowell was assigned the post of assistant professor of architecture at Georgia Tech of Atlanta GA, in a particular period when the Architecture Department, headed by Harold Bush-Brown, noted academic and historian, was beginning a slow transition towards a modernist education, “usurping Beaux Arts principles” of the time. ⁷⁸

⁷⁸ According to Harold Bush-Brown (not to be confused with Albert Bush-Brown) the turn to the Bauhaus curriculum happened in 1929, so Stowell should not be considered a pioneer of the educational shift that happened after his tenure. Characteristically, Bush-Brown mentions the following incident as sign of the paradigm change: “A sophomore year requirement that made use of the elements of the classical orders to create a composition was criticized as being unrelated to the functional problems of the day and hence of no value. [...] On that basis the criticism had validity, and the requirement was dropped from the curriculum. While the emergence of the issue was a sign of the changing attitude, I doubt that any of us at that time could have had a clear premonition of the drastic nature of events soon to occur.” As another reason for the shift few lines forward he adds: “Another occurrence of the year 1929 that affected everyone was the financial crash.” Harold Bush-Brown, *Beaux Arts to Bauhaus and beyond: An architect’s perspective*, (New York, NY: Watson-Guption Publications, 1976), 32.

Along with Bush-Brown and another faculty member, James Llewelyn Skinner, Stowell established his first architectural practice making use of his Harvard contacts.⁷⁹ The Bush-Brown–Stowell–Skinner partnership was mainly focused on buildings of the university campus in an effort to “modernize” it.⁸⁰

Regarding Stowell’s academic career, amongst several college-related trivia,⁸¹ he is reported to have become an associate professor already by 1925,⁸² to have been accepted as a member of the architectural club “Charette”⁸³ and to have stroke a collaboration between the university and the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture,⁸⁴ a modernizing agency of architectural education. Finally, in 1927⁸⁵ and 1928⁸⁶ Stowell was granted subsequent leaves of absence in order to dedicate himself to architectural journalism.⁸⁷

Well educated, trained in architectural practice and quickly-ascending in academia Stowell was also well connected both to academics and professionals. Qualities that would develop further with his return to New York and his involvement in architectural journalism.

⁷⁹ Letters from Georgia Tech archive document Stowell’s 1924 application for registration as an architect to the Examination Bureau of the State Department of Education of New York and his correspondence with Dean of Harvard G.H. Edgell who attended to Stowell’s swift licensing. There, Stowell mentions Skinner as “the third Harvard man and member of this department” with whom he seems to have established a friendly basis. Source: Kenneth Stowell to G.H. Edgell, December 19, 1924, College of Architecture Records, Georgia Tech.

⁸⁰ The Brown-Stowell-Singer partnership was responsible for the Julius Brown Memorial Hall (1925) while the partnership Brown-Stowell-Gailey produced the N.E. Harris Hall (1926). Ibid.

⁸¹ In other instances of Collegiate trivia Stowell is reported participating in college sports events along with Bush Brown as coaches and referees and speaking on university radio shows with speech titles such as “And What Is An Architect?” Sources: “Junior Architects Defeat Seniors, 6-0,” *The Technique*, (Friday Dec. 18, 1925): 5. “Architectural Seniors Play Sophomores,” *The Technique*, Thursday, (Dec. 2, 1926):1. “Radio News,” *The Technique*, Thursday, (Dec. 2, 1926):1.

⁸² “Many important changes have been made in faculty,” *The Technique*, (Friday Sept. 18, 1925): 1.

⁸³ The newly established “Charette” was an honorary architectural club to which Stowell was the sole faculty member. Stowell was credited for the admission of the architecture school to the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, as the “sole school of the South-East of the country” to which a visit by aforementioned Dean Edgell to Georgia Tech also is mentioned to have played a role. Source: “Charette Club plans elaborate year,” *The Technique*, (Sept. 23, 1925): 7.

⁸⁴ “Arch. Dept. admitted to membership in Association of Collegiate Schools of Arch.,” *The Technique*, (Feb. 26, 1926): 1.

⁸⁵ “Commandant Comes Back for Fifth Year,” *The Technique*, (May 13, 1927): 1.

⁸⁶ *Bulletin of the Georgia School of Technology*, Vol. 25, No. 1, (April 1928): 7.

⁸⁷ *Bulletin of the Georgia School of Technology*, Vol. 26, No. 1, April 1929):7.

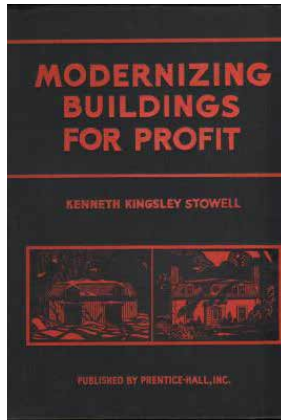


FIG. 2.4 Kenneth Stowell, *Modernizing buildings for profit*, Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1935.

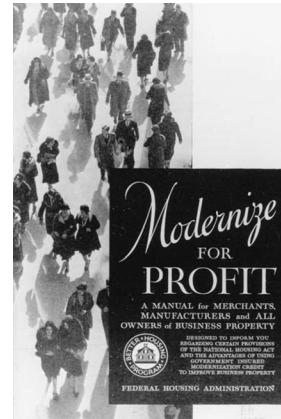
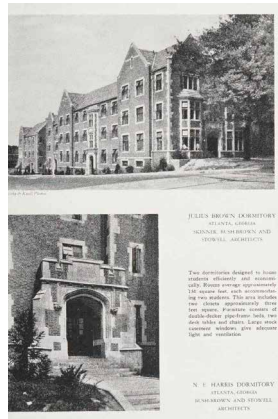


FIG. 2.5 *Modernize for profit*, FHA, 1935.

2.2.1.2 *Architectural Forum*, 1927-1935

Stowell's first post in a professional magazine was that of associate editor for the *Architectural Forum*. A position of increased responsibility, being only second to that of the editor-in-chief, Parker Morse Hooper. Starting with his first authored article on September 1927,⁸⁸ Stowell had a streak of articles related to specific –mostly technical and administrative– themes: housing and realty development, shop and store design, education and heating systems. Hooper's departure in 1931 made Stowell the editor-in-chief and as such Stowell managed to show his abilities in opinion-editorials of a more polemic character. Furthermore, he was reported to have had a significant role in opening the journal to European modernism, “much as Lawrence Kocher had done at *Architectural Record*”⁸⁹ while he also appears to have acquired an actively influential role in architectural circles.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ *Architectural Forum*, (Sept. 1927): 279.

⁸⁹ Hyungmin Pai, *The Portfolio and the Diagram: Architecture, Discourse, and Modernity in America*, (New York: MIT Press, 2002), 334.

⁹⁰ The first archival document of Stowell's work as editor attests to his growing influence to architectural circles in the form of a letter by editor Maxwell Levinson, addressed to well-standing editors including Stowell to publicly support for the awarding of the Philadelphia Award to acclaimed architect George Howe. Source: Maxwell Levinson to Kenneth Stowell 30 November 1933, Maxwell Levinson fonds, CCA.

Other than that, Stowell gained prominence in 1935 by supporting and advising a national architectural competition on store redevelopments⁹¹ titled “Libbey-Owens-Ford Modernize Main Street Competition,”⁹² [Fig.2.2, Fig. 2.3] followed with the publication of his book “Modernizing Buildings for Profit,” whose title echoed the National Housing Agency’s campaign of the same year for financial aid for the renovation of small-scale residential and commercial buildings [Fig.2.4, Fig. 2.5].

2.2.1.3 Modernizing Buildings for Profit, 1935

Stowell’s book *Modernizing buildings for profit* dealt with the saving and transforming existing structures in a series of “before and after” examples. Regarding the analytical aspects of his book, it is indicative of Stowell’s pragmatic approach that he refers to buildings that are not modern – classical and traditional – but have been “modernized.” The buildings featured are presented in typological groupings.⁹³ By referring to modernization instead of modernism, he avoids any contradictions regarding modern architecture’s appearance and instead focuses on its technical and financial aspects which –as elements of progress – are appealing to everyone and can be applied to any kind of building for profit. A big part of the book consists of articles already published in the *Architectural Forum*. Some in their entirety without any further editing.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Renovation of houses and stores was strongly promoted by the government through the National Housing Act of June 27 1934 and the Modernization Credit Plan of July 15, 1935 that favoured loans and mortgages as means of avoiding bank foreclosures during the Great Depression. Source: *Decisions of the Comptroller General of the United States*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1937), 958.

⁹² The competition headed by Stowell as main advisor, was funded by the glass company of the name title, conducted by the *Architectural Record* –making it the first connection between Stowell and the *Record* and possible the topic of discussion with Kocher in fig. 1, taken at the same time of the competition’s closure (Aug. 1935). As for the funding partner, LOF was the second largest glass US manufacturer of the time was trying to promote its latest product – structural glass – through its use in modern store design. This was in line with Stowell’s expressive op-eds calling attention to the latest National Housing Acts that offered “great potentialities of good for the architect” and encouraging professionals to take “small-scale building modernization as a legitimate form of practice.” As an advisor, Stowell’s name was featured right beneath the title of the competition ad that appeared in all major US magazines of the time.Sources: Esperdy, Gabrielle, *Modernizing Main Street*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 119.

⁹³ Houses and apartments, hotels, restaurants, shops and stores, office buildings, and theatres. Kenneth Stowell, *Modernizing Buildings for Profit*, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1935).

⁹⁴ Especially from a *Forum* supplement of November 1933, titled “New Houses and other buildings from Old.” The cover of which is also replicated in the cover of Stowell’s book.

2.2.1.4 *American Architect* and *House Beautiful*, 1935–1942

Stowell's departure to the *American Architect* for the period of 1935–6 was a result of his 1935 activities as well as the undergoing changes of the *Forum*'s ownership.⁹⁵ Despite the *American Architect*'s limited circulation and brief life span (merged with *Architectural Record* in 1937) it was a significant periodical at the time noted for pushing for the expansion of the architectural market with an aggressive program of advertising, against the policies of the American Institute of Architects.⁹⁶ With a motto of “selling architecture to the man on the street,” Stowell made a good fit as the magazine's editor-in-chief. In another transfer, Stowell served as editor-in-chief of *House Beautiful* a “shelter magazine,” until 1942 when he returned to the field of professional architectural periodicals with his appointment at the *Architectural Record*. By 1942 Stowell had built a nationwide reputation as an editor and author, experienced in academia and practice, with key connections – and keen interests in the profit-oriented strategies and the political manoeuvring of the profession. His tenure at the *Architectural Record* can be divided in two periods, the intra-war (1942–5) and the post-war (1945–49) and his ideas were mostly framed in his opinion editorials, that were opening every issue addressing the readers directly and always making a point regarding the relevance of the issue's content with the ongoing developments.

2.2.2 “Design for democracy”: Architecture during wartime

The first indication for the innovative pulse that Stowell wanted to give to the magazine was his March 1942 editorial titled “More – and faster – now”⁹⁷ that inaugurated a series of polemic one-page editorials,⁹⁸ by himself or selected

⁹⁵ 1935 was the year that the *Forum* was critically restructured after being acquired by TIME Inc. In April 1935, the publisher, Henry Luce addressed the aims of the “new *Forum*” in a letter, making a point for the lack of social responsibility of the industry and the need for a “new order.” Source: Op.cit., Dreller, 2.

⁹⁶ Op. cit. Pai, 146.

⁹⁷ Kenneth Stowell, “More–and faster–now,” *Architectural Record*, (March 1942): 37.

⁹⁸ The colophon itself was re-designed to divide “editorial staff” from “editorial consultants” making a clearer distinction from external contributors (administrators, publishers and other F.W. Dodge employees). The same issue featured a welcoming announcement by F.W. Dodge President Thomas S. Holden as well as the first of a series of editorials of the incoming editor titled More– and faster– now. These one-page editorials acted as introductions to the issue on page 37 (after the initial batch of ads) where Stowell would present his position on the role of architecture and the professional architect in the war effort.

contributors⁹⁹ under the unifying motto of “Design for Democracy,” extending the struggle for freedom to the architecture board. As Stowell explained his ideas to his readers:

“Democracy is based largely on the freedom of the individual to develop to the utmost of his capacity and to live a full life, with the limitation that his freedom and action do not interfere with like freedoms of his fellow countrymen. The laws of the land and the administration of government are all designed to that end. This basis of the Design for Democracy has been clearly drawn by the elected leaders of America from the framing of the Constitution to the Atlantic Charter. The task before us in every field of endeavor is to develop the Design for Democracy to incorporate the advances that science has brought.”¹⁰⁰

Three main points are deduced from Stowell’s “design for democracy” editorials:

- A that architecture is turning into a decision-making system by focusing on “design”
- B that mass production processes being established by the war effort are defined by “science” and “functionalism”
- C that architecture needs to represent “individualism” as the niche of American democracy.

This last point seems to contradict the first, but both were essential of Stowell’s argumentation.

On design as a decision-making system

For Stowell, World War II was also a plea for heightened production, management and information handling more so than a physical fight on the battlefield. As such, Stowell stressed a role for the architect as a prominent figure in this effort: the information manager and administrator of the construction industry—the “designer in the scheme of things.”¹⁰¹ [Fig.2.6 and Fig. 2.7]

⁹⁹ In a letter to Mumford Stowell introduced his ideas to the historian while inquiring his contribution: “We, here at the *Record* have adopted the slogan, “Design for Democracy” and our thesis is set forth, however haltingly, in the enclosed editorials. We are following this with several articles that will point up what can be done and what is being done in designing the better world of tomorrow, for which we are all fighting today. I would be most appreciative of any thoughts you may have of how we may further this effort. [...] I believe that the architectural and engineering professions should be alive to the opportunities and the responsibility that is theirs in planning for the post-war period.” Stowell to Mumford, 15 September 1942, Lewis Mumford papers, folder: “*Architectural Record* (from),” University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰⁰ This was a two-page spread accompanied by a full page of quotes by US presidents from Jefferson to Roosevelt. *Architectural Record*, (July 1942): 34-36.

¹⁰¹ Kenneth Stowell, “Design for Sale,” *Architectural Record*, (August, 1943): 41.



FIG. 2.6 *Architectural Record* covers during wartime with a “V” sign, a flag and a war bond .

As he wrote repeatedly:

“If there is one field above all others which the architect, almost any architect, will claim as his own, his special province, that is the field of design!”¹⁰²

“If there are two functions which distinguish the special province of the architectural profession, certainly there are those of planner and coordinator.”¹⁰³

“While the war has not maternally changed the primary function of the architect it has temporarily altered his sphere of activity and may alter both his business organization and methods in post-war practice.”¹⁰⁴

Matters of taste, innovative modernists or Beaux Arts avant-garde architects that were often central features of the magazine in the 1930s were now hardly mentioned during the wartime years. Instead, architecture was incorporated into industrial production for the military effort and in a more general notion of design as a form of decision making. Drawing, planning or design were used by Stowell in metaphorical sense in phrases such as “[this] has been drawn by the elected leaders of America”,¹⁰⁵ “war planning” and “plan for the future.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Kenneth Stowell, “Plan for planning,” *Architectural Record*, (October, 1942): 35.

¹⁰⁴ Kenneth Stowell, “Trends: One, Two, Three,” *Architectural Record*, (October 1943): 43.

¹⁰⁵ Kenneth Stowell, “Design for Democracy,” *Architectural Record*, (July 1944): 36-37

¹⁰⁶ Kenneth Stowell, “They plan for the future,” *Architectural Record* (Sept 1942): 37.

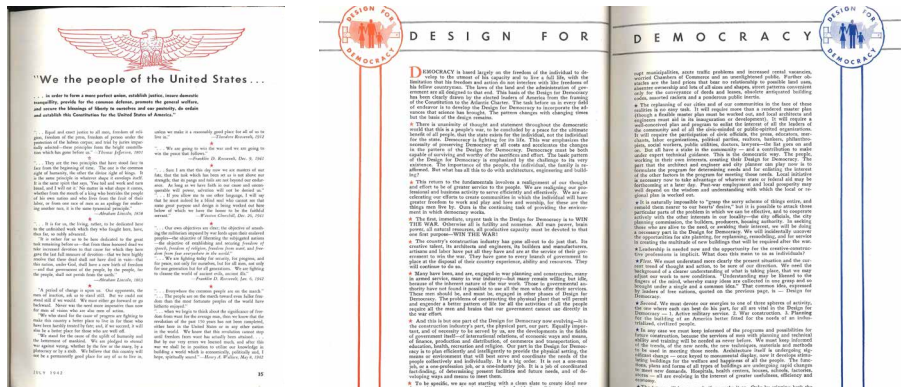


FIG. 2.7 Stowell's editorial style is most characteristically captioned in his long opinion editorials of 1942 sensitizing architects to the war-cause. Source: usmodernist.com

What was in the centre of discussion was the very idea of strategizing “design” in a form of managerial “coordination”:¹⁰⁷

“Design is – “to plan mentally; to conceive of as a whole; to organize a scheme of it.”

On Functionalism and mass production

The above notion, of design over architecture, was accompanied with the increasing portrayal of architecture firms of industrial and military projects such as Albert Kahn.¹⁰⁸ The managerial and administrative aspects of those projects were also of growing concern and fitting to Stowell’s idea of design as an administrative tool.¹⁰⁹

In general, as described by Stowell, the future task of building would become increasingly technical:

“More and more manufacturers will adhere to the principles of Dimensional Coordination, modular sizes, standardized dimensions, and standardized installation details [...] Architects and engineers in planning postwar buildings now, adopting modular standards, can proceed with assurance that their plans and details will be set on V-Day, complete and ready for bids.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Kenneth Stowell, “Coordinating the coordinators,” *Architectural Record*, (May 1947): 35.

¹⁰⁸ This is also the time that architecture companies start being incorporated in bigger firms that combined architectural/landscape/interior/planning design services, with engineering, construction and supervision.

¹⁰⁹ “Coordinating the coordinators,” *Architectural Record*, (May 1947): 35.

¹¹⁰ “Plan now—with assurance”, *Architectural Record*, (November 1944): 57.

These developments, while originating from the war effort and the industry were being projected to have an impact on family life too:

“The houses will have automatically-operated refrigerators, and the preparation of food will be facilitated by many electrical devices [...] The family car of the future will have its own storage room [...] Later, the family helicopter may have its own garage near the landing lawn or, in larger houses, in connection with the roof.”¹¹¹

On individualism and democracy

For Stowell, “individualism” and “liberty” were the elements that differentiated American architecture from either German or Soviet building efforts. In addition, architects had to struggle to retain “individualism” as an integral part of “design” as the main advantage of architects over contractors and engineers in view of the “highly competitive post-war markets.”^{112,113}

His belief that design was instrumental to produce and finance the war effort led him to an optimistic but nonetheless rational stance. His editorials during the war, characteristically titled “Design for Democracy”¹¹⁴ were flaringly political and prioritized the military needs of the American army while also planning and anticipating a prosperous post-war period, whence architectural forms would be once again freer to provide delight¹⁴, art¹⁵ and prosperity:

“We look for rapid change when building gets under way again [...] We look for greater freedom from the conventions of modern stylists, as well as from the conventions of the periodists.”

The war, provided problems but also opportunities for the architects-engineers and Stowell’s commitment was to provide for them “pertinent working data on their current and coming problems” doing “a job that Washington will applaud.”¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ “The house of the future, 194?-195?,” *Architectural Record*, (July 1943): 51.

¹¹² Especially after 1949, the architect’s market would be gradually more focused on individual clients and less on governmental programs or private mass housing developments. This would later evolve on private development projects of grander scale.

¹¹³ “Individual initiative,” *Architectural Record*, (April 1944): 63.

¹¹⁴ This was a growing trend amongst architectural periodicals. Another example of contemporary article politicizing design, was Phillip Johnson’s “Architectural Freedom and Order” in the Magazine of Art, October 1948 and “The Soviet Architecture Purge” by Peter Blake, published in the *Architectural Record* in September 1949.

¹¹⁵ “The first editorial of Stowell as editor-in-chief of the magazine in March 1942 noted that the *Architectural Record* would “do its utmost to assist the Government, private industry and the profession to bring about the rapid conversion of the creative forces of the industry to maximum wartime production.”

2.2.2.1 “Freedom to Design”: modernism in Post-war Years

In 1945, the *Architectural Record* emerged from World War II as the most reserved of the “big three” journals.¹¹⁶ Stowell’s editorials were among the most liberal of his contemporaries’, calling for a new freedom in contemporary design; but he did not enjoy the support of any particular group of architects or theorists, and the publishers of F. W. Dodge remained mostly interested in the business-side of architecture. This almost exclusive support of functional designs due to their efficiency and profitability was soon abandoned once it became clear that the future markets rendered modernist architecture un-profitable. The to the rise of private clients instead of public ones, was not sympathetic to functionalism as was the case during the war.¹¹⁷ Already by 1946, when still Stowell and the editors of the *Record* appeared to be proponents of modernism, in side publications they would root for the return to traditional styles or underline that modernism a style to added, not to replace existing styles.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Op. Cit. Tomlan, 286.

¹¹⁷ The articles of the *Record* during 1942 and 1943 were almost exclusively dealing with industrial plants, airports, infrastructure, military and health facilities. But even during those years Stowell specifically mentioned that “Design for Democracy” meant in its largest sense that the foundations for the development of public and private construction should be simultaneous with the war effort: “The war is the most immediate part of the Design for Democracy — survival comes first. But progressive development is also essential to democracy. [...] [...] Building and planning works will be needed then, not only to provide shelter and facilities for all types of community activity — but also as a necessary supplement to the expansion of private construction. Public works, and new facilities such as airports, should be planned in conformity to local programs of civic design, coordinated to function with existing or more efficient facilities of the city, town or region.” And: “America’s corporations are quietly working on inventions and products to be introduced after the war. [...] it is time now to plan for the building which must be built; it is time now to plan for the reclamation of our cities; it is time to see to it that the buildings of the future shall be integrated to produce a civic design and environment worthy of the sacrifices that are being made. It is time now to Design for Democracy in the largest sense.” Source: “Design for democracy now,” (*Architectural Record*, August 1942): 29.

¹¹⁸ A 1945 booklet titled “Let’s plan a ‘peacetime home’” featured articles by both Goble and Stowell where they strangely appear to support traditional styles instead of modernist, as would expected from their work in the *Architectural Record*, with most prevalent reason being that of comfort and emotion: “Most people have admired the coziness of a Cape Cod, the simple elegance of a Georgian, or the gracious dignity of a Southern Colonial, and have longed to own one of their own.” [...] “Very few people build or buy homes just for shelter, just to store furniture and gadgets for keeping house. They build their own house for reasons which are basically emotional. And quite properly. A house may be a “machine for living” as a piece of engineering, but it would be a poor buy if it stopped there.” This preference is extended on the grounds of profit and economic value. In following section, they abstain readers from planning a “freakish” modernist home due to “resale value”: “Frequently, thinking of your house in relation to certain other people will help determine your own wishes. There is a sound economic reason too, for making such an analysis. While the house should be individually designed to an individual set of requirements, it is definitely inadvisable to build a freakish house. Real estate men call it “resale value.” Few people build with the idea of selling, but it is a cold fact that that most houses eventually come on the market. [...] This was one of the worst faults of the earlier, faddish “modern” houses—they did not grow gracefully; they remained a non-conforming oddity and were difficult if not impossible to sell.” But even if modernist architecture is undermined, the matter of Design is not:

The period of 1945 to 1949 (or “re-adjustment”¹¹⁹ period, as the editors would call it) saw the gradual reversal of functionalism and the return of a pluralistic or stylistic attitude. This shift was still fitted to Stowell’s axioms of “design and democracy.” This time, stressing the concept of “freedom” and the enrichment of modernism.

On social sciences

In his effort, Stowell found a support in the social sciences, slowly shifting away from the technical ones.

“Seminars seem designed to be enlightening [...] in ascertaining what effect such sciences as sociology and physiology may have on them and on their application to specific design problems. At some time, the profession might consider the impact of economics and politics as well. It would be worthwhile also to review the latest findings of the psychologists as they relate to the effects of size, shape, color, texture, light, air and temperature, etc., on average humans as well as on the trained and sensitive. Such broader knowledge of psychological needs, desires and reaction of the “common man” might help enormously in formulating valid and vital fundamentals of design. It might indeed be a mighty stimulus to the imagination and to creative effort.”

“In this more enlightened age DESIGN is no longer a luxury available only to those who can afford to flaunt its frills. It is, indeed, the basis of the technical progress that has made America powerful, that is expected to extend social and material blessings to even the humblest citizens. Architecture is turning from building massive and imposing palaces for the wealthy to improving the lot of the common man. It is already clear that architects and engineers will not accomplish that by technical research only. They are studying the aspirations of the people having long since discovered that mechanical refrigerators alone will not do much to build morale. So one who can build the house he wants is well advised to recognize the social aspects of his own problems, and analyze them thoroughly.” This combination, of return to traditional styles but with the functionalist operativeness of design, results into what Stowell and Goble call the “contemporary house”: “The ‘Contemporary House.’ Architects call the functionally-planned house “contemporary”. What they mean is a building designed in the practical manner—the “functional”—but following no particular architectural style. It is definitely designed to have eye appeal. It does not try to express its loathing for everything that has gone before; it does not hesitate to use some ornamentation, if that seems desirable.” And later: “As an experienced dress designer can design a more becoming, appropriate and beautiful gown for you than you could create for yourself, so the experienced building-designer can produce a home for you that will suit your every need, including your need to feel ‘at home’ in your new house.” Lastly, on a section where styles of houses are listed as popular choices for the average house-buyer of the 1940s, a final statement on modernism is offered: “Your house would probably adapt one of the so-called period styles or be individually modern.” Source: Mary Davis Gillies et. al. Let’s plan a home, (Surface Combustion Corporation, 1945).

¹¹⁹ “Proceedings of the National Conference on Post-War Housing”, *Architectural Record*, (April, 1944): 93.

On the use of precedents

Stowell addressed the affluence of early post-war architecture a) by recognizing the use of precedents; b) by divulging from the belief that modern architecture as a movement is radical and revolutionary, instead he would refer to it as a result of an evolutionary process; and c) by stating that architecture is necessarily in a constant state of eclecticism, something that would have been a self-canceling statement in canonical modernist discourse.

To quote from his editorials:

"Architecture has amassed an unprecedented amount of precedent. If one cares to probe into the past, he probably can find a precedent or a prototype for the form of each and every part of any structure. Architectural progress has been evolutionary and each improvement in form or detail has been evolutionary and each improvement in form or detail has been, for the most part, a modification or mutation of a previous development. Our architectural vocabulary is based on the permutations and combinations of geometric forms, all well known for centuries — straight lines and curves, surfaces and areas, solids and voids. The art of architecture is therefore necessarily eclectic, i.e. based on making free choice of forms — the architect choosing and combining them to suit his purposes.[...]"

"Eclecticism in its broad sense should not be condemned; it is, in fact, essential to the progress of good design."¹²⁰

On freedom, pluralism and the private sector

A similar case can be seen in his editorial of March 1947, titled "Freedom to Design" where he accuses modern designers of being afraid of their freedom, predicting a revolt to modern design and even the return of traditionalist forms:

"And so I believe there will be heretics who will rebel against any hardened style, Period or Modern; heretics who will provide designers for buildings both functional physically and significant and vital spiritually. We need have no fear of sterile stagnating standardization. Designers will continue to develop a finer sense of proportion and scale, of fitness of form to function. They may even discover the uses of forms now taboo because the despised traditionalist used them."¹²¹

¹²⁰ Kenneth Stowell, *Architectural Record*, (April, 1948).

¹²¹ *Architectural Record*, (March, 1947): 65.

Most interestingly, this freedom for design for Stowell is only possible to be effected through private enterprises rather than by national, state, or local bureaus whose architectural services are only second to their normal functions as clients or owners and therefore they have a conflict of interest that limits the “freedom for creative, independent architectural design and practice”.¹²² His views were strengthened by featured articles of economists such as Miles Colean titled “The architect’s stake in private enterprise”¹²³ who fiercely attacked the bureaucratic process of government intervention in the post-war building industry, mostly referring to the Federal Housing Agency, responsible for public housing and the Veterans Administration that produced a mass of public hospitals and thirdly, the U.S. Public Health Service that set up standards for hospital design. In his view, the government’s sole purpose should be as coordinator: “Present organizations and facilities within the industry should be coordinated for these purposes rather than attempting to create and impose a new governmental agency to carry out these functions.”¹²⁴

The return to styles

On the matter of affluence of forms that this period produced Stowell laid strong criticism on the standards of quality, design and construction that were more apparent in house design mimicking cheap versions of long past architectural styles: Colonial, Cape Cod, Mt. Vernon, Georgian, Mediterranean, Normandy, Olde English “and all the rest”. And while architects could not be accused of producing the larger part of these buildings — since most of the construction was done without any architect — the profession is responsible for creating this plethora of styles that was later popularized, “imitated, mutilated, adapted and advertised the authentic styles that were now turning into obsolete style clichés.

“Shades of the eclectic past come back to haunt us now [...] The public accepted the architect’s styles, period. And now we have another period of period styles, for the purveyors of houses naturally want to cash in on the accepted rather than plump for change and take the chance of public sales-resistance. We must realize the ultimate architectural responsibility for the design of America’s houses. The custom-designed house of the well-to-do today becomes the model for the imitators all down the line tomorrow. Style seeps downward.”¹²⁵

¹²² Kenneth Stowell, “Which way lies freedom?” *Architectural Record*, (August 1948): 87.

¹²³ Miles Colean, “The architect’s stake in private enterprise,” *Architectural Record*, (June 1948):97-99.

¹²⁴ Kenneth Stowell, “Codes, costs and standards,” *Architectural Record*, (February 1949): 83.

¹²⁵ Kenneth Stowell, “Who designs America’s houses?,” *Architectural Record*, (September 1948): 81.

The “resistance to sell” that the architect here is proposed to fight against is due to his moral responsibilities and educative role towards society. Along with Stowell’s emphasis on the need to avoid “cliché styles” was also his observation that modernism is still under the grasp of eclecticism. This he does not condemn, but instead thinks that it is revealing as “food for thought” while “clarifying our own thinking and establishing a new or reaffirmed direction”. When describing the results of an architectural competition organized by the *Record* and the MoMA in 1948: “It is natural, in part because of the forward-looking sponsorship of the competition, that one should find no designs that hark back to period stylism. All are in the vernacular and idioms of the present. It is not difficult, however, to find the sources of inspiration (or imitation) for most of the designs; the great tradition of architecture — eclecticism — is still evident. The designers no longer choose the masses, molding and mannerisms of Brunelleschi, Sanmicheli and Vignola, but select as models the works of Mies, Wright, Corbusier, Gropius, Breuer or other modern masters.”¹²⁶

This freedom-turned-eclecticism was problematic for Stowell, for de-contextualizing design from its functionalist and economic proprieties in favour of aesthetic ones: “This preoccupation with form may indicate the current dominance of the aesthetic interest in architecture rather than the materialistic, scientific, or so-called “functional.” Such an interest may augur well for the fine art of architecture, whether one expects or hopes the developments will tend toward “monumentality”, “the new empiricism,” “indigenous localism,” the “organic” or what have you.”¹²⁷



FIG. 2.8 Editorial conference. (L-R) Douglas Haskell, Myron Hall, Kenneth Stowell, Robert Fisher, Emerson Goble, Florence van Wyck. From a “Dodge Group News” leaflet of Febr. 1949, Haskell Papers, Columbia.

¹²⁶ Kenneth Stowell, “Revelation by competition,” *Architectural Record*, (March 1949): 85.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

An equal cry on the state of modern architecture was echoed by Douglas Haskell: “Incomparably the most creative power in modern life has been not religion or art but science. Yet despite a certain great beauty in its processes and implements, the result has not been uniformly beautiful. Despite the terrible sublimity of the atomic cloud, we find no beauty in the total architecture of Hiroshima and Bikini.”¹²⁸

Considering all the above, in the seven-year period of Stowell’s editorship two main events took place: a) the unreserved adoption of modern architecture, with the involvement of architects as the design-managers of the information age and b) the subtle opening of modernism to pluralism and the emerging consumer market as a “new freedom of modern architecture.”¹²⁹ In the following decades, the *Record* capitalized on both aspects. Through modernism, a new period of styles returned, sanctioned by the industry, tied to the consumer market and mediated by professional magazines.

2.2.3 Editorial content

With the general ideas set in place, the editorial content was organized by the editorial team [Fig.2.8] accordingly with the main themes being the featuring of industrial and big-scale projects, the issue of mass housing, the need for technical details, of re-defining the profession.

2.2.3.1 “Anonymous” architects

The main feature of the *Record*, the *Building Types Study* in the mid 1940s reported on major commission categories like hospitals, airports, factories, department stores and office spaces. The focus on industrial and big-scale projects and lack of cultural commissions meant that the architects being featured were relatively unknown.

¹²⁸ Douglas Haskell, “‘Beauty’ for us demands architecture of larger scope at vastly broader scale,” *Architectural Record*, (June 1948): 88-91.

¹²⁹ Kenneth Stowell, “Small houses, unlimited,” *Architectural Record*, (May 1948): 87.

In contrast to its competitors, the *Record* editors were willingly focused on such cases of “anonymous architects.”¹³⁰

“There are exceptions that prove the rule, individuals or firms that appreciate the publicity value of a striking, radical, or weird design and can (and do) point with pride to the name of the great if eccentric innovator. But by and large architecture is, and probably will continue to be, an anonymous profession.”¹³¹

During Stowell's time the *Record* would give credit to design elements such as parking spaces, the planning of kitchens or any other space of service:

“The fact that the acceptance of such details is sometimes only skin deep [...] does not detract from the pleasing notion that practical businessmen — such as restaurant owners — seem to have discovered that good design pays.”¹³²

This less-known architecture, was also a side-effect of features that were being produced in co-operation with other professional publications, such as *Hotel Management* (for hotels articles), *National Petroleum News* (on gas stations), and the *Nations' Schools* (on schools).¹³³ The tendency towards technical aspects was also enhanced with the treatment of the “Building Trends” section of the magazine, now under the new title “Architectural Engineering: technical news and research” and its article series of “Time-saver standards.” This section, that was bringing up new products and technologies contributed to the portrayal of the *Record* editors as experts of the building industry with the result of them being invited to participate in governmental committees.¹³⁴

The *Building Types Studies* and the technical news section, were both demonstrating the value of the architect-engineer services, “backed by the market facilities of Dodge at a time when industrial production was expanding rapidly.”¹³⁵

¹³⁰ Of course this was not exclusive. The *Record* would still publish the work of prominent architects, but Stowell would recurrently make a point for anonymous architects throughout his tenure.

¹³¹ Kenneth Stowell, “Architects anonymous,” *Architectural Record*, (July 1948): 87.

¹³² “An eating place for motorized diners,” *Architectural Record*, (July 1948): 121.

¹³³ Op. Cit. Tomlan 284

¹³⁴ The “Time-saver standards” were consecutively published as a series of books, the first one being in 1948 and were in a way a continuation of a supplement of the *American Architect* from the 1930s under the same title (at that time Stowell was editor of the *American Architect*). The *Record* however, also had a similar section in the 1930s produced by Knud Lonberg Holm and C. Theodore Larson titled *Technical News and Research*. From the 1940s onwards the *Record* would have the section “Architectural Engineering: Technical News and Research” that would sometimes include the additional subtitle “Time-saver standards.”

¹³⁵ Op. Cit. Tomlan, 284.

2.2.3.2 Housing crisis

During the war and immediate after period, a major theme in the *Record's* editorial content was that of housing, which was a matter of urgency due: a) to the war housing projects serving the military in terms of barracks inside the US or abroad, b) to the need for slum clearance and amelioration of housing conditions of crowded cities and c) the need for post-war planning and transitional programs by the National Housing Agency and the US Congress.¹³⁶ The editors of the *Records* added another parameter to the issue, that of public relations; as an integral point for the course of the profession.

The cost of designing houses was addressed as a fragile factor of the home-building field that was usually the first to be cut off from expenses. According to Stowell the large scale development projects that allow for machinery, on-site-fabrication, pre-assemblies and standardized repetitive plans incorporate the architect as well as a way of reducing costs through the efficient space-use of planning. The problem, lied in the sector of custom designed and built houses for individual owners that were difficult to convince and who formed the greater part of the public opinion:

“The public has not been universally convinced and often seeks to eliminate or circumvent the architectural fee. The profession might well therefore (1) concentrate on convincing the public of the value of its services, (2) find a way to integrate its services with that of actual construction, or (3) find ways to reduce the costs of designing and supervision. Course No 1 is obvious but deserving of greater emphasis. No 2 would suggest that the architect take the sub-contractor's bids and become the administrator and executive of the job, a return to the “master builder” concept of architecture. [...] No 3, reducing the cost of the design factor alone, involves increasing office efficiency and also might well indicate repetitive use of plans and even consideration of stock plan possibilities.”¹³⁷

Another review on the state of the post-war building industry made a comparison with the automobile industry:

“Here are two major industries, both operating under the difficult conditions of transition from war to peace-time production, both as yet unable to meet current demands. Yet I have heard no one charge the automotive industry with inefficiency or backwardness, or suggest that the government could do a better job.

¹³⁶ The Congress committees were awarding the bids to contractors and producers.

¹³⁷ *Architectural Record*, (Dec 1947): 69

The automotive industry has a better press. If the American people can be persuaded to appraise the construction industry by the best of its accomplishments, and by the high competence of its average accomplishments, they will learn to be proud of it.”¹³⁸

2.2.3.3 The AIA and its reformation

Finally, the issue of public relations was also brought to the attention of American professionals and more specifically, Stowell stressed the importance for the reformation of the American Institute of Architects. The news of AIA committees, regional conferences and national conventions were regularly reported in the magazine, while the network of *Record* affiliates to academia reinforced the magazine’s influence on AIA events.¹³⁹ Most obviously from 1947, the *Record* editors slowly started taking position as the link between AIA and the wider audience of professionals. This was first posited by indicating the lacking aspects of the AIA,¹⁴⁰ followed by a general call to architects to “get in and push” for the rejuvenation of the “80-year-old vehicle.”¹⁴¹

Soon, continued specific propositions for applying these ideas, such as the 1948 suggestion for a companion book for the professional architect including comparative costs of materials, systems of assembly, relative functional efficiencies, and the costs of operation, maintenance and repair.¹⁴²

This led the *Record* editors to be advocating to changes the AIA in the name of the profession and ultimately, to gain a niche in their expertise of public relations, which was one of the main issues that the editors were calling attention for the AIA.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ Thomas Holden, “The Washington building congress”, *Architectural Record*, (Jan 1948): 90.

¹³⁹ E.g. at the AIA convention at Ann Arbor one of the faculty’s professors was ex-editor Theodore Larson. Source: *Architectural Record*, (May 1947): 10.

¹⁴⁰ Kenneth Stowell, “Through words to words,” *Architectural Record*, (April 1947): 71.

¹⁴¹ Kenneth Stowell, “Get in and Push,” *Architectural Record*, June 1947: 83.

¹⁴² This could possibly have been stated in order to gain official sanctioning of Dodge publications such as the Time save standards and the Graphic standards handbooks by the AIA. Kenneth Stowell, “The architect’s companion,” Source: *Architectural Record*, (March 1948): 87.

¹⁴³ Kenneth Stowell, “Poor relations – Public, that is,” *Architectural Record*, (July 1947):69.

2.2.4 Editorial Policies

2.2.4.1 1947 policies

Amongst the growing competition, the enlargement of F.W. Dodge and the expansion of the *Record* to the West of the country with the introduction of the Western Edition led by Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, the end of the 1940s saw the first charted editorial policies for the magazine, that would later be expanded upon throughout the 1950s. A clear outline of the editorial policies was communicated to all editors in April 1947, titled: *Policy-Program-Personnel-Procedure-Format*.

There Stowell, set the bases for the systematization of the magazine as an apparatus advocating for the self-interests of the profession. The opening of his text read: "Policy, according to definition, is 'prudence or sagacity in the conduct of affairs. A course, or plan of action, especially administrative action. Any system of management based on self-interest, as opposed to equity; fineness in general; artifice. It is also a gambling game in which certain numbers are drawn... and bets are made as to what combinations will appear.' Our policy comes under all these definitions. In a word, it is to create the maximum reader-interest on the part of the professional designing-factors in the building field, to the end that they will consider *Architectural Record* indispensable in their work. The measure of the value of the *Architectural Record* to the advertiser is, the interest, respect, and continuing readership of its subscribers; and its corollary – the importance of these subscribers as the specifying and controlling factors in the choice of materials and equipment. Our editorial policy is based on the fact that reader interest is self-interest..."¹⁴⁴

Under this premise, presented in the short report, Stowell went on to list the specific interests of the profession and delineate parallels with the editorial service of the *Architectural Record*. The functions of the *Record* were briefly stated as a) to provide practical information and b) to inspire architects. At the dawn of the 1950s the first function was achieved with Dodge completing its niche monopoly as the information service of the building industry. While the second one, would have to be fought over throughout the 1950s and 1960s first with the identification of the magazine with

¹⁴⁴ Judd Payne to Bob Wettstein, 4 Dec 1947, folder: "1947 Policies," EKT archive.

its readers through emphasis to public relations, and then with the campaign for the “image of the architect” that essentially built the marketing profile of the profession.

A similar attitude of setting bases for a new era of the magazine was set with Stowell’s manifesto-like editorial of May 1945, titled “We believe” that listed the “beliefs” of the magazine concluding that:

"We believe in publishing constructively, objectively, for the greatest possible number of architects, young and old, in every section of the country, in offices small and large, without prejudice or favour. We believe in the inevitable change and development in architecture and in its constant evolutionary improvement."¹⁴⁵

2.2.5 **Typographical policies**

Another minor but still important change implemented during those years was the renewed format from February 1946. Douglas Haskell, then associate editor, structured his own report on the subject titled “Notes on *Architectural Record* Format – 1946: in the interest of developing a distinctive personality for the magazine; to make it both more attractive and useful.”¹⁴⁶ There, after enlisting design requirements for the different sections of the magazine (“Philosophical or Trend Articles,” Technical Articles, Projects, *Building Type Studies*, *Technical News* and *News of the Field*) he went on to compare the design of *Record* versus that of the *Forum*, underlining the different compositional and printing techniques being used. The 1946 redesign definitely moved the *Record* away from its simplistic and conventional approach (e.g. doing away with serif fonts) and introduced an era of experimentation that however continued obviously to lack in comparison with its competitors. The alternating designs would return later to a standard under Shear’s editorship of the *Record* in the mid-1950s.

¹⁴⁵ Kenneth Stowell, “We believe...,” *Architectural Record*, (May 1949): 85

¹⁴⁶ Douglas Haskell, Box:40:14, folder: “Typographical notes,” Haskell papers, Columbia Archives.



FIG. 2.9 Le Corbusier signs the Architectural League's guest book, assisted by former League President Kenneth Stowell, at a dinner during the design of the United Nations Headquarters complex. Source: Architectural League of New York.

2.3 Networking and external contributors

2.3.1 *Record* editors at the MoMA and the Architectural League

During the 1940s the *Record* established firm connections with major organizations such as the Architectural League of New York, the Museum of Modern Art, and the AIA. The events at the MoMA such as exhibitions and symposia were regularly attended by editors. Since the late 1930s Stowell was personally involved in multiple occasions, as professional advisor (1939) special guest in “art dinners,” and member of exhibition

committees (1944). Along with Philip Johnson,¹⁴⁷ Stowell organized the 1949 “Hidden Talent” competition co-sponsored by the *Architectural Record* and the MoMA.¹⁴⁸

As for the Architectural League of New York, a local association of New York City devoted to the informal events over art and architecture,^{149,150} it gradually became a subject of growing interest to the editors of architectural magazines. Starting in 1944 when an exhibition on “Professional Press” by the League was being organized headed by Stowell and Howard Myers (*Forum* editor).¹⁵¹

And while Stowell, along with F.W. Dodge publishing director Judd Payne¹⁵² and Dodge President Thomas Holden,¹⁵³ were registered members since the late 1920s¹⁵⁴ more members of the editorial team joined the League in 1945. This can be assumed

¹⁴⁷ Stowell was Johnson's enlisted supporting member for his own application to join the League. Phillip Johnson application, Architectural League of New York Records, 1880-1974, Smithsonian Institute.

¹⁴⁸ Source: Museum of Modern Art, Competition press release, “New architectural designs for theatres,” 27 Feb 1939, www.moma.org, accessed on October 2019. Other occasions were: a) the 1941 exhibition “Organic Design in Home Furnishings” (Stowell was invited guest to the event's “art dinner”); b) the 1944 exhibition “Built in USA: 1932-1944” (Stowell was part of the “Special Advisory Committee.”

¹⁴⁹ From the League's 1955 “statement of who we are”: “The League is now the only organization of its kind in New York where men in all branches of the arts and interested laymen meet informally together all winter long. The League bestows the Gold Medal Awards and other citations for work of high distinction. There are in its galleries varied exhibitions of national and international importance showing every aspect of the highly provocative field of contemporary architecture and the creative arts that revolve about architecture, as well as the many aspects of engineering and education. Lectures and forums on these subjects following buffet suppers or gala dinners are constantly on the program. There's luncheon and bar service at all hours. There are occasional parties with dancing and stage shows. Yes, the ‘Bois Sacrée’ has its moments of ‘Vienna Woods.’” Source: Box 48, Folder 8, “Statement of who we are, 1954-5,” Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

¹⁵⁰ From the 1945 list of associated societies to the League: “New York Chapter A.I.A.; American Institute of Graphic Arts; Art Directors Club; Troop L; National Sculpture Society; Fine Arts Federation; Producer's Council; Quiet Birdman; Municipal Art Society; American Designers Institute; American Artists Professional League; Amateur Ski Club; New York Chapter American Society of Landscape Architects.” Source: Architectural League of New York Records, Box 101, Folder 56 “Societies affiliated in general way with the League, 1945” Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

¹⁵¹ The League exhibition on “Professional Press” was headed by Howard Myers, *Forum* editor, with whom Stowell were colleagues during the 1930s. Source: Op. Cit., “Minutes of a meeting of the current works committee held at the Architectural League 115 East 40 Street, New York City, Friday, January 7, 1944” Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

¹⁵² Op. Cit., Box 39, Folder 24 “Lay Membership, circa 1948.”

¹⁵³ Thomas Holden became honorary member of the League in 1956. Source: Thomas Holden to Lewis Adams, op. cit. 6 April 1956, box 41, Box 41, Folder 21-22 “Honorary, 1937-1962.”

¹⁵⁴ Alexander B. Trouwbridge, Stowell's former boss from the early 20's had also served as League president in the 1920s.

to have been a coordinated move considering that the same year Stowell assumed the position of President of the League.¹⁵⁵ Senior editors Frank G. Lopez¹⁵⁶ and Doug Haskell, and managing editor Emerson Goble¹⁵⁷ joined in the same year, participating in matters of organizing exhibitions and publications.¹⁵⁸ Since then and throughout the 1950s and 1960s, senior editors and editors-in-chiefs of the *Record* would be admitted as League members, often having other *Record* editors “sponsoring” their membership applications.¹⁵⁹ Through the League, the *Record* editors would make connections with prominent New York architects, such as Marcel Breuer¹⁶⁰ and Wallace K. Harrison, architect of the UN headquarters who were extensively covered in the *Record* during the mid-1940s. The informal meetings, *Forums* and committees of the League also were another chance for the editors to act as the link between the profession and the industry, making reports for the indexes of annual building nationally. Other than that, specifically for Stowell, his presidency at the League was highlighted with hosting a 1945 event in celebration of the UN building where he re-connected with Le Corbusier that he had met in the architect’s first US trip in 1935, that lead to the production of two articles for Stowell that were later published in his book “*When the cathedrals were white.*”¹⁶¹ [Fig.2.9]

¹⁵⁵ Kenneth Stowell to John Theodore Haneman, League secretary, 16 March 1945, op. cit., Box 54, Folder 10-18 Nominating Committee, 1941-1956.

¹⁵⁶ Op. cit. box: 13, folder: 5-12 Minutes of Executive Committee Meetings, 1941-1950.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. “Minutes of the meeting of the Executive committee of the Architectural League of New York May 16 1945”

¹⁵⁸ “Report of current work committee 1946-1947,” Box 15: “Committee Records, Current Work Committee.”

¹⁵⁹ Beyond Stowell, Haskell and Goble other *Record* editors who joined the organization were Jeanne Davern, (who even served as secretary), James Marston Fitch (ca 1936), Joseph B. Mason, John Knox Shear (1957), Daniel J. Howe Jr (1961), John S. Margolies (1966); and many others. More than often they would support one-another’s membership applications, signifying that it made part of their policy at the time: 5 Oct 1961. W.B. Foxhall (associate editor), proposers: E. Goble (editor-in-chief), J.S. Hornbeck (senior editor); 10 June 1964. B. Hughes, (assistant to publisher), proposers: J.S.Hornbeck (senior editor), M. Schmertz (editor); 18 November 1957 M. Schmertz (editor), proposers: J.K.Shear, J. Davern; 10 November 1965 Walter F.Wagner proposers: J. Davern (senior editor), J.S. Hornbeck (senior editor). Source: Box 40, folder: “members.” Op. cit.

¹⁶⁰ Kenneth Stowell to Marcel Breuer, 31 March 1944, folder: “*Architectural Record*,” Breuer papers, Syracuse University Archives.

¹⁶¹ Beginning with a letter from Stowell to Le Corbusier dated 23rd of October 1935, the two men held a conversation over an article that Le Corbusier was to write for the “*American Architect*” with his impressions of his US trip and recommendation for opportunities for the American professionals. There, although Stowell notes that Le Corbusier should have the complete freedom over the topic of the manuscript, he went on to suggest the topic as well that the text should be accompanied by the architects’ own sketches that ultimately led the article to develop into the book “*When the cathedrals were white*” published twelve years later in 1947; which quotes verbatim Corbusier’s letters to Stowell. In their letters, apart from financial and

2.3.2 Thomas Holden, F.W. Dodge Co. President

Beyond Stowell, the F.W. Dodge Co. President Thomas Holden was a major contributor to the magazine's extending public relations of the time as well as authoring key articles—although he was not technically an editor.

Besides being a member of the Architectural League, Thomas Holden was heavily invested in the events of the AIA¹⁶² along with his brother Arthur C. Holden¹⁶³ (a well-standing architect of New York City notable for building Wright's Guggenheim museum). Since at least the late 1940s, the "Holdens" were hosting informal parties during the annual AIA convention, inviting key individuals from the architectural field.¹⁶⁴ Stressing the importance of those events, since the early 1950s the *Record* editors would begin to co-ordinate in order to be "on the alert for contacts and/or information of value to us on the *Record*,"¹⁶⁵ while during the mid-1950s specific guidelines were introduced for these types of events that formed parts of the magazine's official policies.

As for his writing contributions, as President of F.W. Dodge, Thomas Holden was seen as *the* authority in matters of statistical analyses and would often contribute on the *Record* column titled "Dodge Reports" and even with a line of booklets as inserts of the magazine issues. Subject of his articles were mainly the annual index of building production and the re-adjustment phases of the economy.¹⁶⁶ Underlying the importance of data analytics for construction during the war years and the fluctuations of the economy in the post-war years, Holden's statistical articles were in parallel with Stowell's editorial, bringing forward a vision of architecture

copyright matters, Stowell notes several details for the development of the article that was meant to serve as "good publicity" for the architect. As for the "American Architect" article, it was published in the March issue 1936 titled "What is America's problem" and was translated from French by Henry Russel Hitchcock whom they call "our mutual friend." Source: Fondation Le Corbusier, Box: A3-11, "Voyages L.C."

¹⁶² "Fun and architecture: AIA meeting. Thomas Holden gains honorary AIA membership" *Architectural Record*, June, 1956.

¹⁶³ Thomas as well as Arthur Holden were also members of the League and participated in several committees in relation to the building industry. Source: "Minutes of a meeting of the current work committee," box: 14, folder: 10 "Notices of Meetings, 1944-1973."

¹⁶⁴ Thomas Holden to Frank Lloyd Wright, 8 March 1949. Frank Lloyd Wright papers, Columbia archives.

¹⁶⁵ Payne to Thompson, 22 May 1953. Folder: "Payne-1953," EKT archive.

¹⁶⁶ Dodge's director, Thomas Holden in his analysis of 1948 predicted that the current phase named "Market-Adjustment phase", would last until 1952 and that the next phase, that of "Economic Adjustment", would follow.

as information-based design of national scale, to which Dodge played the part of monitoring and reporting on the situation:

“We think the only reason active architects and engineers have been reading the *Record* all these years is for what they get out of it. In other words ... pertinent, practical, working data on their current and coming problems. A publication at its fighting best for this war market”¹⁶⁷

2.3.3 Joseph Hudnut, Dean of Harvard’s GSD

Besides Holden, by far the greatest asset of the *Architectural Record* in terms of external contributors was Joseph Fairman Hudnut, founding Dean of Harvard’s Graduate School of Design from 1936. Due to his academic position, Hudnut was one of the key figures of the US’s shift to modernism being responsible for the influx of European architects in the American architectural scene such as Breuer and Gropius who joined Hudnut at the GSD soon after his appointment as Dean. Beyond his strong connection with Stowell,¹⁶⁸ Hudnut had selected the *Architectural Record* as his “chief medium for letting off steam”¹⁶⁹ that produced a series of articles which made some of the strongest pieces of the magazine of the period including the first consideration of Post-Modernism as early as 1945, in his article titled “the post-modern house,”¹⁷⁰ which has been noted to have been a reaction to Modernism and his interdepartmental quarrels with the European modernists.

¹⁶⁷ *Architectural Record*, (July 1944).

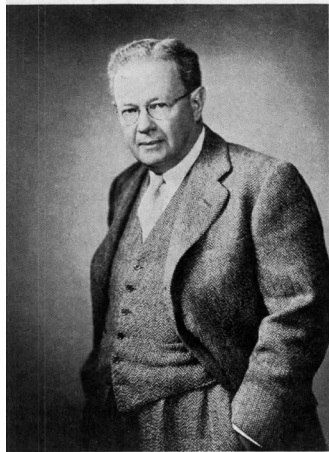
¹⁶⁸ Apart from Stowell working for Hudnut in the 1920s, were both members of the Architectural League and the MoMA, while Stowell was one of the few members of Hudnut’s organization ASPA. The two men also supported each other in academic matters. Stowell played a part in Hudnut’s appointment at the GSD Dean, while Hudnut proposed Stowell as Dean of the University of Southern California in 1945 which ultimately went to Wurster. In describing Stowell to USC dean Weatherhead, Hudnut notes: “The best man I can think of as your successor is Kenneth K. Stowell, who, as you know, is now Editor of the *Architectural Record*. Stowell has had worthwhile experience as an architect and for a number of years was a professor of architecture at Georgia Tech. He has a very wide acquaintance and I feel sure that he could carry on successfully at U.S.C. I think that his present salary is around \$7500, but I also think that the academic job would appeal to him and that he would be likely to accept it.” Joseph Hudnut to Arthur C. Weatherhead, October 5 1943. *Records of Office of the Dean, Graduate School of Design, Subseries I: Dean’s General Correspondence and Travel Records*. UA V 322.7 Box 5. University Archives, Harvard University. Also, on Stowell’s support of Hudnut during his *Forum* years, see: *Mies in America* p.184.

¹⁶⁹ Sic: “my chief medium, being the *Architectural Record*.” Hudnut to George Howe, 7 Dec 1943, op. cit.

¹⁷⁰ Joseph Hudnut, “The Post-Modern House”, *Architectural Record*, (May 1945): 70.

THE POST-MODERN HOUSE

By Joseph Hudnut



Backrach

JOSEPH HUDNUT, Dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Design, is the logical critic to present this provocative philosophy because his own progressiveness, as well as his penetrating mind and persuasive pen, compel attention to the reminder that "houses will still be built out of human hearts." He challenges architects to push forward beyond the "engineered house"—"God forgive us"—to something that will not only facilitate the daily functions of humans, but also illumine their lives.

I HAVE been thinking about that cloudburst of new houses which as soon as the war is ended is going to cover the hills and valleys of New England with so many square miles of prefabricated happiness. I have been trying to capture one of these houses in my mind's eye, to construct there its form and features, to give it, if you will pardon me, a local habitation and a name.

In this effort I have not been widely aided by the architectural press. I am shown there the thousand ways in which architects exploit the new inventions of industry. I am made aware of new techniques of planning and the surprising gadgets with which our houses are to be threaded. I perceive also the aesthetic modes which these innovations have occasioned: the perforated box, the glorified woodshed, the house built on a shelf, the house with its bones "dynamically exposed." These excite my imagination; and yet they fail somehow to furnish it with that totality of impression toward which these experiments in structure and physiognomy are or ought to be addressed. It seems to me that these houses with some exceptions have left unexhibited that *idea* which is the essential substance of a house. I do not discover in them that emotional content which might cement their curious shapes, that promise which in architecture is the important aspect of all appearances.

My impression is obviously shared by a very wide public and I think that this circumstance explains in part the persistence with which people, however enamoured of science, cling to the familiar patterns of their houses. Among the soldiers who write letters to me there is, for example, one in New Guinea who asks me to provide the new house which I am to build for him with every labor-saving device known to modern science and every new idea in planning, in building materials and in air conditioning, and who ends his letter with the confident hope that these will not make the slightest change in the design of the house. He has in mind, if I have understood him correctly, a Cape Cod cottage which, upon being opened, will be seen to be a refrigerator-to-live-in. I shouldn't be surprised to learn that his requirements reflect accurately those of the Army, the Navy, the Marines, the WAC, and the WAVES.

Our soldiers and sailors are already sufficiently spoiled with flattery and yet I must admit that here

FIG. 2.10 Joseph Hudnut's article titled "The post-modern house" from the Architectural Record issue of May 1945. Source: usmodernist.com.

Like Stowell, Hudnut was a proponent of modernism as long as it fitted to the existing context of architectural styles and contextualised to American standards, and his “Post-Modern” article fitted to this line of thought. Even in 1932 when Hudnut was member of the organizing committee of MoMA’s International Style exhibition, he had expressed his opinion that Modernism is a temporary phenomenon:

“two decades hence, modern architecture should have moved beyond this trident era.”¹⁷¹

Along with Siegfried Giedion, Henry-Russel Hitchcock and Lewis Mumford, with both of whom he contacted regularly, Hudnut produced fundamental pieces of architectural criticism that were in line with the *Record’s* preference for subtle criticism that would not damage the magazine’s advertisers. Hudnut’s articles were mainly centred around the themes of a) education, b) planning and c) history and aesthetics, with the more notable –apart from the post-modern article – being the three-part series “Three lamps of architecture,” of 1953 and the two part series “A thousand women of architecture” of 1948.^{172, 173} By 1957 Emerson Goble summarized Hudnut’s ideas as: “1) architecture should express more than what the Germans think of our economy, 2) There is need for romance in architecture”¹⁷⁴

2.4 Douglas Putnam Haskell: Raising a critical voice

While Stowell had set the agenda and the policies of the *Architectural Record*, and the publishers of F.W. Dodge Co. were expanding the company’s informative and analytical services, the magazine’s main editorial tasks fell upon Douglas Haskell (1899–1979), an editor who came to be the most important individual in professional architectural journalism of the mid-century US history. Although Haskell is mostly

¹⁷¹ Pearlman, Jill, *Inventing American Modernism: Joseph Hudnut, Walter Gropius and the Bauhaus Legacy* at Harvard, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007): 4.

¹⁷² *Architectural Record*, (March 1948): 104.

¹⁷³ *Architectural Record*, (June 1948): 108

¹⁷⁴ PCF to all editors, 18 Feb 1957, black binder, EKT archive.

commemorated for succeeding Howard Myers as editor-in-chief of the *Architectural Forum*; from 1942 until 1949, he was a key member of the editorial team of the *Architectural Record*, serving as senior associate editor. His development through his *Record* years is indicative of the stance that the magazine kept in regards to architectural criticism.

Considering his archive,¹⁷⁵ Haskell appears as a unique figure of mid-century architectural journalism in terms of the documentation and extent of his work. His formative years, have been *Recorded* in detail in Robert Alan Benson's 1987 doctoral dissertation, describing the editors' life from his childhood years growing up in the Balkans as a son to an American Emissary, to his arrival in the States in 1912 and his early writings on architecture throughout the 1920s and 1930s until his appointment in 1942 as editor of the *Architectural Record*. What significantly modelled Haskell as a critic of architecture was his involvement with the work of Lewis Mumford – a man that he was often compared to, and whose ideas he represented in the world of professional architectural journalism:

“[Douglas Haskell], second only to Mumford in the proliferation of his architectural criticism.”¹⁷⁶

2.4.1 Editor at the *Architectural Record*

Haskell's first involvement with the *Record* started in the years 1929 to 1930 when –after the suggestion of Mumford to Kocher¹⁷⁷– Haskell was employed to write in support of Frank Lloyd Wright, at a time when the *Record* was campaigning to reinstate the architect's reputation and media exposure.¹⁷⁸ Haskell was then

¹⁷⁵ Douglas Haskell's archival documents are one of the most complete *Records* of a mid-century architectural editor, spanning more than a hundred boxes of correspondence and working files, only comparable to Elisabeth Kendall Thompson's personal archive.

¹⁷⁶ Robert Alan Benson, “Douglass Putnam Haskell (1899-1979): The early critical writings,” (PhD dissertation, Ann Arbor, 1987), 454.

¹⁷⁷ “...Is Douglas Haskell on your list to get my book? Long ago I recommended him to Kocher, and our paths have now come closer together once more. If you 've not already sent one to him I'll sent one of mine.” Letter from Lewis Mumford to Martin Filler, publisher of the *Architectural Record* Books, on the occasion of the publication of Mumford's *Record* articles as a book-collection, edited by Jeanne Davern. Mumford to Filler, Mumford papers, University of Pennsylvania archives.

¹⁷⁸ Haskell's first assignment was to meet with Wright in Wisconsin for the purposes of writing a *Record* article. Kocher to Haskell, 24 August 1929, Haskell papers, folder: “*Architectural Record* (personal),” Columbia University.

regularly called in to contribute feature articles or book reviews but his involvement was circumstantial until the turn of the 1940s when, after the departure of the magazine's main editors, he was approached again.¹⁷⁹ Despite his initial acceptance, his renewed involvement remained eventful¹⁸⁰ and it wasn't until 1945 that a settlement was reached for his permanent employment.¹⁸¹ During this tenure, Haskell was responsible for: a) inquiring information from architects; b) traveling to attend AIA conventions, meet with architects and scout for new material; and c) authoring selected articles and *Building Studies*. Having a strong cultural background and strong argumentative positions regarding the course of modern architecture, once Haskell was put in a regular editorial role, he formed strong connections with key architects of the time. His relationship with Wright was already established by the mid-1920s and his contribution to the architect's reputation could very well be a subject of another study by itself. Another close contact of Haskell's due to personal reasons was Eero Saarinen and his family¹⁸² while the list grew longer with Haskell's recurring trips to California in the 1940s and his regular communication with Richard

¹⁷⁹ After his early employment at the *Architectural Record*, he was appointed as architecture critic for the national magazine *The Nation* from 1930 until his renewed return at the *Architectural Record* in the early 1940s.

¹⁸⁰ The *Architectural Record's* management maintained an interest on Haskell throughout the 1930s that finally led to his employment in 1943. According to Benson: "Check vouchers from the Dodge Corporation to Haskell indicate that he was hired free-lance to edit articles on a variety of architectural subjects as well as to write pieces himself." During those free-lance commissions he laid criticism on the editorial process of the *Record*, after a certain staff member had proofread one of his texts: 'You, improvers of your authors' texts and gilders of the lily seem to miss one pertinent fact: that with every improvement you add characteristic new faults of your own. These are generally worse than the author's original ones because they make him speak out of character and deprive him of his natural rhythm. Recognizing this fact, experienced editors bow to accepting their authors for what they are: faulty, no doubt, but not so damned easy to doctor. I have worked for everything from encyclopaedias to daily newspapers but nowhere outside AR have my mss. received such summary treatment. The standard procedure is for the proof-reader to catch the comma faults, query the ambiguities, and in extreme cases suggest some possible alternate form for the writer to consider. It is a good procedure and I heartily recommend it.' In 1941 talks were commenced between Haskell and Judd Payne for an official offer to join the staff of the magazine. However, at that time Haskell suffered a "severe personal crisis": "About the time he turned 40, he began to have mental blocks in his writing and to turn [his] copy into editors late or not at all. He became withdrawn, brushed off compliments and refused praise." Eventually Haskell turned into therapy and after two years the persistence of the managing editors paid off when he accepted a 9-month-a-year contract and joined the editorial staff in October 1943 where he remained as an associate editor and senior associate editor until 1949. Op. cit., Benson, 453-454.

¹⁸¹ Haskell arranged a surprising "9-month deal with the *Record* in order to devote time to his work at the "North Country school": "the arrangement I have at the *Architectural Record* is remarkably generous in giving me three months of leave; and although the management of the camp is in Helen's hands I am on hand to help along." Doug Haskell to Sophia Mumford, 25 July 1945, folder: "Mumford (personal)," Haskell Papers, Columbia University.

¹⁸² Eero Saarinen's son was attending the "North Country School" in Lake Placid that was run by Douglas Haskell's wife, Helen that created a contact between the architect and the editor that was sustained throughout both men careers' development. Source: Saarinen papers, Box:8, "Correspondence

Neutra, Maynard Lyndon and Pietro Belluschi. With Neutra, Haskell would go on tours visiting newly finished houses of Neutra's himself or of other architects, such as Maynard Lyndon,¹⁸³ the Los Angeles architect most noted for his innovative school designs. To all three, Lyndon, Neutra and Belluschi, Haskell was close in guiding them with detailed notes on how to get published in the magazines, including how to take photographs and text corrections. These contacts, were of primal importance for the establishment in 1947 of the Western editorial office of the *Architectural Record* (see chp #3) as well as the Bay Region Style exhibition of 1949, to which Haskell acted as a link between Mumford's conception of the idea and Thompson's implementation. Beyond practitioners, Haskell's work was also in proximity with intellectuals such as Mumford, Hitchcock and Zevi with whom he held close contact.¹⁸⁴ But so far, his heritage has been closely defined to the confines of architectural journalism.

2.4.2 Critical writings

While Haskell was sympathetic to the notion of modernism, and came to be a major promoter of architecture such as Wright's, Mies' and Gropius' office The Architects Collaborative; he was also adept to criticizing them, something that did not go well with the editorial environment of the magazine at the time.

On J.J.P. Oud

One example of Haskell's writings comes from December 1946, when the *Architectural Record* published the office building of Shell in the Hague by the Dutch architect J.J.P. Oud, under Haskell's direction.¹⁸⁵ The article titled "Mr. Oud

and itineraries," Yale archive. And: Northcountryschool.org, accessed on 5 Feb. 2020, <https://www.northcountryschool.org/about-us/history>.

¹⁸³ Maynard Lyndon to Doug Haskell, 16 December 1947, Maynard Lyndon papers, Box: 15, folder 6, "Architectural Forum: correspondence and letters 1948," University of California Santa Barbara.

¹⁸⁴ "Dear Douglas: this is to tell you that I spent the last few days with Lewis Mumford in Rome. One night, in Piazza Navona, I asked him: 'Do you know Douglas Haskell? I think he is doing the best architectural magazine in the world.' Once I used to say that the best magazine was the British Architectural Review. I am no snob anymore about it. The best now is the *Forum*. Then comes *L'Architettura*. Lewis told me that he knew you for a long time, that he had great hopes for you, then that he could not quite understand what you had been doing for various years, and finally that now his initial hopes had come true." Bruno Zevi to Douglas Haskell, 10 June 1957, folder: "Bruno Zevi," Haskell Papers, Columbia University.

¹⁸⁵ John W. Ragsdale to Henry Russel Hitchcock, 9 July 1946, Henry Russel Hitchcock papers, folder: "Architectural Record," Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

embroiders a theme” dealt with the problem of the modernist return to decoration and “embroidery” and posed the question of “what does it mean in the design cycle.” Haskell’s dissatisfaction of Oud’s backward-looking attitude, was set in a wider context:

“The question raised goes beyond Mr. Oud or any other individual. The question relates to those irrationalities of human nature, those elements of sheer play, those demands for symbol and story, that once found their frank outlet in “decoration.” Is every designer quite sure that all his “functional” devices are quite so inevitably a response to rational need? And if, on quiet examination, some of them are not, how might natural human irrationality be better acknowledged - so as to lead not to “compromise” but to a deeper appreciation?”¹⁸⁶

A subsequent reply by Oud appeared at the *Record* a few months afterwards with the architect defending his design as “seeking clear forms for clearly expressed needs” and distancing himself from “functioning”:

“Functioning alone as a leading principle - my experience taught me this - results in esthetical arbitrariness.”

And while Haskell invited further discussion of the matter,¹⁸⁷ he was cut back by Emerson Goble who protested to the idea of a further article on Oud.¹⁸⁸ This incident was above all indicative of Haskell’s growing concern over the course of modernism and secondly it was the start of a long controversy between Goble and Haskell on the issue of criticism offered by a professional magazine. With Haskell being of the opinion that the *Record* needs to build on its trajectory of notable critics such as Russel Sturgis, Montgomery Schuyler, and the more contemporaries of Lewis Mumford and Henry-Russel Hitchcock; and from the other side, Goble who contrasted Haskell’s “flag-waving” attitude and laid “criticism on criticism” claiming that the profession is harming itself. As an editor-in-chief of the *Architectural Record* in the 1960s, Goble sustained articles of architectural criticism from external contributors but was still in stark contrast to Haskell’s editorship of the *Forum* who incorporated critics such as Jane Jacobs in the editorial team.

¹⁸⁶ *Architectural Record*, (Dec 1946): 80-4.

¹⁸⁷ In addition to the long letter of Oud, Haskell added: “Oud’s critics are not against joy. They are against the small increment obtainable at great expense by decorative embroidery. Far better today to save funds by adhering to industrialized building methods under clear design; then put these funds into real embellishment of the building by top notch artists who have real joy to convey. – Further comment is invited.” Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Emerson Goble to Douglas Haskell, 21 Aug 1946, folder: “*Architectural Record* (personal),” Haskell papers, Columbia University.

2.4.3 The revitalization of modernism

The themes touched upon by Haskell, in the 1946-7 articles on Oud, were diffused in further writings such as the January 1949 article titled “Architecture abroad and here”¹⁸⁹ where Haskell documented the ongoing trends of modernisms’ ramifications and its return to sentimentality: the “new empiricism of Switzerland and Sweden, the “decoration unabashed” of Denmark, the “picturesque” of Britain; all of them symptoms of a growing “new mood” to revitalize modernism.

Moreover, Haskell pointed to the central role that American architecture held to ongoing changes:

“Out of all this there emerges the fact that American architecture has unconsciously started on a path of exploration more separate than has probably been understood abroad or here.”¹⁹⁰

2.5 Haskell and Stowell’s departures

While Haskell was content being at the *Record* due to a) the aforementioned lineage of critics and b) the ongoing reforms (such as the new layout), his tenure at the *Record* was halted in 1949 after a growing discomfort and difference of views with the more technical and managerial-minded editors. A matter of conflict arose in November 1948 when Haskell was discussing upcoming changes aiming for increased circulation with publishers Judd Payne and Bob Marshall¹⁹¹ and he had also communicated with Thompson about changes that he had hoped to bring into effect without the expected results.¹⁹² Although Haskell denied rumours¹⁹³ of being after the position of editor-

¹⁸⁹ Douglas, Haskell, “Architecture abroad and here”, *Architectural Record*, (January 1949): 95.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Haskell to Payne, 29 November 1948, “Circulation and editorial,” folder: “*Architectural Record* (personal),” Haskell papers, Columbia University.

¹⁹² Thompson to Haskell 15 April 1949, folder: “Schools,” EKT archive.

¹⁹³ In a future time, Thompson explained the situation this way: “Ken Stowell had the editorship for as long as he wanted it, and Doug tried to pull a fast one, when he had an assured future had he wanted to be patient.” Thompson to Payne 24 Aug 1954, folder: “Payne-1953,” EKT archive.

in-chief seeing that the publishers were ready for upcoming changes, his archive contains detailed notes on the editorial changes that he was after.¹⁹⁴

Haskell's resignation was handed-in in April 1949¹⁹⁵ after having accepted an offer as architectural editor of the *Forum*, that ended "an allegiance of twenty years that held in a loose kind of way no matter who was editor."¹⁹⁶ Haskell's last project, was a book on School Planning, co-authored with architect William Caudill, that corresponded with Haskell's side interests (see FN #), as well as the AIA Douglas Haskell award given to schools of architecture established in his memory in the late 1980s. With Haskell's departure in the Spring of 1949, the *Record* was found "trying to operate with one hand, without Doug"¹⁹⁷ and things became even more alarming with Kenneth Stowell's departure in August 1949, that was due to Stowell's return to practice as Vice President of the firm Giffels & Valle, Inc. and L. Rosetti, as head of the firms' New York office. Stowell did however continue to function as consultant to the magazine as chairman of editorial advisory committee.

Through these changes, hurriedly a new editor-in-chief was found in the face of Harold Dana Hauf, Chairman of the Department of Architecture at Yale University.

¹⁹⁴ Douglas Haskell, handwritten notes, "Editorial content – Recommendations," folder: "*Architectural Record* (personal)", Haskell papers, Columbia University.

¹⁹⁵ Payne to Haskell, 30 March 1949, folder: "*Architectural Record* (personal)", Haskell papers, Columbia University.

¹⁹⁶ Despite the variation of his involvement, Haskell remained particularly proud of the role that the *Architectural Record* in American architecture, even compiling a list of the "*Record's* firsts", with the magazine's major and innovative contributions. Thompson to Haskell, 15 April 1949, folder: "Schools," EKT archive.

¹⁹⁷ Marshall to Haskell, 5 April 1949, folder: "*Architectural Record* (personal)", Haskell papers, Columbia University.

2.6 Harold Dana Hauf: 1949-1951

To cover the gaps in the editorial team following the 1949 departures of Stowell and Haskell, the publishers Judd Payne and Bob Marshall appointed Harold Dana Hauf as editor-in-chief, the experienced Frank G. Lopez Jr. (transferred from *P/A*) as senior editor, and Jeanne Davern as associate editor. Whereas the years under examination, are the least documented in terms of archival material, it can be assumed that the magazine's content stayed on the lines set in the mid 1940s, minus the polemic editorials of Stowell and Haskell's editorial virtuosity. In terms of circulation, it was a period of stable numbers for the *Architectural Record* that saw its competitors reaching higher numbers. But Hauf's editorship did trigger a gradual change. The technically-sided and functionalist portrayal of architecture peaked under Hauf's editorship solidifying the niche of architects/engineers as the magazine's readers, and reached a critical point that started to diffuse under the following editorships of Mason, Shear and Goble who led the magazine into an era of extemporization.

2.6.1 Background

At the time of his appointment at the *Record*, Harold Dana Hauf (1905-2003) was an academic and author of the 1932 handbook "Design of steel buildings" described as having a "banal pragmatism"¹⁹⁸ and a military mind-set.¹⁹⁹ Despite that or because of it, Hauf also held an impressive *Record* in key organizations: the AIA (President of the Connecticut chapter); the ACSA (vice-president); the ASA;²⁰⁰ the NHA;²⁰¹ and the Producer's Council the national organization of building product manufacturers. On the matter of education, Hauf attended the Utica Free Academy before earning a B.Sc on Architecture from Ann Arbor 1923-5 and –after a brief period of working as an architect in New York– an MSc from Yale in 1932 that was coupled with

¹⁹⁸ Robert Stern Jimmy Stamp, *Pedagogy and Place: 100 years of Architecture Education at Yale*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016): 104.

¹⁹⁹ "a man with a former lieutenant commander's engineering mentality still very much in charge. He was very impatient with his very mostly veterans student body's casual attitude toward rules." *Ibid*.

²⁰⁰ American Standards Association.

²⁰¹ Hauf worked as head of the Technical Branch of the National Housing Agency in making a "very significant contribution toward establishing technical standards in the almost uncharted field of pre-fabrication." *Michigan Alumnus*, (October 15, 1949): 58.

his appointment as professor of Architectural Engineering at the same university. With a strong background in physics and engineering, Hauf worked as industrial consultant to the US navy²⁰² during the second world war, and from 1945 emerged as a proponent of modularization in industrial and architectural design that led him to the above mentioned organizations.

With his return to academia, Hauf was assigned acting chairman of the Architecture School of Yale in 1947 in what has been described as an “odd decision” in the context of the academic politics of the school at the time.²⁰³ The Yale *Records* of the time note a detailed system of visiting critics listing the names of noted mid-century architects such as the expert of pre-fabricated structures Carl Koch; the Californian modernists Harwell Harris and Gardner A. Dailey; the Czech pioneer Antonin Raymond; the young Hugh Stubbins and the emerging Eero Saarinen and Pietro Belluschi. As for Hauf’s colleagues, members of the faculty, the list extends to George Howe, Louis I. Kahn and Edward D. Stone. Brief tenures are also mentioned of Marcel Breuer and Josef Albers as well as an effort from Hauf to attract to the school the Brazilian architect, Oscar Niemeyer.²⁰⁴

In all, through Hauf’s academic years in Yale, he appears sufficiently knowledgeable of ongoing developments and professional circles as well as developing an ability for public relations as can be seen on the following correspondence related to the employment of Ed Stone. Hauf writes:

“In addition to whatever publicity is arranged through the Yale Publicity Bureau, I think it would be well if Mr. Lee of the Bureau got together with Stone with a view to get good announcements in the *Architectural Forum* and other professional magazines. As you probably know Stone and Howard Myers, publisher of the *Forum*, are very good friends. I feel that the notices in the architectural magazines will be of great value to us and that Stone, because of his position, can be a great aid in publicity.”²⁰⁵

²⁰² “In 1939 [Hauf] was assigned to the Bureau of Yards and Docks where he worked on research and development and camouflage for Naval Buildings in the Solomon Islands. Upon return to this country in 1944, he was appointed head of Training Coordination in the Bureau of Yards and Docks, and set up training programs in the uses of Naval interchangeable pontoon gear, which later had an important part in the Normandy invasion. The following year, until his discharge in 1945, he directed the Hospital Division, Construction Department, of the Navy. For his work in supervising the construction of Naval hospitals valued at 65 million dollars, he received a commendation from the Secretary of the Navy.” Ibid.

²⁰³ Stern and Stamp, op. cit. 83.

²⁰⁴ Charles Sawyer to Jean Charlot, 20 Sept 1948, Department of architecture records, 1948-1953, Unit: 1048, ACCN: 2008-A-159, Box: 1, Yale University Archive.

²⁰⁵ Ed Stone indeed was offered a permanent position in the following years. Source: Hauf to Sawyer, undated, Ibid.

2.6.2 “Return to fundamentals”

Introducing himself to the readers, Hauf’s first opinion editorial titled “In transition” set the tone for the magazine under his direction:

“It is apparent that architecture is in a transitional phase. For many years it has been struggling to evolve an expression characteristic of the contemporary world. More recently there has been an attempt to appraise the success of this effort. Has the movement progressed rationally, or has it gone too far off the track? Has it found a new beauty, or lost the common touch? What directions will development now take? It is hardly necessary to debate any longer the merit of the functional plan versus that of façade architecture. As a premise this is reasonably well established, yet architects expect further pursuit of its implications.”²⁰⁶

Considering this “transitional phase” Hauf kept a sharp focus on what he saw as fundamentals for the profession. Following Stowell’s paradigm, Hauf’s tenure showcased large-scale projects such as schools, hospitals, industrial plants, ports and infrastructure, mass housing and military units. On the topic of single-family houses, that was a growing concern for the publishers, most material was sourced from the western edition and the work of Elisabeth Thompson, while the discrepancy between Hauf’s views and the publisher’s will to slowly shift towards small-scale houses resulted in the very first monograph on houses as an *Architectural Record* book in 1950, edited by Frank Lopez; that still treated the matter in a very technical sense. The shift towards houses as a design problem would happen in the immediate future. Other than that, large part of the *Record*’s content at the time was dedicated to architectural details, technological equipment, prefabrication and modulation. It was during that time that the *Architectural Record* resembled most an architectural handbook as explained by Hauf:

“*Architectural Record* is especially aware of its responsibility to the profession to report developments candidly and objectively, and to render those information services most likely to facilitate the work of the architect and engineer.”

This attitude reached a height with the start of the Korean war, when once again architecture was called to rally behind the war effort. In an article calling for urban dispersal as a defence and war-preventive measure in fear of atomic bombardment, Hauf went on to build his argument: Architecture not only was a form of strategic planning, as was presented by Stowell, but moreover, it was straightforwardly equated with military discipline and production:

²⁰⁶ Harold D. Hauf, *Architectural Record*, (Oct. 1949): 87.

“Every slum clearance project, housing development, industrial plant, traffic artery or other public improvement should be planned with a view to the military as well as the civil aspects of dispersal. This will not be difficult since the basic criteria controlling each approach point so nearly in the same direction.”²⁰⁷

On managerial matters, Hauf’s editorship saw the further establishment of the Western Edition with the contribution of Judd Payne whose addition to Stowell’s editorial policies proposed territorial assignments to specific editors. Hauf himself is *Recorded* to have toured the West Coast in 1949²⁰⁸ and attending conferences for matters of public relations.²⁰⁹ Letters from Hauf to Wright, Breuer and Belluschi²¹⁰ also document his work for inquiring material that was mostly focused on large-scale industrial projects.

In all, Hauf’s editorship lacked the political manoeuvring of Stowell’s as well as the public relations virtuosity of his successors. Reportedly, Hauf also lacked the design knowledge and aesthetic criteria for the job²¹¹ but in his simplicity, Hauf posited architecture as close as possible to what he saw as a necessity: the war, the infrastructural and big-scale projects of the urban masses. And what the *Record* lost in its editorial appeal, it gained in advertising preference, maintaining the lead to its competitors that proved essential to the magazine’s long term survival.

²⁰⁷ “War planning and defence,” *Architectural Record*, (Dec 1950).

²⁰⁸ Hauf to Thompson, 27 Sept 1949, folder “problems-Shear,” EKT archive.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Sources: Hauf to Wright, 2 Oct 1950, Wright archive, Columbia University; Hauf to Breuer 6 Feb 1950, folder: “*Architectural Record*,” Breuer papers, Syracuse University; Hauf to Belluschi, 25 October 1950, Belluschi papers, Syracuse University.

²¹¹ “The prime consideration that Harold lacked was a knowledge of design.” Thompson to Payne, 24 Aug 1954, pp 4, folder: “Payne-Gordon,” EKT archive.

2.6.3 Hauf's departure and Goble's first tenure

The departure of Hauf was announced in the June 1951 issue of the *Record*. With the escalation of the Korean war, Hauf was “recalled to active duty” to the US Navy and on his return to the US, he was conveniently appointed at the AIA as Director of Public Relations and Professional Relations.²¹² With Hauf's departure, Emerson Goble rose to the occasion as interim editor-in-chief from June to November 1951. Goble's first initiative addressed the reinvigoration of the article series, extending invitations to Mumford and John Ely Burchard for philosophical articles; and Wright and Breuer for design articles.

Still, like Stowell and Hauf, Goble was a proponent of functionalism and modernism, as he explained in correspondence to Marcel Breuer:

“We see modern architecture at a rather important point in its development, and we see a chance to do an important service to the profession in getting some of the newer thinking into the literature. I personally have the feeling that modern architecture may pursue slightly less divergent courses in the coming years, and that the modern movement may take on strength.”²¹³

The evolution of modernism from “information design” (either for profit or war) to “contemporary” architecture would happen in the coming years.

²¹² For his work Hauf received the 1954 Modular Medal Award. In fact, he was one of three recipients of the award, that were representing a) modular design (C.E. Silling) b) modular production (C.W. Kraft) and c) the promotion of dimensional methods through education and journalism. The AIA announcement read: “Mr. Hauf's citation recognized ‘his outstanding contribution toward advancement of Modular Measure in building as a means of benefiting the national economy thru his guidance & assistance in introducing Modular Measure into appropriate educational curricula, in informative publicity directed to the architect & in his enthusiastic promotion of this dimensional method through personal contacts.’” Sources: AIA Bulletin (Nov-Dec 1954):193; AIA Bulletin, (Jan-Feb 1954):41; AIA Bulletin (Sep-Oct, 1954):165

²¹³ Goble to Breuer, 26 April 1951, folder: “*Architectural Record*,” Breuer papers, Syracuse University Archives.

2.7 Conclusions

In conclusion, throughout the 1940s, the *Record* went through its most challenging period having to face a war-period that shocked the building industry as a whole, and the following period of re-adjustment when the economy was still imbalanced and governmental policies swayed either way. Through this time, the *Record* emerged seemingly lagging in circulation, and quality of editorial content. In reality, both Stowell, Hauf and the publishing direction of Holden and Payne managed to maintain the essence of the magazine intact: a) a core of readership that represents the architectural production, b) strategical exposure of the selected individuals that form a front for the profession, and c) a rigid connection to advertisers, manufacturers and leaders of the building industry.

The challenges ahead laid in covering the lost ground in subscriptions through expanding networks, public and personal relations. In the end, the magazine that formed the image of the architect was the one seemingly less devoted to its visual imagery but the one that stayed closer to the profession and its market.

3 Elisabeth Kendall Thompson

Western editor of the *Architectural Record*

“Architecture became a part of me a long time before I became a part of it. I took the long way around, but in time I got to where I knew, all along I wanted to be. On the way I learned a lot of other things, all of which have been valuable and useful.”²¹⁴

– Elisabeth Kendall Thompson

3.1 Introduction

With these words, Elisabeth Kendall Thompson started an unfinished two-page draft on the memoirs of her life. And although these memoirs were never developed, Thompson left a treasure of historical documents of midcentury journalism making her the best documented case of the field. In the words of acclaimed critic Allan Temko,²¹⁵ Thompson was “one of the leading architectural journalists of the country” and “best known as a commentator on the Bay Region Style.”²¹⁶ And further down: “No one did more than Mrs. Thompson to celebrate the humanism of the Bay Regionalists.

²¹⁴ “Notes for Memoirs,” Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, Elisabeth Kendall Thompson personal archive.

²¹⁵ Allan Temko was also a long-time friend of Elisabeth Kendall Thompson as well as Douglas Haskell in both of whose archives we find correspondence with Temko.

²¹⁶ Allan Temko, “Elisabeth Kendall Thompson obituary”, SF Gate, April 21, 1998, <https://www.sfgate.com/news/article/OBITUARY-Elizabeth-Thompson-3008458.php>

Her writings, museum catalogs and talks at professional meetings helped to establish the international reputations of designers such as Richard Neutra, Pietro Belluschi, William Wurster, Joseph Esherick, Walter Netsch (SOM) and Charles Moore.”²¹⁷ While the above give us a glimpse of the importance of Thompson, Temko's estimation seems moderate. Through the archive kept by her family in Berkeley California – to which this research owes the outmost – Thompson emerges as a figure of great influence and service to mid-20th c. US modernism, that has been for too long overlooked and uncredited.

3.1.1 **Beginnings of an architectural editor**

Elisabeth²¹⁸ Kendall Thompson née Elisabeth Rodd Thompson was born in New Orleans, LA on the 23rd of July, 1910.²¹⁹ She initially followed her family's tradition in language and educational studies. Her father John Smith Kendall was Professor of Spanish at Tulane University, editor of the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* and an avid writer most notably having authored the three-volume *History of New Orleans* (1922).²²⁰ Her mother Isoline Rodd taught Latin in high school with extracurricular scholarly activities including being a member of the *Classical Association of the Middle West and South*.²²¹

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Finding aid to the “Elizabeth Kendall Thompson Papers.” The Bancroft Library. It is important to note that Elisabeth is often referred wrongly with a ‘z’ instead of an ‘s’. For example, even in the Tulane school's newspaper the first semester of 1928-9 she is being spelled with a “z” while from the second semester with an “s.” Despite the “z” being more standard in the US spelling, she and her family favoured the “s” which is more attributed to continental Europe. Maybe due to their connoisseurship of Latin languages. This confusion is still quite present in historiographic sources, hence the Bancroft spelling of her archive with a “z”). Source: Correspondence with Ann E. Smith Case, Archivist, Tulane University and Susan Bailey.

²¹⁹ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, folder: “Biographical Notes up to 1968 (mostly),” EKT archive.

²²⁰ For the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*. Among other things, John S. Kendall served as war correspondent during the Spanish-American War (198). “John S. Kendall papers finding aid,” Tulane.edu, accessed 5 Feb. 2020, www.tulane.edu.

²²¹ “Membership List of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South,” *The Classical Journal*, (Jun. 1917):629.

Elisabeth herself, received a bachelor's degree in Latin and Greek (BA 1929) from the Newcomb College of the Tulane University^{222,223} [Fig. 3.1] and after completing her graduate program in Spanish and French literature in a one-year program of the University of Wisconsin (MA 1930), she returned to Newcomb and Tulane to study architecture.²²⁴ Tulane's 1929 and 1931 yearbooks mention her as a member of the French circle, the Young Women's Christian Association, an editor for the college newspaper *Arcade* and of the university newspaper *Hullabaloo*,²²⁵ as well as a member of the Tulane Architectural Society (Fig. 1 and 2).²²⁶ In addition, her Newcomb transcript enlists Elisabeth's honours including translation, history and poem prizes.²²⁷ In 1932 she continued her studies in architecture at the University of Berkeley but, although she fully attended, she was not allowed to get the actual degree due to administrative issues.²²⁸ From 1934 to 1935 she was employed back in New Orleans as an architect/draftsman engaged in designing catalogue homes for the Southern Pine Company, working specifically on house plans. After a subsequent two-year tenure as an educational instructor on French, Spanish, History of Art & Architecture at the Holmquist School for Girls (New Hope, PA) she relocated to New York City in 1937, on the brink of the economic crisis and decided in favor of a career in architectural journalism.

²²² Thompson's membership application mentions a 4-year scholarship that allowed her to travel to France and Spain for her elementary and secondary education in addition to U.S. schools (which her Newcomb transcript names as "Dept. Educ. Baton Rouge LA" and "Muir of Wisconsin"). Sources: Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, AIA membership file, AIA Archives.

²²³ Since 1966 the Tulane University offers the annual Isoline Rodd and John Smith Kendall Award for academic and extracurricular accomplishments. Source: Tulane.edu, accessed 5 Feb. 2020, www.tulane.edu.

²²⁴ According to Kelly Rylance, her classmates there included noted New Orleans architect William King Stubbs and architectural historian and preservationist Samuel Wilson Jr (1991-1993). Source: Rylance, Kelly, "New Orleans Architect, Elizabeth Kendall," [blog post], August 4 2015, accessed 5 Feb 2020, <http://southeasternarchitecture.blogspot.ca/2015/08/new-orleans-architect-elizabeth-kendall.html>.

²²⁵ Bernard J. McCloskey (ed.), *The Jambalaya Nineteen Twenty Nine*, (New Orleans: Tulane University of Louisiana, 1929): pages: 333, 338, 348 and 40.

²²⁶ Bernard J. McCloskey (ed.), *The Jambalaya Nineteen Thirty One*, (New Orleans: Tulane University of Louisiana, 1931):, 346.

²²⁷ Honours: *Arcade* Translation Prize Jun. 1927, May B. Scott History Prize Dec. 1929, Mayer Israel Prize for best poem Dec. 1929, English Dept. Prize for Metrical Tense. (Dec. 1929). Source: Tulane University Archives, through correspondence with archivist Ann E. Smith Case.

²²⁸ In her AIA membership application by the side of the Berkeley University listing she briefly notes: "no degree because of 2 previous degrees". (AIA membership file p 2), which is doubled by Temko's obituary who mentions that "policies at that time did not duplicate master's degrees." op. cit. meaning that because of her initial Tulane architecture degree she was not allowed to receive the second one from Berkeley. Source: Elisabeth Kendall Thompson AIA membership file, AIA archives.



FIG. 3.1 A young Elisabeth Kendall, from 1929 (left) and a picture of the Freshman Class, College of Engineering of Tulane University 1931 (right) where she is featured centre bottom row. Source: Tulane University year-book Jambalaya Tulane University Library Archives, New Orleans, Louisiana; after correspondence with Ann E. Smith Case.

3.1.2 **Fist tenure at the *Architectural Record***

In Thompson's own words:

"I went to New York to look for a job and there was none, in architecture or any other field. The Depression was still on, and few buildings were being designed and built. I was offered a job on *Architectural Record* as assistant news editor because I had been trained as an architect and I had also worked as reporter and feature writer on a major daily newspaper. That combination was rare then – maybe it still is. I firmly believe in being [able] to combine two abilities – at least two; like being good at drafting and also at rendering, or making quick, evocative sketches. I just happened to have two very different skills that combined well for a specific need."²²⁹

²²⁹ Draft transcript of an interview that EKT gave to the magazine *Architecture California* in 1985. This passage was edited out from the final version of it. Folder: "1985 Interview," EKT archive.

Thompson's first tenure of five years at the *Record* started in 1937 as an assistant news editor and subsequently as associate editor, in assistance to James Marston Fitch, a fellow Tulane graduate who gradually rose to prominence beyond the field of journalism thanks to his books.²³⁰ Her responsibilities there were to inquire architects over materials related to their upcoming featured buildings in the magazine. The earliest *Records* of Thompson's editorial work are from late 1939²³¹ in correspondence with Pietro Belluschi and Marcel Breuer, whose careers were greatly favoured by their relationship with the *Record* editors.²³² From those two architects' archives, it is apparent that Elisabeth Kendall had by 1940 established a connection with photographers Ezra Stoller and Roger Sturtevant (who tipped her on a newly completed building of Breuer's²³³) and had travelled in a scouting assignment at the West coast in the summer of 1940.²³⁴ In 1941 she married Frank Hofmann Thompson, an architect and former fellow student of hers from Berkeley University, and according to one of her colleagues: "Elisabeth Kendall is now Mrs. Frank Thomson of Berkeley, CA. We all attended her wedding here, and they drove out to the Coast immediately afterwards."²³⁵

²³⁰ Ibid. James M. Fitch (1909-2000) as Thompson puts it was a "name to reckon with in architectural history and commenting" (1985 interview, *supra*). Along his career, he worked in journalism (*Architectural Record*, 1936-41; *Architectural Forum*, 1945-9, *House Beautiful*, 1949-53), academia (Columbia University, 1954-77), and architectural practice (Beyer Blinder Belle, 1977-). His authoring oeuvre established him as a pioneer in historic restoration and environmental design, amongst of which the titles: *American Building: The forces that shape it*, 1948; *Walter Gropius*, 1960; *Architecture and the Esthetics of Plenty*, 1961; *American Building: The environmental forces that shaped it*, 1972; *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, 1982, *Historic Preservation: forging a discipline*, 1989. The James Marston Fitch Foundation for the support of historic preservation was inaugurated in 1988 while his papers are archived at Columbia University but unfortunately hold little to no *Records* from his years as part of the most editorial team. He was also a fellow graduate from Tulane, like Thompson during 1927-8. Source: "John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation," James Marston Fitch papers, Columbia University.

²³¹ Letter of Elisabeth Kendall to Pietro Belluschi, Nov. 27, 1939, Pietro Belluschi Papers, Box 207, file: "*Architectural Record*," Pietro Belluschi papers, Syracuse University.

²³² Breuer was strongly promoted by Lawrence Kocher in the years 1938-9 (by advertising him to manufacturers and proposing his employment at MIT) and subsequently was rigorously featured at the *Record* through the attention of Fitch, Thompson and Sanderson. Belluschi seems to have been appointed as press correspondent of his then firm Doyle and Associates, having extensive correspondence with the editors before the publication of the "Belluschi house" in the *Architectural Record*, that was his stepping stone to his sole practice. Sources: Belluschi papers, Syracuse University, Box 207, folder "*Architectural Record*." And Marcel Breuer papers, Syracuse University.

²³³ Letter of Elisabeth Kendall to Marcel Breuer, May 1, 1940, Marcel Breuer Papers, *Architectural Record* file, Syracuse University.

²³⁴ Letter of Elisabeth Kendall to Pietro Belluschi, Sep. 19, 1940, Pietro Belluschi Papers, *op. cit.*

²³⁵ Letter of George Sanderson to Pietro Belluschi, Sep. 30, 1941, Pietro Belluschi Papers, *ibid.*

3.1.3 Second appointment and establishment of the Western editorial office

Although there is little to no information on the interim years after 1941, Elisabeth Kendall Thompson was assigned the establishment and operation of the *Architectural Record's* western office in the autumn of 1947 [Fig. 3.2]. From Berkeley, Thompson oversaw the editing of the western section of the magazine.

Again, in Thompson's words:

"After I had returned to California I was asked to initiate what turned out to be a unique venture in the field of architectural publishing; a section to be included in copies of the *Record* mailed to western subscribers only, carrying its own regional advertising and – this was the unusual part – its own editorial material. Magazines had had regional advertising sections before, but this was the first time that a magazine had included with the advertising specially written, regionally generated articles and news. I was living in Berkeley, and knew many architects not only in California but in other parts of the west as well from my earlier years at the *Record*. It seemed quite natural – I knew them, they knew me, we had worked together, everything was familiar."²³⁶

In essence, the Western Section was a "magazine in a magazine." An insert of pages bound inside the national-edition, making it the "Western Edition," copies of which circulated to the subscribers of the eleven western states of the country, Alaska and Hawaii (subsequently Texas too). The section started after the first batch of ads with an interim numbering to not disturb the paging of the national edition (e.g. if inserted between pages 32-33, it would be: 32-1, 32-2, 32-3...). The page span of the Western Section started from 12 pages in 1947 [Fig. 3.3] and reached a maximum of 40 in the 1960s.²³⁷ Its monthly news columns were: "Western Construction Trends," "Calendar of Western Events," "Western Buildings in the News," "Professional News," and "Estimator's Guide."²³⁸

²³⁶ California Architect, 1985 Draft typescript, EKT archive op. cit.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ This last one was "a detailed compilation of prices for basic construction services and materials in four western areas." 1963 promotional pamphlet, EKT archive.

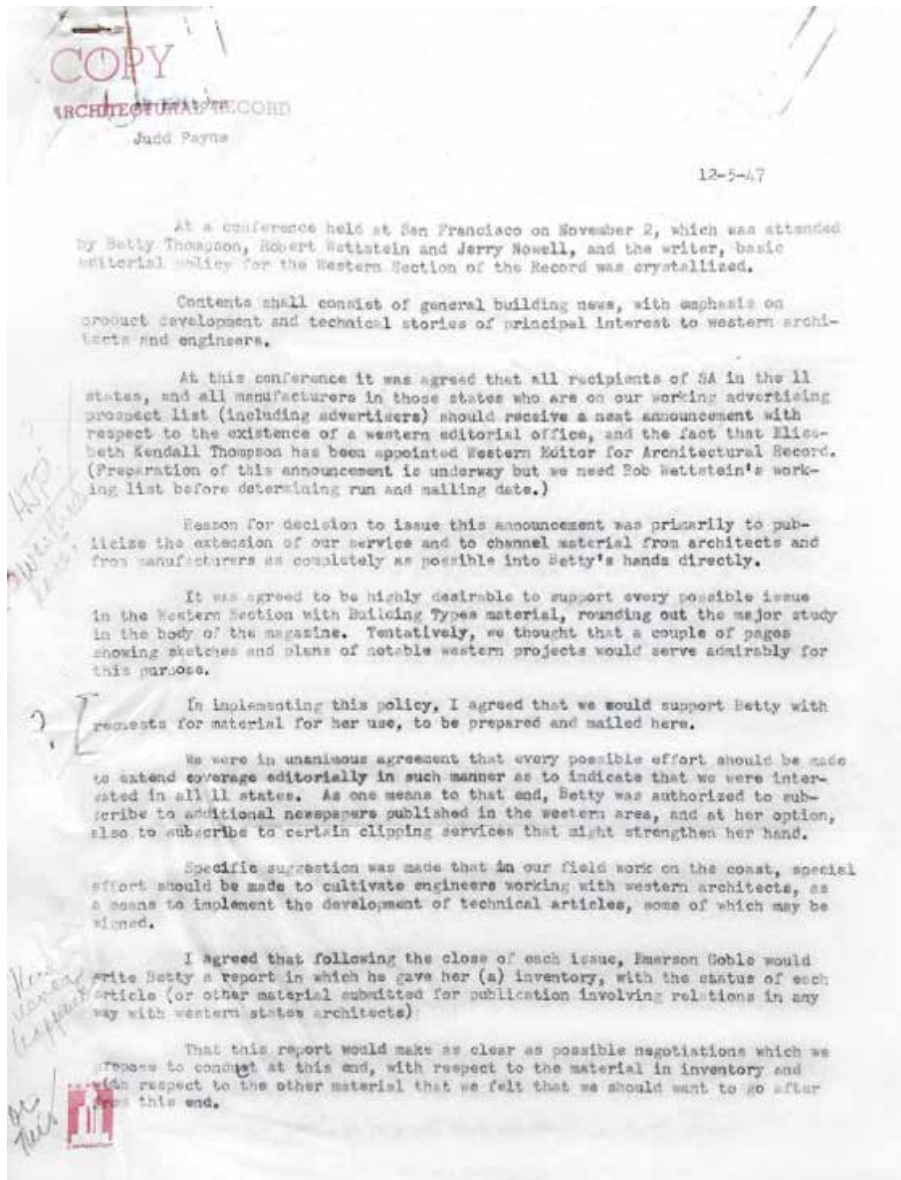


FIG. 3.2 Judd Payne letter to the *Architectural Record* editors detailing the establishment of the Western Section of the magazine and the appointment of Thompson as western editor from December 1947. Thompson's notes on the left side already foretell the hardships in communication between Berkeley and New York.



FIG. 3.3 The first “west coast section” in the September 1947 issue where Stowell’s name is featured above Thompson’s. It would take till the early 1950s for Thompson to be credited for her editorial responsibility.



FIG. 3.4 Promotional material of the Western Edition. EKT archive.

The list was extended with feature articles that were in several cases picked up and reproduced in the national edition. And even though the editorial burden of all these fell almost completely on Thompson, in 1952 she was joyous to be allowed to include an additional one-page opinion-editorial, a vessel of expression equal to the one of the standard edition of the magazine, strengthening and bringing into completion the project of the Western Section.²³⁹

A promotional pamphlet [Fig. 3.4] describes the whole venture in more detail: “What is the Western Edition? – *Architectural Record* Western Edition combines two major editorial and advertising services: (1) the regular “National Edition” of *Architectural Record* edited for architects and engineers coast to coast and (2) a special bound-in “Western Section” designed to augment the *Record’s* regular national service to architects and engineers in the West.”²⁴⁰

²³⁹ Actually, in the years under Stowell’s tenure as editor-in-chief, his name appeared jointly with Thompson’s in the starting page of the western section. Instead, during Mason’s tenure the western section became more prominent and the op-ed page was a recognition of Thompson’s work.

²⁴⁰ Promotional pamphlet, dated October 1963, EKT archive. Amongst the things already mentioned, the pamphlet also names the western edition’s 1963 circulation: 6.254 copies.

As advertised, the Section's functions were:

- 1 to carry exclusively western news;
 - 2 to focus on architectural developments of Western interests; and
 - 3 to afford regional advertisers an economical way to sell their western prospects.
- (Here was included the marketing tag "Western Edition, Best for selling the West since 1947").²⁴¹

Of course, the definition of what is "western" and the fluctuating relations between New York editors and western architects that rose to national stature, would produce friction and complicate Thompson's work and the function of the western edition throughout its period of operations. From a managerial aspect, the responsibility for the establishment of the office, fell to the authority of the publishing director of F.W. Dodge Co. H. Judd Payne, whose strong support and unwavering trust to Thompson continued throughout his tenure.

In a letter addressed to the editorial team on the 5th December 1947 he made the official announcement:

"At a conference held at San Francisco on November 2, which was attended by Betty Thompson, Robert Wettstein and Jerry Nowell, and the writer, basic editorial policy for the Western Section of the *Record* was crystalized.²⁴² Contents shall consist of general building news, with emphasis on product development and technical stories of principal interest to wester architects and engineers."²⁴³

As for the rest of the editors' contribution to the decision to instigate the Western edition, there are no direct expressions of opinion not even from the editor-in-chief Stowell. But there are indications of a general concern from New York *Record* editors of losing significant material from west coast architects (more importantly Neutra and Belluschi) who were assigning exclusive coverage to competitive magazines. It was to this issue that the Western Edition of the *Record* would cover the lost ground.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Across the letters, on the paragraphs' sides Thompson would often add question marks or characteristic small notes such as: "HJP was this done?"; "this never happened"; "or this." Despite that, she also remarks "HJP has tried to keep me informed but no one else."

²⁴³ Letter by Judd Payne to: Kenneth Kinglsey Stowell, Emerson Goble, Douglas Haskell, John W. Ragsdale, James S. Graham Jr., Florence van Wyck. And cc'ed to Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, Jerry Nowell and Bob Wettstein (advertising managers), 5 December 1947, EKT archive. Note: the first western section of the magazine started on September 1947. In another letter, Thompson mentions the start of the western office in July 1947 and that the Western Section was the "baby" of Payne and Wettstein who wanted to establish it much earlier but were deterred due to the world war. Source: Thompson to Shear, (not sent) dated 12 Feb. 1955. EKT archive.

In addition to that, the West Coast states were projected to expand their production of housing construction according to Dodge statistics and a permanent editor there would only benefit the *Record*.²⁴⁴ Further than that, regarding the specifics of assigning Thompson to the task, Douglas Haskell mentions himself as central to the decision:

“I feel especially involved since it was I who nominated you—or rather who forwarded Sturtevant’s nomination with a hearty endorsement.”²⁴⁵

Again through letters of Haskell, we learn that during those early years of the Western Section, the *Architectural Record* was examining prospects of a wider expansion with a second western office. Over drinks at the *Architectural League of New York*, Emerson Goble and George Sanderson²⁴⁶ (then working for *Progressive Architecture*) were discussing the possible re-employment of Sanderson at the *Record* in charge of a second west coast “outpost,” this time in Los Angeles. Sanderson was to be of equal status as Thompson and hold weekly meetings with her co-ordinating the Western Edition. This way, Sanderson would have alleviated some of her editorial tasks and this prospect was “heartily” welcomed by her. This long “semi-confidential” correspondence between Sanderson, Thompson and Haskell, ultimately failed with Sanderson remaining reluctant to leave his current post.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ Letters from the *Record* (Stowell, Haskell and Mehlorn) to Pietro Belluschi (then in Oregon) from 1944-9 were asking persistently for new material: e.g. October 10, 1945, Mehlorn to Belluschi: “With the current enormous interest in new house designs and the imminence of new home building, you will probably not be surprised to learn that The *Architectural Record* expects to publish a great deal of material on houses in early issues.” Or from a telegram by Stowell to Belluschi, 19 Sep. 1945: “Hope post-war house drawings requested last May are available now planning immediate special feature new houses. Anxious to have your newest house designs at earliest date.” Op. cit. Belluschi papers.

²⁴⁵ Doug Haskell to Thompson, January 26, 1949, folder: “*Architectural Record* personal,” Haskell papers. Sturtevant here is the acclaimed photographer, whose role in Thompson’s appointment is unclear.

²⁴⁶ George A. Sanderson (1906-1959) had worked at the *Record* in the early 1940s coinciding with Thompson’s first appointment in the New York office and since 1944 he was working as feature editor in *Progressive Architecture*, which made him worrisome of “the matter getting out of hand” during his 1948 correspondence with the *Record*. Other than that, Sanderson had worked for the magazines *Sunset*, *Newsweek* and *Sweet’s Catalog* and co-edited a book when in *P/A* (Homes, 1947). He had also made considerable work as an architect in his native state of Massachusetts most notably, the Morris Studio, Lenox, MA (1929-30). See: *Progressive Architecture*, (May 1959): 61. And: “George A. Sanderson Editor, Architect,” *New York Times*, April 15 1959. And Douglass Shand-Tucci, *Built in Boston: City and Suburb, 1800-2000*, (Boston: University of Massachusetts, 1999), 244.

²⁴⁷ Which was responded with Haskell’s interesting letter: “I am sorry you ‘re so damn contented – we could have a good time. Anyway when they perfect these magic printing processes to the point where sets of foul-colour plates can be made for a dollar and printed for fifty cents a thousand, let’s you and I start an architectural magazine with no advertising, no political domination, no glamor photographs—just talk, plans, and straight pictures.” Haskell to Sanderson, folder: “*Architectural Record* (personal),” July 26 1948. Haskell papers Columbia.

To this, Thompson was expressing her general concerns to Haskell:

“I sometimes—no, often—have the feeling that no one except you in the New York office has any glimmer of what could be done out here and cares less. I realize that each one of the NY staff has his own job to do, and that anything out here is just an extra burden which no one rightly wants to [be] burdened with. [...] You have been out here and are sympathetic to the West’s tremendous development and future possibilities in other ways than dollars and cents. This is highly improper thing to say, but in the bosom of the family it is perhaps permissible, that Dodge never does anything except for the profit motive. With no budget for photographs and none for drawings, it has been impossible to build up the kind of Section that the West really needs. And the fact that this was the case rather clearly indicated that the main idea was to make money from the Western Section first, and serve the Western readers second. Such a basis would account for what seems at this distance to be a disinterest in the Section on the part of those at the other end. Perhaps it is just the distance that makes this seem so, and such is not really the case. It is hard to tell from here.”²⁴⁸

After Sanderson, there were no subsequent talks of another editor’s dispatch to the west and Thompson’s sources of editorial assistance from F.W. Dodge Co. were limited to temporary part-time secretaries.²⁴⁹ Instead, Thompson had resorted creatively to other ways of expanding her network, most notably by engaging architectural photographers such as Sturtevant to report to her any significant buildings as well as attempting to organize a network of architecture students.

Throughout its years of operations, the western office remained under the exclusive direction of Thompson and during the years was operated from her house and office in Berkeley until 1962 when the office was moved to downtown San Francisco. The Western Edition seized its independent circulation in 1966 when its contents were assimilated into the main edition again; but Thompson remained a significant pillar of the magazine until her retirement in 1975.

²⁴⁸ Thompson to Haskell. January 28th 1948. Ibid.

²⁴⁹ It is important to note that F.W. Dodge Co. had more publications and information services that functioned in the West Coast and held some synergy with Thompson, most notably the “Daily Pacific Builder” a newspaper that covered information on construction costs and newly-announced bids, permit applications or completion notices; and which is still in operation.

As for Thompson's main contacts in New York, Judd Payne publishing director was the one in full knowledge and support of her work, while Bob Marshall was "well-grounded in the business end of western-national operations."²⁵⁰ Other Dodge executives of significant collaboration were Jerry Nowell and Bob Wettstein who were advertising managers in the early years of the Western Section. As for issues more related to editorial matters, throughout his tenure in the *Record* Douglas Haskell was in constant communication with Thompson and the recurrent editors-in-chiefs maintained yearly tours to the West coast to be briefed by Thompson on latest developments and work on the magazine's public relations. Other than that, in secretarial matters, Florence van Wyck and Jeanne Davern (firstly desk editors and then associate editors) held also wide correspondence with Thompson, either working with her or keeping her informed of the New York work process and policies. But despite this sound mechanism, it took well into the 1950s to solidify the *Record's* editorial policies in order to avoid any circumvention of the western office which –at its best– functioned as a preliminary step of publishing in the national edition and as such, a major medium for the promotion of western architects to the national level.



FIG. 3.5 The two greatest architectural editors of midcentury America: Elisabeth Kendall Thompson and Douglas Haskell ca 1947. (The photograph is of double (or triple) exposure, but is the only one that documents the two editors collaborative relationship.) EKT archive.

²⁵⁰ Thompson to Mason, 8 Feb 1952, folder: "1951-5_Trouble file," EKT archive.

3.2 ‘Bay Region Style: Western Section’s “first class project”

In 1948 and 1949, the early years of the *Architectural Record*'s Western Section, Elisabeth Kendall Thompson along with Douglas Haskell [Fig. 3.5] were involved in the promotion of the Bay Region Style. A term used to describe the idiomatic early and mid-20th c. modernist architecture of the San Francisco Bay region which is primarily commemorated for its coinage by Lewis Mumford²⁵¹ and its grouping of three generations of architects including Bernard Maybeck (1862-1957), William Wurster (1895-1973) and Charles Moore (1925-1993).²⁵²

But it was the 1949 exhibition at the *San Francisco Museum of Art* titled “*Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region*” that set the grounds for the movement and there both Thompson and the *Record* played an important role on a) conceiving, b) organizing and c) promoting the exhibition.²⁵³

Mumford's instrumental initial contribution to the appreciation of Bay Area architecture started in 1938 with an article on his *Sky Line* column of the *New Yorker* praising Maybeck and west coast architecture.²⁵⁴ The following years brought Mumford's closer involvement on the architectural matters of the West Coast (e.g. in regional planning councils in 1939, and the AIA National Convention of 1941) that gave him the opportunity to travel, live and teach there while getting further acquainted with the architecture of the area.²⁵⁵

²⁵¹ Haskell, Douglas, “Architecture abroad and here”, *Architectural Record*, (January 1949): 95.

²⁵² The mid-century part of what Mumford called the “Bay Region style” is otherwise referred to as the “Second Bay Area Tradition” or “Second Bay Region School.”

²⁵³ Op. Cit. Pearlman, 6: “In 1947, Lewis Mumford led the way in a second controversial line of reassessment by championing the Bay Area architects for emphasizing the “non-mechanical” elements of design in their work: the quality of the local terrain, the climate, way of life, the individual and commonplace aspects of their own region.”

²⁵⁴ April 30, 1938. *New Yorker*, Sky Line.

²⁵⁵ Mumford taught at Stanford U. For more detailed reading on Mumford, see: Jose Parra Martinez, John Crosse, Mark Treib, “Lewis Mumford, Henry Russel Hitchcock and the rise of ‘Bay’ regionalism.” In *Regionalism, Nationalism & Modern Architecture Conference Proceedings*. (Porto: October 25-27, 2018), 299.



FIG. 3.6 The May 1949 article *Is there a Bay Area Style?* That was meant to be as “symposium” of professionals in response to Mumford and MoMA’s critical views and which played a significant role for the Sept. 1949 exhibition at the San Francisco Museum of Art.

Almost ten years later, in his October 1947 article titled “Bay Region Style,” again in the *New Yorker*, Mumford attracted the limelight by overnight introducing a new style. Mumford’s description of Bay Area Style as a regionalist movement, inherently American and organically tied to its history was a direct attack to the 1932 “International Style” exhibition of the MoMA whose treatment of modernism Mumford blatantly opposed (although having taken part in its organization). The response of MoMA’s curators Hitchcock and Johnson to Mumford’s article was the organization of a symposium specifically to discuss the matter titled “*What is happening to Modern Architecture?*” in February 1948, where Mumford was invited as chairman.²⁵⁶ The ideas quickly echoed in articles of the English magazine the *Architectural Review* in September and October 1948 (in which issues Mumford was featured) and where the architecture of Bay Area rose to international importance as manifestation of “empirical regionalism.”

²⁵⁶ Again, this whole incident is meticulously *Recorded* in Parra-Martinez and Crosse, *ibid.*

An important notion in both UK and US, related to their own national architectural debates.²⁵⁷ Another significant factor, in need of mentioning before going into details on Thompson and the *Record*, is the role of the San Francisco Museum of Art (founded in 1935 and predecessor to the current SFMoMA). Under the direction of Dr. Grace McCann Morley and the art curation of Ernest Born²⁵⁸ the SFMA had featured the first exhibition on modern architecture of the area in 1938 titled *AIA Exhibition of Northern California Licensed Architects*, a second one in 1942 “*Architecture around San Francisco Bay*” and the third one in September 1949 “*Domestic architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region*” in which Thompson played an essential role.

3.2.1 The May 1949 article and the SFMA exhibition

The 1949 exhibition SFMA has been compared as a major breakthrough for West Coast architects and the first exhibition to reach the standards of attendance and artistic quality of the East Coast architectural institutions.

The involvement of the *Architectural Record* became public with its May 1949 article titled “Is there a Bay Area Style?” [Fig. 3.6] directly picking up on the ongoing discussion:

“The term “Bay Area Style,” first mentioned by Lewis Mumford in the *New Yorker* then bandied about at the Museum of Modern Art’s symposium, attaining international prominence as an accepted phrase in the pages of the *London Architectural Review* has caused discussion, self-examination and, finally, concern on the part of many of the Bay Area architects as to whether or not there are grounds for such a characterization.”²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Beyond the American issue of Bay Region against International Style, with regards to the UK a letter of Richards (editor of the *English Architectural Review*) to Mumford 17th June, 1946 is explaining the situation: “I should very much like to arrange a debate, for publication in the *Review*, between yourself and someone whom we could appoint to argue the case for the Metropolitan City. The whole problem of Regionalism and the City is of such importance here in view of the Greater London Plan and the imminent development of Stevenage under the forthcoming New Towns Bill, that a clarification of the basic principles which give rise to it would be of immense value.” Source: Mumford papers, Folder: “*Architectural Review*,” University of Pennsylvania.

²⁵⁸ Once more Martinez and Crosse have detailed the contribution of Dr Morley and Born in the article: “Grace Morley, the San Francisco Museum of Art and the early environmental agenda of the Bay Region (193X-194X),” *Feminismo/s*, (32 Dec. 2018): 101-134.

²⁵⁹ “Is there a Bay Area Style?,” *Architectural Record*, May 1949, 92-97.

Instead of going into the theoretical discussion from a critical aspect, and keeping with the *Record's* policy of being the professional's medium, the article featured prominent Bay Area architects voicing their own opinions on the matter and whether they agree to the term "lest the term become so widely accepted that they would find themselves prematurely forced into a style."²⁶⁰ Some of those architects showed little indications of agreement and exaltation²⁶¹ with most of them, evading the adoption of a "Bay Region style" by questioning the validity of the whole discussion and more specifically the term "style." Some of them, downright opposed the term by pointing out the lack of a collective agreement between them or by dismissing any social value that a style-labelling would offer.

E. William's response was repeated in the article as an eye-catching "pull-quote":
"Are we too close to the Bay Area to be objective, too aware of the thousands of 'jerry-built' [sic] spreading out over the mud flats, of the extent of our slums, the inadequacy of our public and private housing, of our commercial, industrial and public architecture? Is it too much to ask that the coiners of the fine phrases wait until we are doing whole communities [...] in which the best of our fine materials, modern planning and building techniques are utilized in producing structures which are clear, organic, progressive and democratic?"²⁶²

Paradoxically, despite the architects' objections, their inclusion in the article pre-supposed the formation of a movement which was further underlined with the exhibition that followed at the SFMA.²⁶³ In fact, the whole article was conceived to look as the printed form of a "symposium," anticipating the SFMA exhibition. Keeping in line with the directive of the *Record* that was considered to be the voice of practicing architects, the article was designed as a symposium of architects in response to the New York

²⁶⁰ For the *Record*, those architects were (in line of appearance in the article): William Wilson Wurster, Albert Henry Hill, John Ekin Dinwiddie, Gardner A. Dailey, Frederick L. Langhorst, Francis Joseph McCarthy, Robert Royston, Francis Violich, Edward Williams. Ibid.

²⁶¹ Dailey was downright in favour of a Bay Area style, as well as Wurster according to the photographer Roger Sturtevant, who wrote his opinion to the editors neverminding that he wasn't invited to which Thompson considered including in the article: "he has a right to feel pretty authoritative, after all, and in a way he can be more objective than the architects themselves." Thompson to Haskell, 26th Feb. 1949, folder: "*Architectural Record* (personal)," Haskell papers.

²⁶² Op. cit. "Is there a Bay Area Style?"

²⁶³ This whole ordeal paints an explicit image of how a style is formed under the newly established midcentury media apparatus: architects produce the work and a basic theoretical manoeuvrability; editors and curators shed the spotlight and set the terms of the network and the architects' exposure; and lastly historians impose the labelling, the periodization and the contextual timeliness of the birth of style in a broader social perspective.

critic's take on the matter. Thompson repeatedly used that word "symposium" for the article in correspondence with Wurster when inquiring the architect's contribution: "I mentioned that a "few words are all that is required" because I understood from Donn Emmons, via Henry Hill, that you would not be able to prepare a statement at all for the symposium. Since it would be unthinkable to publish a symposium without some statement, however brief, from you, my request was actually a plea to you intended to burden you as little as possible..."²⁶⁴ [emphasis added]

In fact, the *Record* editors were involved in the process of grouping together these architects much earlier than the publication of the symposium-article. According to Haskell's expense statements, in the spring of 1947 he undertook one of the magazine's "scouting" trips across the United States during which he visited Los Angeles (May 31- June 10) and San Francisco (June 13-June 22).²⁶⁵ There, Haskell met a series of architects that were later included in the Bay Region exhibition.^{266,267} And also met with people of the San Francisco Museum of Art with whom he later stayed in contact.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁴ For an even more in depth look into the backgrounds of architectural politics, when Thompson and Haskell were discussing William 'Bill' Wurster's text contribution which they deemed too flat and short, Haskell defends him thus: "The poor man is on a spot. Tom Creighton has been pushing hard for his election as A.I.A. President. Meanwhile last November Tom took a stand against the kind of discussion that was carried on at the Museum of Modern Art. Prior to that Bob Kennedy, on Bill's staff at M.I.T., had written something which [...] took the same side. The Museum has never been broad enough to take in the whole modern movement. So I guess that it was a temptation to Bill to go along with Tom. And so he got snagged into joining up with the 'no talk just work' slogan. Now we are asking him to talk and if he were to talk at any length, he would have to be inconsistent." Source: Thompson to Wurster, Feb. 15, 1949, and Haskell to Thompson, 18th Feb. 1949. Haskell papers, Columbia University.

²⁶⁵ In between his trips to Los Angeles and San Francisco, Haskell travelled to Austin, TX, accompanied by Richard Neutra, one of the striking examples of the professional and friendly relations that were sustained between architects and editors of the time. Ibid.

²⁶⁶ A complete list of the architects referred in Haskell's expense statements: Los Angeles: Gregory Ain, Harwell Hamilton Harris, Mr and Mrs J. R. Davidson, R. Soriano, Henry Wright. San Francisco: Mark Falk (engineer at Ernert J. Kump's office), Don Emmonds, Henry Hill, Hal Cruzan, Jean Harris, W.G. Merchant, Sidney Francis Bamberger and John Lyon Reid. Haskell also reports expenses on "entertainment of approximately 20 S.F. archs. Including Wm. C. Ambrose, N. K. Blanchard, J.S. Bolles, M.F. Corbett, J.E. Dinwiddle, D. Emmons, A.T. Hass, W.S. Hertzke, E.J.Maher, J.H.Mitchell, F.McCarthy, F.J.Ward, John Warnecke, etc." from Haskell Papers, Columbia. Folder "*Architectural Record* (personal)."

²⁶⁷ On a short side note, during his stay in San Francisco Haskell also dined with Roger Sturtevant and likely that might have been the moment that Sturtevant nominated Thompson for the western office, as Haskell implied in the letter referenced op.cit.

²⁶⁸ On 24th August 1948, Haskell received a letter by the San Francisco Museum of Art for a minor inquiry but nonetheless expresses a first contact with *Record* editors and an affinity towards Haskell in particular. Quote: "Dear Mr. Haskell, it is two years ago that you came over to see us at Bolinas with Hervey. The Floo Floo Bird is still Top's stock story, so why don't you emulate him (the Floo Floo) and look us over again." Letter of Isabel P. Clark on account of Hervey P. Clark to Douglas Haskell, August 24, 1948, folder: "Elisabeth Kendall Thompson," Haskell papers, Columbia.

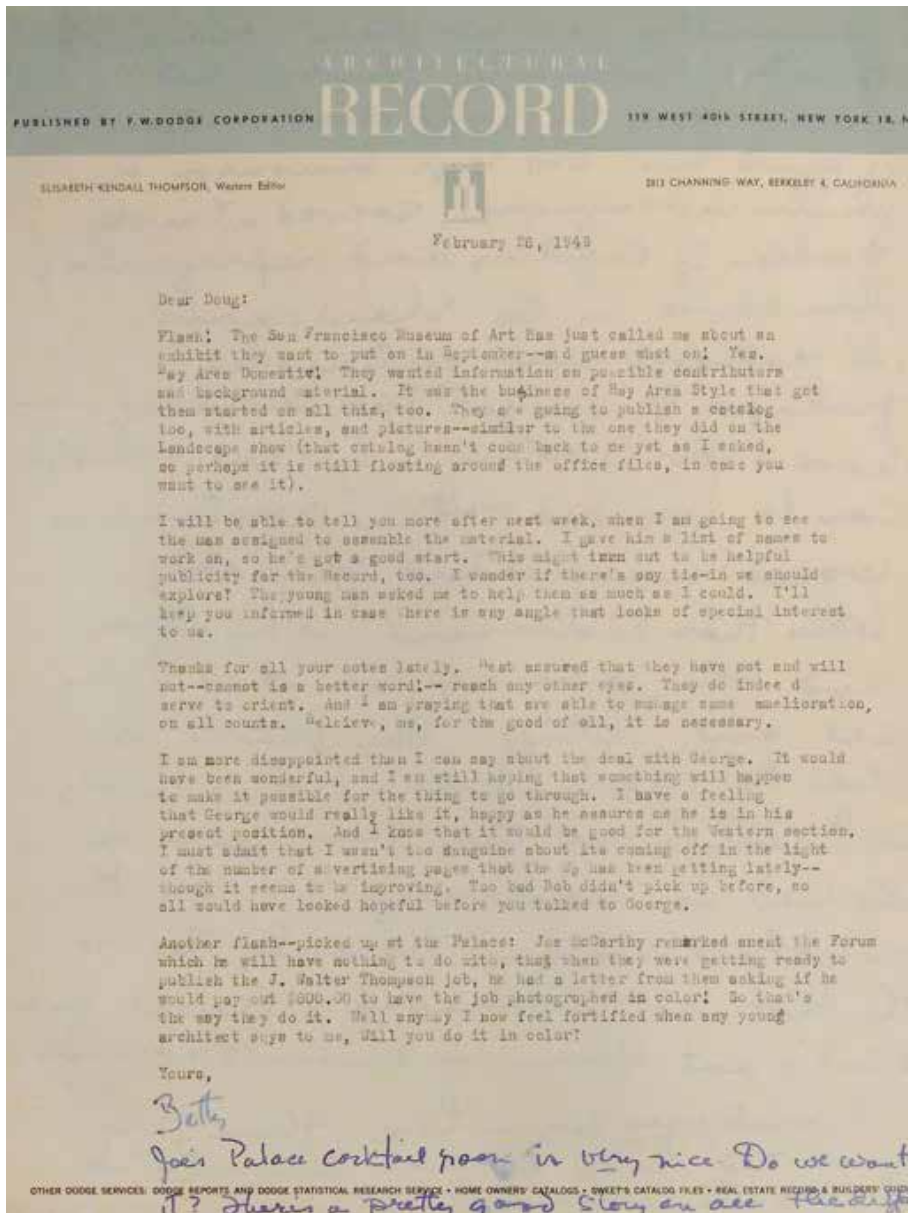


FIG. 3.7 Letter of Thompson to Haskell, which is the first documentation of the Bay Region SFMA exhibition, even earlier than the records of the Museum itself – based on the existing published information.

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM - MAGAZINE DIVISION
(The Architectural Record . . . Real Estate Record)



To Doug Haskell Office New York
From Betty Thompson Office Berkeley
Subject _____

Date March 11, 1949.

Dear Doug:

Thanks for your letter of March 7. I had a very pleasant conference with Richard Freeman and Robert Church of the San Francisco Museum on Wednesday, just after receiving your letter. They had not gone much further with their plans than when I wrote you on the third. However, it seems pretty well established that they will have about sixty panels in the exhibit, of which about ten will be devoted to historical background of current domestic architecture. They have asked me to work with them on this particular section, and they have Helton White, Gardner Dalley and Ernest Born working on the contemporary section. I have referred them to Jean Harris for further background material, and as Jean expects to come up here shortly I will get her and the museum men together, as her research can be of invaluable assistance. They have asked me to write something on the historical background for their catalog, in spite of my protestations that I have not done a finished job of research on the subject (actually, it is a lifetime work!). I don't really feel equipped with the knowledge to do this, but I do know of some sources of information which should be very productive.

I casually mentioned that, of course, the Record had opened the whole subject for discussion, and they as carefully agreed but I did not feel that I could press the point, inasmuch as our Maybeck article appeared in January, 1948, and Mumford's original New Yorker article bringing up the human quality of the Bay Area style was published in October, 1947. What I think the Record did do, however, was to spur the Museum of Modern Art into its symposium and Life into its article on Maybeck.

I notice from a copy of a letter Ken sent to Henry Hill that you all are sending page proofs of the Bay Area article to Mumford for his comment in a later issue, and I think that is a swell way of handling it.

I did not take up the matter of the possible guide with Freeman and Church, preferring to wait until you had sounded out Ken Reid. I expect to be in fairly close touch with the Museum from now on, and Mr. Freeman and Mr. Church are coming over for a Cook's tour of Berkeley in a week or two, so I will have plenty of time to discuss it with them, if all goes well. I am still trying to get you a photograph of the big town houses on Telegraph Hill.

I read over Bill Warster's letter again after your last comments on the matter, and perhaps you are right. Re-reading his words makes me wonder if, in time to come, all the other comments won't seem a little foolish and horribly wordy in the light of his utterly simple statement.

Frank Lloyd Wright has a new store in San Francisco for V. C. Morris, but of course it was long ago promised to the Forum. I tried, but the tie between Wright and Forum is too strong. Anyway, it is a controversial issue in that it offers a different approach to merchandising from the ordinary -- one that is possible only in such a special kind of store as Morris's is (silver, crystal, casual pieces of furniture, all of contemporary design and all very expensive). The

FIG. 3.8 Thompson to Haskell, 11th March 1949 documenting the early meetings with SFMA directors and Thompson's view on the role that the *Record* played in the Bay Region Style affair.



FIG. 3.9 The Sep. article of the Record, which served as the exhibition's brochure.

On December 16th 1948, Thompson had started working on the upcoming May article by mediating between Haskell and West Coast architects for their involvement (as was the case with Wurster above).²⁶⁹ A day after, Thompson had compiled a list of architects that she was approaching²⁷⁰ and on Feb. 14th she convened with “the group of contributors to the Bay Area symposium” and collected the architect’s texts. Immediately, after the completion and scheduling of the article, Elisabeth was conversing with staff of the SFMA, resulting in the formation of the upcoming exhibition.

A letter from February 28 1949 from Elisabeth to Douglas Haskell marks the pinnacle of these conversations [Fig. 3.7]:

“Dear Doug: Flash! The San Francisco Museum of Art has just called me about an exhibit they want to put on in September— and guess what on! Yes. Bay Area “Domestic! They wanted information on possible contributors and background and background material. It was the business of Bay Area Style that got them started on all this, too. [...] The young man asked me to help them as much as I could.”

²⁶⁹ “Dear Doug: Henry [Hill] and I both received your letter yesterday. Henry was very pleased with it and said to me ‘Wasn’t it a nice letter?’ He is in Carmel today so I am about to needle the other would-be contributors to the Bay Area article. When I talked to Joe McCarthy, he bubbled over with statements then balked at writing it! But he finally came around and all is well. Joe is a ‘Swell Guy’...” Letter of Thompson to Haskell, 16th Dec. 1948, folder: “Elisabeth Kendall Thompson,” Haskell papers, Columbia.

²⁷⁰ Letter of Thompson to Haskell, 17th Dec. 1948, folder: “Elisabeth Kendall Thompson,” Haskell papers, Columbia.



FIG. 3.10 The Sept. 1949 Western Section article of the Record that served as the exhibition's guide.

Here, Thompson's informing of Haskell on the SFMA directors' choice to run the exhibition is the earliest documentation of the exhibition, even earlier than the records of the Museum itself.²⁷¹ Therefore the *Record* editors were not monitoring and reporting on the situation but were involved from the very beginning which also explains why SFMA instantly inquired the leading contribution of Thompson due for her contact with architects, and to provide research and curatorship of the historical part of the exhibition.

More specifically, Thompson was in conversation [Fig. 3.8] with the Museum's executive directors Richard Freeman and Robert Church to set the objectives of the exhibition:^{272,273}

"I had a very pleasant conference with Richard Freeman and Robert Church of the San Francisco Museum on Wednesday, just after receiving your letter.

²⁷¹ According to Parra-Martinez and Crosse (2018) the first documents of the 1949 exhibition at the SFMA archive are dated from the 3rd of March 1949. Op. cit.

²⁷² Church and Freeman took up the task since the director Grace Marley was at the moment on temporary leave.

²⁷³ Thompson was even debating with the curators about the position of each architect with regards to their grouping the "Bay Area Style": *"In the process of talking with Masters Freeman + Church, the latter said he had gained the impression that Dailey felt there was not a B.A. style. I got the opposite from what he wrote. What do you get? Dailey's statement is a rewrite from a statement made for some other magazine—he couldn't remember which— which had never published it; The rewrite says the same things differently and he was much pleased with it. (It doesn't resemble the original at all, and the original lacked a conclusive statement). Since I left the matter, his exact opinion on the subject should he unequivocally stated, I sent the rewrite back with the specific request that he makes clear his feeling. The last paragraph was dictated by him specially for us; these are his own word, + they seem pretty definite, don't they?"* Thompson to Haskell, 3rd Mar. 1949, folder: "Elisabeth Kendall Thompson," Haskell papers, Columbia.

They had not gone much further with their plans than when I wrote you on the third. However, it seems pretty well established that they will have about sixty panels in the exhibit, of which ten will be devoted to historical background of current domestic architecture. They have asked me to work with them on this particular section, and they have Bolton White, Gardner Dailey and Ernest Born working on the contemporary section.”²⁷⁴

To these organization matters, Thompson reminded the directors of the pivotal role of the magazine in the whole process:

“I casually mentioned that, of course, the *Record* had opened the whole subject for discussion, and they as carefully agreed but I did not feel that I could press the point, inasmuch as our Maybeck article appeared in January, 1948, and Mumford’s original *New Yorker* article bringing up the humane quality of the Bay Area style was published in October, 1947. What I think the *Record* did do however, was to spur the Museum of Modern Art into its symposium and *Life* into its article on Maybeck.”

As can be deduced from the above, a) Haskell was in contact both with SFMA and architects of the *Bay Region Style* from 1947, b) Thompson connected most of these architects for the May 1949 article and c) according to Thompson, these actions of the *Record* influenced the SFMA to take up the subject of Bay Region for its exhibition building upon the editors' promotion of Bay Region architecture.

3.2.2 During and after the exhibition

3.2.2.1 Sep.1949 articles: brochure & guide

Coinciding with the exhibition’s opening, the *Record*’s September issue provided a four-page article that served as a brochure for the exhibition along with another article showing a map of the Bay Area, indicating where are located the houses featured in the exhibition [Fig. 3.9 and 3.10]. Cut-out copies of these articles of the *Record* served as the exhibition’s informative supplements:

²⁷⁴ Letter of Thompson to Haskell. 11th Mar. 1949, folder: “Elisabeth Kendall Thompson,” Haskell papers, Columbia.

“The [*Architectural Record*] also offered its Western Section readers a four-page hand guide and a map locating the houses in the exhibition. These two *Architectural Record* supplements were used strategically to enhance the publicity of [the exhibition], and sent to every venue as part of the exhibition documentation.”²⁷⁵

3.2.2.2 Curation and catalogue

In the introduction of the catalogue itself, the director Robert Freeman mentions specifically Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, Western Editor of the *Architectural Record* as first of three individuals, (the other ones being Ernest Born and Robert M. Church) ^{276 277} “who played indispensable roles” and that her research “in the historical background of Bay Region architecture is the basis for that section.”²⁷⁸ This historical section curated by Thompson, and titled “Background section” was of significant importance since it followed Mumford and Haskell, in their portrayal of modern architecture as rooted in American building tradition and not imported from Europe as was the established narrative of MoMA’s 1932 exhibition.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁵ Parra-Martinez and Crosse, Op. cit., 308.

²⁷⁶ Domestic architecture of the San Francisco Bay region. [Catalog of the exhibition held at the San Francisco Museum of Art, Sept. 16, Oct. 30, 1949], (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Arts, 1949).

²⁷⁷ Regarding Church’s role in the exhibition, Thompson describes her impression of him in 1957, on account of Church’s application as director of the Art Gallery of the University of Arizona, that speaks both for the museum director and the growing respect towards Thompson, who was being asked her opinion on such a matter. This letter is also revealing as to their working relationship during the 1949 exhibition and their common interest of the regional aspect in architecture. “My only experience in museum work consisted of organizing the historical section of the exhibition “Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region”, half at the San Francisco Museum in 1949, at which time Mr. Church was curator of the Museum. At that time I was Associate Editor of the *Record*, and the exhibition was, of course, an avocational pursuit with me. As an outside working at the museum in a very part-time way, I certainly depended on Mr. Church for the multitude of detail which any such show entails, and he was untiring in his effort to see that everything should be carried out as perfectly humanly possible (under restrictions of budget and of space), and he did an excellent job of it. This is, however, all that I can give you of direct observation on his work in the museum field. His interests are wide, including architecture – particularly in its regional expression – and this of course pleases me greatly.” Source: Thompson to John Crowder, Dean College of Fine Arts University of Arizona. 28 May 1957. EKT archive.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ On Haskell’s views on modernism and his relation with Mumford see previous chapter.

The fact that Thompson labelled her section as “Background Section” gives credit to this line of thought in an effort to reconcile modernism with local building practices, in a reaction to the over-enthusiastic embrace of the “tags and clichés of the International Style.”²⁸⁰

As Lewis Mumford wrote:

“This exhibition repairs a serious omission in the existing histories of American architecture: it establishes the existence of a vigorous tradition of modern building, which took root in California some half a century ago... as we dove around Berkeley in 1941, that I first was able to trace, from the inside, the origins and continuities of this vital modern tradition. [...] Here the architects have absorbed the universal lessons of science and the machine and have reconciled them with human wants and human desires... with all those regional qualities whose importance Frederick Law Olmsted wisely stressed two generations ago.”²⁸¹

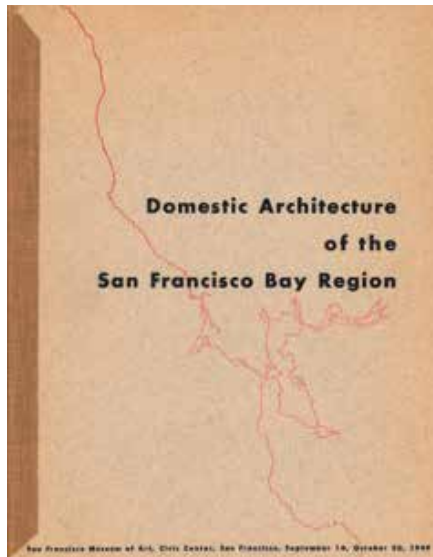


FIG. 3.11 The catalogue of the 1949 SFMA exhibition “Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region,” with Thompson’s article following Mumford’s.

²⁸⁰ Lewis Mumford, “The architecture of the Bay Region.” In *Domestic architecture of the San Francisco Bay region*. [A catalog of an exhibition held at the San Francisco Museum of Art, Sept. 16 - Oct. 30, 1949]. (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Art, 1949).

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

Since the establishment of the Western Section of the *Architectural Record* in 1947 and until the SFMA exhibition of 1949, Thompson had been responsible for several articles dealing with historical figures of Bay Region architecture including Greene and Greene²⁸² and Maybeck which provided valuable experience for her contribution as curator. In total the exhibition featured 52 contemporary houses and an additional 19 historical ones, curated by Thompson. Apart from the aforementioned architects, other notable west coast architects featured were John Galen Howard (1864-1931), Louis Christian Mullgardt (1866-1942) Ernest Coxhead (1863-1933) as well as the only woman architect of the exhibition: Julia Morgan (1872-1957). This collection of architects effectively established for the first time this generation of architects as a collective school of regional proto-modernism that was later labelled as the “First Bay Tradition.” In contrast, the subsequent generation of mid-century modernists also portrayed in the exhibition were labelled the “Second Bay Tradition” and in the late 1960s, another generation of architects would make up the “Third Bay Tradition” again with important contribution by Thompson.²⁸³

In the 1949 exhibition’s catalogue, beyond the listing of the exhibits of the “Background Section,” Thompson was responsible for authoring an article, which came in third in-line after a brief introduction by the museum’s director and a brief text of Lewis Mumford. Thompson’s essay was titled “Backgrounds and beginnings” [Fig. 3.10] and immediately pointed to the need of establishing consistency between contemporary architecture with the areas’ history, before going on to point out in detail the common denominators of both these periods:

The quality which today attracts admiration for the Bay Region’s domestic architecture has not suddenly arisen. It is a direct heritage from an earlier period.

3.2.2.3 JSAH article

At the end of the same year of 1949, Thompson addressed the Society of Architectural Historians in Chicago with a paper titled “Background of the Domestic Architecture in the San Francisco Bay Area written along with Robert M. Church from the San Francisco Museum of Art, that built upon her catalogue text.

²⁸² *Architectural Record*, (May 1948): 140.

²⁸³ Leslie Mandelson Freudenheim, Elisabeth Sussman, *Building with nature: roots of the San Francisco Bay Region tradition*, Santa Barbara, CA, P. Smith, 1974.

As she mentions in her AIA membership file:

“These two publications, written by the nominee, represent original research by her in a field of architectural knowledge unexplored up to that time. The essay “Backgrounds and Beginnings” set forth for the first time the antecedents of what was then called the “Bay Area Style,” and contains what Frederick Gutheim, reviewing the catalog of the exhibition in the New York Herald Tribune, called the “most successful definition of the California regional style.”

"The Historical Section of the Museum's 1949 exhibition, researched and organized by this nominee [i.e. Thompson], presented the first photographic evidence, supported by text, also written by the nominee, of the lineage of contemporary Bay Area architecture."

'As a direct result of this essay and of the subsequent paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians in Chicago in 1950, and of the Journal's publication of an amplified version, interest in further research on the subject has been stimulated among architectural students and scholars not only locally but in other parts of California, and nationally."²⁸⁴

3.2.3 Thompson's views on the Bay Region style

As for the thoughts of Thompson on the general matter of whether there is or there isn't a Bay Region style she confided to Haskell her personal thoughts. Their correspondence is a rare documentation of the editors' point of view of the emergence of a style, a very sensible matter to both architects and historians, and a domain where the media's contribution has never been sufficiently explored. Early on in their correspondence, Thompson picks up the topic of the importance of including pictures of buildings of the earliest generation of Bay Region architects in order to establish a historic genealogy of the architectural forms employed.

There she says:

“The idea of all this background material is to show the diversity of ‘heritage’ which has been absorbed by this generation of architects.”²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, “Nomination for Fellowship by Chapter,” AIA membership file “Elisabeth Kendall Thompson,” AIA archives, page 5.

²⁸⁵ Letter of Thompson to Kenneth Stowell, cc'ed to Haskell. Ibid., folder: “Elisabeth Kendall Thompson,” Haskell papers, Columbia.

And in another instance:

“The idea is to show the variety of “styles,” and the futility of saying there is a “style.”²⁸⁶

On another one, addressed to Haskell:

“I understood from you that the idea was the we shouldn’t be saying something pontifical, but that the architects themselves should be the ones to say what. That’s why I tried to keep things more or less in that brief introduction. There was so much I would have like to say! Because I know that there isn’t a Bay Area Style!”²⁸⁷

Another important note is Thompson’s complaints over the architects’ texts of the 18th Feb. 1949, underlying how the Record editors would play an essential in strengthening the intellectual side of architects, who were lacking in writing skills: “Working with amateurs is I think the hardest job of all, don’t you? I could have written the whole darn thing four times over in the time it has taken me simply to round up the material on these people’s opinions.”

And:

“At this point I wish the Bay Area would sink like Atlantis! And me with it. After all this labor, it’s nothing but a mouse, and not at all what I wanted—but I feel me plans were stymied. Someday I am going to write what I want to, as I want to, and satisfy myself, even if nobody publishes it.”²⁸⁸

But ultimately, Thompson admits the paradoxical emergence of the style:

“Isn’t this the point of the whole thing: that what goes on now may be the genesis of a style, but it’s wrong to call it that now. After all there are only a few of the authentic thing – the rest are copies, and in copying they appropriate only the superficials of this West Coast solution to today’s living mode. The authentic examples were evolved as reasonable solutions to the specific problems, and not as pictures. [emphasis from the original]²⁸⁹

²⁸⁶ Letter of Thompson to Haskell, 28th Jan. 1949. Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Letter of Thompson to Haskell, 26th Feb. 1949, Haskell papers, Columbia.

²⁸⁸ Letter of Thompson to Haskell, 18th Feb. 1949, Haskell papers, Columbia.

²⁸⁹ Undated note. Possibly from March 3rd 1949. Thompson to Haskell, Haskell papers, Columbia.



FIG. 3.12 Working on the field. Elisabeth Kendall Thompson second from the left.

3.3 A multi-faceted work

Beyond the specifics of the establishment of the Western Section, and the achievements of the Bay Region exhibition, Thompson's key position in mid-century history as an architectural journal editor is a rare case that reveals the multiple sides of her challenging job. Exactly because she was assigned to be in constant communication with the New York office and also due to her perfectly preserved archive her *Records* document her working relation with all the people involved in the production chain of architectural journalism: publishers, architects and photographers and of course the editors of the New York office.

3.3.1 Working with architects

On collaborating with architects for the purposes of issuing features of their work, some notable cases (out of the many) that were attended by Thompson were those of the modernist icons Richard J. Neutra, Walter A. Netsch and Pietro Belluschi, the Dean of the University of Southern California and leading figure of the Bay Region Style William Wurster, and the post-modern and Ranch-Style architects Charles Moore and Maynard Lyndon. A typical work process between architects and editors consisted of an initial inquiry from the part of the editors for information on latest projects, often on the occasion of upcoming issues of a specific theme, or a “Building Type Study” in what concerned the *Record*. Subsequently, a period started when editors would acquaint themselves with the project, its program, properties and detailed construction methods and products used, its level of completion and whether either the architects or the building’s owners had already given an “exclusive” to another specialized magazine. This would also be the time for field journeys where the architects would show personally the projects to the editors [Fig. 3.12].

When a decision was reached, a special questionnaire was filled in this stage, covering all the required fields. If the articles were deemed worthy of publicashing, arrangements were made to acquire photographs and text descriptions. Photographs were contributed either from the architect, who would send them along with original drawings re-productions of which were made in the New York office by the art department of the magazine. If no photographs were available, a professional photographer would be assigned the job, whose travel and work expenses were covered only partially by the magazine. Finally, if the article was extensive enough, the art director of the magazine sketched a draft layout which the architect would later approve before it would be sent to production. One of the few boxes kept in the UC Berkeley in the Eli[s]abeth Kendall Thompson papers is a full box of numerous individual folders in alphabetical order where Thompson was collecting newspaper cut-out information or press reports for each individual architect that was in the news, revealing the extent to which Thompson was keeping track of the US architectural scene. Out of the many cases that collaborated with her, here are presented two, those of Richard Neutra and Walter Netsch.

3.3.1.1 From the correspondence of Richard J. Neutra

Richard Neutra’s archive is one of the most extensive ones of an architect in correspondence with the *Architectural Record* and lays proof to the process mentioned above including filled-in questionnaires of featured project’s

specifications, draft layouts of his articles and an abundance of telegraphed notes for the rapid organization of documents [Fig. 3.13]. From her part, Thompson, was responsible for co-ordinating the process of tracking and covering leads.

Regarding Neutra, around 1950, Thompson gradually picked up the task from Haskell, Stowell and Florence van Wyck of inquiring the architect for new material that culminated into a close monitoring of his practice's accomplishments. Specifically for architects of the stature of Neutra, the *Record* editors would even suggest topics for new articles (Haskell, 1946) or would ask him to publish his projects in sketch form so that a subsequent publication would be already secured, once the project would be complete (Thompson, 1950).²⁹⁰ In this process, the Western Section offered an in-between step: projects that were not extensive enough, or were on hold for further photographs, would be published in the Western Section on a limited span while waiting to be included in the national edition.

One such case was Neutra's "Elysian Park Redevelopment Project" of 1951, on the occasion of which Thompson is repeating the process to Neutra in a letter:

"I suppose you know we sometimes publish, in the Western Section, projects in sketch form before construction is under way, particularly if the project is one of merit such as Elysian Park is. In such a case our presentation is so arranged that it could not in any way preclude the publication of the project at a later day. This is just a note to tell you that I would very much like to have the pleasure of presenting the material that is now available in the Western Section"²⁹¹

and at the same time, addressed her associates in New York regarding the same project of Neutra, she writes:

"How about preliminary on this for Western? That sort of thing was a basic premise of Western's scheme—it ought to operate more often"²⁹²

On another note, it is important to underline that extensive part of the correspondence with the magazine and in general public relations of the office was run by Dione Neutra whose abilities of advertising the work of the office was noteworthy. Gradually, the relationship between the editor and the Neutras grew to a personal basis, that benefited both of the parts' work.

²⁹⁰ Thompson to Hauf, 10 Nov. 1950, folder: "1950 Neutra," EKT archive.

²⁹¹ Letter of Thompson to Neutra 29th August, 1951, folder: "1950 Neutra," EKT archive.

²⁹² Letter of Thompson to van Wyck and Payne, 17th Aug. 1951, folder: "1950 Neutra," EKT archive.

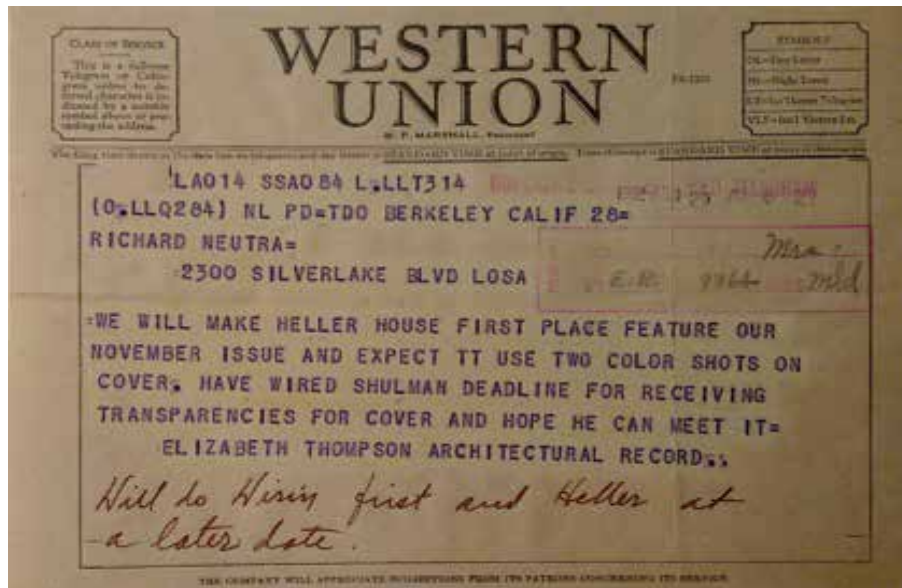


FIG. 3.13 Telegram of Thompson to Richard Neutra, 29 Aug. 1952. A typical example of the thousands of correspondence letters between Thompson and the *Record*'s featured architects.

For example, following the occasion of a dinner where Thompson had been invited over, she sends a letter to inquire over the issues discussed:

“We covered many subjects during the evening that it would be hard to remember one as the main theme; the role of the client, however – and the architect’s role with the client -- was certainly salient. I hope you will remember, when you tire of writing books on love, that you will have an interested reader on clients. Let me know if you do, wont’ you?”²⁹³

In that line, between Thompson and the Neutras; work and friendly discussions interchange, revealing the soft power through which the editor would operate. Thompson’s delicate treatment of architects through compliments and specific, well-defined biddings, opened them up and set them along the lines of the magazine while also playing on their ambitions [Fig. 3.14 and 3.15]. The Neutras would often write to Thompson on their recent travels or other personal developments that would be answered by the editor with specific questions on the state of their architectural works.²⁹⁴

²⁹³ Letter of Thompson to R. Neutra. Jan. 26, 1954, Richard and Dion Neutra papers, Box: 1424:13, University of California Los Angeles.

²⁹⁴ One such example is one letter of Neutra’s notifying Thompson to cancel a news article (due to the client not being in accordance with the publishing) where he opens up with a long account of the couple’s recent



FIG. 3.14 Both the personal and the Bancroft records of Thompson hold original photographs from architects such as this of Richard Neutra who was aiming to get published in the *Record*. A typical example of public relations between the architect and the editor. Source: UC Berkeley, EKT papers.

travels to Tokyo and Manila only to be responded by Thompson's renewed focus on their future projects. Letter of Richard Neutra to Thompson. Dec 15, 1951, Neutra papers.

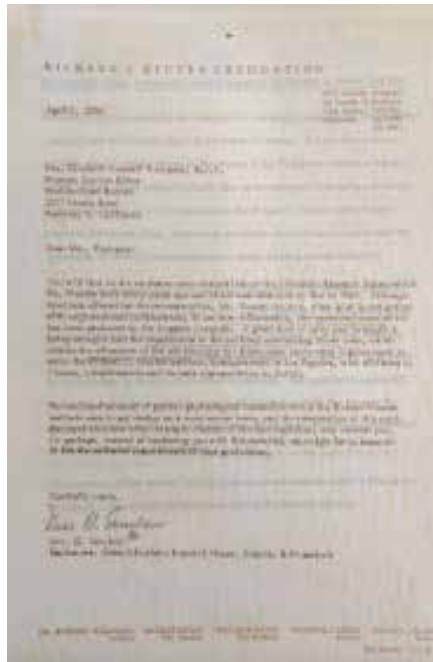


FIG. 3.15 Letter to the Record and one of the magazine's building questionnaire, filled-in by the Neutra office.

3.3.1.2 Walter A. Netsch and the Monterrey articles

Another architect with whom Thompson developed extensive correspondence was Walter Netsch, partner of the firm Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, who rose to prominence as the lead designer of modernist landmarks such as the US Air Force Academy and its Chapel of 1963, and the North-western University Library in 1970. Netsch had joined SOM at the age of 27 in 1947 and from 1951 to 1954 he was chief of design in SOM's San Francisco office where he established contact with Thompson.²⁹⁵ One of the projects that singled him out as a promising architect and gained “worldwide attention”²⁹⁶ was the Naval school in Monterrey, California. On this

²⁹⁵ Robert Allan Nauman, *On the wings of Modernism: The United States Air Force Academy*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 28.

²⁹⁶ Russel Clement et al., *Walter A. Netsch, FAIA: A critical appreciation and sourcebook*, (Evanston, IL: North-western University Press, 2008), 10.

project, Netsch authored two articles published in the *Architectural Record* under the supervision of Thompson that coincided with his promotion in the company and were pivotal moments for both of their careers.

The first article appeared in the *Record* in June 1954 with the title “Programming the US Naval Postgraduate School of Engineering”²⁹⁷ and according to Thompson was conceived to be an elaborate study on the programming of the school that would have been authored by the person who was in charge of this specialised aspect of the architectural firm. On this case, Walter Netsch.²⁹⁸ This led to further implications from both the SOM and the New York office of the *Record*. Associate editors, Frank Lopez and James Hornbeck along with then managing editor Emerson Goble, attempted to pass the article to other SOM architects who were their own personal contacts in the firm, namely Harmon Goldstone and Jack Rodgers. When they tried to impose an earlier time-schedule for the publication of the article at a time when Netsch was abroad (working on a project in Okinawa, Japan) they ordered Thompson to transfer all her material and the complete production of the article to New York. The Nava School project was by then under construction and this first programming article would also mean the future commission of a feature article upon the project’s completion, which was the main reason that the New York editors wanted to scoop for themselves this “damn good story.”²⁹⁹ Using several leverages, that Thompson deemed outside of “fair play”³⁰⁰ the New York editors transferred the preparation from the hands of Thompson, at a time when Judd Payne, the publishing director was on leave and there was no editor-in-chief, awaiting the arrival of John Knox Shear) therefore leaving Thompson exposed to the team’s accusations and unable to maintain the supervision of the naval school article. But at that time, Netsch himself stepped into the magazine’s process and advocated in favour of Thompson and the western edition.

²⁹⁷ *Architectural Record*, (June 1954): 150.

²⁹⁸ Thompson and Netsch had met as early as April 1953 and scheduled the article for June 1954.

²⁹⁹ Thompson to Payne 20 Jan 1955, EKT archive, folder: “Payne,” 2.

³⁰⁰ These included the New York editors claiming that they should prepare the article because, a) they were charging and scheduling the project’s photographic coverage, b) they were in haste by the printer and they wouldn’t be aware of the available pages and therefore the appropriate layout until the very last moment; and when Thompson asked to take the matter with F.W. Dodge director Judd Payne 3) that Payne’s hospitalization would last much longer than Thompson was informed. *Ibid*.



FIG. 3.16 Comparison of the final product with the draft layout of the Monterrey article as found in ETK archive.

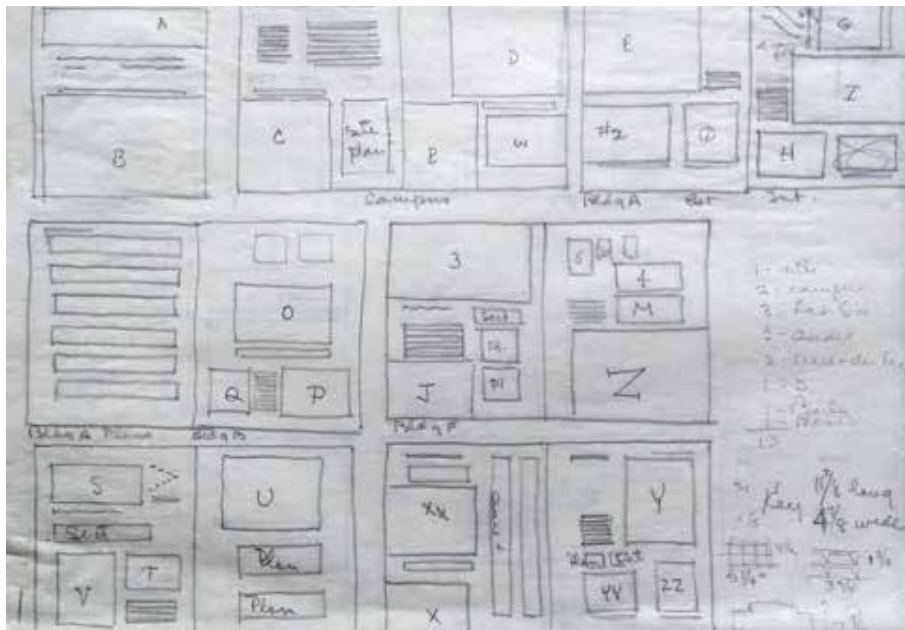


FIG. 3.17 Draft layout of the Monterrey feature article from the ETK archive.

When Thompson informed him that she was no longer in charge of the article, he responded:

“But that’s always been part of it. That you were to do it. I might as well tell you that that project went to the *Record* only because of you and your interest in it, and it was over the opposition of the organization [SOM] that you got it. They don’t like the *Record* and the way they publish. But it’s always been understood that you would do it.”

And:

“Also, I am afraid of what the East does to the West – you know I’ve always felt that, and that’s one of the reasons why I wanted you to handle it.”

The matter soon escalated, straining both Thompson’s relation to the New York office and SOM’s with the magazine. And when the latter scheduled the article’s publication on a short notice to the January issue of 1954, the SOM San Francisco office issued a statement to the magazine to “withdraw from publication” and threatened with “national implications” if their desired publishing standards were not met and stated particularly that Thompson should remain in charge of the article.³⁰¹ The intervention from the part of the architects ended the dispute for this first article that appeared in June 1954 while for the second one, the feature article of the complete building Thompson had to address an extensive letter of strong complains to Judd Payne upon his timely return, where after she recounts the whole episode she concludes: “It makes sense [...] that someone who is on the spot and knows the buildings should be the one to prepare the presentation, not someone in the East who knows nothing about the piece.”³⁰²

This whole incident was the occasion for the recognition of Thompson’s editorial jurisdiction and freedom to exercise full supervision of her articles as well as greater respect from Judd Payne and the newly assigned John Knox Shear as editor-in-chief who held much closer communication with her in comparison to his predecessors. The feature article, was ultimately published on April 1955, with a complete span of 13 pages as Thompson originally required and according to the layout she had developed with Netsch, of which documentation still exists in the EKT archive [Fig. 3.16 and 3.17]. For Netsch, the publication of the Monterrey “programming article” in June 1954 coincided with SOM’s employee interviews for the design of another

³⁰¹ EKT id.

³⁰² EKT ibid.

major project, the US Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs and contributed³⁰³ to Netsch being assigned to prepare the designs with which he ultimately won the competition, landing the commission to SOM. For this project, he was lauded for his design abilities, most notably for the academy's distinctive Chapel, that went to be a modernist landmark and a signature design of the Netsch's architecture and his "Field theory" method.

The publication of the second, feature article of the Monterrey project, in April 1955 coincided with Netsch's promotion into SOM partnership and his move to the Chicago headquarters, that Thompson did not omit to address:

"Congratulations! That is a long step you 've made – into partnership, and one to be very proud of. I'm delighted to have the news. How much farther—and where—will you go next? Just don't get too far from San Francisco; you have something to contribute here too, you know. You'd only just begun."

Walter Netsch's case is a characteristic example of how the work of an editor could influence the career of an architect in stepping up into the spotlight. With SOM becoming one of the major architectural corporations, a unique American phenomenon, the recognition of individual architects³⁰⁴ became a major issue of public relations both for the firms and the architectural magazines, as the institution that sanctioned their value.

3.3.2 Working with photographers: Shulman and Sturtevant

A considerable amount of Thompson's work had to do with various photographers and the task of assigning them jobs of projects to photograph, or if they already were in possession of photographs to reproduce them and send them to the *Architectural Record*. In fact, the network that Thompson built around her of architectural photographers is so expansive that it paints a more or less complete picture of mid-century architectural photographers on the western half of the States, as well as the ones covering the more remote Hawaii and Alaska, which was the area that Thompson was covering according to the *Architectural Record's* new policies of the mid-1950s [Fig. 3.18].

³⁰³ Nauman, op. cit., 28.

³⁰⁴ Apart from Netsch, another individual that managed to rise through the ranks of SOM was Gordon Bunshaft, whose Pritzker prize of 1988 was the greatest honor of any individual of a firm and the first such architect to win the prize without being partner of the company.

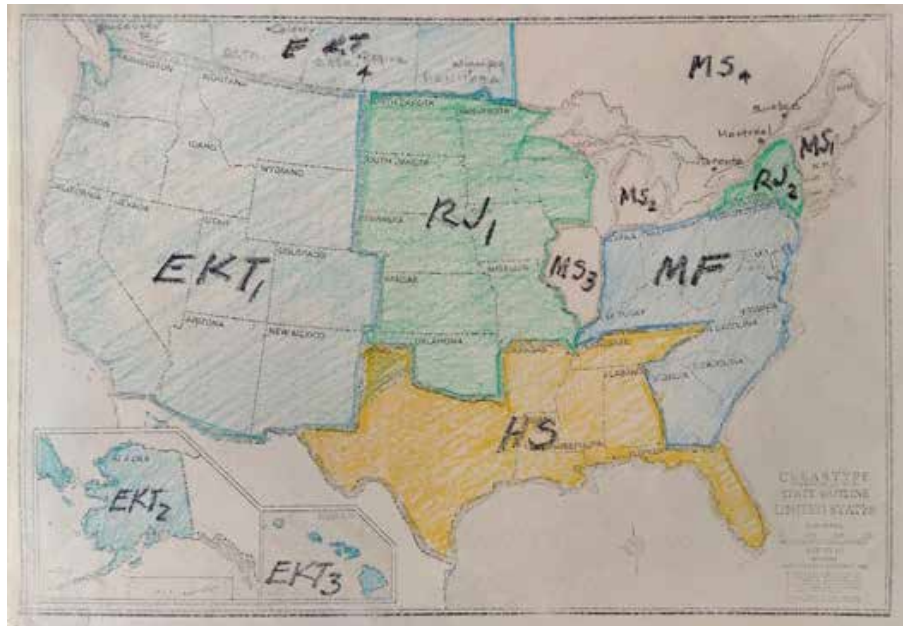


FIG. 3.18 Map of the editorial assignments of the *Record* staff. Elisabeth Kendall Thompson (EKT) was in charge of the 11 western starts, Hawaii and Alaska, as well as the western provinces of Canada. Thompson-W. Wagner correspondence 1967. A task only made possible through the close collaboration of photographers that acted as Thompson's reporters.

3.3.2.1 “Shulman’s wrath”

A notable case is the renowned photographer Julius Shulman with whom Thompson held a long collaboration with the earliest correspondence dating from 1951 and the latest from 1971. Shulman’s residing in Los Angeles meant that he had a consistent contact with architects there and he would often write to Thompson to inform her about any news-worthy recent buildings in abundant long letters. But during their 20-years collaboration the photographer-editor relationship was often compromised due to the photographer’s demands that were not met by the magazine – at least according to himself. Shulman had even voiced his concerns about the *Record’s* policy of having to deal through the Thompson and the Western Office when submitting material for use in the national edition.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁵ Frank G. Lopez to Shulman, 19 March 1954, cc’ed to Thompson, folder: “Shulman,” EKT archive.

In 1954, there was another incidence of what Thompson called “Shulman’s wrath” when he was blaming the magazine’s delay to publish a house that he had photographed and was withholding his original photos while working on its publication. However, Thompson also had her concerns over Shulman’s own lagging delivery of material and his “publish or return” letters that were only making matters worse. Despite that, Thompson was of the opinion of “keeping the door open” to the photographer since he would often allow Thompson to go through his files personally to find “marketable” photographs.³⁰⁶

An interesting fact is that Shulman saw himself as doing “public relations” on the part of the architects, triggering a response from Thompson:

“I am surprised to learn from your letters that architects expect public relations service from so busy a person as a photographer, for public relations in itself is a full-time job; but if they do expect this sort of service, as you indicate they do, then they must surely understand that public relations involve only submission of material to editors – it cannot commit.”³⁰⁷

The situation reached another low point in 1961 when Shulman was offered a fee that he deemed to small and sent a letter resigning from any posterior work with the *Architectural Record*:

“Dear Betty, It seems that we have reached the crossroads with the *Record*... After so many years of what I considered faithful and certainly cooperative relationships, it must now come to an end...Emerson’s attitude is beyond consideration. [...] I feel that we cannot jeopardize the presentation of such a significant project with a few photographs thereby destroying the possibilities of other use”.³⁰⁸

Before taking the matter to Goble, Thompson contacted the architects whose project was under discussion and once she realized that they were in accordance with a limited number of photographs for their project informed Goble that Shulman was asking for more photographs to maximize his own exposure, not his clients’.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ Thompson to Payne. 5 Sept. 1954, op. cit.

³⁰⁷ Thompson to Shulman, 2 Sept. 1954, op. cit..

³⁰⁸ Shulman to Thompson 3 Oct. 1961, Folder “Payne Gordon,” EKT archive.

³⁰⁹ Thompson to Goble, 9 Sept 1961, op. cit.

Goble's response was the return of Shulman's photographs that came along with the decision of not asking him for any further jobs: 'we should simply wait and let him come to us.'³¹⁰ Which is what eventually happened.

3.3.2.2 Roger Sturtevant

Another close photographer to Thompson was Roger Sturtevant whose more gentle approach allowed for any problems to be settled amicably in his long lasting collaboration with the *Architectural Record*.³¹¹ In his work, his travel costs and daily fee were being paid by either the magazine or architects while printing costs and publication fees were being paid by the magazine, which was more than often the point of contention. But, despite architectural magazines paying a much lower fee than consumer ones, Sturtevant was fully supportive of the *Record's* service and expressive of his appreciation. This might have been the reason why he was being commissioned some of the most important jobs. In 1952 for example, he was commissioned to travel to Portland, Oregon in order to take pictures of any unphotographed house designed by Pietro Belluschi before leaving the west for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Sturtevant tracked and pictured the houses while being in communication both with the architect (then MIT dean and in partnership with SOM) and Thompson and her colleagues in New York who were preparing the very first monograph on Belluschi, published in 1953 by F.W. Dodge Co.³¹² In fact, Sturtevant was initially scheduled to be accompanied by Thompson and Belluschi himself on his trip.³¹³ With Thompson being the constant mediator between Sturtevant, the New York office and her various connections in the architecture world, she seems to have been heavily responsible in the recognition of the photographer for whom she had early on stated her support by saying that "he tops them all."³¹⁴ To this attests also that she was the one who gave the opening speech on a 1999 show at the Oakland Museum to honour the photographer's 75th birthday.³¹⁵

³¹⁰ Goble to Thompson 21 Sept 1961, op. cit..

³¹¹ Thompson to Sturtevant 9 Sept 1952, folder: "Sturtevant_and Memos," EKT archive.

³¹² Richardson to Thompson, 3 March 1952, EKT archive. and also: Jo Stubblebine (ed.), *The Northwest architecture of Pietro Belluschi*, (New York, NY: F.W.Dodge Co., 1953).

³¹³ Belluschi papers. Syracuse University.

³¹⁴ Thompson to Mason 8 Feb. 1952, EKT archive.

³¹⁵ Undated typescript. EKT archive folder "Sturtevant (and Oakland Museum)."

3.3.3 Op-eds, and critical writings

Apart from her work in reporting and writing feature or news articles, Thompson's own ideas were most vividly expressed through her opinion editorials, that started appearing in 1951 and ended with the end of the Western Section in 1966. There, Thompson displayed her critical view towards US architectural production, while also defined solidly the position and role of architectural journalism in the ongoing theoretical discussions. Some of the recurrent subjects of her opinion editorials were on heritage,³¹⁶ education,^{317,318,319} construction costs,³²⁰ conferences³²¹ but here are presented in short the issues that emerged as most critical: the practice of architecture, the re-definition of aesthetics in relation to society, the environment and the architectural profession, and thirdly the issue of architectural criticism and the role of the architectural editor.

3.3.3.1 In support of the profession

As has been mentioned, the support to the professional activities of architects was the main service that the *Architectural Record* wanted to provide during the mid-century period and was most characteristically expressed by Emerson Goble's adage that "we are for architects, not architecture." In correspondence with that line, Thompson followed this directive of the magazine and through her editorials explored in her own way the rapid changes of the professional field of American architects. As such, a series of Thompson's op-ed articles were on architects' public relations,³²² the architect-client relations,³²³ and most importantly, she insisted on bringing architects to face the realist problems of everyday life. For example, on the issue on city transportation and circulation she writes:

³¹⁶ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, "A bronze plaque is not enough," *Architectural Record*, (Nov. 1963).

³¹⁷ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, "A sound beginning: at grass roots," *Architectural Record*, (Oct. 1964).

³¹⁸ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, "A sound beginning," *Architectural Record*, (May 1958).

³¹⁹ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, "The gap that does not close," *Architectural Record*, (Jan., 1964).

³²⁰ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, "What price good design," *Architectural Record*, (May 1962),

³²¹ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, "For Shell-conscious architects and engineers," *Architectural Record* (August 1962).

³²² *Architectural Record*, (June 1952).

³²³ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, "The changing practice of architecture," *Architectural Record*, (Nov. 1960).

“Why not a symposium on these hard and earthy problems? It may be pleasant to talk theory and philosophy, but in the resolution of such real problems of the day lies the opportunity not only to talk philosophy but to apply it.

If architects could, out of truly serious-minded discussion, come up with suggestions which recognize the many facets of a question and imaginatively deal with them and propose concepts which make real sense, they would gain a respect they wistfully desire but do not now enjoy.”³²⁴

The relationship between architects and the government was another issue over which Thompson raised her concerns multiple times. In short, due to the wide spectrum of architecture, professionals developed a communication problem and both the government and the public failed to see the social benefits of good architectural design. For example, when writing about the need for research funds on architecture, Thompson says:

“Research in architecture is a broad field: it is search for form, for relationships, for appropriateness, for character; it is also search for method, for the right materials for a specific purpose, for the greatest economy. [...] The architect’s plea for research funds should be given full and sympathetic –even deferential–consideration. For in the realm of such funds, he has been—to society’s loss—the forgotten man.”³²⁵

3.3.3.2 On aesthetics and the “general welfare”

Following the above, Thompson often stressed the point of aesthetics as a social issue. Pointing the importance of urban infrastructure, the war on community ugliness,³²⁶ and the social responsibility of architects to engage with citizens through participating in committees and volunteer service.³²⁷ For all this, she put the emphasis on urban design.³²⁸

³²⁴ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, “Wanted: New concepts” 1964, Feb.

³²⁵ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, “All the brains are not in academe,” *Architectural Record*, (Feb. 1965).

³²⁶ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, 1965, Nov. “An end to pollution of urban vistas.” Note here that Thompson participated herself in the committee that redeveloped the street lights and signatures of the area of Berkeley. Source: in conversation with Susan Bailey.

³²⁷ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, “Time to take account,” *Architectural Record*, (May 1964)

³²⁸ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, “Beauty is a bargain,” *Architectural Record*, (Oct. 1965).

“the problem of American cities is not one of starting from scratch and achieving a bold and grand design unfettered by the reality of existing conditions of structure and economics. The problem is to work with what exists and cannot greatly be changed, and to do so within a context of an unknown future as well as a known today, and to achieve both for now and for that future the quality of design that will dignify the urban situation, not demean it, that will give beauty, not ugliness, to the city sense.”³²⁹

3.3.3.3 On criticism

The greatest insight over Thompson’s view of the role of the editor comes from her editorials on criticism, and most importantly, the ones from November and December 1961, where she recounts in two parts a recent conversation she had with. When she is asked whether she considers herself a critic since she writes about architecture, she responds:

“I write about architecture, but I don’t qualify myself as a critic. I guess I’m just old-fashioned enough to believe first, that a critic is not self-styled; and then, since criticism involves judgement, that it must be made against some standard. It can’t be criticism, in the true sense, when it is merely an expression of personal like or dislike. Most of what passes for criticism today– and is labelled so either by its authors or by those who print it – is personal opinion, not criticism.”³³⁰

“When you know both sides of a problem, the judgement can never be black against white; you see the black and white, and the true critic, equipped with his intangible and hard-won standard, judges which take precedence. But he is always aware of the shadow cast on the white by the black, and of the light cast on the black by the white.”³³¹

Here, Thompson paints a lucid picture of the situation in the scene of American architectural criticism and despite her privilege of having both the trust and attention of a massive audience, she holds herself reserved. Another reason for that,

³²⁹ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, “Time and money for the ‘new’ urban design,” *Architectural Record*, (April 1965).

³³⁰ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, “Conversation at noon: Or criticism on the half shell,” *Architectural Record*, (Nov. 1961).

³³¹ Ibid.

is mentioned in the following editorial, of December 1961, in which she describes that architects actually enjoy having their buildings criticized, because even if it is harsh they gain recognisability therefore any criticism of bad design becomes redundant and only adds up to the confusion.³³² In all, Thompson is halfway between the position of Goble who openly opposed criticism and that of Haskell who was being known as a “flag-waiving” polemic. Instead, Thompson recognized that criticism is not part of the medium but the result of it, and the responsibility lies in the hands of the readers and the way they choose to read the magazine. In December 1962 she writes:

“Those who want the magazine to act as a “tastemaker” forget, first that this is their magazine, not the general public’s; and second, that taste is made by individual conviction. And conviction, if it is worthy and true, comes from stimulus to individual thinking and thus to individual decision, not from indoctrination.”³³³

As such, her job as an editor through the *Record* was to provide “stimulus not standard.” Information on the latest developments that the readers needed themselves to critically assess architecture on their own. The way Thompson structured those editorials, by referencing other people, verbatim discussions and even listing newspaper headlines to make her point, underlined her stance that the editor was there to report and shed the limelight to specific problems. Not to voice her own personal opinions in respect to the objective discipline of architecture, and the service of the architect/reader and his/her right of making the choice of action, was her task according to her.



FIG. 3.19 Books edited by Thompson: *Apartments, townhouses and condominiums*, 1975, *Recycling buildings*, 1976, *Houses of the West*, 1979. Although never critically acclaimed, these were key publications for the emergence of the architectural scene of the West Coast.

³³² “Criticism is more than a flaming sword.” *Architectural Record*, (Dec. 1961).

³³³ Ibid.

3.3.4 Other writings and external involvement

Beyond the pages of the standard issues of the magazine, Thompson was often involved in other writing projects that gradually led her to be considered *the* most knowledgeable editor of the area and to be included in projects such as AIA award committees or high-profile academic research studies on architecture.

3.3.4.1 *Record Houses* and *Architectural Record* books

Through 1975 and 1979, Thompson edited three books of the *Architectural Record* series which were commented for being both interesting reads and giving attention to being useful, and to reflect the ongoing public concerns.³³⁴ On the other hand, it was noted that they reflect a “magazine tradition” that “gives equal treatment to all projects” restricting their coverage.³³⁵

Furthermore, Thompson often supervised the mid-May special issue of *Record Houses*. Especially after 1966 when *Architectural Record's* Western Section was integrated back to the national edition, Thompson was still burdened with heavy work such as the editing of the *Record Houses*. Of course, by then she was a senior editor with wide connections and a natural choice for the specific task. Having nurtured the mid-century generation of architects, Thompson was in a position to introduce the readers to another generation of modernist architects, through the pages of the *Record Houses* and her latest book *Houses of the West*. One architect to have benefit from such exposure was Charles Moore³³⁶ whose associated style of “Sea Ranch” borrowed greatly from the Bay Region Style and was quickly picked up in Thompson’s publications. Of course, considering Thompson’s reservation on labelling architectural movements, her 1979 book mentioned neither the Sea Ranch, neither the Bay Region Style but went instead for the more indistinctive “Houses of the West.” Without a doubt though, this is a book that was meant to establish cohesiveness amongst another two generations of Bay Area architects. [Fig. 3.19]

³³⁴ Annals of Tourism Research, (April/June 1978): 290.

³³⁵ Richard Bendner, review of *Recycling Buildings: Renovations, remodelings, restorations and reuses*, An *Architectural Record* Book, by Elisabeth Kendall Thompson FAIA, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 36, No. 4, (Dec. 1977).

³³⁶ E.g. letter of Charles Moore to Thompson, 29 May 1967: “Dear Betty, The Karas coverage in the *Record House* would be extremely useful in conversations with potential clients. Could we acquire four (4) copies. Many thanks. Sincerely yours, [signature] Charles w. Moore.” Folder: “misc correspondence,” EKT personal archive.



FIG. 3.20 Thompson at the 1967 Chair Honor Awards Jury, Central Valley Chapter 1967. Thompson presented the five architects with Chapter Awards.

3.3.4.2 Working in AIA committees

Furthermore, Thompson was engaged in a considerable number of activities around architecture. Most notably, she was often assigned by the national or state organizations of the AIA as a consultant in public relations and awards committees [Fig. 3.20]. Her work gradually led to her being more and more respected amongst architectural circles and to gradually be accepted and ultimately awarded for her contribution. But it was a long process.

From 1967, Elisabeth Kendall Thompson applied for an AIA fellowship (she had already been a “corporate member” since 1957), and her application was completely out of standards taking into account that she lacked in the field of architectural practice. Her application, addressed to the Jury of Fellows of the AIA in Washington DC, was accompanied by a letter from William J. Watson, President of the regional, Northern California Chapter.

The letter wrote:

“The Jury will note an absence of information on page 3 concerning nominee’s accomplishments in design. Mrs. Thompson has not practiced architecture, nor is she licensed to do so. Her admission to membership in the AIA stemmed from recognition of her work in architectural literature, and it is in this category that the attached nomination is submitted. Through literary channels the nominee has awakened the public to the need for good design in the environment; AIA chapters have sought her out to jury honor awards programs because of her known sensitivity to design; and the civic groups with which she has been involved look to her for counsel on design problems.”³³⁷

By then, Thompson had already participated in a number of AIA, Northern California Chapter events and committees, all of them listed in her AIA membership file.³³⁸ And beyond the AIA, Thompson was also a member of the Society of Architectural Historians, the Women’s Architectural League, and Honorary member of Women’s Architectural League of Oregon. As for her civic activities: City of Berkeley Civic Art Commission (member, president), Civic Art Foundation (member, president), and several City of Berkeley Committees for visual improvement of the environment (member), Board of Directors, North East Berkeley Association (member, treasurer, secretary). Also, during the years of 1955-6 she was Assistant Professor of Architecture at the California College of Arts and Crafts and in 1959 and 1985 she had been a key consultant for Donald Mackinnon’s personality study on architects’ creativity that was recently recounted in Pierluigi Serraino’s *Creative architect*.³³⁹

³³⁷ AIA membership file: “Elisabeth Kendall Thompson,” AIA archives.

³³⁸ Quote from document titled “Biographical Notes up to 1968 (Mostly)” of the EKT archive: “Member, American Institute of Architects, Northern California Chapter. Committees: Public Relations 1958-65; Chairman, 1959-63/ Public Education and Relations 1966--; Chairman 1966-7 Program 1965/ Interprofessional 1967/ Nominating 1965, 1967/ Design Control Study 1963; Chairman/ Design 1963; Chairman/ Chapter Structure and Policy 1960-1/ Structure of the Institute 1961-62 Editorial Board, Chapter Bulletin 1958-64; Editor 1963-64/ National Convention AIA 1960. National AIA Committee: Task Force on Architecture in Primary and Secondary Education 1967. California Council Committees: Convention Advisory 1958, 1960, 1973/ Pacific Rim Conference 1959/ Public Relations 1958-1961/ Church Architecture 1965-66.”

³³⁹ See, Pierluigi Serraino, *The creative architect: Inside the great midcentury personality study*, (New York: Monacelli Press, 2016).



FIG. 3.21 Thompson being awarded the Fellowship in the AIA at the AIA National Convention, Portland, OR, June 24, 1968 with Norman Schlassman, Chicago, Chancellor, College of Fellows, EKT, Robert Durham, Seattle, President of the AIA 1967-68.

3.3.5 AIA award and recognition

Finally, in 1968, Thompson received a prize as a token of her recognition which was significant for several reasons [Fig. 3.21]. The Fellowship of the American Institute of Architects awarded to her at the AIA National Convention had so far been awarded only to practitioners with one notable exception being her colleague Doug Haskell (then at the helm of *Architectural Forum*), making her the second person to reach such an achievement—a landmark for the field of architectural journalism. The fact that Thompson did not officially have a degree in architecture due to the 1930s educational policies already mentioned, meant that the award was an even greater recognition of her contribution to the profession. This added to a list of growing awards, including a 1967 “AIA Public Information Award” and a 1987 “Certificate of Appreciation” from the California Council of the AIA. Adding to the above, Thompson confidentially shared a “well-kept secret” of co-authoring (along with architect Joe McCarthy) the AIA’s public relations program.³⁴⁰ (See chp #6)

Beyond Thompson's recognition by the AIA, her contribution as an editor can be traced in the multitude of congratulatory letters during many years, held in her archive. As for her colleague editors, despite the problems, Thompson was recognized as an essential part of the *Record* and was even proposed by the publishers to head the magazine as editor-in-chief in 1954. A proposal that she kindly rejected.³⁴¹

3.4 Conclusions

The history of Thompson, signals a unique and deeply remarkable case in architectural journalism. The depth and quality of her personal archive owned by her family is only comparable to Douglas Haskell's papers of Columbia University, in size and importance, as an archive of a mid-century editor of a professional magazine of architecture. The fact that the *Records* are so well preserved is of course no accident since they seem to have held great respect for the job they were doing and the service of journalism to the architectural profession.

Thompson, may not have been as outspoken as Haskell, and the rest of the "tastemakers" of the New York scene, she was nonetheless equally –if not more– important. Her family and formative years provided her with an education and an eloquence that few could compare with in her stature, including languages and wide literary knowledge. Equally expansive was her training as an architect and her early work as such before going into architectural journalism and the *Architectural Record*.

³⁴⁰ Thompson recounted a meeting between Douglas Haskell (*Forum*) and San Francisco architect Joe McCarthy where the architect was "even telling [Haskell] a well-kept-secret – that Joe and I wrote the Institute's public relations program. (We did, but we never publicized the fact.)" Thompson to Payne, 22 Oct 1953, folder: "Payne-1953," EKT archive.

³⁴¹ Had Thompson accepted, she would have been the first female editor-in-chief of a professional architectural magazine in US history. Something that happened in the 1980s with Mildred Schmertz's editorship of the *Record*. Due to the importance of Thompson's nomination in 1954, herewith is her reply: "*I was very much complimented that you should have mentioned the subject to me. The only answer possible was the one that I gave, because I knew that our Board of Directors would never accept a woman on the same terms as a man (which would make an impossible situation), and I also knew that there might be a strong disadvantage to the Record if it had a woman editor while the other two magazines had men editors (as they seem likely to do in the future) since architecture is, after all, a man's field – and probably will continue to be. But I did appreciate the question.*" Thompson to Payne 12 Jun 1954, folder: "Payne-Gordon" EKT archive.

Intellectually, the work she started with the Bay Region Style in 1949 put her in line with the ongoing developments set forth by Lewis Mumford. It also echoed in the editorial work of Haskell. Starting from there, the role of the Western Section of the *Architectural Record* that Thompson was overseeing played a central role in the national and international recognition of West Coast architecture. Due to those few people such as Thompson, the Bay Region in particular, is still the only region in the United States that features traces of a cohesive tradition in its modernist history, from Maybeck to Wurster and Charles Moore.

Going into further details of her work, Thompson emerges as a figure who was operating in multiple levels at once, for the better part of the post-war years. Either from her office, or on the road to attend conventions and field work she was the person that was tying threads between architects, photographers, editors and publishers adding to them a constant reminder of the profession's ties to society and smaller scale communities. Her activities, as an editor in the magazine, making books, or attending to AIA consulting, Civic commissions and architectural exhibitions contributed to the whole spectrum of the public appearance of architecture. And was finally recognized as such with her AIA award.

More importantly, this is an editor of particular journalistic ethos who felt a responsibility to contribute to the architectural profession and knew the place and limitations of her own role. Characteristically, despite her specialty in public relations, when she was asked how can architects develop in the contemporary era conditioned by mass media she responded: "First, last and always: do good work."

4 Not modern, contemporary

The editorships of Joseph Mason and John Knox Shear: 1951-1958

4.1 Introduction

Critic and theorist Sylvia Lavin observed that “at some point in the 1950s modern architecture became contemporary” and that American periodicals, namely the *Architectural Record*, took major part in this shift.³⁴² It is the case for this chapter to present the historical context of the magazine during that significant period and the way its editors' conceptions of the discipline and profession tipped the scales of the historical change from “modern” to “contemporary.” Of course the issue went much deeper than a change in names. Modernist architecture of the first half of the 20th century was characterized by a strict design attitude of clear forms accentuated by white volumes and supported by moralistic and socially sensitive argumentation. On the other half of the century, “contemporary architecture” was subtly defined by *Architectural Record* editors as the expression of a “democratic” pluralism, in accordance with the emerging consumer market and the needs of individual clients instead of big scale governmental projects. With the rise of suburban America it was the field of residential design where “contemporary” was brought to expand upon “modern” architecture and to address the issue of individual taste.

³⁴² Sylvia Lavin, “The Temporary Contemporary,” *Perspecta*, Vol. 34 (2003): 128-135.



FIG. 4.1 *Architectural Record*, *Architectural Forum* and *Progressive Architecture* of the early 1950s. Notice *Forum*'s change on the insignia of its title with the emphasis on the "Magazine of Building," *P/A*'s rigid design and the *Record*'s graphic experimentations that changed every month.

4.1.1 The architectural "Glossies" in the early 1950s

Historical records refer to the 1950s as an era of editorial stability for the three national monthlies: *Architectural Forum*, *Progressive Architecture*, and *Architectural Record* [Fig. 4.1].³⁴³ Placed third, the *Record*, underwent a period of eventful transitions³⁴⁴ that slowly reinforced its competitiveness, but only showed significant results with the turn of the next decade.

Through the 1950s, it was the leading magazine, the *Architectural Forum*, that set the terms of the competition by displaying wide photographs in glossy paper that gave them their nickname of "the Glossies."³⁴⁵ Beyond appearances *Forum* led changes also in terms of content. In 1951, Time Inc. assigned a new editor and publisher to the *Forum*, Perry Prentice, who was convinced that the building industry was being divided in two sections. From the one hand the industries of concrete and steel that were dealing with problems of large-scale construction; and on the other,

³⁴³ *Encyclopedia of Architecture & Construction*, s.v. "Architectural Press U.S." by Michael A. Tomlan: 286.

³⁴⁴ Harold Hauf, "In transition," *Architectural Record*, (October 1949): 87.

³⁴⁵ Wytold Rycbczynski, "The Glossies: The decline of architecture magazines," [www.slate.com](http://slate.com), 15 Nov. 2006, <http://slate.com/culture/2006/11/the-decline-of-architecture-magazines.html>, accessed on October 10, 2018.

the wood industry which gained ground due to the rapid expansion of the housing boom and which was driven forward by merchant builders, and housing contractors rising in numbers due to the Defence Housing Program, the war and the mortgage insurance policies of the Federal Housing Authority.³⁴⁶ As such, Time Inc. addressed these conditions by switching promptly towards residential design. In October 1951, the magazine's title was changed to *Architectural Forum: The Magazine of Building* indicating that it would do away with most residential architecture that soon got its own exclusive publication aimed to practicing architects: *House & Home*, introduced in January 1952.^{347,348} Catching up with these developments, the *Record* responded by spinning its own side-publications on residential design: the *Record Houses* special issues and new monographs of the *Architectural Record Books* series, through which it would navigate architects through the changing market.

But the problems went further than publishing strategies. Editorially, the *Forum* managed to assemble an impressive team of associates under the leadership of Haskell³⁴⁹ including acclaimed critics Peter Blake and Jane Jacobs. In circulation too, *Forum* was leading by almost double figures than its competitors reaching over 70.000 in 1951. Second in line, *Progressive Architecture* put a valiant effort to improve its format, content and competitive standing, under the editor Thomas H. Creighton who opened the 1950s with a thorough review of 20th c. architecture and new features that brought a feeling of “sustained optimism.”³⁵⁰

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ A quote from Tomlan's “Architectural Press U.S.” regarding the *Architectural Forum* and the conception of *House & Home* in 1951: “The October issue was a “dress rehearsal” for the new magazine about houses, and for the next two months two magazines were carried in one cover. In January 1952, the “Magazine of Building” appeared in two editions: *Architectural Forum* and *House & Home*. By September 1952, the former continued with a circulation of 46,000 and the latter boasted a circulation of 100,000.” Op. cit. Tomlan: 286.

³⁴⁸ In relation to the issue of modern design as presented on *House & Home*, an interesting development happened in 1954 when Doug Haskell was distanced from it (now under complete direction of Perry Prentice and Peter Blake) with a strict directive of “no more ‘outrageous modern’ houses”. Seeing *House & Home* retrieving to conventional designs, Haskell responded by saying informally to architects “don’t bother to send anymore good houses to us—send them all to the *Record*.” This was interpreted by *Record* editors as a chance “for intensifying our efforts at presenting work of high quality rather than to base our selection of material on a cost bracket or a ‘popular’ premise.” Source: Frank Lopez to Thompson, 23 Feb 1954, “Julius Shulman” folder, EKT archive.

³⁴⁹ *Forum* editor-in-chief Haskell, had received “hearty congratulations” from the staff at the Museum of Modern Art and in 1957 was relieved by Time Inc. from most of his “mundane” responsibilities to allow him more time for “higher things.” Gradually, Haskell would be known as “tastemaker” and “dean of editors.” Source: Op. cit. Tomlan, p 287, and “Staff meeting, January 8, 1957” PCF to All Editors, 16 Jan 1957, black binder, EKT archive.

³⁵⁰ Tomlan, supra: 288.

Another breakthrough was made in 1954, when the annual *P/A Design Awards* were inaugurated bringing wide publicity to the magazine.³⁵¹ Even more, the same year *P/A* shifted its issue organization from building types to themes allowing for more flexibility³⁵² and leaving the *Record* appearing “narrowly defined.”³⁵³

In all fronts apart from news and technical features, during the early to mid 1950s the *Architectural Record* was lagging behind. And rightfully – although with scorn – Douglas Haskell described it as “parasitic” to the *Forum*.³⁵⁴ But it was during these difficult years that the *Architectural Record* would undergo the transformation from a technical-sided publication to a magazine lobbying for the public image of the profession and that would contribute to the changing landscape of modern architecture. This period is also proof to the resilience of a magazine focused on its core readers under tight management and following the strict business plan of its publishing company, instead of swaying to the winds of its competition.³⁵⁵

4.1.2 The *Record*'s “total approach”

Despite the hard competition the decade of the 1950s seemed to be a promising time for the *Record*. In the view of its editors, it was the start of an “apogee” of the field, where architects were no longer struggling to comprehend the new conditions and develop new sets of skills but instead, were finally ahead of the technological curve.

³⁵¹ For decades the *P/A Design Awards* have been the most prominent architectural competition event in the US to the degree that they survived the folding of the magazine in 1995, and were passed on to the *AIA Journal* and subsequently in 2006 to *Architect*.

³⁵² E.g. issues on “hospitals” would appear labelled as “health care,” instead of “schools,” “education,” instead of “airports,” “mobility” and so on.

³⁵³ Tomlan, *supra*, 288.

³⁵⁴ In an internal Memo to Herbert C. Bippart (*Forum*'s advertising director) Douglas Haskell, makes a “word for word” comparison of the *Architectural Record* and the *Architectural Forum* claiming that “the *Record* simply follows *Forum*, and may be losing circulation on that account.” He continues: “After *Forum* got all these things identified, reported, and further developed, *Record* was in a position anywhere from 10 months to 5 years later, to report them as something new -- but with no thanks, of course, to *Forum*.” And concludes: “What I am telling you is that so far as the ideas it is promoting are concerned, *Record* is completely, but completely, parasitic on the *Forum*.” Haskell to Bippart 11 Oct 1954. Haskell Papers, Columbia Archives.

³⁵⁵ As mentioned in previous chapters, the *Architectural Record* was financially-wise dependent on advertisers and not subscribers, while also that it was the frontline of an array of publications and information services run by F.W. Dodge Co. As for Dodge Co., it has been described as a “family business” with tight management. Source: Former *Record* editor Johnathan Barnett in conversation with author (11 Jan. 2018).

ARTICLES FOR ARCHITECTURAL RECORD IN 1952
Philosophy and Office Practice

When I was first asked to suggest a program for articles for next year on such different subjects, I was somewhat appalled. However, the more I have thought about them the less disparate they seem. Now I find that I can hardly separate them in my own mind, so they will be treated together in what follows.

One can hardly consider philosophical articles, and one certainly can not discuss practical office procedures, in a vacuum. No article, of whatever type, can have any value for us on the staff of the magazine, much less for our subscribers and certainly not for our business department or our advertisers, unless it cogently furthers a comprehensible editorial aim or policy. For that reason I intend first to outline as briefly as I can my own conceptions of the possible editorial aims - you are all at liberty to shoot these full of holes if you can! - then to state my own preferences among these, and after that to outline a program of philosophical and professional articles. Yes!

What should be our starting point? Should we think of articles, even of articles from the most erudite of sources, as Olympian, abstract pronouncements? Should we publish articles because their authors are successful as writers, teachers or architects? Should we conceive beautiful theorems in our ivory towers and proceed to prove them irrefutably in the pages of the Record? (Bear in mind, incidentally, that such proof can be made as easily by selecting authors and editing their submissions as by writing pretty pieces ourselves.) Should we try to impose on our subscribers a set of beliefs or emotions, either our own or that of some powerful outside individual or group? It seems to me that if we do any of these things we will very soon find ourselves in extremely hot water. None of these approaches has a very solid foundation. It is perhaps harder work at the present time, but I believe in the long run our work will be simpler, if we follow a procedure something like this:

First, ascertain our present architectural position - I mean the position of the profession and its work, forgetting for a while that there is a magazine called "Architectural Record" - which requires that we determine the true temper, beliefs and potentialities of our architectural times. This is the most difficult step, and the one on which my own judgments are probably open to the most serious challenge. ↖ hard to do
but some
sketches of this
is necessary

Second, speculate, in as informed a fashion as our capacities permit, on the directions in which our civilization's architectural development is most likely to proceed. ↗

FIG. 4.2 The *Architectural Record* editors' meeting minutiae of May 1st 1951, from the personal archive of Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, featuring Frank G. Lopez's report on Philosophical articles that distinguishes the possible approaches in terms of the future editorial strategy of the magazine.

On the editorial staff meeting,³⁵⁶ of May 1st, 1951 [Fig. 4.2], Frank G. Lopez Jr. recounted the situation that contemporary architects faced:

“Technically we know now that we can do anything – build as high as is economically wise, or higher; dig as deep or as shallowly as we wish; make habitable a structure from which all of nature’s air, light, heat, cold, rain, snow or drought is completely excluded. We can control noise, foot-candles and humidity. Nothing technical about building construction can lick us, although it is true that each technical development brings a train of questions. We are in short emerging from the period of exploration and entering the era of full architectural development in our particular historical cycle.”³⁵⁷

And thus he discussed the mission of the magazine:

“Our task editorially becomes one of helping this new-born architectural infant to learn to walk, talk, and attain his full power.”³⁵⁸

Lopez, foresaw three options for the *Record*’s future strategy:

- 1 The “precious approach”: to consider architecture as high art, and focus on expert master builders and elite few.”³⁵⁹
- 2 The “pragmatic approach”: where architecture is not a cultural phenomenon but a necessary adjunct of a segment of the economy and “the focus is architectural only to the degree that architecture is essential to financially profitable building construction.”
- 3 The “total approach”: where architecture is an expression of “our civilization’s cultural developments as a whole, in which art, business, social relationships, techniques, and a whole lot of other things are inextricably blended.”

³⁵⁶ The editorial staff meeting minutiae is the most valuable resource for the history of the magazine from the side of the editors, revealing the complete behind-the-scenes picture. The unique copies of those minutiae exist in the personal archive of Thompson (black binder), and date from 1951 to 1961 with the bulk of them dated 1954-1957 laying proof of the intense editorial activity of this period of transition. As an example of what one finds there, the 1951 report contains the following: Frank Lopez’ report on philosophical articles, Florence van Wyck’s survey on feature buildings, Herbert Smith’s report on second features, Robert Fishers’ suggestions on the Architectural Engineering segment, Jeanne Davern’s report on the news section and Dorothy Jackson’s report on book reviews. The meeting was capped by the suggestions of Emerson Goble –then acting interim editor-in-chief– on the *Record*’s main series, the Building Types Studies. Source: Goble to Thompson, undated (ca 1951), black binder. EKT archive.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ Id. Re the precious approach, Frank Lopez Jr. also says: “gosh-darn it, the world insists today that you ‘ve got to make money, so we’d better tone our stuff down a little so the average chap – ugly fellow! – will tag along with us. This has also been called the snob approach.” “1951 editorial meeting report,” black binder, EKT archive.

More importantly, it is in describing this third approach that Lopez addresses the crucial matter that characterized American magazines: the image-based content: “We have, in all departments of the magazine, two types of basic material to present: words and pictures, or articles and buildings, or principles and examples. Since our subscribers are trained in graphic arts and seldom in literary expression, they are more interested by the picture, building or example than by the word, article or principle. It is characteristic of our age that they appreciate results more than architectural uplift. If occasionally we can combine the two palatably we’ve got them coming and going, like the sweater girl walking in the park.”³⁶⁰

Throughout the 1950s, this last “total approach” and the focus of images and pictures were the main aims of aspiration for the *Record* editors. In his tripartite description, Lopez mentions *Forum* and *P/A* following the remaining approaches, i.e. the *Architectural Forum* following the “precious approach” focusing on architecture “snobbishly” as a cultural matter, and *Progressive Architecture* as the one following the business oriented “pragmatic approach.” In comparison, the *Record* was expected to follow the less-risky, more conservative, middle-ground approach.

It was under these conditions that a new editor was appointed at the helm of the *Record* in the fall of 1951: Joseph B. Mason³⁶¹ with a background on housing policies and interior design magazines, and a solemn personality fitting well with the germane and calculating organization that Goble and Payne were putting together.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ For a brief time, in-between 1950 and 1951, Doug Haskell was –to his own account– considered to have been offered to return to the *Record*, as editor-in-chief to which he declined. Source: Haskell to Marshal, 12 Oct 1951, Haskell papers.

4.2 The journalistic turn under Joseph B. Mason: 1951-1954

Although Mason instigated an era of extemporization and renewed interest to the *Architectural Record*, he remains one of the least referenced figures in the magazine's history.³⁶² In fact, he is unique in the aspect that he came from a clearly journalistic background which attests to the immediacy and the journalistic ethos that he brought to the magazine. Further than that, it was his interest and expertise in home building and the US housing history that added to his qualifications for his appointment at the *Architectural Record*.

Mason's positioning as Executive Editor instead of Editor-in-Chief indicates that he was not originally intended to be at the top of the team's hierarchy³⁶³ but rather that he was brought to serve along with Managing Director Emerson Goble and fill-in the gaps in matters of content quality and communication. This arrangement (although obviously lacking an Editor-in-Chief) was a initially temporary settlement that turned semi-permanent, through the synergy between Mason and Goble sanctioned by the publishers.³⁶⁴

³⁶² In contrast to his predecessors, Mason had no significant connections to either architectural academia (e.g. Hauf's connection to Yale) or professionals (e.g. Stowell's connection to the Architectural League) and is seldom referenced in architectural literature or archives. Instead, his main advantage was his experience in the governmental and financial policies on housing and the FHA as well as a diverse experience in architectural journalism.

³⁶³ "Joe had never been brought in to be editor but to function in an executive position, and [...] he had assumed an editorial position not originally intended for him." Thompson to Payne, 24 Aug 1954, folder: "1954 Payne," EKT archive.

³⁶⁴ Interestingly, it is during these years that the Dodge Publishing Director Judd Payne took liberties to interfere in editorial matters and to set up guidelines for the editors' working policies. Among other things, Payne introduced an "assignment agreement" that set regional assignments to each editor and as such, protected the work of Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, who at the time was seeing other editors scooping her assignments. Under Payne's plan, each editor became "finally responsible for all contacts in his territory" handling "rejections as well as procurements." More importantly, the plan went into details as to which architectural companies each editor would oversee for future material and was later on, advanced by the policy adjustments introduced by Shear. Payne to Editorial Staff, Dec 11 1953, black binder. EKT archives.

4.2.1 Background

Born in 1903 in a family that he describes as a “literate oasis,” Mason started his education at the University of Wisconsin in 1921 when also he commenced a journalistic career starting from the position of copy desk assistant at the local Associated Press service.³⁶⁵ From the University of Wisconsin archives, Mason appears from the beginning to have been energetically involved in journalistic activities as a member of the National Professional Journalistic Fraternity *Sigma Delta Chi*, and as a reporter and publicity manager for the university newspaper *Daily Cardinal*.³⁶⁶ After graduating in 1926 majoring in journalism and English literature,³⁶⁷ Mason landed a job in the magazine *Building Age* where he quickly rose to the position of editor-in-chief in 1928 and developed his interest on the issue of public housing that was intensified after the economic crisis of 1929 and the tumultuous years of the 1940s. Mason was by his own account participating in the Federal Housing Administration, the housing agency of President Roosevelt’s New Deal, that was often making news in the *Record* throughout this period. From 1930 gradually shifting towards architectural journalism, Mason served as managing editor and editor in chief at the *American Builder* (1930-1945), and as building and architectural editor of the *Good Housekeeping* (1946-1951), one of the most popular and profitable monthly magazines of its time. During and after his tenure in the *Architectural Record*, Mason advanced his expertise and contribution on housing issues for which he received national awards³⁶⁸ and culminated in his book *History of Housing in the US, 1930-1980*, that is until today a major reference for the national housing and banking policies of mid20th c. US.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁵ “Sidelights” column, California Magazine, undated. Reproduced on rootsweb.com. Accessed on October 2019. <http://sites.rootsweb.com/~wimarbio/MNO/masonjob.htm>.

³⁶⁶ University of Wisconsin Yearbook, The Badger, Volume XL (1926): 326. Retrieved from digicoll.library.wisc.edu, accessed on Oct 2019.

³⁶⁷ Ibid. 431.

³⁶⁸ Mason received the following awards: Citation of the Federal Housing Administration, 1958; the Presidential Citation from the National Association of Home Builders, 1968; and he was inducted in the National Housing Hall of Fame in 1979 in the “Housing Related” category for his contribution during the 1950s. Op. cit. California and www.nahb.org, accessed Oct 2019.

³⁶⁹ Joseph B. Mason, *History of Housing in the US, 1930-1980*, (New York: Gulf Publishing Company, Book Division, 1982).

In the years 1951-54, during the editorship of Mason an effort to renew the readers' interest can be traced in three content categories:

- the new series of text-based articles that aimed on quality and wide appeal
- the re-installment of opinion editorials in the form of the *Perspectives* column of the *Record Reports* news section that brought back a subjective approach on latest developments
- the newly introduced *Record Houses* special issues and the newly published *Record* books that brought a renewed emphasis on the issue of housing that would gain traction throughout the 1950s. After the housing crisis of the 1940s, the issue was now transitioning towards the issue of house design.

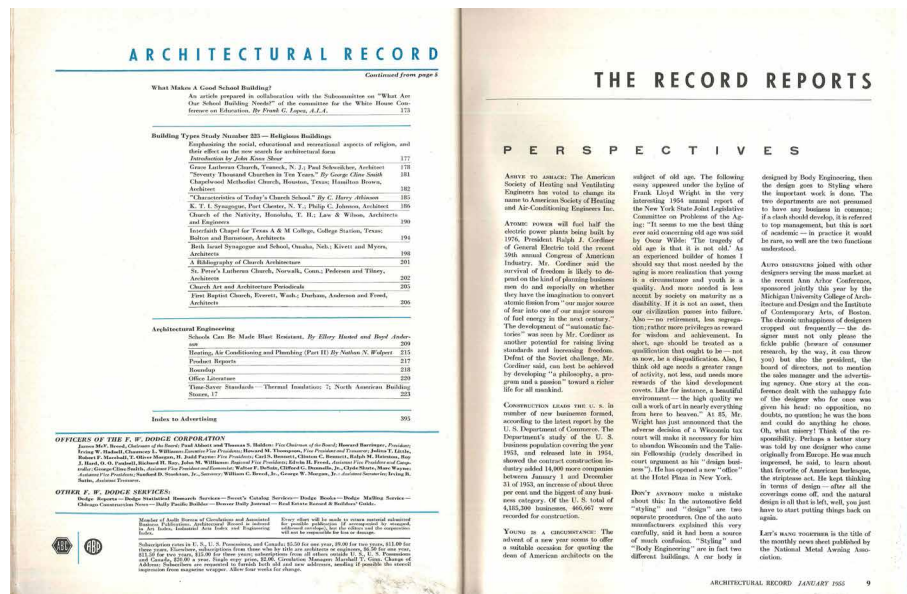


FIG. 4.3 A spread from the opening pages of the *Architectural Record* during the Mason years, with the newly-introduced "Perspectives" column that opens the expanded "Record Reports" section.

4.2.2 A renewed article series

A noteworthy effort begun with a series of articles that would confirm that the *Architectural Record* could still provide its readers with some thought and insightful discussion. Contributors included renowned names such as Siegfried Giedion,³⁷⁰ Henry Hill,³⁷¹ Joseph Hudnut,³⁷² Pietro Belluschi,³⁷³ Henry Russel Hitchcock,³⁷⁴ and Frank Lloyd Wright whose article “Organic Architecture Looks at Modern Architecture” was “particularly provocative” while Lewis Mumford’s “Function and Expression in Architecture” won for the *Architectural Record* its first Howard Myers Award for outstanding architectural journalism in 1954.”^{375,376} According to Willes, these articles addressed the current developments in the direction of an architecture for people, where “architects would not be slaves but rather masters of technology” which is in line with the original guidelines set at the initial 1951 staff meeting.

4.2.3 *Perspectives* column and other editorial additions

In addition to the above article series, Mason attempted to strengthen the immediacy of the magazine to its readers by reinstating the column of “opinion editorials” that hadn't been regularly employed since the departure of Kenneth Stowell in 1949. Fittingly under the title “Perspectives,” these editorials brought a subjective character to the news section of the magazine [Fig. 4.3]. “Perspectives” articles were most often opening the news section, followed by news on social events, whose portrayal became a regular content in the Mason years. Under Shear this would be intensified with a more expansive public relations policy. Other than that, another feature that was appearing regularly were the “Views of current periodicals.” Those reviews of other major architectural periodicals was often authored by Mason himself

³⁷⁰ Siegfried Giedion, *The humanization of urban life*, “*Architectural Record*,” (Apr. 1952):121.

³⁷¹ Henry Hill, *The individual in architecture*, “*Architectural Record*,” (Jun. 1952):152.

³⁷² Joseph Hudnut, *The three lamps of architecture*, “*Architectural Record*,” (Mar. 1953):138. This article continued in another two parts in May and July of the same year.

³⁷³ Pietro Belluschi, *Architecture and society*, “*Architectural Record*,” (Feb. 1951):116.

³⁷⁴ Henry Russel Hitchcock, *The international style 20 years after*, “*Architectural Record*,” (Aug. 1951):89.

³⁷⁵ Frank Lloyd Wright, *Organic architecture looks at modern architecture*, “*Architectural Record*,” (May 1952):148.

³⁷⁶ Lewis Mumford, *Function and expression in architecture*, “*Architectural Record*,” (Nov. 1951):106.

and kept readers aware of developments in countries such as the United Kingdom, Italy, France and Germany.³⁷⁷ Furthermore, another interesting addition were the article columns on news from Washington DC (housing policies and production regulations) and Canada (latest architecture). This reporting was in parallel with similar articles introduced by *P/A* at the same time, but they also attest to the *Record's* focus as an objective medium to report on architectural news, rather than the more political note that it had under Stowell.

With this new line of content established, the main editorial responsibilities fell on the trio of experienced editors of: Frank Lopez Jr., mainly responsible for the Building Types studies; Emerson Goble, supervising the philosophical articles and holding key connections in industrial and hospital architects; and the newly employed James Hornbeck whose background in architectural practice made him ideal in communicating with architects and new contributors.³⁷⁸

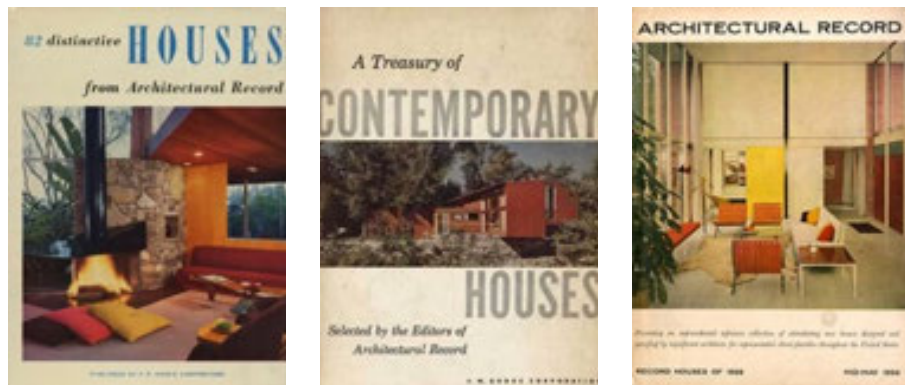


FIG. 4.4 The 1952 “82 Distinctive Houses,” the 1954 “Treasury of Contemporary Houses” and the first *Record Houses* special issue from 1956. All of them contributed to the shift away from the functionalist notion of modernism. The first by emphasizing plurality, the second by establishing the terms of “delight,” “newness” and “contemporary” against “modern” and the third by claiming back house design, as a vital part of architectural production.

³⁷⁷ Op. cit., Tomlan, 290.

³⁷⁸ Haskell to Beard, 24 Feb 1954, folder: “*Architectural Record* 1951–64,” Haskell papers.

4.2.4 The first Contemporary take on houses

4.2.4.1 *Record Houses*: the idea of a “thirteenth issue”

One of the most significant initiatives put forward in the *Architectural Record* during the years under examination here, is without a doubt, the inauguration of the mid-May special issue series *Architectural Record Houses of the Year* which in essence became the thirteenth issue of the magazine.³⁷⁹ Simply known as *Record Houses*, this annual review of domestic architecture is still the most celebrated issue of the magazine, in which the featured houses are called “winning” ones and an “award” or “badge of excellence” is assigned to the architects that designed it.³⁸⁰ The importance of the *Record Houses*, lies in the fact that it signified a turning point for the magazine, away from technical challenging issues such as schools, hospitals, airports etc. and towards domestic designs of comfort and delight. This was also the result of a changing architectural market. Whereas the 1940s were all about the major governmental commissions for military infrastructure and mass housing, the 1950s brought the architect in confrontation with the consumer market, and individual clients. The editors of the *Record* who saw themselves responsible for guiding the architects into the new market conditions were perceptive enough to understand that the field of housing would be the battlefield of the changing market and the semantic change from “modern” to “contemporary” architecture. And although officially the first *Record Houses* issue dates from 1956, the general editorial directive to regain leadership of residential design started in 1953, when the idea was being discussed and was followed in 1954 with the May issue on houses that started an annual tradition of May issues dedicated on houses which also coincided with the important monograph *A Treasury of Contemporary Houses* [Fig.4.4].

Despite Mason being clearly the housing expert among the editorial team of the time, the idea for an annual publication on houses was pitched by Lawrence Kocher, the famed editor of the *Record* during the 1930s. And it was once again Judd Payne, Publishing and Editorial Director, who pushed for its implementation. In a letter addressed to Kocher,³⁸¹ Payne says:

³⁷⁹ While officially the first “*Record Houses*” issue actually appeared in 1956, the May issues of 1954 and 1955 on houses initiated the tradition which they were also sided with the more elaborate 1954 monograph on houses *A treasury of contemporary houses: Selected by the editors of the Architectural Record*.

³⁸⁰ Kocher to Smith, Dec. 21 1965. A. Lawrence Kocher Collection (1921–1973). Colonial Williamsburg.

³⁸¹ Kocher was then working for the Foundation of Colonial Williamsburg as Director of the Foundation’s *Architectural Records* department, in Williamsburg, VA.

"Too much time has passed since we first discussed your thought that each year the *Record* should publish a summary of outstanding architecture that had been accomplished and/or published in the preceding twelve months. [...] the time has come when we definitely would like to organize to implement this project'."³⁸²

The same letter bears the hand-written inscription:

"This is preliminary correspondence which led to ALK production of first – *Record Houses* – publication."³⁸³

Payne went on to invite Kocher to "undertake the editorship of this significant enterprise" in his own terms and schedule even though a special arrangement needed to be settled since he would be working from distance and the publication date was provisioned for the same year. Kocher, who preferred the end-product to be in book-form instead of a magazine issue, initially³⁸⁴ turned down the proposal of what he called his "brainchild"³⁸⁵ due to his increased workload. But Payne proceeded anyway. The May 1954 *Record* issue with the *Building Types Study #210: Houses* should be considered for several reasons the pilot of what became from 1956 the *Record Houses* series³⁸⁶ and in November of the same year appeared, appeared the aforementioned monograph *A Treasury of Contemporary Houses*. Both publications proved to be milestones for the course of the magazine.

³⁸² Payne to Kocher, 7 January 1953, Box:1, folder: "*Architectural Record*," ALK collection.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ His further involvement in the process is dubious.

³⁸⁵ Although Kocher clearly states that it was his idea, the various modes of its implementation seem to have made its production a point of contestation. In the preface of the celebratory book "25 years of *Record Houses*" of 1981, Herbert L. Smith writes: "This year marks the 25th anniversary of *Record Houses* (which I started in 1956 as the then only showcase of completely devoted to good contemporary residential design)." To be noted here, Smith was associate editor in 1954 and was also responsible for the 1950 book "Mid-century Houses." On the other hand, Kocher was a known authority on houses since the 1920s and his archival correspondence indicates that he kept a continuous impact on the editorial team of the *Record* even after his departure in 1938: In 1966 for the production of the 10th *Record Houses* issue, Kocher was invited (by Smith this time) to contribute a commemorative article where he presents his view of the *Record* as the champion of house design: "The house definitely stands in need of stimulation, study and greater comprehension. There is no single publication or vehicle that is better fitted to serve as advocate than the *Record*." In the same letter he advocates that the *Record* after "sounding the alarm" on houses should also undertake the creation of "an organization or group effort for housing research" with Columbia or MIT. It is these points that attest of Kocher's being behind the whole initiative even if he was not the executive agent.

³⁸⁶ *Architectural Record*, (April 1949).

4.2.4.2 The May issue of 1954

Until May 1954 there hadn't been a *Record* issue dealing with houses since 1949 and Thompson's San Francisco domestic articles of the same year. The matter was that as a technically-sided professional magazine the *Record* was devoted to presenting complex, large scale buildings and technological developments that would advance by the year. The main feature of the magazine, the "Building Types Studies" article series were designed to go in line with the second most important series that followed in succession: the "Architectural Engineering" articles that featured the buildings' construction details accompanied by advertising content that provided information on the latest construction products for specific building types and corresponding details. In that line of thought, houses were simply not interesting enough, neither provided the editors with enough technical information to explain and sell. In addition to that, houses were not seen as a valid business practice for architects. In fact, this last time in 1949 that the *Record* dealt with the issue of housing, its cover was headed by a question in bold letters saying: "Do small houses afford satisfactory practice?"³⁸⁷ And although there were some efforts by the editors to examine the profitability of houses,³⁸⁸ the 1954 issue focused on something else: the aesthetics of house design.

³⁸⁷ *Architectural Record*, (May 1950): 5.

³⁸⁸ A booklet titled *Mid-century Houses with Technical Design Details and Data* by the Editors of the *Architectural Record*, had circulated in 1950 but as the title suggests, this was again examining houses for their technical challenges including a section of technical content of "time-saver standards." In contrast to that, the 1954 initiative presents house design with an emphasis on images and lifestyle or, as Kocher describes it: "delight" and "newness." As such, 1954 is the turning point for the role of the architect from struggling to catch up with the latest developments and instead, to someone close to the pulse of the consumer and who represents and guides the building industry to its wider public. Or to be more precise, this was the directive of the *Record*, which was until then the most technical of professional magazine whose redirection closer to shelter magazines completed with the *Record Houses* and its two *Treasuries* (1954, 1959). Another fact that proves that this shift was strategized is the monograph *50 Best Homes from the Pages of Good Housekeeping*, published in 1950 and edited by Joseph Mason right before he was brought to the *Record*.

Introducing the issue's Building Types Study titled "House Design: Stressing Delight" the editors were explaining:

"Of the famous triad of "commodity, firmness and delight" the last item takes the centre of the stage in house design. It has perhaps been the least popular of the trio because of some villainous acts committed in its name in the past. But it nevertheless manages to capture the client audience, and is in the spotlight here."^{389 390}

4.2.4.3 The Treasury of Contemporary Houses: 1954

As has been pointed out,³⁹¹ the Treasury was the first book to feature the term "contemporary" in the context of mid-century architectural history along with Giedion's *Decade of Contemporary Architecture* of the same year.³⁹² The term of course had been continually in use, but gradually from 1952 it occurred regularly in titles of *Record* articles³⁹³ and the 1954 *Treasury* caused its exponential dissemination,

³⁸⁹ Table of contents commentary from: *Architectural Record*, (May 1954): 137.

³⁹⁰ This passage is almost verbatim repeated in the introduction of the 1954 Treasury (by Emerson Goble) and is also echoing a much earlier editorial from Kenneth Stowell from August 1949 – an issue on Shopping Centers– where he was saying: "Of the familiar triumvirate, "Commodity, Firmness and Delight," it is Delight that has identified the art of architecture. Firmness and Commodity can be, and have been, produced by others but Delight has been deemed the special province of the architect." Source: Kenneth Stowell, "Delight and Distinction," *Architectural Record*, (Aug. 1949):85.

³⁹¹ Sylvia Lavin, "The Temporary Contemporary," *Perspecta*, Vol. 34 (2003): 128-135.

³⁹² If there is any chance that the effort could have been orchestrated, then it would depend on John Ely Burchard, MIT Dean, who acted as the main US contact of Giedion's and during the 1950s was increasingly involved with the *Record* being even nominated for the position of editor-in-chief. See, folder: "Siegfried Giedion," John Ely Burchard papers, MIT archives.

³⁹³ The term "contemporary" was increasingly used during the mid1950s in the *Architectural Record*, especially to address the continuous need for design in traditional or historic settings (gothic, colonial etc.) and clients. A list of the articles that employed the term in their title is indicative to the way that the editors re-introduced "contemporary" architecture:

"Contemporary design amidst collegiate gothic," *Architectural Record* (Oct 1952):159-164.

"Contemporary design in Israel," *Architectural Record*, (Nov 1952): 151-158.

"Science church in contemporary form," *Architectural Record*, (Dec 1952): 136-141.

Siegfried Giedion, "The state of contemporary architecture: The regional approach," *Architectural Record*, (Jan 1954): 132-137.

Siegfried Giedion, "The state of contemporary architecture: The need for imagination," *Architectural Record*, (Feb 1954): 186-191.

"Contemporary planning for Cambridge," *Architectural Record*, (Apr 1954): 149-155.

"Contemporary House in colonial setting," *Architectural Record*, (May 1954): 158-163.

"Conservative contemporary in New Orleans," *Architectural Record*, (Jan 1955): 166-167.

"Structure and space in contemporary architecture." *Architectural Record*, (Feb 1955): 20-23.

being quickly echoed in similar publications by the *Record's* competitors (particularly *House Beautiful*³⁹⁴ and *Progressive Architecture*³⁹⁵). By the late 1950s the term “contemporary” had de facto replaced the term “modern.”

The importance of this change is hard to be reckoned. The notion of “modernism,” which in the US was closely associated with the Bauhaus and the European masters, had been continuously challenged throughout the 1930s³⁹⁶ and the developments of the late 1940s strained the issue further with MoMA's 1949 symposium “What happened to modern architecture” and Mumford's revisionist campaign of regional modernism (see chapter 3). And if Hudnut's attempt to historicize modernism with the coining of the term “post-modern” back in 1945 had failed (see chapter 2), then the 1954 popularization of the term “contemporary” by architectural magazines finally drove the point home. The subsequent editorial campaign for the preservation of modernist buildings, that escalated in 1959 cemented the shift (*infra*). Further than that, the shift signalled a change in the means of architectural production and the market on which the US architect operates.

“Should a modern house have a flat roof? [...] Why shouldn't it have anything its owners really want, including a curve or two, even a Victorian curve?”³⁹⁷

According to Lavin³⁹⁸ it is this book along with Siegfried Giedion's *Decade of Contemporary Architecture* of the same year that established the word “contemporary” in architectural nomenclature and that the *Record* editors asserted the contemporary's “specifically anti-modern character”. To directly quote her: “When modern architecture became contemporary it shifted allegiance away from industrial production, the fortitude of engineering, and an ethos of purification,

“Contemporary churches take top honors,” *Architectural Record*, (Apr 1955): 10-11.

“Contemporary Art in remodelled theatre; Faxon and Gruys, Architects,” *Architectural Record*, (May 1955): 211-213.

“Contemporary Architecture of Finland,” *Architectural Record*, (Feb 1956): 161-168.

“Italy's contemporary architecture,” *Architectural Record*, (Feb 1956): 58; 62.

³⁹⁴ Joseph Barry (ed.), *The House Beautiful treasury of contemporary American homes*, (New York: Hawthorn Books Inc., 1958).

³⁹⁵ Thomas Creighton (ed.), *Contemporary Homes Evaluated by Their Owners*, (New York: Reinhold, 1961).

³⁹⁶ The International Style exhibition of 1932 and Frank Lloyd Wright's notion of “organic” architecture in contrast to functional were other instances of the same opposition towards European modernism. Re the exhibition's treatment of functionalism, see: Adrian Forty, *Words and buildings*, s.v. “function,” (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd 2004).

³⁹⁷ Emerson Goble et al., *A treasury of contemporary houses*, (New York: F.W. Dodge Corporation, 1954).

³⁹⁸ Op cit., Lavin.

forging new relationship with interior design, decoration, fashion, and above all the quixotic pleasures and designed obsolescence of consumer culture. [...] In other words, in the logic of mid-century rhetoric the modern house had, by 1954, come to be dressed up in a contemporary style”

4.2.4.4 Launching the *Record Houses*: 1956

The focus on housing was rendered concrete with the regularization of the *Record Houses* in May 1956. Beyond a landmark for the shift of architecture away from the technicalities of building and towards lifestyle; the *Record Houses* were controversial for their treatment of the building industry and the selling of manufacturers' products dividing the industry to domestic and large-scale projects. Especially for F.W. Dodge Co. the move was of significant importance, considering that its sister publication of *Sweets Catalog* were major sources for documentation of products. This change meant that from 1954 onwards, the product developments featured in Dodge publications, would not be striving for technological innovation but design innovations. These developments alarmed the people of *TIME Inc*, the *Record's* competition, that were publishing both *Forum* and *House & Home*. Addressing his view of the matter to his colleagues, Jack Beard was saying:

“What makes the *Record* think that in one issue they can possibly cover the residential market as ably as *House & Home* is doing in 12 issues? The answer to this is that the *Record* [...] is going to attempt to use the manufacturer to pave their way into following our leadership of publishing two magazines in the building field. At least we were honest when we announced two editions whereas it seems to me they are slightly dishonest because they seem to be sliding in the back door at the advertiser's expense. But there is nothing new in this procedure of the *Record*. [...] down through all the years *Architectural Record* has not introduced a single new idea or a single innovation in their publishing procedures [...] Every *Forum* and every *House & Home* salesman on every single call should provoke a discussion of this 13th edition because *Record* has now handed us at long last the opportunity we have been looking for. If they get away with this deal it is because they are better salesmen that we are and they deserve to be given the opportunity to bring out two editions in the building press just as we do now.”³⁹⁹

³⁹⁹ Jack Beard to Herb Bipart, 7 Dec 1955, box:2:2, folder: “*Architectural Record*,” Haskell papers.

4.2.5 Mason's departure and the issue of housing

In contrast to his colleagues, *Forum's* editor-in-chief, Douglas Haskell was of the opinion, that the whole houses initiative was from the beginning doomed for failure for the *Record* and was linked with Mason's tenure. For Haskell Mason was brought to the *Record* to head the "residential end"⁴⁰⁰ but then *Forum* "pulled the rug": "no sooner had Joe Mason found his way to his office when we split out magazine into two sections. Joe never had a chance to perform, and now the fact that *Record* has fired him is an indication to me that they are serving notice on *Forum* that they have decided to fight out with us as a non-residential magazine."⁴⁰¹

In this analysis, Haskell was right. *Time* had a stronger hold on houses with its *Houses & Home* publication, but the matter didn't rest on who would take over the building industry, but rather who would represent the architectural profession. And therefore the legacy of Mason's housing shift and his changes regarding communication were transformed into a public relations directive under the editorship of John Knox Shear. [Fig. 4.5]

⁴⁰⁰ Haskell to Beard, 24 Feb 1954, box 2:2: "*Architectural Record*," Haskell papers.

⁴⁰¹ Haskell to Hazen Feb 16 1954, Haskell papers.



FIG. 4.5 John Knox Shear in the process of designing the cover of the *Architectural Record* issue of September 1955. John Knox Shear papers, Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives..

4.3 Extemporization under John Knox Shear: 1954-1958

4.3.1 The search for a new editor-in-chief

“Our Editor-in-Chief, by the exercise of his perceptions, and backed by our resources, has within his purview the opportunity to become the most important single individual in this country so far as influencing architecture’s trends is concerned.”⁴⁰² – Judd Payne, 1954

The search for a new editor-in-chief that led to John Knox Shear proved to be a long one and in fact took place throughout most of the tenure of Mason. The main agent for the inquiry was once again, Judd Payne, whose first and quite surprising call was to nominate Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, senior editor, for the position. Once Thompson kindly declined,⁴⁰³ she laboriously assisted him in the search for the right person for a job that they called “the top of the field.”⁴⁰⁴ With intricate criteria in mind including knowledge of architecture (in practice and theory), eloquence in writing, experience in public speaking, connections and relevance of a national scale, the search continued for more than two years. During that time Thompson and Payne suggested a wide array of names to each other with various degrees of enthusiasm and in consultation with high-profile academics such as Henry Russel Hitchcock.⁴⁰⁵ Some such names were: Walter Gordon,⁴⁰⁶ Bill Caudill, Harlan McClure, Art Galion,

⁴⁰² This quote continues with a full description of the importance of the editor-in-chief: “[the editor-in-chief’s] influence, fully brought to bear, will partly shape the education of millions of children, the care and convalescence of millions of sick, the environment of worship of other millions. His power will reach into the design of prisons where lives may be rebuilt, into the design of facilities for people growing old where delight in living may be prolonged because of his leadership in dealing with these special but vital building design problems. Our editor will lead in dealing with the impact of atomic energy on city planning and building design. These are but a few of the specifics.” Payne to Detlie, July 15 1954, folder: “Payne 1954,” EKT archive.

⁴⁰³ Thompson to Payne, 12 Jun 1954. EKT archive.

⁴⁰⁴ “Isn’t being *Record* editor the top of the field?” Thompson to Payne, 24 Aug. 1954.

⁴⁰⁵ Payne to Hitchcock, 14 Oct 1954. Smithsonian Archives. Hitchcock papers.

⁴⁰⁶ Architect, former curator of San Francisco Museum of Art. Thompson to Payne, Oct. 15 1952, folder: “1954 Payne,” EKT archive.

Roger Bailey, John Reid, John Ely Burchard,⁴⁰⁷ John Detlie, John Dinwiddie, Harlan McClure, Joe McCarthy, Harwell Harris,⁴⁰⁸ Walter Bogner,⁴⁰⁹ All of them accomplished architects and academics.^{410,411}

It was in June 1954 when John Knox Shear got acquainted with Payne at the AIA convention in Boston, MA and his name was first mentioned as a serious candidate on the 27th July 1954.⁴¹² Then commenced a three-part article series by Shear on architectural education on the *Record* issues of August,⁴¹³ September⁴¹⁴ and October⁴¹⁵ and finally, in November 1954 appeared the daring full-page announcement:

[“Effective now, John Knox Shear, A.I.A., presently Head of the Department of Architecture at Carnegie Institute of Technology, becomes Editor-in-Chief of *Architectural Record*.”](#)⁴¹⁶

⁴⁰⁷ Burchard, founding dean of Humanities of MIT, declined the offer but eventually joined the editorial team of the *Record*. In fact, his connections to the magazine trace back to 1951 when he was invited to contribute an article by Emerson Goble. His close connection to Siegfried Giedion indicates that he might have also promoted the Swiss historian to the *Record* editors for his subsequent series of articles including a two-part article on the “State of Contemporary architecture” in 1954. Burchard was again considered to be editor-in-chief as a successor to Shear in 1958 (see chp #6).

⁴⁰⁸ Thompson to Payne, 7 Jun 1954, folder: “1954 Payne,” EKT archive.

⁴⁰⁹ Thompson to Payne, 15 Jun. 1954, folder: “1954 Payne,” EKT archive.

⁴¹⁰ Apart from Thompson, three people were officially asked by Payne before assigning Shear: Burchard, Gordon and Detlie. Folder: “Payne 1953,” EKT archive.

⁴¹¹ On one instance Payne gives a full description for the job: “In capsule form the responsibilities of our Editor-in-chief can be summed up ‘Policy. Plans. Public Relations.’ Once program and plans are formulated, follow through can be delegated. We want our Editor-in-chief to be a man who is both a sensitive and a sensible professional. We expect him to be regarded by his public as an architect of balanced perception and judg[e]ment. He will be encouraged to be constructively active in A.I.A. – particularly with respect to national committee activities. He will largely elect those areas of public relations for the *Record* where he feels he can best use his own time to serve the profession. I would hope that our editor would have a strong interest in education, in public relations, in practical problems of practice and that these interests would be reflected by his identification with professional groups and committees and by wise use of the editorial power of the *Record* to forward progress toward worthwhile goals.” Payne to Detlie, supra.

⁴¹² Payne to Thompson, 27 Jul 1954, folder: “1954 Payne,” EKT archive.

⁴¹³ John Knox Shear, “Who should study architecture?” *Architectural Record* (Aug 1954): 194-5; 300; 302; 304; 306; 308.

⁴¹⁴ John Knox Shear, “How should architecture be taught?” *Architectural Record* (Sep 1954): 182-4; 292; 294; 296.

⁴¹⁵ John Knox Shear, “How do students become architects?” *Architectural Record*, (October 1954): 178-80; 316.

⁴¹⁶ “John Knox Shear appointed editor-in-chief,” *Architectural Record*, (November 1954):7.

4.3.2 Background

As the announcement declared, Shear's main credential for the job was his respected academic position at Carnegie Tech, but despite his young age (b.1917) Shear did possess all the skills that Payne had in mind for the "man for the job."⁴¹⁷

Education-wise, Shear held a Bachelor (1938) and a Master's (1939)⁴¹⁸ degree in Architecture from Carnegie Tech and a Master of Fine Arts from Princeton having received several fellowships including the 1938 Student Medal of Honor of the AIA "for highest standing."⁴¹⁹ On his professional training, Shear listed five employment tenures in the offices of Clarence Kearfott (1939); Sherley Morgan (1939-41); Charles and Edward Stotz, Jr (1941-2 and 1948-9); and –after four years of military service⁴²⁰– John Perkuhn (1948-9) with whom Shear was associated as co-designer.⁴²¹ Since 1949 Shear established his own partnership as a licensed architect and AIA member⁴²² titled "Shear, Spagnuolo & Taylor" and so, by 1954 had both experience in practice and a promising line of work.⁴²³

In academia, Shear ascended rapidly both as educator and administrator. In parallel with his BArch, Shear was already engaged in teaching design at evening schools and by 1946 he had joined the faculty of Carnegie Tech. After a short employment in Princeton,⁴²⁴ Shear was brought back to Carnegie, first as Acting and then Head of the Architectural Department in July of 1949 at the young age of thirty-two.

⁴¹⁷ Thompson to Payne, undated, EKT archive.

⁴¹⁸ While his AIA membership mentions 1941 as the year of Shear Master's graduation, G. Damiani mentions 1939 following Shear's own account in the article "The history of a room" from the *Charette*, (Apr. 1950).

⁴¹⁹ Folder "Shear, John Knox," Department ARC, Princeton University Library.

⁴²⁰ "John Knox Shear," *Architectural Record*, January 1958

⁴²¹ Shear's AIA membership application was supported by the architects B. K. Johnstone and Robert Schmertz, who "had known the applicant for 15 years." Source: John Knox Shear AIA membership file, AIA archives. On his residence with Pekruhn, see the *Charrette* Feb 1949. Both Schmertz, Pekruhn and Spagnuolo were faculty members of Carnegie. *Charrette*, (Jun 1949).

⁴²² *Ibid.*

⁴²³ Most significantly, the Fowler House (1948, with John Pekruhn), Sewickley House and the "General Electric Company Wonder Home" of 1953. Source: John Knox Shear AIA membership file, AIA archives.

⁴²⁴ As such, Shear was present at the 1947 conference in Princeton and the visit of Frank Lloyd Wright at Carnegie in 1949, sponsored by Carnegie's Architectural Student Group (*Charrette*, Jun 1949). Again, this information is thanks to M. Aurand and G. Damiani.

The department's historical records credit him for bringing a "humanist approach" and a "transparent simplicity" to the Department's five year curriculum.⁴²⁵

But more importantly to the *Record*, Shear was especially capable in the field of public relations. From his university years he was already member of several organizations.⁴²⁶ Shear held the same customs of socializing in parallel with his practice, being steadily involved in educational organizations such as the ACSA (Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture).⁴²⁷ As for his activity in Pittsburgh, his place of residence, in 1950 he characteristically established a showroom of modern design along with the architects Grant Curry Jr., Fred M. Fagostein and Robert S. Taylor.⁴²⁸ Also as an educator Shear had made a point of emphasis on the architect's "ability to communicate what the learns, thinks and wants through graphic and verbal communication"⁴²⁹; while also had introduced a tradition of visiting critics to increase the institution's networking.⁴³⁰ Shear's occasional public speeches⁴³¹ and articles completed the picture of a cultured man focused on the problems of the profession, a proponent of modernism, and an adept communicator.

4.3.3 Restructuring the *Record*

Finally, with the position of the new editor-in-chief filled-in [Fig. 4.6], new policies could be implemented, and signs of general reorganization appeared to take place in the pages of the *Record* in terms of the magazine's appearance, content and relation to its audience.

⁴²⁵ On Shear's tenure at Carnegie, see: Architectural Education at Carnegie Hall, Departmental History, Unpublished report, Carnegie Tech Library Archives p: 23-27. Amongst other things it is mentioned: "Shear effected a rapid change in faculty, fundamental changes in the old curriculum and an improvement in the general tone of the department."

⁴²⁶ John Knox Sher bio. JKS papers.

⁴²⁷ *Journal of Architectural Education* (1947-1974), Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer, 1956): 6-8.

⁴²⁸ The Room, Inc., as was the name of the showroom, was a meeting place of the Pittsburgh Architectural Club, and was intended to present modern furniture, fabrics, lighting and accessories so that local architects could familiarize themselves with modern design "without travelling to New York." Source: Charrette 1950.

⁴²⁹ Id p 26.

⁴³⁰ Id p 25.

⁴³¹ E.g. Shear addressed a speech titled "Motivation for Modern Architecture" to the Pittsburgh Real Estate Board in 1949. and another one titled "Why Modern" in 1959. Source: Charette, (Sept. 1949).



Trifley Court

JOHN KNOX SHEAR APPOINTED EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

EFFECTIVE now, John Knox Shear, A.I.A., presently Head of the Department of Architecture at Carnegie Institute of Technology, becomes Editor-in-Chief of ARCHITECTURAL RECORD. Other members of the RECORD's staff continue in their present posts.

Mr. Shear received his degree of Master of Architecture at the school which he has headed since 1949. He held graduate fellowships for two years at Princeton University where he won his Master of Fine Arts in Architecture.

At various times between 1939 and 1949, Mr. Shear was associated as an architect with C. B. Kearfott of Bristol, Va., Sherley W. Morgan, Martin Beck, Charles and Edward Stotz of Pittsburgh, and also with Marlier and Johnstone of Pittsburgh.

Since 1949 he has engaged in practice in the Pittsburgh area as a principal with Joseph Spagnuolo and Robert Taylor as associates.

RECORD's Editor-in-Chief is known in architectural circles through his identification with A.I.A. activities and in educational circles through participation in the work of the Collegiate Schools of Architecture.

He has been introduced to the audience of ARCHITECTURAL RECORD as author of a significant series of articles on architectural education.

John Knox Shear, in his new capacity, will lead a strong and seasoned editorial staff characterized by a talent for teamwork.

— H. Judd Payne



H. Judd Payne
Publishing and
Editorial Director



Emerson Goble
Managing Editor



Frank G. Lopez, A.I.A.
Senior Editor



James S. Hornbeck, A.I.A.
Senior Associate Editor



**Elisabeth Kendall
Thompson**
Senior Associate Editor
and Western Section Editor



Robert E. Fischer
Associate Editor
(Engineering)



Florence A. van Wyck
Associate Editor



Jeanne M. Devern
Associate Editor (News)



Daniel M. Kelley
Associate Editor
(Engineering Assistant)



Ernest Mickel
Contributing Editor
(Washington)



Don Street
Contributing Editor
(Washington)



**John Caulfield Smith,
M.R.A.I.C.**
Contributing Editor
(Canada)



Marjorie Blake
Assistant Editor



Grace M. Anderson
Assistant Editor



Ruth P. Watson
Editorial Assistant



Helen E. Cook
Editorial Assistant



Peter Piening
Consulting Design Director



Eugene H. Hawley
Design



Alfred Peterson
Design



Thomas S. Holden
Industry Relations
Consultant



Clyde Shute
Statistical Consultant



George Cline Smith
Economics Consultant



Clifford Dunnells, Jr.
Field Research Consultant



Samuel C. Pace
Public Relations Consultant

FIG. 4.6 The Editorial Team under John Knox Shear. The group photo was an unusual announcement and a sign of the magazine's effort to establish a more direct relation with its readers.

According to historians, Shear “sharpened the focus” of the *Record* on projects by Eero Saarinen, Keck & Keck, Harrison & Abramovitz, Vincent Kling and Marcel Breuer.⁴³² And indeed, Shear managed to make a significant outreach to architects during his short tenure but this was a complicated process that called for decisive changes in several points.

4.3.3.1 Competition

In order for the *Record* to shed away its image of the “industrial magazine”⁴³³ of the 1940s it needed to approach newcomers (i.e. the housing sector) and first-rate architects, and that is where it struggled with stiff competition from *Forum* and *P/A*. And while until then the *Record* team was content in the assumption that they were ahead of their competition because of Thompson's work in the West, it became apparent that *P/A* and *Forum* were extending their network by increasing the travel assignments to their editors – not just their editors-in-chiefs, Haskell and Creighton as was the norm.⁴³⁴

In an editorial meeting, Shear proclaimed to the editorial team:

“*Forum* has been getting there first on too many buildings recently [...].”

“It isn't too bad to have to battle them on one or two things in an issue, but not on more, as has been the case. [...].”

“in general [*Record*] coverage is not good enough. We don't know what's going on in most of the leading architects' offices all over the country. Things are being found by accident or through the news department (though that is not their primary function). We have not been travelling and calling architects systematically.”⁴³⁵

⁴³² Op. cit. Tomlan: 290.

⁴³³ “Down through the years *Record* salesmen tried to convince the advertiser that *Forum* was the residential magazine of the industry whereas they were the industrial magazine. This story was all very well and good except it made it difficult for the *Record* salesmen to sell the kitchen appliance business and they badly needed that particular lineage.” Haskell to Hazen Feb 16 1954, folder: “1951-1964*Architectural Record*,” Haskell papers.

⁴³⁴ Helene M. Murphy to Thompson. 5 June 1956. EKT archive.

⁴³⁵ Pamela C. Forsey to All Editors. 16 Jan 1957, black binder, EKT archive.

Moreover, *Forum* was making an effort to establish exclusive coverage of specific projects which was met with the *Record* “going ahead and publishing anyway” regardless of the architect’s choice; a practice seen by *Forum* as an extreme and aggressive policy. Lastly, *P/A* posed a competitive threat in the form of the *P/A* awards established in 1954 which, coupled with *P/A* design seminars, attracted all the “up-and-coming architects into *P/A*’s stable.”⁴³⁶

The response from Shear was twofold:

- to restructure the editorial policies of contacting architects and inquiring material.
- to engage more professionals and scholars through changes in the editorial content.

4.3.3.2 Editorial policies

Whereas in 1953, Judd Payne had wanted to implement a policy that assigned territorial coverage to each editor, Shear devised a mixed plan which called for increased editorial responsibilities that related to territory,⁴³⁷ building type and special assignments.

Territorial assignments

Each editor had to regularly inquire and collect material through letters and phone calls from the architects/firms in his/her assigned territory and render visits twice per year at selected architects’ offices of special importance.⁴³⁸ They also had to attend regular conventions and “shake as many hands as possible” with the aim of becoming the “anchor man” of the assigned area, and “build the prestige of the *Record* throughout the US.”⁴³⁹ On the other hand, Shear also introduced limitations of procurement from certain firms that were getting too much attention

⁴³⁶ Thompson to Shear, 5 Mar 1955, folder: “Problems, Shear,” EKT archive.

⁴³⁷ The assigned territories to editors were now defined according to AIA regional districts, not US states. In 1957 the initial arrangement was as follows: Emerson Goble – New England district. James Hornbeck – New York District; Great Lakes District; North Central States District. Frank Lopez – South Atlantic District; Gulf States District. Herbert Smith – Central States District; Texas District. Elisabeth Kendal Thompson – Western Mountains District; Northwest District; California-Nevada-Hawaii District. Florence van Wyck – Middle District. In New York City, editors were still allowed to maintain their contacts in specific offices, but the assigned editor, James Hornbeck, would have final responsibility. Source: Forsey to All Editors. 16 Jan 1957, black binder, EKT archive.

⁴³⁸ Shear to All Editors, 01 May 1956, black binder, EKT archive.

⁴³⁹ Helene M. Murphy to Thompson 6 May 1956, black binder. EKT archive, 2.

and also restrained the editors from discussing in too deep the magazine's material with the architects. He emphasized that rejections can be destructive for public relations.^{440,441}

Type assignments

Furthermore, according to Shear's guidelines each editor had to follow and keep records of all significant developments of specific building types assigned to them. Until then, the Building Types Studies were being assigned only few months prior and to rotating editors. Under the new system 75% to 80% of the content of the Building Types studies was decided more than a year beforehand and to specifically assigned individuals with sufficient time to prepare.⁴⁴²

Special assignments and coordination

Thirdly, with regards to special assignments and general responsibilities, Shear had to systematize and ensure the cooperation of editors with each other, and even other services of the F.W. Dodge company. Each editor had to maintain an active list of projects that he/she had reported, reviewed or was following for an ongoing story and notify at the earliest Shear and the editors who shared interest on said project (due to territory or building type assignments). The *Record* editors were instructed to coordinate with the *Dodge Reports* service of *F.W. Dodge*, in order to “know before calling some of the things the architect is working on.”⁴⁴³ According to their assigned territory, they now had to get to know the news managers and regional field news reporters of *Dodge Construction Reports* and the *Dodge Statistical Service*. Supervising the work, Shear was to be copied in all inter-office communications re editorial matters. He introduced a system of two annotated “calling lists” of

⁴⁴⁰ Thompson to Shear, 5 Mar 1955, folder: “Problems, Shear,” EKT archive.

⁴⁴¹ In fact, Shear's guidelines for personal relations were brought down to the last detail. Indicatively, from 1957 the editors would have to address personalised Christmas cards to their respective architects, and specific instructions were given for the *Architectural Record* parties at AIA conventions, with the editors rotating as hosts at the “AR suite,” and specified food and liquor. Other things mentioned included: birthday gifts, tokens [such as a desk statuette to Phillip Johnson for his first TV interview] and congratulatory letters to new AIA fellows. Sources: PCF to All editors 13 Nov 1957; 21 May 1957, black binder, EKT archive.

⁴⁴² This was coordinated with the advertising department. PCF to All editors, 13 and 19 Nov 1957, black binder, EKT archive.

⁴⁴³ Pamela C. Forsey to All Editors, 16 Jan 1957, black binder, EKT archive.

architects/firms for the general use of the office. List #1, otherwise referred as the “Special list”⁴⁴⁴ included every architect or firm who was expected to produce lead stories⁴⁴⁵ and List #2/“the Regular list” included every architect or firm who by reason of promise could be expected to qualify for List #1. Editors were expected to visit the List #1 offices twice per year and List #2 once. A report to Shear on the state of the architects’/firms’ projects after each editor’s visit was also expected.⁴⁴⁶

4.3.3.3 Editorial Content

News and feature articles

Shear’s strategy to engage a bigger number of architects started with increasing the number of buildings and architects that were featured in each issue. This shift had already started to happen to some extent with the increase of features on house designs and became most apparent in the reformatting of the *Building in the News* column [Fig. 4.7] of the *Record Reports* that now was presented on a double-page spread that gradually incorporated more and more photographs making it in essence a photo-reportage of latest buildings with only short captions to describe them. In comparison to his predecessors, Shear has been mentioned to be more adept in recognizing design values and also to favour the incorporation of “adventuresome”⁴⁴⁷ and “prototype”⁴⁴⁸ designs, as well as being willing to feature buildings in various stages of completion.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁴ Op. cit., PCF to All. 8 Jan. 1957, op.cit.

⁴⁴⁵ Quote: “e.g. in N.Y.C., Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, Harrison & Abramovitz, Raymond & Rado, Philip Johnson, Breuer, and a few more).” PCF to All. 8 Jan 1957, ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Here Shear mentions the following names: Perkins & Will, Stevens & Wilkinson, Alexander & Rothschild. Op. cit., PCF to All. 8 Jan. 1957.

⁴⁴⁷ Thompson to Herbert Smith, 28 Jan. 1966. Thompson papers, Bancroft Library, Box 1.

⁴⁴⁸ Op. cit., PCF to All 16 July 1957

⁴⁴⁹ Op. cit., PCF to All 10 Sep 1957.



FIG. 4.7 The “Buildings in the news section” as expanded by Mason and Shear which in typical “journalistic” fashion identifies it as a “random” glance. Comparatively, *P/A* called it the “era of chaos.”

Moreover, Shear introduced single-page features of projects, increasing the presentation choices⁴⁵⁰ and employed more material from Thompson’s “Western Section” in an effort to make the magazine’s content more “equitable.”⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵⁰ Which so far comprised: a) news listing that went up to a paragraph announcing the project and architect possibly coupled with a photo/drawing; b) minor and main features of multiple pages; c) building types studies that aimed at a projects extensive description.

⁴⁵¹ Due to new post regulations introduced 1957, the Ad content ratio was increased to about 70% of the total pages of the magazine, and by decreasing the editorial content of the Western Edition Shear made use of Thompson’s work in the national edition. Around that time happened also the shift from half and third-page ads to more and more full-page ads that resulted in the separate grouping of editorial and ad content. Pamela C. Forsey to All Editors. 25 Jan 1957, black binder; and Florence van Wyck to Thompson, 5 March 1954, folder: “1955 Problems Shear,” EKT archive.

Engaging professionals and scholars

Shear heightened the readers' engagement through the questionnaires and the organization of panels. A notable example, is his treatment of the *Record Houses* issues that he saw as the *Record's* own version of awards that would break "P/As award monopoly."⁴⁵² The nomination of the projects to be featured was done through selected juries that Shear personally invited⁴⁵³ and leaflets addressed to subscribers asking them to nominate houses to be featured.⁴⁵⁴ But more importantly, the same strategy was intensified with the 1956 article series "One Hundred Years of Significant Buildings," a personal project of Shear's; which, in parallel with the new column "*Reviewing the Record*" attempted to capitalize on the *Record's* history. For the Significant Buildings articles, a panel of fifty architects and scholars nominated buildings to celebrate the accomplishments of the profession and honour the one-hundredth anniversary of the AIA.⁴⁵⁵ Presented in twelve groups according to type (in their respective Building Types issues), these articles featured all the major names of the US architectural society, that Shear would contact personally,⁴⁵⁶ thus enforcing the relationship between the magazine and the major architects. As mentioned, the *Record's* opening was also made towards scholars.

⁴⁵² PCF to All. 15 Jan. 1957, black binder, EKT archive.

⁴⁵³ One such invitation is found in the Neutra archive: "I write to invite you to join a panel of distinguished architects and scholars who are choosing for *Architectural Record* a list of the most significant buildings erected in the United States during the past 100 years. Publication of these buildings in the form of photographic essays will be carried on during the year preceding the American Institute of Architects." Shear to Neutra, 8 Feb 1956, Richard and Dion Neutra papers, UCLA, Box 1424, Folder 13, "*Architectural Record*. 1954-1956."

⁴⁵⁴ Op. cit., PCF to All. 15 Jan. 1957.

⁴⁵⁵ Op cit., Tomlan, 290

⁴⁵⁶ E.g. Letter of Shear to Kocher 26 June 1956, ALK collection.

Emerson Goble, who was responsible for the magazine's "philosophical articles" since 1951 had managed to have Mumford as a regular contributor⁴⁵⁷ while Shear was requesting contributions from Henry Russel Hitchcock⁴⁵⁸ and brought John Ely Burchard⁴⁵⁹ closer to the editorial team as a permanent consulting editor.⁴⁶⁰

4.3.3.4 Graphic design

On the matter of graphic design, Shear supervised the complete redesign of the magazine, that was described to have sought a "format that would permit expression in a graphic medium of the order and clarity found in architecture."⁴⁶¹ In 1957, this task was specifically assigned to Mildred Schmertz: a newly-brought editor and longtime acquaintance of Shear's from Pittsburg who would reach the position of the *Record's* editor-in-chief in future time.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁷ Through his almost 40-year association to the magazine, Mumford reached his highest frequency of contributions during the mid-1950s, being a personal choice and responsibility of Emerson Goble. Through Goble, Mumford was also making his own proposals for contributors, such as his friend and architect/sculptor Naum Gabo, whose work of art in Rotterdam was featured in the November 1957 issue: "It was nice of Lewis Mumford to make the suggestion," Goble to Naum Gabo, 14 January 1957, Naum Gabo papers, Yale University Archives, Box:1, folder: "*Architectural Record*, New York."

⁴⁵⁸ (who was also a close acquaintance to Payne too).

⁴⁵⁹ (who had declined the editorship in 1952)

⁴⁶⁰ "Memo from the editor," John Knox Shear to Henry Russel Hitchcock, "Alphabetical Files," Henry Russel Hitchcock papers, Smithsonian archives of art.

⁴⁶¹ *Architectural Record*, (Feb 1958): 9.

⁴⁶² Mildred Schmertz, was employed in the *Record* in 1957 and became editor-in-chief of the magazine in 1985. Her father, Robert Schmertz was a long-time associate and mentor of Shear's at Carnegie (he signed Shear's AIA membership). Therefore it is safe to assume that Mildred was a personal choice of Shear's whom he trusted with important assignments, including interviewing Wright –the architect's last interview– in 1957. John Knox Shear League membership application, folder: "members circa 1968, S, 1945-1968," Box: 40, Architectural League of New York Records, 1880s-1974, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Schmertz, was particularly adept on the matter having just completed her studies with the exact topic as her final design project^{463,464} and began a long process of interviewing the staff on their preferences on each issue, that produced several results and an overall clarity that a jealous Haskell would assume was a blatant copying of the *Forum*.⁴⁶⁵

Under Schmertz's design, the cluttered Table of Contents of the early 1950s gave way to a new, more spacious format, spread over two pages instead of one, that communicated clearly the content-structure that was otherwise left intact in the traditional four-piece of: 1) news of the field, 2) lead and minor feature articles, 3) *Building Type Studies* and 4) technical details and products. Then, a shift appeared on the visual images with a shortening of background illustrations and coloured graphics in favour of larger and bolder photographs, and clearly-presented designs. Characteristically, the front cover now featured a fixed title over full-page photographs instead of the monthly-alternating designs of the former years. This was finally, coupled with a reorganization of the mass of textual content that appeared in the "*Record Reports*," a section that was being expanded with new columns of "*Special Reports*" and the new column of "*Calendar and Office Notes*" as well as an intensification of the "Meetings and Miscellany" that showed a further emphasis on issues of public relations and covering of events such as public symposia and award ceremonies of the AIA.

⁴⁶³ Schmertz's university master thesis was on the graphic re-design of the *Architectural Record* which was later implemented after months of discussions with the editorial team. PCF to All editors, 2 April 1957, black binder, EKT archive.

⁴⁶⁴ Also, in Schmertz's League membership application, Shear was her "proposer" along with Jeanne Davern in 1957. Mildred Schmertz League membership application, folder: "members circa 1968, L-M, 1945-1968," Box: 40, Architectural League of New York Records, 1880s-1974, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

⁴⁶⁵ This redesign raised a reaction amongst the editors of *Forum*. In a Memo to his colleagues Haskell was arguing that the total effect of the *Record*'s redesign was "to narrow the difference in appearance between *Forum* and [the *Record*]" Haskell to Paine et al. 24 Jan. 1958, Haskell papers.

4.3.3.5 Dodge's new acquisitions

The changes on the editorial front were strengthened with the further expansion of F.W. Dodge Co. that was reaching a critical mass in its acquisitions of professional periodicals of the building industry. In December 1956,⁴⁶⁶ F.W. Dodge Co. acquired the titles *Modern Hospital*, the *Nation's Schools*, and *College and University Business*. The volume of these acquisitions called for the systematization of sharing editorial material between them and the *Record*, something that was already common practice but now became official policy of the magazine, under the supervision of Goble.⁴⁶⁷

4.3.3.6 Main points of Shear's editorship

Shear's program as delineated in editorial meetings, and as seen in the gradual restructuring of the *Architectural Record's* content, slowly brought results in a rising of the circulation numbers of the magazine.⁴⁶⁸ Amongst the editors, Shear attempted to raise the standards on all fronts and to constitute a complete set of editorial policies that set the foundations for the magazine's further development.⁴⁶⁹ His public relation abilities as shown both in the editorial content and correspondences, should also be accounted for spreading the mentality to all the members of the team by requiring them to pick up responsibilities, render reports to him and by insisting that "everyone must be a contactor all the time."⁴⁷⁰ Thompson, who most diligently was trying to expand her network since 1947 was "exuberant" of Shear's program⁴⁷¹ while others such as Jeanne Davern and Mildred Schmertz would become experts on this specific field.

Beyond the coordination and systematization of the editors' work, Shear capitalised on the assets at hand: Dodge's resources and Mason's improvements. From Stowell's conception of the magazine as an information service, to Mason's journalism, Shear was able to enhance it with advanced communication skills

⁴⁶⁶ John Knox Shear, 'A new editorial partnership,' *Architectural Record*, (Dec 1956): 9.

⁴⁶⁷ Op. cit., Tomlan, p 290.

⁴⁶⁸ According to figures by Dreler, by 1950, the *Record* held about 34.000 subscribers, being almost tied with *P/A* and trailing behind *Forum* (around 67.000). Op. cit., Dreler, 254.

⁴⁶⁹ By 1960, the same figures (see above note), were: *Forum* (61.000), *P/A* (41.000) and *Record* (40.000). Ibid.

⁴⁷⁰ PCF to All, 21 May 1957 black binder, EKT archive, 2.

⁴⁷¹ Thompson to Shear, 5 Mar 1955, folder: "Problems, Shear," EKT archive.

and aesthetic criteria. In Thompson's words, Shear's editorship did away with "information/data driven" and "dry" features⁴⁷² and signaled a "thrust forward"⁴⁷³ in becoming a "truly professional magazine."⁴⁷⁴

4.3.4 The Frank Lloyd Wright Episode

Despite the above developments, the *Record* was seen by its competitors as lacking in theoretical content⁴⁷⁵ and most specifically on the issue of criticism. This was most evident in comparison with the competing *Forum*, whose editor-in-chief Douglas Haskell confidentially criticized the *Record* for its inability to deliver "think piece" articles and "city stories" and for not making any effort at architectural criticism "of the sort that *Forum* has been developing."⁴⁷⁶ On the other front, Shear was also alert on the matter, opening many of the editorial meeting sessions by examining the most recent issue of the *Forum* and comparing it to the *Record*.

Addressing that matter, Shear delivered a short but sophisticated piece of criticism on Frank Lloyd Wright managing to demonstrate boldly that the *Record* was capable on delivering criticism even to the most significant architect at the time and come to the defence of the profession at the same time. At the time, Wright was enjoying wide recognition, after having received the AIA gold medal in 1949, and was seen as making a service to the profession by popularizing the architects' services to the masses. Despite that, his continuous criticism of his colleagues' work had caused

⁴⁷² Thompson to Payne, 29 May 1953, folder: "Problems, Shear," EKT archive.

⁴⁷³ Thompson to Shear, 5 Mar 1955, folder: "Problems, Shear," EKT archive.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ In a *Forum* inter-office memo, Haskell describes the situation this way: "One thing that hasn't changes is the nature of the content. The bulk of the [*Record*] is still taken up with building "presentations" of the sort that architects like to reprint and use as brochures. Then there is another Building Types study and a technical section; but, as usual, there are no "think piece" articles on topics of general building interest, no city stories, and no articles in treating building economics problems (beyond the running data in the front news department). There is also no effort at architectural criticism of the sort that *Forum* has been developing, e.g., The Congress Mall by Stubbins in the January issue and the Milan skyscraper tower. If the *Record* could ever drop its compulsion to try to look like *Forum*, the fact that it has set out to deliver a different kind of magazine than ours would be clearly apparent." Haskell to Paine et. al., 24 Jan 1958, "*Architectural Record*," Haskell papers.

⁴⁷⁶ Throughout the 25 years of its publication under Time Inc., the *Architectural Forum* operated at a loss. Sarah M. Dreller, "*Architectural Forum*, 1932–64: A Time Inc. Experiment in American Architecture and Journalism," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 2015).

reactions amongst them⁴⁷⁷ and the *Record* was the first to point it out, picking after a chastising speech of Wright's at the House of Representatives,⁴⁷⁸ of the US Congress in Washington DC. Target of Wright's speech was the latest addition to the Air Force Academy complex in Colorado, and spoke of the "incompetence of the design" accusing its architects, along with the architectural advisers to the Secretary of the Air Force. Foreseeably, Wright saw himself more fit to the job of designing the buildings in discussion. In a two-page editorial on Aug. 1955, Shear pointed to the overdrive of Wright's latest speech, and listed one-by-one the great architects' condemnations of his colleagues that included some of the most notable names of the time such as the famous architect of the TWA terminal and the St. Louis arch Eero Saarinen, the dean of MIT and leading modernist Pietro Belluschi, the biggest architectural corporation of the time SOM and a following of consultants for all of whom Wright declared: "None of these men could ever conceive a thing."

To these profound utterances and undermining comments over his fellow architects, Shear answered equally strong mannered by calling-out Wright's disservice to the country and the profession and adding:

["For those who wonder why the architect is often suspect in the public eye read the full transcript of Mr. Wright's testimony and reflect that for fifty years he has been telling the people of America that their architects are foolish, grasping, charlatans. And like fawning dogs, too many architects have continued to whimper their pleasure at even being mentioned."](#)

Then, he concludes:

["The great contributions of Frank Lloyd Wright are inevitably being matched by those of other great artists. His achievements in abuse may yet, and tragically, become more distinguishing than his achievements in building."](#)⁴⁷⁹

On the publication of the article this never-before seen criticism towards Wright drew both kind of reactions.⁴⁸⁰ Shear was even enthusiastically supported by F. W. Dodge Co. personnel for taking the courage to express his sentiment.

⁴⁷⁷ Which was one of the reasons why his AIA medal was so long delayed.

⁴⁷⁸ More specifically, the subcommittee of the Department of the Air Force Appropriations of the House of Representatives; *infra*.

⁴⁷⁹ John Knox Shear, "Editorial," *Architectural Record*, (Aug 1955):132-3.

⁴⁸⁰ Reaction to criticism in support of Wright came from the noted Californian architect Henry Hill: "Frank Lloyd Wright needs no defense from me, but that he has been attacked on such a professional basis in your magazine comes as a most serious shock." Henry Hill to John Knox Shear, 31 Aug 1955, folder: "Henry Hill," EKT archive.

Tom Tredwell, assistant Vice President of the Magazine Division wrote an inter-office Memo to all saying:

“It takes courage to chide the master! [...] At one time more respected for his influence on architecture abroad than here – *Architectural Record* has published oodles of Frank Lloyd Wright’s work. In his early days when he was comparatively unknown, from 1905 to 1915, *Architectural Record* was in fact Wright’s particular champion... – I am proud of John Knox Shear, our editor, for writing this editorial.”⁴⁸¹⁴⁸²

Shortly after its publication, Frank Lloyd Wright himself responded fiercely in a letter addressed to the editorial team [Fig. 4.8]:

“My dear *Record*: It now appears that the editorial policy of the *Record* is the usual “salesmanship”. The good old times when the *Record* stood for something are gone, Today there is neither honor nor architecture in the *Architectural Record*.”⁴⁸³

On a second one he wrote:

You are not for Architecture: you are for architects. They are subscribers. Architecture can wait?”⁴⁸⁴

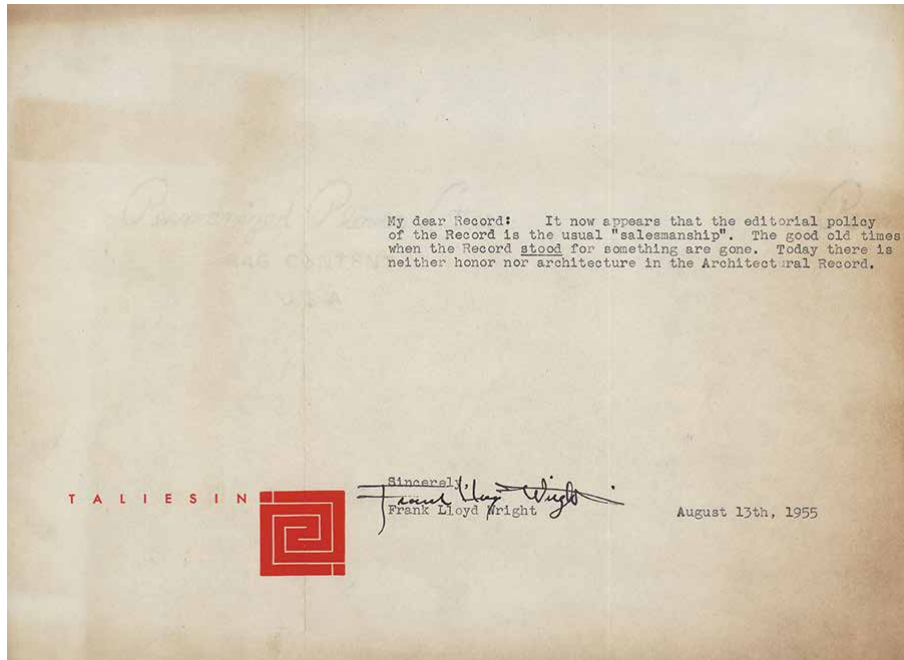
The whole matter serves both to showcase the shift that was happening in 1950s in architectural journalism and the role of the editors as champions of the profession. The consideration of architecture from its cultural aspect and the role of the monthly magazine as the only possible medium for sincere criticism as initially intended was now left far behind. Wright was right to point out that the “salesmanship” was becoming the driving force of architectural periodicals which had happened in parallel with the dependency of architects to the monthly flow of technical information and complicated managerial matters.

⁴⁸¹ Tom Tredwell to all Dodge employees, 8 Aug 1955, JKS papers.

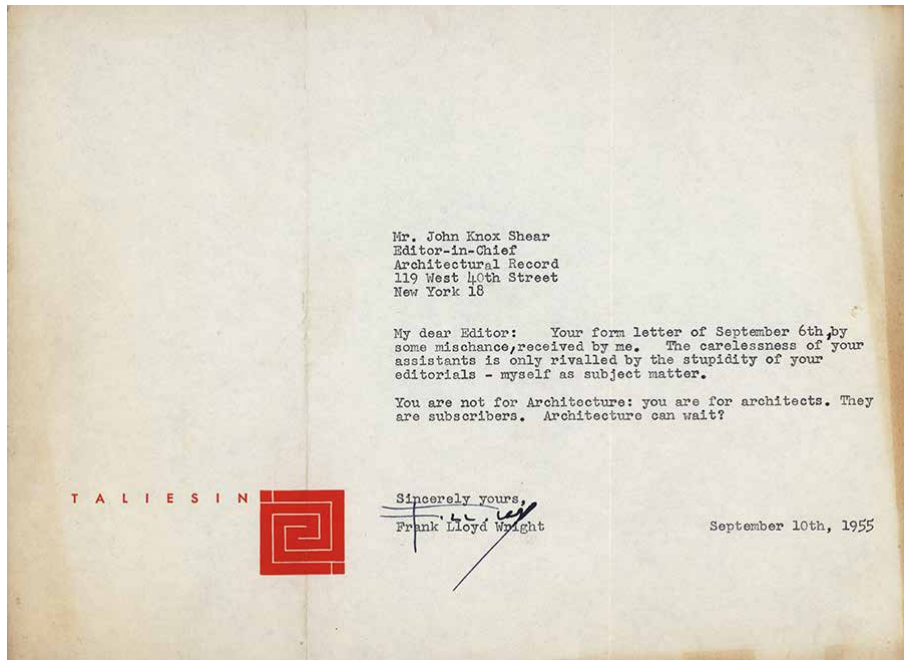
⁴⁸² To be added here that Wright, regardless his criticism or closeness to the *Forum* due to Myers and Haskell, always considered the *Record* as the prime architectural magazine and was grateful for his treatment by the *Record* editors for his first publication in 1908 and the 1930s when as he says: “when I was getting a worm’s eye view of society Dr. Mikkelsen paid me \$7[.]500[.]00 for seven articles on ‘The Nature of Materials.’ Now I have two loyalties to publishers. One to Howard Myers of the *Forum*; one to Dr. Mikkelsen of the *Record*. Both are gone. The loyalty remains.” Emerson Goble to Frank Lloyd Wright, item “R076C03,” Frank Lloyd Wright papers.

⁴⁸³ To these, John Knox Shear’s responded only briefly saying that “It is too bad that Mr. Wright has never realized that he is a really great man.” Correspondence between Frank Lloyd Wright and the *Architectural Record*, John Knox Shear Archive, Pittsburgh, August 13th, 1955.

⁴⁸⁴ On the same letter Wright says: “The carelessness of your assistants is only rivalled by the stupidity of your editorials – myself as subject matter.” September 10 Wright to Shear. JKS papers and Wright papers.



1



2

FIG. 4.8 Wright's response to Shear's intense criticism.

And as in the 1951 editorial meeting it was mentioned that the “era of discovery” was over for the architect, the same thing can be said for the architectural editors. Specifically, F.W. Dodge Co. had by the mid-1950s become the centre of dissemination and cataloguing of all architectural information and its editors gradually became self-aware and grasped their role as mediators in-between the building industry, professional architect and the new field of the emerging consumer market. Wright’s assertion, that the *Record* is not *for Architecture* but *for architects* became a slogan of the editorial team that they embraced with pride throughout the 1960s.⁴⁸⁵

Even though for Wright, the 1950s saw the apogee of his career into a stardom, Shear inaugurated cautious criticism against Wright and in defence of the profession. His opinion was echoed, in Albert Bush-Brown’s 1959 article *The honest arrogance of Frank Lloyd Wright* in the popular magazine *the Atlantic* while also was in line with Mumford’s subtle but firm dismissal of Wright’s work as too individualistic.⁴⁸⁶ Not more than a year later, it seemed that the whole correspondence already belonged to the past as can be seen from the photos accompanying an article in the June issue documenting a party given by the magazine in honour of Pier Luigi Nervi, with Frank Lloyd Wright as an invitee, sided by the editors of the *Architectural Record*. [Fig. 4.9]

The point is that in the following years, the editors of the *Record* systematised and instrumentalised the role of the architectural “heroes” such as Wright and Mies who were meant to play a role of inspiration and confirmation to the masses of professionals, regardless the quality of their work or ambivalence of artistic expression (see chp #5). And if this instance of criticism against Wright was a small sign from the part of the editors taking a managerial role, another affirmation came with their effort for the preservation of modern architecture, that effectively put them in charge as speaking on behalf of the profession and validated their right to categorize architects (e.g. modern – non modern) and also, making a point for modernism as a historical event of the near past. From that point on the future would be “contemporary.”

⁴⁸⁵ Jeanne Davern, “Emerson Goble: 1901-1969,” *Architectural Record*, (Dec 1969): 9.

⁴⁸⁶ Mumford was in line with Wright in criticizing the International Style and in favour of an American modernism, but in 1953 he expressed criticism against Wright’s architecture in his New Yorker column (Skyline), and at the same time asking him to “absorb the shock.” Source: Glenn E. Wiggins, “Mumford and Wright: The power of the critic,” 83rd ACSA Annual meeting proceedings, 1995: 142-147.



FIG. 4.9 June 1956. (L-R) Nervi, Mario G. Salvatory, John Knox Shear, and Frank Lloyd Wright. John Knox Shear papers, Carnegie Tech.

4.3.5 Robie House and the cry for preservation

The *Architectural Record*, with its long standing history, had a prominent position in all things considering the US architectural history including the editorial campaign⁴⁸⁷ for the preservation of 20th c. architecture shared by all three architectural magazines (*P/A*, the *Forum* and the *Record*). And more specifically, Frank Lloyd Wright's Robie House of 1909 that was announced in 1957 that it would be scheduled for destruction in the following summer by its owners, the Theological Seminary but the destruction was put to hold after the pressure applied by the public and the architectural magazines.

The first article to trigger the discussion came from Shear's "One Hundred Years of Significant Buildings" in February 1957 where the inclusion of the Robie House as the best project in the house category, triggered its nomination by the National Registry of Historic Landmarks and its successive announcement as national monument with an Act of Congress in 1963.⁴⁸⁸ The side-commentary authored by Alan Burnham in the *Architectural Record* article was quoted in its whole in the official nomination to the registry along with strong-lettered editorials of *Forum*⁴⁸⁹ (Douglas Haskell), *P/A* (Thomas Creighton). Along with them, *House and Home* that had also lauded the Robie House a month in its March 1957 article "One hundred years of American Homes" calling it the "house of the century" echoing the effort started the previous month at the *Record*. The April editorial of Shear's that called for a "crusade" was even more explicit "Save the Robie House!"

These articles came at a pivotal time and were used to raise awareness on the issue of preserving 20th century architecture and reprints of them were handed along to any communication addressed for political action and public funding, as attestations for the significance of the building.⁴⁹⁰⁴⁹¹ During the spring of 1957, started the Commission on Chicago Architectural Landmarks, by the Society for American

⁴⁸⁷ The word campaign is used after the folder title of Haskell's archive on the subject.

⁴⁸⁸ Op. cit., Tomlan, p 290.

⁴⁸⁹ "the value of used architecture: a case of preserving the Robie House", *Architectural Forum*, (April 1957): 107-8.

⁴⁹⁰ See National Historic Landmarks database, Nomination form "Robie House", National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landmarks Program *Records*. www.nps.gov, Accessed Oct 2019.

⁴⁹¹ Walter L Huber to Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior, April 26 1957, National Historic Landmarks database, accessed 6 Feb. 2020, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/database.htm>.

Architecture with Haskell as the “prime mover,” chosen by Wright himself.⁴⁹² Open letters to the AIA and the National Trust soon followed⁴⁹³ while the death of Wright in April 1959 brought a wave of laudatory publications that were added to the bibliographical list of the nomination. In 1962, the Robie House Restoration Committee featured the names of all the prominent editors of the big three magazines and in 1963, the house was donated to the University of Chicago⁴⁹⁴ and finally announced a historic landmark making it the very first building of 20th century architecture to be preserved and making it in the very first list of National Register of Historic Places in 1966.

But the Robie house case was only the beginning of the discussion. At the conclusion of the same article series of 1957, Edgar Kaufmann – who ending up funding a large sum for the Robie House restoration – called for recognition of other important buildings, reminding readers of the loss of the Marshall Field Wholesale Store, Larkin Building, and Hearst Hall at Berkeley. “ If the original buildings that have given form to our world are not to vanish, all of them, into legend— as many too many have already—the architectural profession will need to alert the rest of the community and many of its own members to the values of these structures.”⁴⁹⁵

In conclusion, this incident is indicative of two main issues regarding architectural editors: 1) it is a prime example of their position in heeding the professional community to action, not only reporting about it and b) the actual historicisation of 20th century architecture and more-so, of the kind that was being labelled “modern” brought an additional emphasis on the distinction between modern and contemporary. Officially and in public view, modernism was now categorised in

⁴⁹² Note here that whereas Shear’s “One hundred years” articles might have instigated the discussion, it should be Doug Haskell who should be credited for coordinating, micro-managing the movement and dealing with the politics of it all. Wright, had personally asked Haskell to protest from 20 March 1941 and installed him in March 1959 as “prime mover” at the Society for American Architecture Chicago Chapter. Another thing that Haskell did was to interview “Mr. Robie” and his son and circulate the *Recording* to various architecture schools and individuals for the purposes of the house’s restoration and talk with the United States Gypsum company to fund the restoration (amongst the main concerns for the demolition of the building were that it needed a complete change of the interior. He also corresponded managed to get Henry Luce, the famed publisher of TIME Inc. to rail in the cause; and he was also taking pride in being the only editor amongst current colleagues or competitors to have written in favour of Wright’s work by as early as 1925. Haskell to Lans Holden, “Frank Lloyd Wright,” 26 May 1959, Columbia University Archives, Haskell papers, box:84:1, folder: “Frank Lloyd Wright—obituaries and postmortem news items.”

⁴⁹³ ‘Robie House: An open letter to the AIA’, *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Aug 1963 p 115-6.

⁴⁹⁴ As a gift by William Zeckendorf, President of Webb and Knapp Inc.

⁴⁹⁵ Tomlan, p 290.

stylistic terms.⁴⁹⁶ And the conception of history as something that was following the recent developments, gave more credit to the role of the editors in capturing the present moment.

4.3.6 Sudden death & condolences

John Knox Shear's startling editorship was brought to an end with his sudden death after a short illness on January 10th 1958.⁴⁹⁷ His death at the young age of 40 years old was followed by a wave of letters of condolences representing a very distinguished group among the architects and critics of the country that attests to the editor's merits and his appreciation by the architectural community. The list of architects that submitted their condolences includes the avant-garde of mid-century US architecture: Belluschi, Gropius, Wright, Neutra, Rudolph, Wurster, Saarinen, Netsch, Emmons along with a young Robert Venturi who mentioned among other things that the *Record* under Shear's guidance and systematic approach was growing in authority and reflected the problems of the profession.^{498,499} But the most sincere expressions of appreciation came from the competing *Forum* editors, Peter Blake, Tom Creighton and Douglas Haskell all of whom railed in praise of Shear's work and character and mentioned the beginning of a collective arrangement between the professional magazines.

⁴⁹⁶ Whereas Wright, did not accept the label modernist and was blatantly against the International Style, the Robie House was repetitively called "modern". E.g. being included in the 2014 "Keeping it modern" Getty conservation program and even in the *Forum* editorial, mentioned in the nomination "the most perfect demonstration of the principal contributions to modern residential architecture"

⁴⁹⁷ While NYT mentions "short illness", Haskell's confidential description to his colleagues mentions a combination of food poisoning, stomach haemorrhage and a head injury while a family friend of the Shear's (M. Taylor) mentions stomach cancer. Haskell in his last praise on Shear mentions that the young editor was working throughout his hospitalization. Sources: New York Times obituary pages, Jan 11 1958. "John Knox Shear, Architect, was 40.", correspondence with M. Aurand and G. Damiani and undated Memo, Haskell papers, folder: "1951-64 *Architectural Record*."

⁴⁹⁸ Gropius to Burchard, 18 Jan 1958, JKS papers.

⁴⁹⁹ The full list of letters of condolences is a large part of Shear's papers in the Pittsburgh archive. Encouraged by John E. Burchard then Dean of Humanities of MIT, and consulting editor at the *Record*, 75 letters were concentrated and sent to the widow. Some more of those names, apart from the ones already mentioned were: Peter Blake (*Forum* and *House & Home*), Robin Boyd (Australian modernist architect), Albert Bush-Brown (historian), John Caulfield Smith (NHBA/HUDAC/CHBA and *Record* editor), Ollindo Grossi (Architectural League of NY), Victor Gruen, Doug Haskell, Arthur C. Holden (architect and brother of Thomas Holden, Dodge president), Frank G. Lopez (*Record* and *Forum*), Walter McQuade (*Forum*), Joseph W. Mollitor (photographer), Jose Luis Sert (then Harvard Dean), Kenneth Stowell, Paul Rudolph, Catherine Bauer and William Wurster. "Condolences letters," JKS papers, Carnegie Tech..

Dear Margaret:

We were all shocked and saddened by the news of John. If there is anything that can be done by myself or any of us here at the FORUM to be helpful, please just let it be known.

The very last time I saw John it was at a meeting at which we were planning for regular meetings of the architectural editors, an arrangement that would temper rivalries and promote good professional relations in the field. It would have been a great pleasure to proceed with this with John, but since he had to leave us this was the most pleasant kind of a memory to have left behind.

Sincerely,

Doug

1 Doug Haskell

My dear Mrs Shear -
I have just learned of the
tragedy that has fallen to you
but could see no of John's activities
among so many - I wish to
convey my sympathy for you
and my admiration for John
Frank Lloyd Wright
Plega - Jan 11.

2 Frank Lloyd Wright

FIG. 4.10 Letters of condolences by Doug Haskell and Frank Lloyd Wright.

Haskell writes [Fig. 4.10]:

"We were all shocked and saddened by the dreadful news about John. As I have written to Margaret, the very last time I spoke with John it was on a very auspicious occasion when the editors of the three architectural magazines were meeting to arrange for informal get-togethers to strengthen the professional aspect of their work. The spirit that prevailed was very gratifying, and since this has to be the latest memory we have of John, it is a very good one to look back to."^{500 501}

Lacking any information on the nature of those meetings between the editors-in-chief, it is difficult to grasp their significance. It is however, an indication of the editors' role as representing the profession and making an effort to coordinate their actions, possibly to the same effect as the preservation campaign.⁵⁰²

Lastly, in honor of Shear a traveling fellowship was inaugurated in his name in 1958 at the Carnegie Mellon Department of Architecture.⁵⁰³

⁵⁰⁰ Haskell to Payne, 13 Jan 1958, Haskell papers, folder: "Architectural Record, 1951-64."

⁵⁰¹ in another instance, Haskell mentions that these meetings would "temper rivalries and promote good professional relations in the field." Source: Haskell to Margaret Shear, 13 Jan 1958, JKS papers.

⁵⁰² Future documentation mentions that these meetings were being organized even after Shear's death. Source: Goble to Hitchcock, 25 Feb 1958. "Architectural Record" folder. Henry-Russel Hitchcock papers, 1919-1987 Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

⁵⁰³ Also the following book was dedicated to Shear's memory: Landscape Architecture: The shaping of man's natural environment, by John Ormsbee Simonds. According to Damiani (in correspondence with author), Simmonds had collaborated with Shear on a landscape design of Shear's own house, still under construction at the time of his death.

4.4 Conclusions

4.4.1 The journalist and the teacher: architecture and its communication

There is a continuous line of development in the making of the *Architectural Record* a tool to the professional architect during the mid20th c., and the specific period of 1951-8 presents an essential change in the communication of the magazine and its operative-ness.

Through Stowell and Hauf's editorships (1942-51) it had become clear that architecture was mostly considered an industrial business and the issue of design was to be considered as a process of managing technical information. In that context, the *Record* was to be considered *the* informative centre for the professionals. What Mason added was a journalistic mentality that dealt with information in lists, through which the professionals would have to find their own interests. Under Mason, the role of the editor was that of a reporter and aesthetic issues or even polemical editorials (such as Stowell's) were of secondary importance. Apart from the systematisation of information, the Mason years should also be noted for the identification of the target group of architects, (most evident with the depiction of social events); and for the shift towards house design, that of course didn't happen with Mason's standards⁵⁰⁴ but with the involvement of other people such as Payne, Kocher and Goble. It was in 1953 that the *Architectural Record* took a stance in favour of architects against engineers.^{505, 506}

⁵⁰⁴ As seen in Mason's book *History of Housing in the US: 1930-1980*, his treatment of the housing issue was seen in a grander scheme of political and economic events. Though his managerial experience in housing magazines was considerable, Mason was more adept in the analysis of the housing issue rather than their aesthetic values.

⁵⁰⁵ One example for this is a 1953 correspondence between Thompson and the editorial team regarding a conference where she is advocating for her presence at an architectural session instead of the engineering one, with the eventual agreement from the New York office. Thompson to Payne, 19 Aug 1953, "Problem: Architects meeting vs. Engineers meeting," folder: "Payne-1953," EKT archive.

⁵⁰⁶ Another characteristic instance was the firing of senior associate editor Frank Lopez (1957) that signalled a departure of technically minded, conservative editors and an emphasis on public-relations minding ones. Robert Marshall to Regional Sales Managers, District Managers and Salesmen, June 18 1957, folder: "Payne-Gordon," EKT archive.

As for the years 1954-8, under Shear, the information apparatus of the *Record* was put into clear directive of reaching out to the readers, following Shear's public relations strategy and editorial policies that re-structured the communication of the editors with architects, on and behind the pages of the magazine. As several people mentioned in their condolences, Shear's influence was just beginning to be felt.^{507 508} The optimization in the communication between architects-editors was just taking effect and the editor's role as educator of architects was beginning to be felt in the common editorial campaigns of the magazines. As Neutra said, what was characteristic for Shear, was that "*the life of the editor of an architectural magazine is the life of a significant teacher.*"⁵⁰⁹

On the whole, during the 1950s, the architectural editors became aware about the issue of public relations and their role in representing the profession. Apart from their internal communications as seen in Shear's policies, the effort was also coordinated with the AIA whose public relations committees and regulations were being organized around the same time, with the involvement of architectural editors. Apart from Thompson's claim of authoring the AIA public relations regulations another example is the AIA public relations committee meeting of 1954 in New York that included the editor-in-chief of all three major publications, at a time when the director of AIA public relations was the former *Record* editor Harold Dana Hauf and few years before another crucial position that of the AIA Publisher was given to another *Record* editor, William Dudley Hunt.⁵¹⁰

4.4.2 Modernism, contemporaneity and house design

As for the course of modernism in the US context, the *Architectural Record* editors subtly contributed to the movement's deconstruction. As noticed by Lavin, the semiological move towards "contemporary" shifted architecture's allegiance from industrial production and closer to design: interior design, graphic design,

⁵⁰⁷ "Modern architecture, just beginning to expand, needs the alert and perceptive eye of the intelligent and sympathetic critic, especially one with a background in architecture. John Knox Shear was such a one. His influence was just beginning to be felt." Eero Saarinen to John E. Burchard, 7 Feb 1958. JKS papers.

⁵⁰⁸ "John Knox Shear was more than a good editor and a perceptive judge of architect's deed's and motives; he was a dedicated, intense, and courageous man. His real influence was just beginning to emerge." Pietro Belluschi to John E. Burchard, 24 Jan 1958. JKS papers, Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives.

⁵⁰⁹ Richard Neutra to Margaret Shear, undated, JKS papers.

⁵¹⁰ *Bulletin of the American Institute of Architects*, May 10 1954:2

decoration, fashion etc.⁵¹¹ What that means is that architectural services were now not addressing needs, but desires.

Factually, this shift was rendered with the focus of the *Record* to house design and the introduction of the Treasury books and the *Record Houses*. And while *Forum's House & Home* was highly successful in attracting both readership and more – threatening to the *Record*– advertisers⁵¹² its lack of potential for representing the profession⁵¹³ and even the change of the magazine's name (from *Architectural Forum* to *Forum: Magazine of Building*) was what clearly made the *Record Houses*, the “truly professional” publication for house design for architects. While *P/A's* editors saw the rise of pluralism in design as a sign of chaos and confusion, instead the *Record* editors fully embraced it and enriched it with their conceptions of "Delight" and "Newness" as the major drives of contemporary architecture, that replaced the focus on function.

In a remark of a 1957 editorial meeting, a full circle had come on function and design:

“Concluding, JKS re-emphasized that AR should say whether a building functions well and is designed poorly or is designed well and functions poorly.”⁵¹⁴

When once during wartime, the *Record* editors had finally embraced the adage of form following function, here, here they admit and willfully recognize a lack of correlation between design and function. This shift, that had started immediately after the war with the "pluralistic" and "democratic" design was now opening the door to the pluralism of architectural designs bidding to the laws of the consumer market economy and the affluent society of American suburbia; which we now call

⁵¹¹ Op. cit. Lavin.

⁵¹² In a letter to Haskell from 1952, the F.W. Dodge business manager Robert F. Marshall was raising several issues of competition between Dodge and Time that were bringing distress to both magazine's editorial departments. In response to Haskell's complains over “anonymous letters,” and “things that should not have been said,” Marshall mentioned that the “skulduggery” has been on the part of the *Forum* which to his account, was making improper circulation claims through the ABC (Audit Bureau of Circulation), in an effort to attract advertisers and publishing articles accusing the *Record* for appealing the situation to the ABC. As Marshall presents the situation: “I would not care to put in print my opinion of their activities since they begun last fall their efforts to torpedo us by a mass raid on our sales organization, their improper circulation comparisons, and their false statements about our editorial policy.” Marshall to Haskell, 25 Jan. 1952, folder: “Robert Marshall,” Haskell papers, Columbia.

⁵¹³ As Dreller mentions, *House & Home* evolved into “an extremely specialized business journal for large-scale speculative homebuilders.” Op. cit. 66.

⁵¹⁴ PCF to all editors, 25 Jan 1957, black binder, EKT archive.

contemporary. A term that bridges the conceptual gap of well-designed and/or well-functioning architecture and by definition broke the founding axiom of modernism that saw design and function as co-relating.

The same line resonated in more detail through the critical articles that the *Record* published through the mid-1950s by the likes of Mumford, Bush Brown, Hudnut, Burchard and Giedion. In a snapshot, Giedion's 1954 *Record* articles were headlined by the editors as: "Forget the International Style," and "Don't forget imagination."⁵¹⁵

Seen in total, the semiological change of "modern" with "contemporary," the historization of modernism through the "One hundred years" series, the campaign for preservation of 20th c. architecture, the shift towards house design and the focus on public relations (social events, panels etc). changed modernism from a discourse, to a strictly defined professional network, with its own market and its own media apparatus: the *Record* and the rest of the architectural magazines.

From 1951 to 1958, the shift from *architecture* to *architects* had just got started and once the *Record* perfected their system of public relations it was a matter of time before they started educating architects on how to do the same. Along with the growing additions of F. W. Dodge and the expertized consultation by marketeers such as Dichter (see chp #5), Emerson Goble –once the real estate editor and an editor-in-chief twenty years in the making – was now fully equipped to operationalize communication for architects (see chp #6) and with them, define their image.

⁵¹⁵ John Ely Burchard, "The dilemma of architecture," *Architectural Record* (May 1955); Joseph Hudnut "Aesthetics by slide rule" (Jan. 1956): 139 and "A new eloquence for architecture," (Jun. 1957): 177; Albert Bush Brown (Jun 1957): 185; and Minoru Yamasaki, "Toward an architecture for enjoyment," *Architectural Record*, (August 1955): 142.

5 The Dichter report

A marketing study for the *Architectural Record*

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Ernest Dichter, the Freud of the supermarket age

The 1940s saw the introduction of new techniques for market research that opened a new era of market research and consumerism as a whole. By stating that every individual sale is not made for actual use and consumption of goods but rather for the inherent values that the sold object or service represent, two things were made clear that revolutionized the relationship between customer and market:

- A that human beings base their decisions on irrational needs, emotion and the power of the unconscious
- B that each product/service has an identity, a “soul” that engages with the customer’s emotional, psychological and sexual appeals.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁶ Stefan Schwarzkopf and Rainer Gries, “Ernest Dichter, Motivation Research and the ‘Century of the Consumer.” in Ernest Dichter and motivation research: New perspectives on the making of post-war consumer culture, ed. Stefan, Schwarzkopf and Rainer Gries, nrd ed. (London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 6.

Ernest Dichter (1907-1993) was an Austrian psychologist that emigrated in the States in 1938 at a time when these ideas were taking over business consulting. Within a short time, he became one of the pioneers in consumer motivational research and the intellectual mind behind the growing number of “ad men” that pulled the strings behind the mid 20 century explosion of mass consumerism. Dichter set up his own practice in 1946 in Croton-on-Hudson, in the outskirts of New York [Fig. 5.1] and restyled it in 1955 as the “Institute for Motivational Research Inc.” (Fig. 1). By the end of 1950s his business reached an annual revenue of \$1 m (around \$9 m today) by consulting companies such as Procter & Gamble, General Electric, Coca-Cola, American Airlines and Exxon and products from Barbie dolls to automobiles. Other notable ones include major general consumer magazines such as *TIME*, *Life*, *Newsweek* and *Business Week*; women’s and men’s magazines: *Elle*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Penthouse* and *Esquire* (which was actually his first consulting job dating from the late 30s). He also consulted for professional periodicals such as *The Modern Hospital* and *Chemical Engineering*.⁵¹⁷ His work even extended to television networks such as CBS.⁵¹⁸ Most popularly, Dichter was known as an author of books, (most notably *the Strategy of Desire*, 1960) and as a rigorous lecturer in public venues and universities.^{519,520}

Although being a major influencer of imaginative marketing campaigns and a house-hold name in the U.S. setting, Dichter gradually became the target of intense criticism in what was seen as aggressive marketing strategies against the American consumer. Vance Packard’s 1957 book *The Hidden Persuaders*” accused Dichter for exploiting the emotions of consumers to inspire “a national glut of self-indulgence.”⁵²¹ Betty Friedan’s 1963 *The Feminine Mystique* attacked Dichter’s anti-feminist approach by exploiting women’s’ homemaking insecurities in order to “keep them in the kitchen.” Jean Baudrillard’s 1968 *Le Systeme des Objets*,⁵²² paints Dichter as a seminal figure of the “American advertising men”⁵²³ that set the

⁵¹⁷ Finding aid, Ernest Dichter papers (Accession 2407), Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE 19807.

⁵¹⁸ Columbia Broadcasting System.

⁵¹⁹ Dichter taught marketing courses in Mercy College and Nova University. Source, Finding aid, Ernest Dichter papers, supra.

⁵²⁰ Finding aid, Ernest Dichter papers, ibid.

⁵²¹ “Retail Therapy: how Ernest Dichter, an acolyte of Sigmund Freud, revolutionized marketing”, *The Economist*, (17 Dec 2011).

⁵²² Jean Baudrillard, *Le Systeme des objets*, (Paris, FR: Éditions Galimard, 1968), pp 229-274.

⁵²³ Ibid. 184.

consumption of objects as remedy to all psychological problems: “the nihilism of consumption is thus effectively countered by a ‘new humanism’ of consumption.” More broadly, books such as John Kenneth Galbraith’s *the Affluent Society*, published in 1958, took aim openly against the US commercialised society and the brainwashing of minds towards consumerism. Paradoxically, those critics only strengthened the image of Dichter and further popularized him by giving him the nickname “Freud of the Supermarket Age.”⁵²⁴ It was not until the turn of the 1970s and the rise of the computer that qualitative methods of market research overtook the quantitative methods of Dichter’s Motivational Research and at the same time put him aside as controversial, speculative and un-scientific. This is also the same period when market research became a matter of academic study in contrast of being involved in private entrepreneurship as was Dichter’s Institute.

His figure resurfaced in a historical perspective after 2009 when his complete papers were deposited at the Hagley Museum and Library in Wilmington, Delaware by the Dichter family. By then, marketing sciences had performed a 180 degree change: due to the advancement of neuroscience as the preferred method for consumer research the focus of marketing fell once more to the study of emotions and the unconscious, close to Dichter’s intuitive insights.⁵²⁵

Until today, Dichter remains highly controversial with accusations ranging from “pseudo-psychologist” to “diabolical.”⁵²⁶ There is however one thing that even his harsher critics would not deny: that he was not afraid to raise questions and trace unprecedented connections. Among others, the field of architecture came to benefit from this trait of Dichter’s, thanks to the publishing company F.W. Dodge Corporation.

⁵²⁴ Stefan Schwarzkopf and Rainer Gries, op.cit. 4.

⁵²⁵ Supra. Economist

⁵²⁶

a) Characteristically, the online portal Market Research and American Business, 1935-1965 introduces the work of Dichter in this manner: “Delve into the pseudo-psychological world behind the advertising of some of America’s biggest brands.” Source: Adam Matthew a SAGE company, accessed on the 5th October 2018, www.marketresearch.amdigital.co.uk/.

b) On the “diabolical”: supra Ernest Dichter papers, box 148, folder “The Diabolical Dr. Dichter.”



FIG. 5.1 Photo of Dichter (centre) from a promotion booklet introducing the work of the Institute. Its caption read: "Our work is planned in consultation with our clients, whose needs are the basis for all our research. Creative consultation with a client is an important part of the assignment." Source: Ernest Dichter papers, box 197, Hagley Museum and Library.

5.1.2 **F.W. Dodge and the first marketing study on architecture**

Architecture in the 1950s was lagging far behind the game-changing ideas that were happening in the marketing world. In fact, US architects were strictly prohibited from advertising themselves by the American Institute of Architects (AIA) which had delineated codes of conduct since the late 19th century that favoured "reputation, as opposed to self-promotion."⁵²⁷ Many of the practices that are today conventional, such as sharing a company's latest news to clients or making public announcement

⁵²⁷ Shanken, Andrew, "Breaking the Taboo, Architects and Advertising in Depression and War," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 69, no. 3 (2010): 406-429.

would be considered as violations of ethics. All US architects, were obliged to charge the same percentage of the construction cost as their salary and therefore any effort for individual differentiation and profit was seen as a hostile act against the profession as a whole. In fact, the main competitors of architects' services were builders, constructors etc. whose expertise emancipated from experience contrary to architects who claimed expertise based on a specialized body of knowledge. In short, architects wanted to be defined as a licensed "profession" similar to lawyers and doctors based on a field of non-negotiable science in contrast of self-proclaimed "occupation" based on mere practice.⁵²⁸ Instead, the AIA, weighed on "publicity" rather than "advertising." Meaning, architects were depended on public exhibitions, competitions and word-of-mouth to widen their clientele in an effort to present architecture as a realistic and objective service. Characteristically, even the term "public relations" was seen as unethical. The AIA maintained a Committee of "Public information" since 1914 but only accepted the term "relations" to replace "information" in the 1940s, when the war-effort had popularized the term. The AIA itself as an institution engaged in a public relations campaign of national scale in the 1950s, after sheer pressure from professional architects and following the actions of the equivalent professional body of engineers⁵²⁹. However, the strictures for individual promotion and advertising campaigns for architects were lifted in 1970, at the same time when the first specialized consulting firms were created to offer marketing and management services to architecture firms, which almost overnight had to compete as "marketplace competitors" and not "disinterested experts."⁵³⁰

Considering the above, the fact that F.W. Dodge Corporation commissioned the Dichter report in 1959 makes it by far the earliest –though neglected– marketing consulting study on architecture. Unfortunately, with a lack of an archive of F.W. Dodge, there is little factual documentation listing the exact reasons why F.W. Dodge commissioned a marketing study so early on. From the part of Dichter's Institute, in standard process, prospective clients would be approached with a ready-made proposal calling their attention to a supposed problem that the marketers could address and help solve. In this case, such a preliminary proposal does exist (Document A, hereinafter) and it mentions several key points which were suggested to the Institute, by the administration of F.W. Dodge, indicating that the publishers were the first to instigate the report.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ Jay Wickersham, "From disinterested expert to marketplace competitor: how anti-monopoly law transformed the ethics and economics of American architecture in the 1970s," *Architectural Theory Review*, vol20, no 2, (2015): 138-158

ilies, too, therefore, may be expected to remain strong.

The demand patterns of young and old families are not dissimilar. They suggest, among other things, an increased emphasis on apartments and mobile homes.

The Department of Labor and the F. W. Dodge Corporation have both been reporting increased interest in multifamily construction. Multifamily construction was important immediately after the war, but it dropped in significance after 1950. By 1952 only about seven per cent of the units reported by BLS (including mobile housing units not reported) were apartment units. The percentage dropped to 6.6 per cent by 1955 but rose again in 1956 and in 1957 reached 10 per cent. Part of this increase, particularly from 1956 to 1957, was due to difficulty of financing single-family building. But, even aside from this financial factor, the market was turning toward multifamily units.

The rise in the sale of permanent so-called mobile homes has been even more significant. Such homes represented only about three per cent of the total reported by BLS in 1950; it had risen to more than six per cent by 1955, and to about 10.5 per cent by 1957. Mobile homes, plus apartments, thus accounted for more than 20 per cent of new homes in 1957.

The growth in the mobile homes component could be a forerunner of a significant development in housing. It is difficult for builders in many parts of the country to provide good two-bedroom houses for less than \$13,000 and the buyer may have to sign a mortgage for 20 years or so. Twenty years is a long time to young families. In addition, the wife usually wants to work at least until the first baby is born. But single-family housing requires time for housekeeping. So, the newly married couples find themselves interested in apartments or mobile housing. The fact that the mobile house comes completely equipped, is easy to clean and maintain and yet provides some attributes of single-family housing, is encouraging a higher percentage of young families to shift to mobile housing.

The housing requirements of older families are unique. Their children have left home, their needs for space are reduced. Like the younger families, their interest in housekeeping may not be great. There may be less reason and less incentive for staying tied down to one location. So, apartment house or mobile home living may prove more and more attractive. Studies of mobile house sales suggest increasing interest in this type of

NATION'S BUSINESS - MAY 1958

Dodge Reports mean new construction business



**INTRODUCING
"THE BEST BOSS
A MAN
COULD HAVE"**

He earned that loyalty because his salesmen know he is ready and willing to give them the help they need. He is looking out for them as well as for the profits he must produce.

Dodge Reports is the kind of help productive salesmen in the field of new construction want and appreciate. Dodge Reports help them spend their time and skill on active prospects, not chasing rumors and searching for opportunities, but working where buying decisions are being made.

Dodge Reports cover all new construction activity — reporting what is going to be built, who is designing and going to build it, when and where. The Reports can be purchased for all the 37 Eastern States or any local area in which you may operate. You can arrange to have them delivered to each of your salesmen, each day, for just his territory — no waste — no time lost — no clerical expense for you.

Dodge Reports today give over 48,000 alert sales managers and salesmen an important competitive advantage — using Dodge Reports to locate business gives them more time for actual selling.

Let us show you how you can have this advantage. Send for the booklet, "Dodge Reports — How to use them effectively", including the famous "Dodge Specification Form" which has helped others select just the service that fits their needs.

F. W. Dodge Corporation, Construction News Division
Dept. X058, 119 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.

Send me the book "Dodge Reports—How To Use Them Effectively" and let me see some typical Dodge Reports for my area. I am interested in the markets checked below.

- House Construction General Building
 Engineering Projects (Heavy Construction)

Area _____

Name _____

Company _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____



Dodge Reports
For Timed Selling
to the Construction Industry

99

FIG. 5.2 The Dodge man ad of F. W. Dodge in introducing the services of the Dodge Reports. Here the architectural publishers are referencing the Marlboro Man of the tobacco industry.

5.2 The motives behind the commission

A look into the historical context of Dodge further clarifies why and how the unexpected commission came to be.

5.2.1 Readership competitiveness

In the year 1960, the *Record* sold 40.000 copies making it third in circulation numbers behind the leading *Forum* (61.000) and *Progressive Architecture* (41.000).⁵³¹ Despite being third, the *Record's* long-time advantage of having a following from professional architects and engineers, which was the core audience that Dichter was called to analyse. Not only the *Architectural Record* but the whole structure of F.W. Dodge was dependent upon the commitment of this professional audience of architects and engineers. The statistical activities of F.W. Dodge, and the sister publications such as *Sweets Catalog* or the *Record* book series would also benefit from the analysis of the desires and needs of professional architects and engineers to whom they were addressed.

5.2.2 Advertising and statistics

With the advertising pages covering more than the two thirds of each of the magazine's issues, the *Architectural Record* heavily relied on its ad revenue. It was this content that needed to be better tailored to the magazine's target group, in a general period when advertising was shifting from merely informing the reader to actually trying to attract and persuade him. Actually, a lot of the advertisements featured in the *Architectural Record* were designed by *Record* employees. In order to attract more ad revenue, Dodge personnel would actively contact manufacturers of building products, inform them on the possibility of advertising in the *Record* and offer creative services from the team of graphic designers that it employed.⁵³²

⁵³¹ Publisher's Statements, Historical Circulation Data File, Audit Bureau of Circulation, Arlington Heights, IL. From: Sarah M. Dreller, "*Architectural Forum, 1932-1964: a Time Inc. experiment in American Architecture*," (PhD dissertation), University of Illinois at Chicago, 2015.

⁵³² Anonymous, *Selling the Architect*, (New York, NY: F.W. Dodge Corporation), 1936.

This is meant to underline that Dodge was not just hosting ads in its publications but was engaged in the creative production of advertising and also explains why they would be inherently invested in the latest developments in marketing.

F.W. Dodge was itself engaged in advertising its services in magazines such as *Nation's Business* with ads that were obviously experimenting with their aesthetic appeal, going beyond the aim of informing the reader. Since 1949, for example, Dodge ads featured a model client telling the story of how his long-time subscription to Dodge publications benefited his company. Although presented as factual, the ads were made-up. By 1958, the stylization of the "Dodge Men" would imitate the figure of the "Marlboro Man," the most emblematic campaign of the tobacco industry of the 1950s [Fig. 5.2].⁵³³ This mounting interest, dependence and active involvement of Dodge in the field advertisement, explains their motives for following closely the latest developments and being willing to invest in an elaborate and expensive marketing study. Also, apart from its marketing creative solutions, Dichter was known for innovating in the field of statistics. And F.W. Dodge apart from a publishing organization was the most attentive statistical research organization focused on the US building industry. Through questionnaires addressed to its network of architects and engineers (*Architectural Record* subscribers); developers and contactors (*Dodge Reports* subscribers); and manufacturers (featured in ads and the *Sweets Catalog*) F.W. Dodge would harness data of the building industry, analyse them through the *Dodge Statistical Research Service* and make annual predictions for construction developments on a national level.

For the first half of the twentieth century, market research in the US was conducted mostly through statistical research. It was in 1934 when Dichter's mentor, Paul Felix Lazarsfeld (1901-1974) published an article in *Harvard Business Review* introducing the work of his Vienna Institute that used social psychology, linguistics, behaviourism and Marxism to improve the understanding of market research data.⁵³⁴

⁵³³ From the internal communications brochure Dodge Group News of April 6, 1949 article titled "Dodge Reports Business Week campaign names names!": "The Dodge Reports case history campaign which began in Business Week last September will continue through 1949. According to H.G. ('Herc') Grasse, CND advertising manager, this advertising series will employ the names of actual Dodge Reports subscribers in all ads appearing this year. The March ad was the first in the series to feature the name of a Dodge man [...] We feel the name of Master Builders Company, long-time Dodge Reports user, gave this ad quite a bit of impact and authenticity," said Mr. Grasse. The next ad, which will appear in the April 16 issue of Business Week, will include an indorsement of Dodge Reports by the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company." Source: Douglas Putnam Haskell Papers, 1915-1979. Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Drawings & Archives Department. Columbia University, box 66, folder "1949," Dodge Group News, 8.

⁵³⁴ Schwarzkopf and Gries, op. cit. 65.

Lazarsfeld Institute was also responsible for using “target groups” instead of random samples of consumers and holding “depth interviewing” with open questions, both terms that Dichter claims he coined himself.⁵³⁵ With Lazarsfeld more invested into academic ventures, the business of using motivational research in commercial consulting, outside university venues was taken over by Dichter.⁵³⁶ The bottom line is that Dichter’s theories were presented as a tool complimentary to statistical research. According to Ronald Fullerton, even during Dichter’s heyday “few believed that Motivation Research would ever supplant conventional, quantitative market research.”⁵³⁷ It is also important to know that the *Record* had all the data of its yearly circulation and readership as well as its competitors indexed from the Audit Bureau of Circulation.⁵³⁸ Dichter’s report, was commissioned in order to combine the hard data, “with common sense and prospective imagination.”⁵³⁹ An undisputable myth-maker, Dichter liked to portray himself as a guru of several fields of marketing, including that of statistical research. Dichter’s argument was that however extensive, a statistical research through questionnaires will only reveal as much as the consumers want to reveal and not their inner thoughts or even, unbeknown to them inner desires. And even if his methods to achieve those data were obscene, it cannot be denied that he brought an imaginative revisionism towards statistical research to which a statistical research organization such as Dodge could not have ignored.

5.2.3 The *Forum* survey of 1955

Another motive for commissioning the Dichter report is that the *Record*’s main competitor, the *Architectural Forum* had itself issued recently a statistical survey by Columbia University⁵⁴⁰ titled “A report on registered architects in the U.S.” on

⁵³⁵ With Lazarsfeld ultimately devoting himself to statistical research, Dichter took it upon himself to popularize the terms through his entrepreneurial achievements. Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O’Donnell, *Propaganda and persuasion*, (Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 2012), 5th edition, 154.

⁵³⁶ *Selling the Architect*, op. cit. 66.

⁵³⁷ Ronald Fullerton, “The motivational researcher,” in Schwarzkopf and Gries, op. cit., 71.

⁵³⁸ One of the organizations operating under the umbrella of the International Federation of Audit Bureaux of Circulations (IFABC), the international independent agency responsible for audit and data services for advertising and publishing. ABC was founded in 1914 and it was instrumental in ensuring trust and conducts of competition for the rapid developing US media industry.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁰ From the survey’s colophon: “The study was co-sponsored by Columbia University, School of Architecture and *Architectural Forum* division of Time Inc. Survey details were controlled by: Erdos &

the circularity of the magazines amongst registered architects that was published in booklet form in November 1955 [Fig. 5.3].⁵⁴¹ Until then, the *Forum* was aiming to a broader audience, as well as featuring wider content, with articles concerning the whole building industry and not architecture specifically. But the 1955 survey shows that the *Forum* was eyeing the core audience of the *Record*: professional architects and engineers. The survey's aim was to: "inquire into the professional and business connections of individual registered architects, their educational background, whether or not they were also registered as professional engineers and, most important[ly], some description of the nature and magnitude of the specific projects on which they were engaged." The whole *Forum*-Columbia survey was based upon a staggering sample of 10.226 US based registered architects which made up for 46.6% of the total of registered architects of the AIA at the time.

Regarding magazine readership of architects, some of the noteworthy findings⁵⁴² of the survey were that:

- *Forum*, *Record* and *Progressive Architecture* were by far the leading three choices for registered architects, no matter how they practiced architecture, as employees, partners or sole-practitioners
- Any combination of *Forum*, *Record* or *P/A* delivered a better than 80% duplication of regular readership among registered architects. For example: from the 7.590 respondents that read *Record* regularly, 80,4 % also read *Forum*. Similarly, of the 7.344 respondents that read *P/A* regularly 84,9 % also read the *Record*.
- No magazine had better than 6% exclusive readership. While 51,6% percent of registered architects read all three of them.
- Foreign architectural magazines were read-regularly by less than ten per cent of the registered architects (*Architectural Review* 3,6 %, *Domus* 2,8%, *L'architecture d' Aujourd' hui* 0,9%, *Werk* 0,4%).
- Regardless of the responsibility wielded by registered architects for projects, the coverage of regular readers delivered by *Forum*, *Record* or *P/A* showed a similar pattern.
- The architects and principals in charge of whole jobs held the highest percentages of readership (*Forum* 49,8%, *Record* 50,2%, *P/A* 50,1%).

Morgan, research consultants, in cooperation with Leopold Arnaud, Dean of the Faculty of Architecture, Columbia University, and Oscar N. Serbein, Jr., Professor of Statistics, Columbia University Graduate School of Business." Source: "A report on registered architects in the U.S. 1955" Haskell papers, box 26:5, Folder "Personal-Architects," item #10.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² See appendix for the complete list of the survey's 28 findings in comparison with Dichter's report's final conclusions.

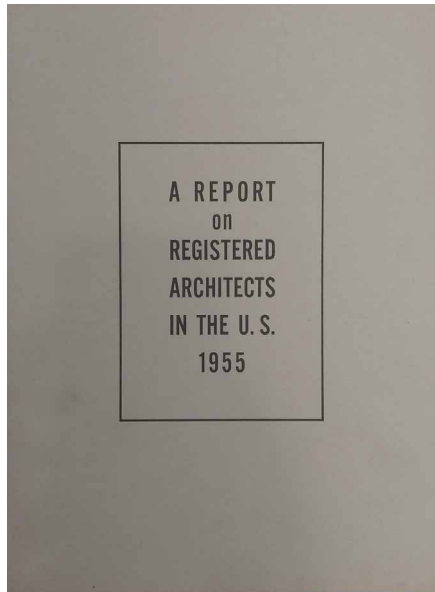


FIG. 5.3 The Columbia-Forum survey of 1955

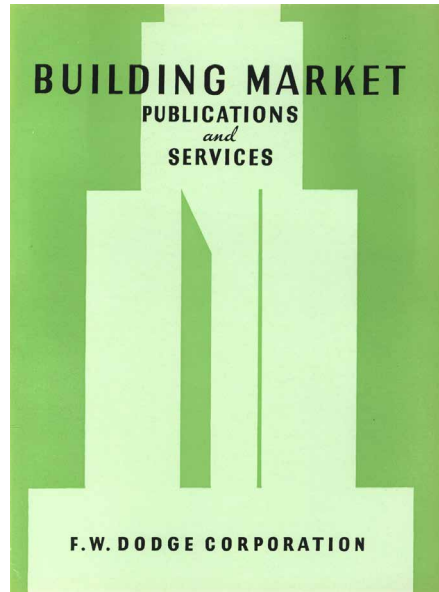


FIG. 5.4 Building market publications and services, promotion booklet of F.W. Dodge, 1936.

In short, the *Forum* survey came to validate the data of the *American Bureau of Circulation* which showed that *Forum*, *Record* and *P/A* were the leading publications of the field with *Forum* remaining ahead in general circulation but struggling in competition amongst professional architects. This fact was explored in detail: in terms of their occupation (in association, partnership, employment or sole practice); position (principal, project chief, specification writer, client relations etc.); types of construction that they were engaged (residential, hospitals, factories, office buildings etc.); the money value of the readers' constructions; their alma matter and year of graduation; their associations with industrial or manufacturing organizations; and whether they were simultaneously registered engineers or member of the NCARB (*National Council of Architectural Registration Board*).⁵⁴³ Despite being impressive in scale and depth, the *Forum*-Columbia survey brought no significant instructions to the editors, ad men and circulation managers of the *Architectural Forum*. In essence this is as far as a scientific study could offer: a detailed view of the reader's landscape. A stark contrast to Dichter's instructive study.

⁵⁴³ The extent of this survey circulation is unknown. It was not commercially distributed but it is listed in the 1957 Catalog of Copyright Entries of 1956 Books and Pamphlets which means sooner or later *Record* editors and publishers would have known of it by that time.

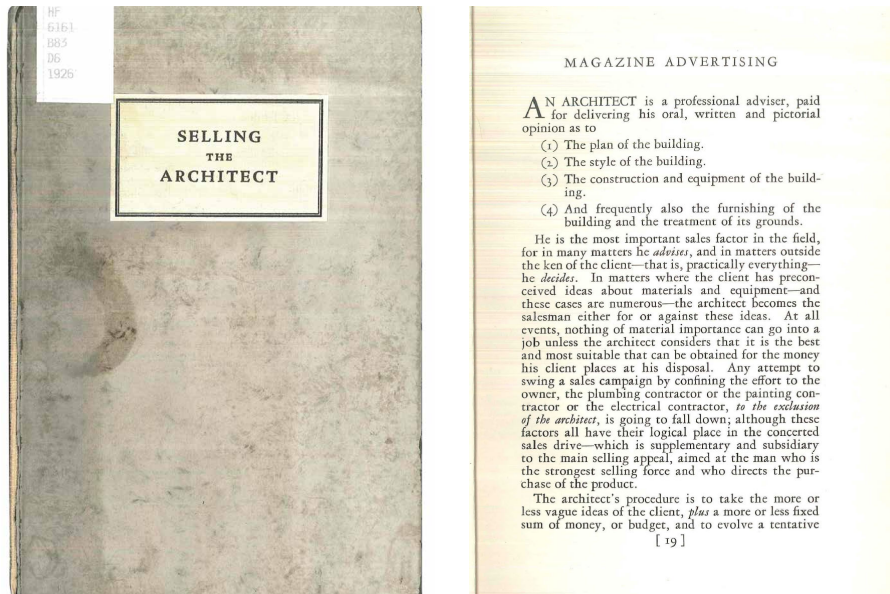


FIG. 5.5 *Selling the Architect*, promotion booklet of F.W. Dodge, 1926.

5.2.4 Selling the Architect – a precedent from 1926

One last point that constitutes a significant reason that explains the Dichter commission is that F.W. Dodge was already involved in analysing the architect and constructing his image towards the building industry. Proof of that is a booklet from 1926 titled “Selling the Architect” by Dodge which is in fact a guide for “architectural advertising” and an elaborate effort to inform and encourage sale managers to target architects in order to promote their products [Fig. 5.5]. Addressing the text towards industrial and construction manufacturers, the Dodge booklet states the following: “Sales and advertising managers and even some advertising agencies, are inclined to build a wall of theory around the architectural profession; to assert that architects are different from other mortals and must be approached by an entirely different procedure; and to look upon selling the architect as an operation full of mystery, in which each man has his own pet solution of the problem. As a matter of fact, the architect is singularly like other men, and can be sold as the other men are sold, by a sales and advertising campaign based upon, first, the broad fundamental principles of common sense and, second, a full knowledge and appreciation of the way in which he conducts the business of being an architect. It is an advertising truism that each class of man is best sold from his own viewpoint.”

The image of the architect that Dodge portrays to the manufacturers is strikingly different to what they would admit in the pages of the *Record*. The 1920s were exactly the time when the *Record* would bring forward the solitary figures of the modernist heroes, both in architecture and the arts.⁵⁴⁴ Instead of promoting the artistic and social value of the architect, the architect is cynically portrayed as the leading “sales factor”⁵⁴⁵ of the construction field. According to the booklet: “The business of being an architect is essentially a selling proposition, supported by a knowledge of the ideals, economics and mechanics of construction products, together with ability to analyse, judge, apportion, combine and correlate them. The architect is, in fact, perpetually selling this product or that—yours or your competitor’s—in proportion as he has previously been sold on the merits of the products...”⁵⁴⁶ By extension, half devoted to ads and half to editorial material, the *Architectural Record* is portrayed as the bridge between architects and the construction industry. This way, this “informative booklet” is evidently an indirect promotion of the publications and services of Dodge. Of foremost importance is the *Sweet’s Catalog* which is meant to lay down the facts for any product in the construction industry.

However, it is presented as functioning in synergy with the more elaborate medium of the architectural magazine.

“[Sweet’s catalog is the] cold, practical, mechanical working instrument that is referred to the cold, practical, mechanical part of the architect’s office operations. Advertising of an idealistic character has no place in a catalog, and should be reserved for the units that can best sell the ‘ideals.’”⁵⁴⁷

This “proper place to sell ideals”⁵⁴⁸ was none other than the *Architectural Record* for several reasons: it keeps the architect regularly and constantly informed of the manufacturer’s product and its qualities,⁵⁴⁹ it is the most effective means of delivering the iterated and re-iterated impressions that end in registering the product into the “architect’s mind”; it allows for communicating news of a product in a way that the architect “must and does study them”; it is the only means that provides

⁵⁴⁴ For a more detailed study of those years in the *Record*’s editorial history see: Suzanne Lichtenstein, “Editing architecture: ‘*Architectural Record*’ and the growth of modern architecture, 1928-1938,” (PhD dissertation), Cornell University, 1990.

⁵⁴⁵ Selling the architect, op. cit. 19.

⁵⁴⁶ Id. 23.

⁵⁴⁷ Id. 15.

⁵⁴⁸ Id. 14.

⁵⁴⁹ Id. 24.

“visual appeal” to a product therefore “approaching the architect on his esthetic side”; it provides a sure means of selling the product to the architect “when he is in a receptive mental condition.”⁵⁵⁰

This whole rationale emphatically presents the *Record* as a marketing apparatus, complimenting upon the original indexing of a product in the *Sweet's Catalog*. Following them, the *Dodge Reports* provide the follow up “direct advertising” that will secure the sale. Additional to the whole process is the “Special Service Department” of the *Architectural Record*: men and artists who “prepare advertising for manufacturers, assist and co-operate with advertising managers and advertising agents” with no charge for designing layouts or copies of the final printed ad.⁵⁵¹ This rare booklet of 1926 does not constitute per se a marketing study but it does show that Dodge was interested in knowing how the market works and be didactic about it towards third parties. This is something special in architectural publishing and is an indirect effect of the function of the Audit Bureau of Circulations that enabled Dodge to track their circulation and to strategically navigate itself in the market. It also comes to show that through the *Architectural Record*, the utter goal of Dodge was to attract architects and package them to the commercial and construction industries, fabricating their public image while doing so. This changes totally the character and function of the publishing company. Whereas to the American body of architects Dodge presents the *Record* as a service which aims to inform, educate and socialize; for the manufacturers the *Record* is offered as a complete advertising and sales promotion plan. To get to the architect through the magazine; and to the client through the architect. In their own words:

“The higher the standing of a journal with the architect and the better the editorial contents, the more valuable it is as an advertising medium.”⁵⁵²

Summing up, F.W. Dodge might have started in the beginning of the 20th century as an architectural publishing company, but by the end of the 1950s they had escalated into a well-oiled machine for marketing of the whole building industry while also collecting and analysing data back from them as well as from its audience of professional architects. As metaphorical as it may be, “Selling the architect” is a title that bluntly describes Dodge’s underlying goal through its publications aimed at architects. The second part of this operation was the collection and analysis of both architects and manufacturers. As labelled in their publications, they were in

⁵⁵⁰ Id. 27.

⁵⁵¹ Id. 33.

⁵⁵² Id. 27

the business of “building market publications and services” (Fig. 5).⁵⁵³ This makes it more than obvious why they would be interested in researching the architects’ minds through the psycho-analytical tools of Dichter, whose additional traits as a marketer would definitely provide additional benefit.

5.2.5 The Eastman survey of 1958

The interest of the *Record* administration over statistical research of their readership in the late 1950s is also confirmed by the Eastman Survey of 1958, mentions of which are very few and whose content was kept confidential.⁵⁵⁴ It was described in one editorial meeting as such:

“[Emerson Goble] explained that the Eastman surveys are done in great depth – not in casual inquiries. The readers are personally interviewed 30 days after the issue is out, and the issue is gone over page by page. Approximately 100 are interviewed, generally half architects, half engineers.”⁵⁵⁵

The research, done by the Eastman Research Organization Inc. led by Roy Eastman, checked in length the editorial content of two issues of the magazine in the end largely supporting Goble’s and Payne’s “findings from research that we have done in the past, while providing the additional advantages to [the *Record*] of relating actual performance to average performance of other publications.”⁵⁵⁶ Under this light, it is to be presumed that F.W. Dodge Co. commissioned Dichter with a more in-depth study of the same nature, applying the marketer’s notorious psychoanalytical tools, and that the probable figures on the commissioning part, must have been Emerson Goble, Judd Payne and Bob Marshall.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵³ Anonymous, *Building Market Publication and Services*, (New York: F.W. Dodge, 1936).

⁵⁵⁴ “Dear Judd, Do you think I could see some of the past Eastman reports?” Thompson to Payne, 7 April 1959, folder: “1959 Payne,” EKT archive.

⁵⁵⁵ RDC to staff, 5 May 1959 and 6 May 1958, black binder, EKT archive.

⁵⁵⁶ Judd Payne to *Record* Staff, 10 May 1957, folder “1957 Payne” EKT archive.

⁵⁵⁷ If the confidentiality practice continued similarly to the Eastman survey, (which is indicated by the total lack of reference to Dichter in any internal memo) then the persons involved would be Goble, Payne and Marshall. Considering the date of these surveys (1957) credit may also be due to John Knox Shear.

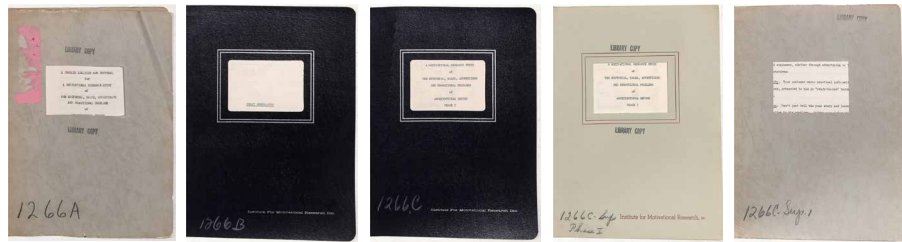


FIG. 5.6 The complete Dichter report spanning 5 documents (A, B, C, D and E).

5.3 The Dichter report

As found in the Ernest Dichter archives, the work he did on the *Record* on behalf of F.W. Dodge was: “A motivational research study of the editorial, sales, advertising and promotional problems of the *Architectural Record*” and aimed to improve the competitive standing of the magazine, study its audience, its public image.

More specifically, the report spans the following 5 documents [Fig. 5.6]:

- A A problem analysis and proposal for a motivational research study of the editorial, sales, advertising and promotional problems of *Architectural Record*
- B Draft memorandum
- C The focus group
- D A motivational research study of the editorial sales, advertising and promotional problems of *Architectural Record*.
- E Untitled.

The whole report is exceedingly long, with an intricate structure and technical details that rendered the text for its most part static and monotonous, and with certain passages being repeated several times throughout the different documents. Even more –because of the controversial–to say the least– figure of Dichter– we cannot claim that the report offers direct lessons in editorial marketing that would still be of value in the contemporary field of architectural publishing. Instead, its importance lies in other qualities. Despite its obvious drawbacks, it gives us a behind-the-scenes look at the reality of architectural media practices and the extent to which they went to edge their competitions by attempting to intersect architectural publishing with marketing and psychology. To the contemporary reader who is raised under the

auspices of marketing in all fields of our everyday life, Dichter's arguments might seem frail, naïve and at times, dull. But we need to remember that even though the marketing regulations changed drastically in the early 1970s, for US architects the status quo and the institutions of the profession remained intact—US architects still do not openly advertise.

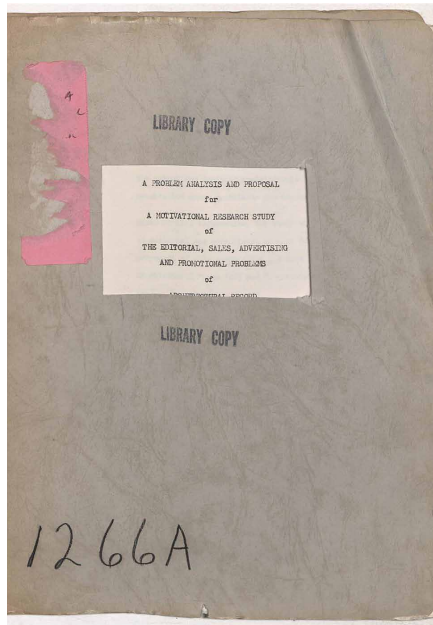
This leaves us with the conclusion that professional architectural magazines had already covered that part by systematizing the marketing policies and functioning as the link between architect, client and public administration. The fact that architects are today in no-need to advertise openly even in the US setting were lawyers and doctors are advertised in bus-sides, TV and radio, is because the network of advertising through magazines was already set from the late 1960s. Magazines and professional institutions alike had “set up platforms for the business like architectural-firms that emerged in the post-war decades and the “starchitecture of today.”⁵⁵⁸ The Dichter report lays evidence to the early start that media had in exploring the possibilities offered by the marketing revolution of the mid-20th century and to shape the politics of the marketed architect, long before professionals themselves reached out to marketers.

Dichter's motivational research claimed the application of Freudian psychoanalysis through "depth interviewing" for the behavioural study on consumers. The outcome of these studies was the description of the psychological roots of consumer decisions and the deduction of a product/service's marketing strategy in order to take advantage of the consumer's subliminal desires. Regarding its theory, there is a debate as to what extent this psychological treatment of the customer should be considered a “persuasion” or an “imposition.”⁵⁵⁹ For the practical execution of his studies, Dichter had sixty to seventy regular employees and around 2000 part-time interviewers around the States that would carefully construct target groups to engage in discussion and test their theories in a setting that would resemble psychological therapy. “To understand what truly motivated people,” Dichter said that, “it was necessary to get them to talk at length about their everyday habits.” In addition to subjecting multiple people to quick questionnaires, he engaged in a deep, psychoanalytical approach focused on fewer participants: “If you let somebody talk long enough, you can read between the lines to find out what he really means.”⁵⁶⁰

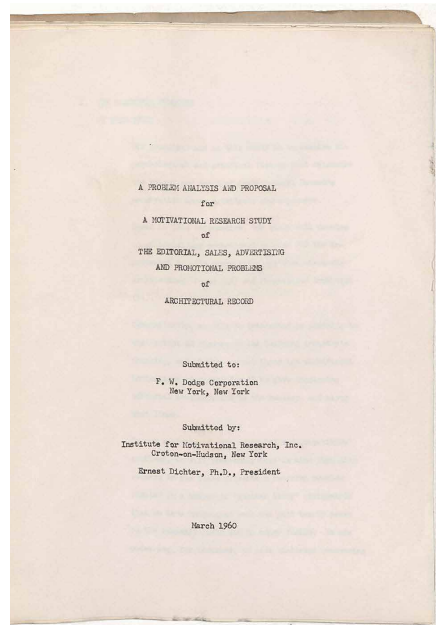
⁵⁵⁸ Andrew Shanken, op. cit. 427.

⁵⁵⁹ Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, (London, UK: Longmans, Green and Co Ltd), 1957.

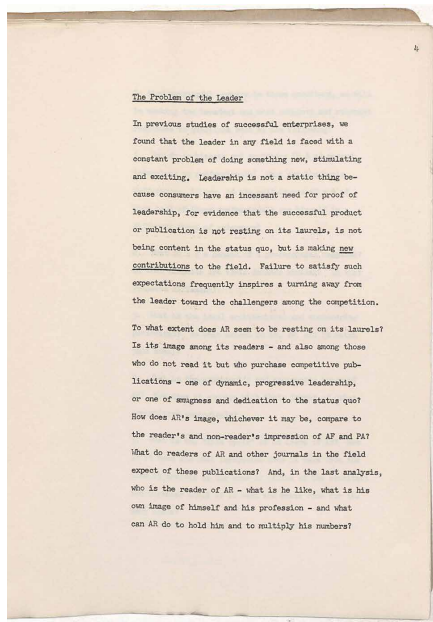
⁵⁶⁰ Economist, op. cit.



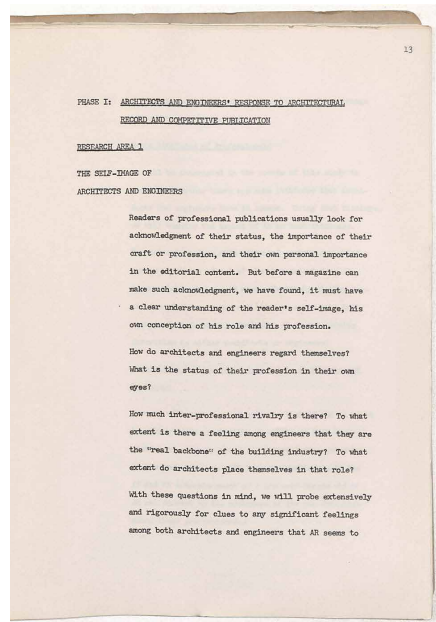
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FIG. 5.7 Document A

Some of the qualitative methods for the analysis of said interviews would be a standard personality assessment and perception tests, anthropological observations and “psychodrama,” an intense and personalized questioning including ontological analogies between consumers and products. Dichter was also notorious for finding sexual explication for market phenomena⁵⁶¹ but this kind of interpretations are absent in the *Record* study.

5.3.1 Document A, the Research Proposal

March 1960, Page count: 66 [Fig. 5.7]. Title: “A problem analysis and proposal for a motivational research study of the editorial, sales, advertising and promotional problems of *Architectural Record*.” As its title suggests this document is in fact the preliminary proposal, listing the proposed: aims, research questions, research areas, methods, phases, sample, time and costs. Formed as a research proposal and using scientific jargon, Dichter carefully crafts a concrete sounding proposal.

5.3.1.1 Proposed aims and research questions

In the very first page we find listed the general aims of the proposed study which include: 1) the study of the psychological and practical factors that determine the extent and depth of *Architectural Record*'s penetration amongst architects and engineers; and 2) the development of an editorial and promotional program for the improvement of the *Record* and its penetration in the “building’s industry thinking.”⁵⁶² From early on it is established that for Dichter et al., *Architectural Record* is a case of “success story” that they have encountered in various other situations. Accordingly, the *Record* is facing the “problem of the leader” which is defined as the difficulty for a company that has been a long-time leader to maintain its potency for innovation and continuing contribution and to not fall into the pitfall of “resting on its laurels.” Another stated adage of Dichter’s is that “Bigness begets smugness” meaning that a long-standing leader is equated to the readers’ minds

⁵⁶¹ Ronald A. Fullerton, “Mr. Mass motivations himself: Explaining Dr. Ernest Dichter,” *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, No 6, 2007, 369-382.

⁵⁶² Box 57, Item 1266A, Ernest Dichter papers (Accession 2407), Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE 19807, 2.

with “conservatism, smugness and a lack of experimental or pioneering zeal”⁵⁶³ framing the main issues that the Dichter report aims to resolve. In order to define the type of leadership that the *Record* should follow, Dichter proposes to explore the following 28 questions (here in condensed form):

- 1 What is the self-image of architects and engineers as professionals? Are there any basic differences between them?
- 2 What do they demand from a professional magazine? Are their demands different?
- 3 What is the ideal architectural and engineering periodical?
- 4 What is the image of the *Record* towards architects and engineers?
- 5 What is the life cycle of an issue of the *Record*?
- 6 To what extent have architects changed in the past five to ten years?
- 7 Does the *Record* have a “stand-pat stereotype as opposed to a modern, dynamic, progressive personality?”
- 8 What are the reading patterns of architects and engineers towards editorial material and advertisements?
- 9 Do engineers feel that the *Record* is targeted towards architects and vice versa?
- 10 Is the *Record* regarded “more as a manual or text book than a magazine?”
- 11 Is the *Record*'s size a positive or negative asset?
- 12 How does over-lapping of readership affect the reader's and non-readers' image of *Architectural Record*?
- 13 Does the “work book” approach make the *Record* seem like *Sweet's Catalog*?
- 14 Is the *Record*'s approach too cold? Does it need more emotion?
- 15 Is the *Record* suffering from not containing “bingo cards” (reader information service cards)⁵⁶⁴
- 16 What would be the effect on the *Record*'s reader franchise if it became a free circulation magazine?
- 17 What is the best ratio of advertising to editorial content?
- 18 Which is the desirable direction for future publishing frequency?
- 19 How effective are the *Record*'s editorial approaches?
- 20 What is the image of F.W. Dodge Company?

⁵⁶³ Id. 27.

⁵⁶⁴ Reader information service cards are response cards inserted in some magazines on which the publisher prints numbers that correspond to advertisers/products in the publication. When readers desire more information concerning a particular advertiser/product they simply circle the appropriate number on the bingo card and return the card via mail to the publisher who notifies the advertiser about the readers' requests. Carlson, David; Loveland, Karen, “An Exploratory Study of Bingo Cards Use in Consumer Magazines,” *Journal of Direct Marketing Education*, Wiley, Volume 10, Number 3, (Summer 1996).

- 21 How important is the Luce⁵⁶⁵ name to the *Architectural Forum*?
- 22 Is there a negative “bigness” stereotype that is affecting the *Record*?
- 23 How important is the price of the *Record*?
- 24 What is the real appeal of the *Architectural Record* and its competitors to students?
- 25 What benefit do readers derive from the ads included in the *Architectural Record*?
- 26 What do advertisers feel an ad in the *Architectural Record* will do for them?
- 27 Who are the decision makers in the building trade field when it comes to placing an ad?
- 28 In what ways can the *Record* become more useful to the advertiser and the advertising agency?

Further in the study, few of those questions were actually developed and even fewer came to be resolved. But they do show the wild ambitions of Dichter in relation to the *Record* franchise. Also, in Document A it is mentioned that some research areas are “suggested”⁵⁶⁶ to the working group presumably from F. W. Dodge personnel after consultation similar to the one show in Fig. 1.

5.3.1.2 Proposed research areas

Following the research questions, Dichter and co. enlist the “Proposed Areas of Motivational Research” divided in the three phases. The segment describing the research areas of the 3 phases covers more than half of Document A, of which phase II and III were not implemented. In short, phase I covers the readers’ response to the architectural magazines, phase II the image of the F.W. Dodge Corporation, and phase III the building industry’s attitude toward the *Record* and its competitors.

Proposed Phase I

It is specifically phase I that gets the most attention, titled: “Architects’, Engineers’, and Advertisers’ response to *Architectural Record* and Competitive publications.” Main research area of this phase is the highly interesting subject of the self-image of architects and engineers:

⁵⁶⁵ Henry Luce (1898-1967) was the highly acclaimed publisher of Time Inc. owner of the *Architectural Forum* since 1932.

⁵⁶⁶ Ernest Dichter papers, op. cit. 42.

Readers of professional publications usually look for acknowledgement of their status, the importance of their craft or profession, and their own personal importance in the editorial content. But before a magazine can make such acknowledgement, we have found, it must have a clear understanding of the readers' self-image, his own conception of his role and his profession. How do architects and engineers regard themselves? What is the status of their profession in their own eyes? How much inter-professional rivalry is there?⁵⁶⁷

It is proposed that the self-image of the readers will be clearly defined though the study of their everyday attitudes while profiling architects and engineers separately in order to compare and ascertain whether there is a common ground that the *Record* can address to make sure that it keeps both groups interested and avoid showing favouritism towards one of them. *Forum* and *P/A* would also be checked for "editorial discrimination" in order to look for weaknesses in their acknowledgement of architects and engineer's self-image which the *Record* can correct to its advantage. For the purposes of this comparison, Dichter aims to build a "comparative profile" of the *Record* and its competitive publications from the viewpoint of architects and engineers. The psychological profile of the readers is here coupled with a profiling of the "personality elements" of the architectural magazines. Following the same rationale, Dichter wants to shape the image of the ideal professional magazine:

Sometimes a more indirect way to obtain vital information about people's impressions of different products or publications is to ask them to describe their conception of what the ideal product or publication might be. [...] what would it be like? How large would it be? How serious would it be? Would it include articles in a lighter vein? Would the style be academic or would be more in the popular vein? What would be the proportion of advertising to editorial content?⁵⁶⁸

Through this description, Dichter aims to examine how close the *Record* and its competitors come to the ideal publication. This examination is aimed go into close detail by tracing the lifecycle of a magazine's issue, from the moment it arrives at the reader's hands, through the time spent reading it and the architects' reading patterns during the issues monthly circulation and event after, as a source-book. All this through questionnaires, interviews and a "modified psychodrama technique" that includes "role-playing among a & e respondents" who will be asked to "imagine that they are at home or in their office and have a free half hour to look at a magazine. We

⁵⁶⁷ Id. 13.

⁵⁶⁸ Id. 18.

will ask them to select whichever magazine or magazines they wish to look at, and we will observe carefully their behaviour.” This goes on down to the detail of the readers’ reactions to the issues’ cover, its longer or shorter articles, their impressions over illustrations, photographs and advertisements. The instantaneous impressions would be compared to it the long-term use of the issue and the editorial policies would be decided accordingly. Another dilemma, is the decision between a factual or an interpretative direction of the magazines contents:

Our investigation will probe for any evidence that architects read more than one professional journal because they place each in a separate and indispensable category: one for interpretation and scholarly informativeness (*Architectural Record*, perhaps?), another for up-to-the minute news about the field (*Forum*, perhaps?). What are all the categories into which *Architectural Record*, *Architectural Forum* and *Progressive Architecture* are placed?⁵⁶⁹

Concluding the phase I proposal, Dichter puts a lot of weight on the question of the penetration of the *Record*’s advertisements towards the readers. Dichter points out that professionals are more receptive to ads in general publications such as *Life* or *Fortune*, instead of professional ones since he/she would feel that the ad does not “presume to teach him his own business.” Ads in professional magazines tend to be condescending even when they do not intend to. This is another threat to the *Record*’s competitiveness, in contrast to *Forum* and *P/A* that make use of broader content. In addition to the readers Dichter also wants to study the advertisers’ impressions towards the *Record* as an advertising medium, since it is one thing to define the receptivity of the readers to the ads and how this is going to be presented to advertisers. Therefore, the new directions for the editorial content should not only be influencing the image of the *Record* toward the reader but also towards the advertiser or any other decision maker that is responsible for placing an ad in a journal. These strategic propositions conclude the proposals for phase I.

Proposed Phase II. The image of F.W. Dodge Company

As much as Phase I seems to be the dominant part of document A, the proposal over Phase II is equally or even more interesting even though it was not implemented. Instead of focusing on the image of the *Record* phase II aimed in defining the image of the whole company:

⁵⁶⁹ Id. 26.

"The practical purpose of this study will be to determine existing attitudes toward the F.W. Dodge Company on the part of architects, engineers, and advertisers in the *Architectural Record* and competitive publications. Furthermore, we will want to ascertain the nature and extent of the effect of their impression of F.W. Dodge's personality, of Sweet's Catalog and Dodge reports on their image and support of *Architectural Record*. From such findings, we propose to evaluate the effect of the F.W. Dodge image on the competitive position of *Architectural Record*."⁵⁷⁰

Through investigating the "life history" of Dodge, Dichter proposes to investigate the past and present image of the company and "the aspects of its personality"⁵⁷¹ in the thinking of "A & E" (architectural and engineering) advertisers. In a similar manner with Phase I, the way to define F.W. Dodge's strengths and weaknesses would be to examine the respondents' ideal conceptions of a publishing company. In order to study this, Dichter wanted to focus on the word-of-mouth climate that surrounds the company:

"as the basis for those advertising, promotional and customer relations procedures that could increase the number of word-of-mouth proponents for F.W. Dodge generally, and for the *Record* in particular."⁵⁷²

This time however Dichter is not limited to readers and advertisers. Instead, he proposes to study the image of F.W. Dodge towards its own employees, what is nowadays called internal marketing:

"An integral part of our study would be an investigation of the feelings, both positive and negative of F. W. Dodge employees and salesmen, from high-echelon executives to office personnel. Based on this information, we will seek to determine the impact, if any, of their attitudes when displayed during inter-personal contacts with engineers and architects and advertisers including the decision-makers among advertisers."⁵⁷³

Consequently, these conclusions were to be put into effect in order to delineate an effective F.W. Dodge advertising, promotion and public relations strategies for the dissemination of "the desired F.W. Dodge personality image."⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷⁰ Id. 42.

⁵⁷¹ Id. 43.

⁵⁷² Id. 48.

⁵⁷³ Id. 49.

⁵⁷⁴ Id. 50.

Proposed Phase III. Relative penetration of *Record*, *Forum*, and *P/A* among builders

The third and final phase of the study –that also did not go through– is even more expansive in its aims:

In this phase, we will develop psychological profiles of the three major competitive publications through an investigation of the attitudes of builders.⁵⁷⁵

However big the statement, the means proposed for the research on the penetration of magazines to builders seems to be a repeat of phase I with a focus on builders instead of architects and engineers as the target group. The study thus would be go on by defining an ideal publication for builders and their desired contents, their impressions over the magazines' "bigness," style, appearance and ratio between advertisements and editorial content. Phase III already in its description seems to have been limited in scope and understandably was scraped over. Instead phase II's subject on the image of Dodge to advertisers, or its "inside image" towards its employees would have been the most interesting but also an immersive undertaking considering the scale of Dodge with its national network of collaborators. Instead, the issues of image, self-image and the "ideal" image are better concentrated on the subject of phase I.

The architect on Dichter's couch

Following the delineation of the proposed phases, Document A continues with the research methods to be employed which combine: the fields of psychology, sociology, anthropology, mathematical statistics and marketing.⁵⁷⁶ As expected, the "depth interviews" take central stage providing a "kind of X-ray insight into the real motivations and the underlying factors which are at work in the respondent's mind." Projective tests, consist of "special questionnaires and visual stimuli" that include unstructured questions and pictures that will enable the respondent to "project his or her real emotions and feelings." Thirdly, psychometric ads and promotion testing, confront the respondent to actual ads and promotion material of the *Record* and its competitors down into details about the art work, headline and slogans of said ads. The procedure is foreseen to begin with a "creative analysis-meeting" amongst the institute's specialist to comment upon the structure of the sample and their

⁵⁷⁵ Id. 51.

⁵⁷⁶ Id. 57.

expected findings for the specific study. The initial wave of 30 to 40 interviews is followed by a second investigation this time called “conceptual analysis” for the psychological factors of purchasing and reading architectural periodicals and signs that confirm or reject of the initial concepts. A third step, is the progress report in between the Institute’s researchers and the magazine’s executives to determine the most valuable findings and see to their intensive investigation. After the validation of the initial findings through further depth interviews, the findings are submitted along with supporting evidence, a written report and a blueprint for action that functions as a guide for the use of the findings in the “greatest possible advantage” of the *Architectural Record*. Finally, subsequent to the report, the *Architectural Record* executives are invited at the institute for personal consultation and clarification of questions on the findings, their practical application and “creative translation into actual advertising, sales and promotion programs.”⁵⁷⁷

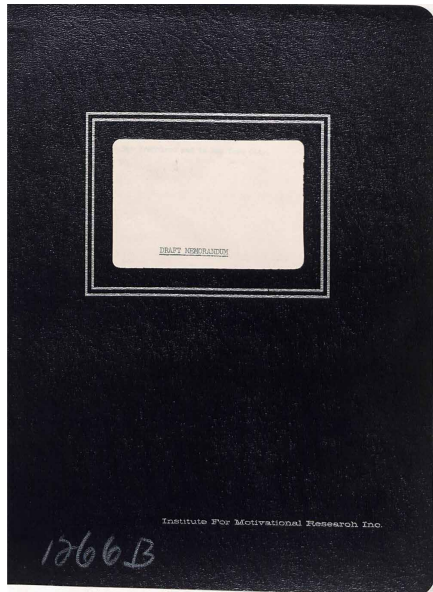
5.3.1.3 Sample, time, costs and staff

Adding to the complexity of the report, the proposed statistical samples are different to each of the 3 phases. Phase I is estimated to have 225-250 interviews, phase II 100 interviews and phase III another 100. These numbers are significantly greater to the sample of 25 persons finally used, which is fully described on Document C.

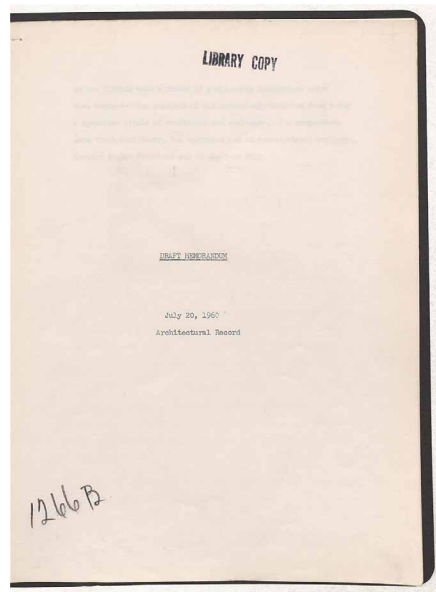
As for the duration of the study, Document A estimates three months for Phase I, and six weeks for Phase II and another six for Phase III. Correspondingly, the three phases were billed \$16.000, \$6.500 and \$6.500 making a total of \$29.000 (\$251.123 in 2020 prices).⁵⁷⁸ Finally, the research proposal names seventeen trained scientist (four of them Dr.s) who make up the research group that will act under the direction of Dr Ernest Dichter. Their credited specializations include: Advertising and Promotion, Communications, Sociology, Business Management, Women’s Products Division, Clinical psychology, Social Psychology, Educational Psychology, Economic Analysis, Media Analysis, Pan-American Marketing and others.

⁵⁷⁷ Id. 59.

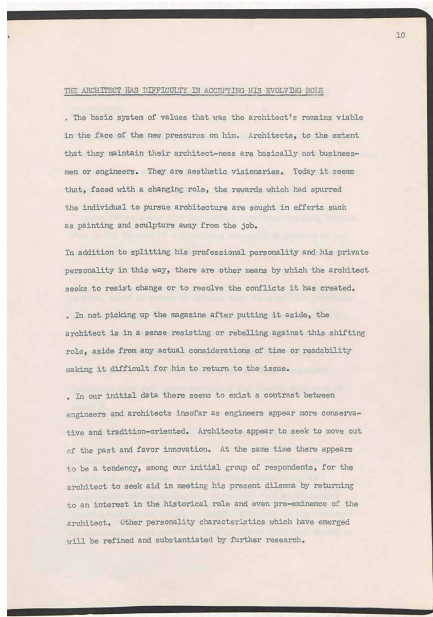
⁵⁷⁸ inflation adjusted according to Bureau of Labor Statistics’ consumer price index: www.usinflationcalculator.com.



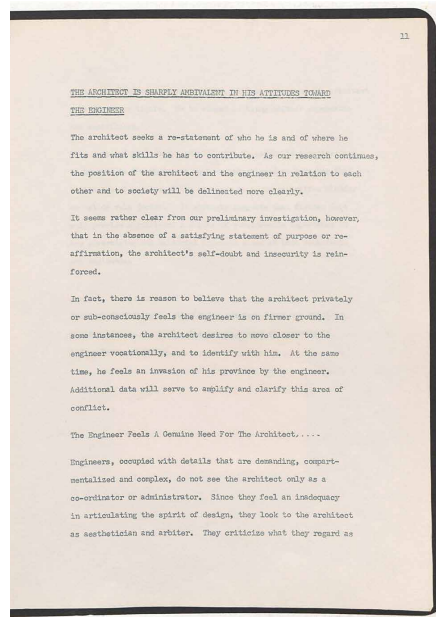
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FIG. 5.8 Document B

5.4 Document B. Draft memorandum

July 1960. Page count: 14 [Fig. 5.8]. As stated, Document B presents:

"A number of preliminary indications which have emerged after analysis of six interviews conducted from among a specified sample of architects and engineers. The respondents were three architects, two engineers and an architectural engineer, located in San Francisco and in New York City."⁵⁷⁹

Concerning the *Record's* advantages against its competition, it is found that:

For architects, the *Record* is seen as more "professional" than either *Forum* or *P/A*, most practical and timely and the one least appropriate for the layman. It provides a good common meeting ground for engineers and architects. On the contrary, the *Forum* appears to be the weakest in all these aspects. It is seen most useful and dependable and as the magazine that provides news to a greater degree than any other publication.⁵⁸⁰

For engineers too, the *Record* is seen as the best representative of architectural magazines. While it is not seen as "talking their language," there is some indication that they feel among the architectural magazines, it comes closest to doing so.⁵⁸¹ But this is as much as the positive feedback goes. The negative aspects and competitive challenges of the *Record* are the most present issues in the Draft Memorandum.

According to the document, to some architects the *Record* is too professional, aloof and subdued. With little personal involvement, and:

"... failing to transmit a personality of warmth and familiarity, it tends to contrast with the architect's basic personality structure, which emerges tentatively in our initial data as a "warmer" and more "human" one, less reserved and more aesthetically oriented."⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁹ Ernest Dichter papers, op. cit. Item 1266B. 2

⁵⁸⁰ Id. 4.

⁵⁸¹ Id. 7.

⁵⁸² Id. 3.

More severely, Dichter and co. perceive that the architects want the *Record* to “take a stand” in support of their role in the evolving professional scene. Instead, the *Record* seems to remind the architect of his inadequacy and not his particular strengths.⁵⁸³

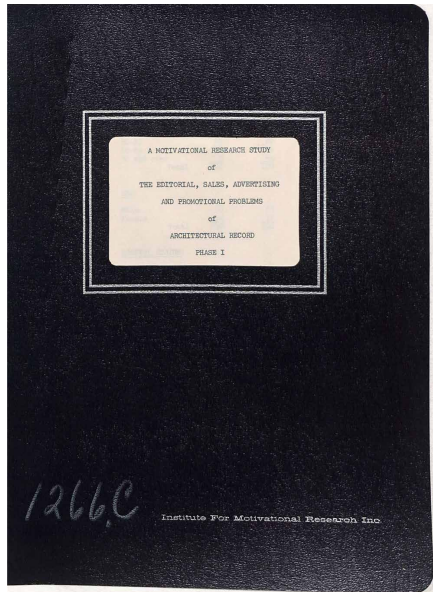
In addition to that, the architects seem to consider the *Record* a sufficiently efficient source of news but only in terms of materials and developments, rather than scientific, intimate and thorough communication with the reader. The engineers themselves were noted to show little familiarity with the *Record*.

Furthermore, there are a couple of statements added as conclusions of this early state of the study that need to be more thoroughly addressed:

- Is there really too much advertising? This question that has been a critical factor for architectural magazines that were trying up till then to have an equilibrium between editorial and advertising content. Dichter points out that there might be no validity in this question:
"It appears that in many instances when the reader singles out advertising volume in the magazine for criticism, he is actually expressing dissatisfaction in other areas, and not with the amount of advertising per se. It is not the amount, but the nature of its presentation, that is primarily criticized by architects."⁵⁸⁴
- The architect has difficulty in accepting his evolving role. Psychologically, Dichter finds that the architect might be heavily conflicted by thinking of himself as an aesthetic visionary and avoiding his tasks as an engineer and business man. This may have produced a conflict between the architects' private and professional personalities that Dichter is keen to explore throughout.
- The architect is sharply ambivalent in his attitudes toward the engineer. While the architect is torn by self-doubt and insecurity the engineer sees the architect as a co-ordinator, administrator and looks up to him as an aesthician and arbiter. This contrast is to be explored in light of advertising that targets both of these professionals and might make use of their conflicted relationship.

⁵⁸³ Id. 4.

⁵⁸⁴ Id. 8.



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OUR SAMPLE

AGE:	Total	Architects	Engineers
18-25	10	10	1
25-30	1	1	2
31-35	40	44	29
36-40	12	6	29
41-45	24	28	14
46-50	16	16	14
51 and over	4	--	14
Total	100	100	100

SEX:	Total	Architects	Engineers
Male	86	83	100
Female	14	17	--
Total	100	100	100

MARITAL STATUS:	Total	Architects	Engineers
Single	16	22	--
Married	80	78	86
Divorced, Separated	4	--	14
Total	100	100	100

OCCUPATION OF SPOUSE:	Total	Architects	Engineers
Managerial	4	--	14
White Collar	4	6	--
Domestic	64	61	72
No Answer	28	33	14
Total	100	100	100

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OUR SAMPLE (cont'd)

SPEND TIME WHEN NOT WORKING

	Total	Architects	Engineers
Reading	40	44	29
Puttering around house	28	33	14
Golf	20	22	14
Music	12	17	--
Visiting friends/family	16	11	29
Church work	4	6	--
Farming/ranching	4	11	--
Gardening	4	6	--
Fishing	4	6	--
Watching TV	12	11	14
Selling	4	--	14
Traveling	4	6	--
Swimming	8	6	14
Hiking (backpack)	8	11	--
Photography	4	--	14
Care (puttering)	8	6	14
Reading	4	6	--
Handball	4	6	--

NEGATIVE I READ (OTHER THAN PROFESSIONAL)

	Total	Architects	Engineers
Life	12	17	29
Time	12	17	29
Fortune	16	22	--
Newsweek	16	17	14
Business Week	16	17	14
Reader's Digest	20	11	43
New Yorker	16	11	29
Sports Magazine	8	11	--
Selling	8	11	--
Changing Times	8	6	14
True	8	6	14
House Beautiful -	12	17	--
House Garden	12	17	--
Religious/Charity	4	11	--
National Geog.	4	--	14
Other	--	33	14

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OUR SAMPLE (cont'd)

BOOKS I READ

	Total	Architects	Engineers
Fiction	38	45	--
Non-Fiction	12	17	--
Westerns	4	6	--
On Ferraris	4	6	--
Detective	4	6	--
Religious	20	22	14
None	32	11	86

TRAVEL

I Would Like To Travel:

	Total	Architects	Engineers
Around world	22	29	24
All over Europe	22	--	29
South America	6	--	4
Russia	6	--	4
Greek Islands	22	--	16
Italy	6	29	12
French Canal Zone	6	14	8
Hawaii	6	14	4
West Coast	6	--	4

I Have Traveled to:

	Total	Architects	Engineers
Mexico	6	--	4
Italy	6	--	4
Europe	11	--	8

I Haven't Time to:

	Total	Architects	Engineers
Don't Care to:	11	14	12
No Answer	17	29	20

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FIG. 5.9 Document C, describing the sample of respondents that were reviewed during Dichter's study.

5.5 Document C. The focus group.

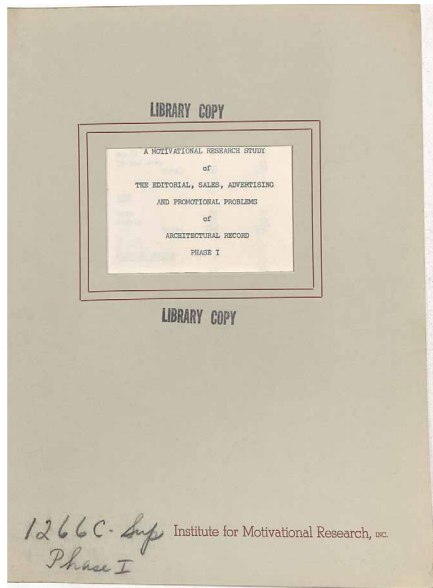
November, 1960. Page count: 14 [Fig. 5.9]. Document C, was submitted as a supplement to the report (Document D)⁵⁸⁵ and is a detailed description of the statistical sample that the Dichter's' institute worked with, for the purposes of the study. What is exceptional in this sample is that the architects and engineers are vigorously examined and categorized in groups that have seemingly nothing to do with architecture, or the nature of an architectural journal. All in an effort to determine the underlying factors of the reader's conscious or subconscious decisions.

In total the focus group is a count of 25 people—22 men and 3 women, 18 of them architects and 7 engineers. The first qualities to be determined concern their personal information such as their age group, sex, marital status and number of children. Then follow their professional information: the year they were registered, the school and year they graduated, the type of their employment, their position, their yearly income and so forth. This information goes down to the slightest detail. The architects—participants are asked to state their area of professional concentration: office buildings, residential/housing, schools, infrastructural, commercial etc. In an equal manner the engineers are asked to state their field of expertise: mechanical, electrical, structural, civil engineering etc.

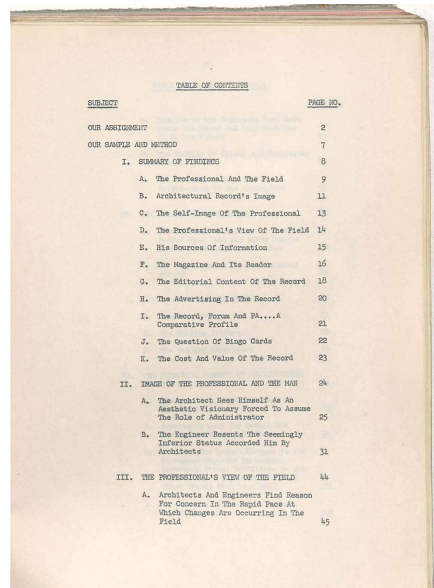
Then follow questions that have less to do with their professional traits or sociological profiling and more about their deeper personal lives. Dichter is interested to know what the participants do when “not working”: reading, fishing, swimming, music etc; what magazine they read: Life, Sports Illustrated, National Geographic, Business week etc; what books they read: Fiction, Non-fiction, westerns, Detective, Religious; where would they like to travel: around the world, all over Europe, Hawaii, South America etc; where they have travelled: Mexico, Italy or Europe [sic]; whether they had time to travel; whether they did not care to travel. What kind of membership they hold in professional or non-professional organizations, including alumni organizations, political and religious groups?⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁵ As can be noted, Document C was actually submitted a month after Document D. However, its place in the original coding of the Institute and its function as an explanatory introductory supplement to Document D allows us to pose it prior to Document D.

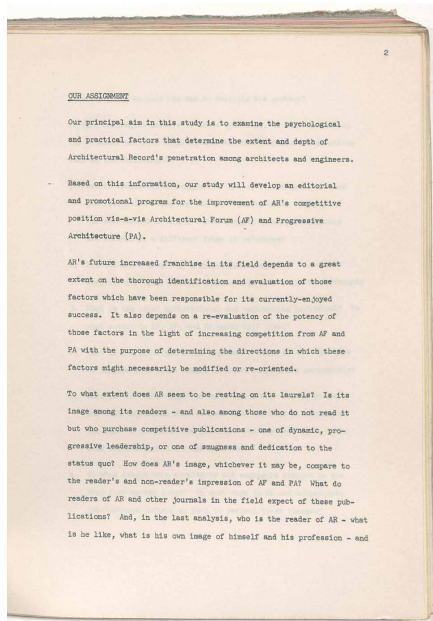
⁵⁸⁶ Ernest Dichter papers, op. cit. Item 1266C.



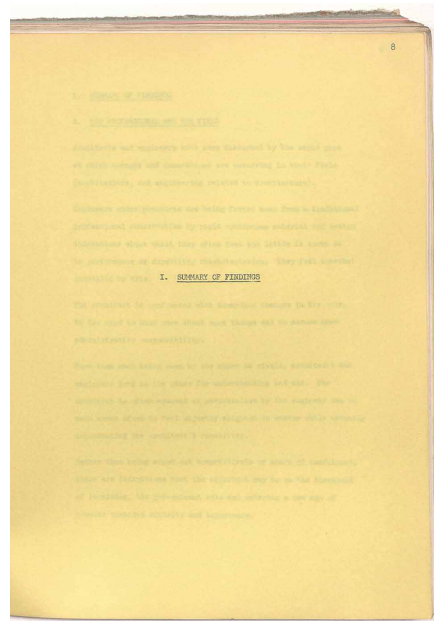
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FIG. 5.10 Document D, the report.

5.6 Document D. The main report

October 1960. Page count: 216 [Fig. 5.10]. Here is presented the main body of the report in no less than 12 chapters, the most extensive document of the commission.

5.6.1 Section I: Main Findings

Foremost position in the report takes a list of findings, here briefly summed up:

- A **The professional and the field.** Architects and engineers are found to be disturbed and unsettled from the rapid changes of their field. However, they don't see each other as rivals but "look to each other for understanding and aid."
- B **Architectural Record's image.** Despite being in a favourable position as both practical and historically conscious, the *Record* is found to be alienating itself from its readership. This is attributed to the magazine's format, its crowded ads that lack aesthetic appeal and non-specific features.
- C **The self-image of the profession.** "The architect sees himself as an aesthetic visionary forced to assume the role of administrator" whereas "the engineer resents the seemingly inferior status accorded to him by the architect."
- D **The professional's view of the field.** The relationships that leads to dissatisfaction are the ones towards clients and contractors and not between architects and engineers.
- E **His sources of information.** The *Record* and *Sweets* are thought indispensable but architects rely more and more to manufacturer's representatives than their own files.
- F The magazine and its readers.
- G Reading history – "Shifts in reading preference occur as the individual advance in experience."
 - a Reading pattern – Although readers do not thoroughly study the magazine's issues they save them for future reading. "The *Record's* "reach" is even greater than its actual circulation."
 - b The Life span of an issue – The readers might re-study the *Record* but they never feel to have read an issue thoroughly and neither are they found to use the reference value of the *Record*.
 - c The Reading experience – the readers: by-pass the table of contents; overestimate the amount of ads due to their "location pattern"; anticipates yet delays his entry into the *Record*
- H **The editorial content of the Record.** The *Record* is found first for "news of the field" and "professional usefulness" but readers are looking for more "Human

features” and content on foreign architecture. “Inspiration, information and workable techniques are the most important things a magazine can provide a young professional.”

- I **The advertising in the Record.** Readers accept and read advertising but object their aesthetic appeal but criticism is not confined to the *Record*.
- J **The Record, Forum and P/A – Comparative profile.** *Forum* is flamboyant, *P/A* is folksy, the *Record* is practical, comprehensive, timely and a “forward-looking conservative.”
- K **The cost and value of the Record.** The *Record* is “worth its price” and readers would still buy it at an increased price.

5.6.2 Section II: Image of the professional

On the subject of the image of the professional architect, Dichter states that the architect sees himself as an aesthetic visionary forced to assume the role of an administrator. His main confliction is something that he bears bitterly but is not inclined to let go. To quote from the report:

“In our Interim Memorandum we noted that in talking with architects it became clear that they differ from other professionals in at least one important way. Personal creativity was cited as the most important source and basis for their professional calibre. In our subsequent data we found confirmation and recognition of this element as the architect’s preferred professional self-image.”⁵⁸⁷

Respondents confirmed that being an architect brings an esoteric struggle:

“...the architect is more of an individual dealing in a very personal service. They are creative and they are not interested in business to that extent.”⁵⁸⁸

“architecture, over and above all else, is a search for an ideal, that is all.”⁵⁸⁹

This anxiety for being artistic, visionary or an idealist is not something attributed to the architect but self-assigned. The market on the contrary pulls the architect away from his self-image: “He is thrust into the practical crises involved in the implementation of the aesthetic concept.”⁵⁹⁰ An interviewed architect responded:

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid.25.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁹ Id. 26.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid. 27.

“You mean the Ayn Rand Fountain-Head type? Some of us do see ourselves this way. Some architects do. More seriously, architecture is 5% artist, 5 or 10% artisanship and 60% engineering, and the rest is business. In Europe the architect is primarily interested in the artistic aspect of architecture, and very little in engineering. The architect is purer in Europe. Here he does much more.”⁵⁹¹

It is interesting to note that the distinction between art and business is seen mirrored in the European and the US setting and it may be argued that right here is the birth of the American model of business for the modern architect dealing with the consumer market. Nonetheless, Dichter focuses further on the architect’s internal struggle and the psychological schism that it produces.

“The architect reacts to the change either by “splitting” his professional and private personalities in order to obtain immediate aesthetic gratification, or by rejecting what he may regard as a materialistic and insensitive “engineer’s society”, or by derogating those he regards as symbols or personifications of the threat to this preferred image.”⁵⁹²

Dichter’s impression following the respondents’ psychological analysis, is that architects suppress their romantic nature. They think that they were “born in the wrong century” and want to travel to Rome and Florence but “couldn’t get away from work.”⁵⁹³ The engineer, on the other hand resents the seemingly inferior status and sees the aesthetic anxiety of architects as patronizing. As quoted by a San Francisco engineer: “An irritating philosophy among architects is that they are the creative ones and that engineers are just cogs. Architects are over licensed, and not really qualified to all that they’re licensed to do; all branches of engineering as well as architecture itself”⁵⁹⁴

Instead, architects said:

“An engineer is not very lucid in his thinking as far as art is concerned”⁵⁹⁵

“The engineer is interested in just putting the pieces together. We work to achieve beauty, design and to make the building a pleasant experience”⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹¹ Id. 28.

⁵⁹² Id. 29.

⁵⁹³ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁴ Id. 31.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ Id. 32.

These attitudes are displaying for Dichter an all-seeing stereotype that however is deeply felt by both the professional fields which is strengthened by their inner sense of inability to fulfil the demands of the increasingly demanding projects that comes out as over-compensation against the other. Indicative is the following statistic:

- Architects ranking themselves above engineers: 86%
- Engineers ranking themselves above architects: 20%
- Architects seeing public as ranking them above engineer: 13%
- Engineers seeing public as ranking them above architects: 0%⁵⁹⁷

Dichter finds the following paradox, central to the self-image of the professional architect: he tends to be alienating himself from a society seen as insensitive and materialistic whereas in fact “he is far from being viewed as superfluous or expandable” by the public or his associated engineers. Dichter is also surprised to find that architects and engineers are transplanting their identities. During the interviews, some architects displayed a change of character by adopting an indirect functional-power-change (especially when addressing “social planning on a broad scale”) while some engineers indicated in some instances a clear primary orientation to aesthetic-decorative-design. Socially, however, they preserve their initial images of the architect being an extrovert and the engineer the solitary and sedentary. The first ones expressed preference for distant travel, house chores, social activities, sports (golf, swimming, fishing, bowling) and artistic pursuits such as painting, dancing or playing music. The latter were only mentioned to enjoy mechanical tinkering and light reading. Common to both was the reading of magazines Time, Life and Fortune, New Yorker, Newsweek, Harpers, Atlantic, U.S. News and World Report and The Nation.⁵⁹⁸

5.6.3 Section III: Architects and engineers’ view of the field

Here Dichter focuses on the reactions of respondents against the changes that they are witnessing in the building industry. Engineers are the first to go down to specifics about the changes experienced in their job. Mainly new techniques and products. Pre-stressed concrete design, ultimate strength design in steel and concrete, the design of new roof shapes, cable suspension etc.

⁵⁹⁷ Id. 36.

⁵⁹⁸ Id. 43.

Their inclusion into the design also raises reasons for concern about their strength and durability for which research is needed and also the issue of costs that cannot be calculated until a certain construction method is established:

“One of the problems is to take advantage of the new materials from a design point of view. It’s a question of what the industry can give the field. Methods of analysis are still quite crude very often. It means research, and methods of analysis, furthered to know what the materials can do. There are still problems in how a simple beam will behave, for example. Or the question of the durability of exposed concrete on a structure over hundreds of years perhaps. Electronic computers are brought into the picture.”⁵⁹⁹

“This will be all resolved in time, but now there is an upheaval in the construction world...”⁶⁰⁰

“An architect can experiment. There can be their differences of opinion among, say 10 people. But this cannot be the case in engineering.”⁶⁰¹

Furthermore, the engineer’s role is seen to be rapidly growing and is expected to continue to be so. To that extent, he is more and more participating in the establishment of the building’s concept; in synergy with the architect:

“Like the brush and the toothpaste. You need them both to do an efficient job. It’s the joint effort that does it.”⁶⁰²

“I’d think there is really little difference, except as individuals. I’ve known engineers whom I thought were better architects and vice versa, since it all depends on the goddamn guy himself, not whether he is an engineer or an architect. I have both on my staff and we find it advisable to work together, each lending the other support.”⁶⁰³

⁵⁹⁹ Id. 45.

⁶⁰⁰ Id. 46.

⁶⁰¹ Id. 45.

⁶⁰² Id. 50.

⁶⁰³ Id. 48.

The major competitive threat is not between architects and engineers but towards “package dealers,” builders and speculators who “are in a position to take an unfair advantage that an architect can’t really compete with.”⁶⁰⁴ Another major reason for concern is the relationship between architect and client:

“I am a bit bitter, honestly. Until a few years ago, the relationship with the owner was that of a confidante. They were on the same side of the fence. The relationship was like that of a doctor with his patient. In the last few years, this damn thing has changed somewhat. The public’s image, and the owner’s image of the architect has changed. Now it’s as though, ‘He’s just another tradesman.’”⁶⁰⁵

An engineer puts it this way:

“In architecture, the decisions about materials may be made... the client may specify many features... such as the exterior coverings, floor coverings. This is seldom so in heavy engineering [...] the engineer is a free spirit, and the architect is not. (RESPONDENT SMILED)”⁶⁰⁶

On a more general concern, the matter of costs, the respondents had several actors to blame but mainly the role of the contractor who was seen as threatening equally to architect and engineer by supplying them with poor construction products and workmanship and transferring to them the legal responsibility.

“The architect has responsibility for the concept. The engineer is just a tool that is helping him to develop this concept. The contractor has the responsibility for putting in proper construction. Here the engineer has all too little effect. He should have more say on construction, if he is to share the increased responsibility.”⁶⁰⁷

Lastly, on the section regarding the professional’s view of the field, the report mentions that a substantial proportion of young architects indicated that there is a major shift underway for a return to art and classicism:

“Ornamentation is coming in again. A few years ago Lever House and UN were considered the last word. Now ornamentation is accepted again and proclaimed to be functional as well”

⁶⁰⁴ Id. 52.

⁶⁰⁵ Id. 55.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ Id. 58.

“I couldn’t point you out a building really, but there is something in the air... there is a tendency to be more creative and get away from skin walls... There was a resistance about taking anything from the past, as though there was nothing worthwhile before. But you can feel it in so many things not only in architecture. There is more respect for the past. There is more respect for design.”

5.6.4 Section IV: His sources of information

This section deals with the respondent’s impression of the *Architectural Record* in comparison to other publications they made use of, for acquiring general or technical information on buildings. Clearly defined is the fact that the professional magazines are more relied upon than any other single source of general information. This is briefly depicted by statistical data. When asked what is their source, respondents replied: Professional magazines 56%, contact with manufacturers 50%, study of existing buildings 44%, informal contacts with colleagues 44%, professional meetings 32%, trade shows 20%, contact with professional schools 16%.⁶⁰⁸ Beyond that, on more technical level the architects’ main source were “institute” publications, such as that from the Building Research Institutes and the National Academy of Sciences.

As an architect put it:

“I think the Journals more than anything else, or the professional magazine, keep you abreast. But we do exchange a lot of information with the people we are working with.”⁶⁰⁹

From the professional magazines, engineers were referring to titles such as *Heating and Ventilating, Consulting Engineer* etc.⁶¹⁰ Instead when architects were asked which magazine came first in mind when thinking of professional magazines, the answers were the following: *Forum* 44%, *Record* 32%, *P/A* 12%, More than one 12%. The last category were the ones that expressed no preference whatsoever between *Forum*, *Record* and *P/A*. In fact, it is noted that:

⁶⁰⁸ Id. 62.

⁶⁰⁹ Id. 63.

⁶¹⁰ Id. 62.

At one time or another in the course of the interviews, 20% of our sample expressed some feeling that the three publications were essentially the same.⁶¹¹

The above data were overturned when a psychological trick was employed: "Confronted with a descriptive picture of a man sitting undisturbed and reading a magazine in the field of architecture the respondent was then asked what magazine the man was reading. The results showed a net increase in the number of those naming the *Record*. *Record* 44%, *Forum* 44% P/A 12%."⁶¹²

The conclusions drawn are that the *Forum* is "read for stimulation or diversion rather than being esteemed as a professional practice magazine" while the *Record* leads either of the two publications as a source of general information.⁶¹³ For more detailed product information the respondents would "directly contact the technical representative or manufacturer for the product itself." While saying that, however, a respondent also mentioned that flipping through a magazine, its advertisements and editorials is out of academic interest to see what other people are doing. What is deducted from that excerpt is that the professional journal is seen as an adjunct to contacts with company representatives.

A second respondent provided more indications to that direction: "How do I keep up with news, happenings, and so on? Well, from among those I would say professional magazines I would put above professional meetings. In this sense you will see something in the magazine. It will give you the initial push. It is something new. Then when you go to a meeting, you will say 'Did you see such and such thing in...'. Then you might discuss it. Professional meetings rank about equal with professional magazines."⁶¹⁴

Searching further the interviewers report that only 44% of the respondents have "a personal file of information in the field." And even those describe their office files as being unorganized. On that basis, the reference value of the *Record* and *Sweet's* is confirmed and is to be explored further on the report.

⁶¹¹ Id. 64.

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ Id. 66.

⁶¹⁴ Id. 67.



FIG. 5.11 Cover of the 1960 *Architectural Record* July issue and a double page view of with ads incorporated with editorial content and full page ad in colour.

5.6.5 Section V: The magazine and its readers

Focusing on the *Record's* readers Dichter divides this section in 3 parts:

- 1 the reading history,
- 2 the reading pattern,
- 3 the reading experience.

On “reading history”, the main issue derived from the respondents was that readers are less likely to shift their preference from the magazine that they first committed and subscribed in their early/student years. This comes to repeat a typical adage in marketing, that the younger the customer the more loyal they will be which led 1950s marketers to target young customers. Those young architects however that stated a sole preference for a magazine did not mention the *Record*, but *Forum* and *P/A*.

To quote one of them:

“What seems to emerge is a curve in which close reading of one magazine is followed by a rather rapid increase in number of publications read and general volume of reading in the field. As the individual progresses, the reading curve as to both number of publications and volume levels off and become more concentrated. Subsequently after a period of years, there is a gradual decline in both respects. Throughout this entire process, however, the original ‘loyalty’ tends to be sustained in most cases.”⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁵ Id. 71.

And another architect, from San Francisco, said:

“The reader of this magazine is the kind of person who likes this magazine and he reads it deep into the evening for personal satisfaction. He had read it through school and enjoyed it, subscribed to it then. More or less, of course, I’d have to say he’s a lot like me.”⁶¹⁶

Another issue was that the older and more experienced architects would have less and less interest in technical information but would sustain their subscription to a professional magazine either way, admitting that years would go by without reading an issue thoroughly.⁶¹⁷

On the readers’ reading pattern, Dichter paints a composite picture: Most readers (60%) would “read” the magazine for the first time at home, late in the evening, one to three days after receiving it. Another 15% would read it while heading home from the office, who also brought up the matter of the magazine’s portability.⁶¹⁸ While the last 25% would read it at intervals during office hours.⁶¹⁹ This last part brings about a “hidden circulation” of the magazine in-between colleagues that share an issue and go through while working.

By a NY engineer:

“I go through the whole magazine rather quickly at the office. If a feature catches my attention I mark it and then go back to it a few days later. Skim through all the ads. Always find one or two are useful. I either clip them or make a note of them. Then I pass the magazine on to other department. Usually the architect’s office holds it for a while and then it comes back to the book-case for reference by whoever wants it.”⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁶ Id. 72.

⁶¹⁷ Id. 73.

⁶¹⁸ Id. 76.

⁶¹⁹ Id. 77.

⁶²⁰ Id. 78.



FIG. 5.12 Double page (spread) view of the table of contents of the July issue of the Architectural Record of 1960 that is referred in the report's interviews.

About half of the respondents reported that they would pick an issue for at least a second reading in a matter of weeks while one fourth reported a third or fourth “pick-up.” This is the data that makes Dichter to report that the “active” life span of an issue does not extent more than three weeks. For most readers, the first reading is a sort of investigation and Dichter notes that the second reading is the one where the readers actually engage with an issue, with an apparent element of surprise which leads him to confirm the initial hypothesis (draft memorandum) that:

“The magazine in its external appearance and initial pages may threaten the reader with the task of confronting material that constitutes a reminder of the demands being made upon him, rather than offering aid to him.”⁶²¹

In any case, a common feeling in all the respondents what that no one seems to feel that she/he has actually read the magazine, which is deemed unsatisfactory owed to the growing pressures of everyday life.

621 Id. 86.

“Generally, so busy, one steals what few moments one can to do something active”⁶²²

“I ‘ve got a year’s supply of the *Record* piled up. It’s giving me a bad conscious. I feel I should have gotten to it long ago.”⁶²³

Compared with its competition, regardless the number of readership but in terms of the reading pattern, it is noted that *Record* faces magazines that have a more entertaining and diverting profile indicating that the architect readers spent “slightly more time reading *Forum* than they do the *Record*” but “among engineers the reverse is reported.”⁶²⁴ The whole reading experience is a very personal one. The reader goes through the issue with an investigative manner in search of finding things that are of direct interest to him, instead of going through the flow directed by its editors, by-passing or intentionally avoiding the table of contents.

“This is an aura of direct and personal communication, a kind of private receptive channel. Little effort is expended in searching for or stopping at the Table of Contents partially because of this anticipation.”⁶²⁵

Frustration was expressed on the manner that ads split the editorial contents, making it difficult to distinguish where one feature begins and another one ends⁶²⁶, with little visual difference between ads and articles leading readers to overestimate the amount of advertising because of its location. In average respondents estimated a ration of 3,5 to 1 between advertising and editorial content, while in fact it was 2 to 1. It is finally stated that once it is reached, readers “have substantial regard for much of the editorial content within the magazine”⁶²⁷ giving way to further discuss the editorial content in the following section.

⁶²² Id. 79.

⁶²³ Id. 80.

⁶²⁴ Id. 83.

⁶²⁵ Id. 88.

⁶²⁶ Id. 89.

⁶²⁷ Id 90.

5.6.6 Section VI: The editorial content of the *Architectural Record*

Most of the interest of both architects and engineers was centred over the *Record's* news on government activity and affairs. Specifically, the Washington reports segment of the “*Record* reports section” was noted by the 44% of them while even the author’s name, Ernest Mickel was recalled. Others were the “Current Trends in Construction” and “Construction Cost Indexes” while less often the “Buildings in the News,” “Calendar,” and “Office Notes” while the “Meetings and Miscellany” that housed the social news of the profession was often commented upon while the respondents were leafing through it.

The *Record* was frequently compared with Newsweek magazine⁶²⁸ and rated as “comprehensive⁶²⁹” and first on “news of the field” and “professional usefulness” according to Dichter⁶³⁰⁶³¹ who references the respondents:

“*Architectural Record* appeals to me as a more modern magazine. For one thing, it has many more ads. Gives you more information about the multiple products that are coming out all the time for building construction. Actually that’s what you are mainly interested in. As for articles on the field general – that’s good too but you can get that at trade shows and in texts.”⁶³²

For engineers, who instead look for technical information in technical journals within a specialized field deem superficial the technical content of the *Record* and to them, *Progressive Architecture* has more appeal as an “architect’s magazine.”⁶³³

When asked for what kind of content they wanted to see more of, the readers asked for more non-reportorial content, translated as “human” features by Dichter:⁶³⁴

⁶²⁸ One of the big three US news magazines of the time, along with TIME and U.S. News & World Report, which during the mid-20th c. was following hard news instead of opinion articles.

⁶²⁹ According to Dichter, later in the report, comprehensiveness is evaluated by architects in two ways: 1) as thoroughness of breadth of scope or 2) depth and specificity of detail.

⁶³⁰ Ibid. 92.

⁶³¹ Ibid. 94.

⁶³² Ibid. 94.

⁶³³ Ibid. 95.

⁶³⁴ Ibid. 97.

“...both architects and engineers reported that indicated that the *Record* should have more material on foreign architecture, on the philosophy of architecture, on aesthetics and on architectural criticism. The first two of these were generally felt to be needed in all three magazines (*Forum*, *P/A*, *Record*)”⁶³⁵

The appeal of content on foreign architecture is credited to two factors: 1) foreign architecture appears to provide solutions on costs and the general economy of both material and design and 2) the role of the architect abroad appears to be more “clearly delineated and of greater stature.”⁶³⁶ This general desire for the magazine to include more diverse content signifies for Dichter that the readers feel that they “should and must know more.”⁶³⁷ This questioning of what magazine is preferred and for what specific subject is analysed in detail, presented in two tables.⁶³⁸

What is deducted by these charts, was that the themes of “construction trends” and “costs” is best presented by the *Record*; “lighting” and “office practice” by *P/A*; “architectural criticism” and “art for architecture” by *Forum*.⁶³⁹ “New developments in important building types” was credited also to be best covered by the *Record* despite lacking statistical lead because respondents recalled specific features of this type in the *Record*.⁶⁴⁰ Despite the specializations, readers found that there was “little to distinguish” between them and that “any two might carry an article on the same subject” with another 25% saying that all three magazines were essentially the same.”⁶⁴¹

The charts below also came to confirm the Memorandum’s claim that the *Record* has a strong engineer identification and that it acts as a common meeting for architects and engineers. And:

“What is apparent in the charts seen earlier is the preponderance of material of seeming interest to engineers which is “located” in the *Record* by both architects and engineers. In contrast most of the topics “located” in *P/A* and *Forum* are of primary interest to architects”⁶⁴²

⁶³⁵ Ibid. 97.

⁶³⁶ Ibid. 98.

⁶³⁷ Ibid. 98.

⁶³⁸ Ibid. 101 and 102.

⁶³⁹ Ibid. 103.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid. 105. In a paragraph titled “*Architectural Record* as a crystal ball.”

⁶⁴¹ Ibid. 104.

⁶⁴² Ibid. 106.

Among Architects		
Subject	Best Article in...	%
Architectural criticism	<i>Forum</i>	83
Art for architecture	<i>Forum</i>	83
City planning	<i>Forum</i>	56
Information on new building material and equipment	<i>P/A</i>	56
Lighting as design element	<i>P/A</i>	56
Architectural interiors	<i>P/A – Forum</i>	38 (each)
Office practice	<i>P/A</i>	72
Developments in air conditioner design	<i>P/A – Record</i>	44 (each)
Plastic design in steel	<i>Record</i>	61
New developments in school design	<i>Record</i>	67
Construction trends and costs	<i>Record</i>	72
Planning electrical systems for large buildings	<i>Record</i>	61
Engineering education	<i>Record</i>	78
New developments in important building types	<i>Record</i>	67

Among Engineers		
Subject	Best article in...	#
Art for architecture	<i>Forum</i>	3
Lighting as a design element	<i>Forum</i>	4
Architectural criticism	<i>Forum-P/A</i>	3
New developments in important building types	<i>P/A-Forum</i>	3
Architectural Interiors	<i>P/A</i>	3
Office practice	<i>P/A</i>	3
New building materials and equipment	<i>Record</i>	5
New developments in school design and construction	<i>Record</i>	4
Construction trends and costs	<i>Record</i>	4
Planning electrical systems for large buildings	<i>Record</i>	3
Developments in air conditioning design	<i>Record</i>	3
City planning	<i>Record</i>	3
Engineering education	<i>Record</i>	3
Plastic design in steel	<i>Record-P/A- Forum</i>	2

Despite having material involving both architects and engineers, their technical nature meant that the *Record* had a limited appeal. In contrast the magazine leading in content of wider appeal was by far the *Forum* after considering the following two questions posited to the respondents:

- Most interested in reading architect “located” in: *Record* (11), *Forum* (21), *P/A* (9)⁶⁴³
- Least interested in reading article “located” in: *Record* (8), *Forum* (4), *P/A* (3)⁶⁴⁴

When asked what kind of content is missing, or what respondents would see in an ideal magazine the answers called for a thorough examination of a project and the history of its construction in comprehensive detail.⁶⁴⁵ Broad planning programs also should be addressed in a down-to-earth language of implementation.⁶⁴⁶ Most specifically on content that would engage young professionals, the *Record* was seen as closely competing with *P/A* and there was a general consensus amongst respondents on topics that would advance the benefits of the young professionals:

- A Inspiration for a well-rounded approach to his practice
- B The workability and applicability of particular solutions to specific design problems
- C Thorough source information on new products and materials and where to obtain them.⁶⁴⁷

The young architects themselves felt that *Forum* was more successful in providing the inspiration *P/A* as strongest in overall and aesthetic appeal and the *Record* in supplying technical information and design details.⁶⁴⁸

5.6.7 Section VII: The penetration of advertising in the *Architectural Record*

One of the major advancements of this research was made with regards to the advertising content of the *Record*. Most significantly, Dichter notes that “almost half of our respondents reported that they read the ads in the *Record* closely and

⁶⁴³ Ibid. 107.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid. 108.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid. 109.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid. 111.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid. 115.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid. 117.

regularly or that the time intentionally devoted to perusing them constitutes a large important proportion of their reading of the magazine.” In the larger scheme, even if the readers had previously reacted to the bad aesthetics of the ads and the inconvenience of interrupting the editorial content, they were accepting them and recognizing their “vital” importance both in giving product information and financially sustaining the magazines. As they put it themselves:

“As I leaf through it I keep looking at details, details, the finishes... that shows well in the ads.”⁶⁴⁹

“Advertising is heavy, so I imagine that a lot of the expenses of printing must be necessarily met in this way, that the \$6 doesn’t really take care of the cost and postage. It’s very reasonable.”

“I don’t really know how many thousands of architects there are throughout the country, but that lousy 12 bucks or whatever they pay for a subscription is after all a drop in the bucket compared to the cost per page, their revenue coming from advertising not subscriptions, and that is why, even though I don’t read the ads, I don’t beef about them too much, since I think that maintains a magazine.”⁶⁵⁰

“Like the rest, it (the *Record*) has too many ads. Of course they have to have ads – they couldn’t live without them.”⁶⁵¹

“I like this magazine [*Record* issue July 1960]. In fact, I prefer it to *Architectural Forum*. I like the setups. They have about 70% ads and that’s very good. We need all that information and it’s greatly varied and probably not a new product comes out that doesn’t advertise in *Architectural Record*.”⁶⁵²

Architects were also explicit in their aversion of certain ads, seen as “crowdy, wordy, uninformative ads which talk past their professionalism at the layman’s level.” Their criticism however did not concern the *Record* alone but all three big magazines:

“Here is one – Adams-Rite which I think is so weak that as far as I am concerned they are wasting their money. It has no appeal – has too much copy and is hard to read. I don’t know whether the magazines have any control over the ads they can or will not accept, but I think they should reject those that do not meet certain

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid. 119.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid. 120.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid. 131.

⁶⁵² Ibid. 128.

minimum standards. What annoys me most about many ads is that they are talking down to the reader. Some do not shoot high enough. They seem to be treating architects as ordinary consumers.”⁶⁵³

“Most ads in architectural magazines are product ads and most products do not or are not concerned in an important way with the important overall concepts of architecture. In addition, most ads are designed for the level of aesthetic appreciation of a bull-dozer operator.”⁶⁵⁴

“Yes, here is an ad (Bradley – Washfountain) that is dull as dish water – well, it is not out of place it’s just dull and can’t do anything for the advertiser.”⁶⁵⁵

“This slogan is a favourable one to the mind of the architect too, I’d say...’What the architect conceives, aluminium achieves.’ Architects, most of us, have egos of sorts. Some of us have monumental ones. This is a gentle way of appealing to the ego that doesn’t offend me at all.”⁶⁵⁶

Ameliorating the ads’ aesthetics to the architects’ standards was judged that would increase the appeal towards engineers too. As long as it communicates its information in an “uncluttered and aesthetically or creatively appealing context.”⁶⁵⁷

5.6.8 **Section VIII: *Record, Forum, P/A*. Their comparative profiles**

The final comparison of the magazines is concentrated in the declaration that *Forum* is flamboyant, *P/A* is folksy and the *Record* is undramatic. Correspondingly each magazine has its own strengths and weaknesses. The *Record* is not regarded as a dramatic nor exciting publication. *Forum* appeals to the idealized self-image of the architect. *P/A* appeals to the “actual self-image and the quieter aesthetic strain and decorative interest of the architect.”⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵³ Ibid. 122.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid. 122.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid. 127.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid. 127.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid. 129.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid. 133.

When asked to compare the professional magazines to consumer ones, one architect had this to say:

"Well, I'm not sure but off-hand I guess I tend to associate *Fortune* with *Forum* because they're both a bit pretentious, maybe; and Theatre Arts, well, it's like *Record*... a kind of showcase of the trade with wide breadth of interest; Journal of the American Medical Association would be *Record* again, because of its professional attitude. Newsweek would be, I think, like *P/A*, and so would Holiday. The kind of folksy format. Newsweek is closer though."⁶⁵⁹

Forum's "editorializing" that sharply distinguishes from the other two received both praise and dissatisfaction with some respondents calling it "sensational", "fictionalised" and while admiring it for having its own voice they said that an architect needs to "draw his own conclusions" and not the judgement of *Forum*. "Architectural criticism... in the *Forum*. But it's like the Daily News vs. the Christian Science Monitor. The *Forum*, and the *Record*. The *Forum* would have architectural criticism, but it would be limited. They only show the most sensational. They don't show solid conservative."⁶⁶⁰ [sic]

The comparison of the *Record* with *P/A* was less of startling differences and more about similarities with one quarter of architects "lumping" the *Record* and *P/A* together.⁶⁶¹ "It [*P/A*] was ranked least imaginative of the three, most superficial, least oriented to the future, and most oriented to the status quo. It may not provide as much as the *Record* according to several architects, but it speaks to them on a quieter, more intimate and personally responsive note."⁶⁶² An architect said: "The typical *Record* reader might be the special architect or engineer, probably, who does a lot of things like schools, offices; the *Forum* reader is the architect who works in an office that is internationally interested. He likes more varied procedure, and likely each of his own designs uses a different approach to the problem. *Progressive Architecture* is for the guy interested in interiors and detailed information on special buildings."⁶⁶³

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid. 134.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid. 135.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid. 140.

⁶⁶² Ibid. 140.

⁶⁶³ Ibid. 140.

Tracing through the respondents' impressions, the reports' conductors compile the comparative profiles of the magazines, some parts of which are worth to be transcribed verbatim:

"The *Record* is... practical... comprehensive... timely... The *Record* was seen by architects as the most practical and factual of the three, and possessing the highest reference value. Engineers considered the *Record* the most comprehensive and timely."

"*Forum* is... Imaginative and readable... Among both architects and engineers *Forum* was ranked most imaginative of the three magazines. It was also seen as being most for the layman of the three, and most readable. It was felt by respondents that *Forum* editorializes most amongst the three magazines."

"The *Record* is... A forward-looking conservative younger businessman Architects ranked the *Record* and *Forum* about equally high in orientation to the future. *Forum* was ranked only slightly higher in timeliness, while the *Record* was thought to occupy a middle position in supporting the status quo."

"*Forum* is... A stimulating and self-assured high-brow Correspondents in their comments, particularly engineers, tended to view *Forum* with a curious mixture of respect and derision. While some talked of it combining a theoretical with a practical great approach it was described by others as slick and shallow. There was little indifference and most responses indicated a marked feeling tone concerning *Forum*. The preponderance of comments tended to be substantially negative when the respondent viewed it from an implicitly professional standpoint."⁶⁶⁴

In addition to the aforementioned, a statistical table is presented as evidence for the above conclusions, with respondents ranking magazines' profiles in terms of certain qualities: "imaginative," "practical," "factual," "layman," "readable," "reference value," "editorializes," "timely," "status quo," "future," "superficial," "comprehensive," "draughtsman," "engineer," "architect," "contractor."⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid. 142-4.

⁶⁶⁵ *Record* topped the categories "practical," "factual", "reference value", "comprehensive", "draughtsman," "architect,"; *Forum* topped "imaginative," "layman," "readable," "editorializes," "timely," "future"; and *Progressive Architecture* topped "status quo," "superficial," "contractor." Category "engineer" found *P/A* and *Record* tied (7,7/10). Ibid. 145-6.

5.6.9 Section X: The cost and value of the *Record* and its competitive magazines⁶⁶⁶

With regards to the magazine's price, Dichter et al extracted from the respondents that: a) whatever its cost the *Record* is seen worth its price and b) a lower or hypothetically minimal price or even free distribution would create suspicion and damage the *Record*'s image of integrity, prestige, professionalism and editorial quality.⁶⁶⁷ The above provide a strong argument for Dichter to claim that the *Record* could raise its price. Apart from that, from the responses when asked to guess the cost of each periodical, the readers valued *Forum* most due to its best looking appearance.⁶⁶⁸

"I would guess it costs half of what each issue sells for to put out this magazine [...] As for what it is worth you can't ever estimate that. If a particular issue gave you an idea – even one – that you used and it saved you a few hundred dollars in construction it would be worth a life time subscription. That's an intangible item."⁶⁶⁹

"I have not the least idea. It appears... as though they pay more for putting *Architectural Forum* together. Fifty thousand, an issue? Would that be too high? I don't know. *Progressive Architecture*... seven tenths of that. Of \$50.000. *Architectural Record*, the same."⁶⁷⁰

"They all more or less compete. I can't imagine any one of these magazines being offered free. [...] Anything you get for nothing you have low regard for. We all expect to pay for anything worthwhile."⁶⁷¹

"I just don't know why they would offer it that way. If the [Architectural] *Forum* were to do it, I'd suspect some hidden motives. If *Progressive Architecture* did it, I'd be awfully sorry for Tom Cr[e]ighton. I would assume they were being pushed out of the market. If I saw the [Architectural] *Record* doing it, I'd say I was losing my faith in mankind, or in the profession."⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁶ We skip section IX on "Bingo cards" since it is an issue of minor importance in regards to the *Record*'s editorial policy, appeal or revenue.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid. 152.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid. 153.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid. 152.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid. 153.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid. 154.

⁶⁷² Ibid. 155.

5.6.10 Section XI: Practical applications

Sixteen points were compiled in the final account of the survey's conclusions:

- 1 The *Record* should continue and reinforce its present image of “professionalism,” but alter it somewhat to and fit the self-image and the needs of the architect. In aligning its temperament to fit that of the architect, it will increase the extent to which he feels the magazine is (‘his’) magazine.
- 2 Increase the likelihood of the reader reading a greater amount of the magazine at a given sitting, or at the first two sittings, partially as a means of getting him to see that the *Record* is his magazine, and to increase his ‘active’ and immediate familiarity with it.
- 3 Architects like controversy more than do engineers, and accept it almost as an occupational hazard. The chance exists for the *Record* to steal some of *Forum*’s most vital sensationalism, controversy not written by a journalist but controversial views written by a professional with perspective.
- 4 In order to accomplish these aims, present the reader quickly with the editorial content. Engage him, lead him into the magazine.
- 5 Move the Table of Contents up to the very front.
- 6 Move the editorial content further up front.
- 7 Place fewer ads before the features.
- 8 Separate individual features with several pages of advertising.
- 9 Complete most articles without continuing them in rear.
- 10 Present engineering sections toward rear (Electrical, Mechanical, Structural) with a guest writer covering facets of a particular problem.
- 11 Include more design details.
- 12 Include more on materials. It’s important field, coverage should be expanded; *P/A* seems very strong or even first now. Having information on a material and an ad on it in same issue or back to back issues can enhance advertising activating potential. Also readers get information from editorial content pages.
- 13 Increase the aesthetic appeal of the advertising stress: brevity, informativeness, eye appeal.
- 14 The *Record* should return at least part of the way in its editorial content to its architectural readership’s temperament and needs. In so doing it may find that it strengthens its position among engineers.
- 15 It is interesting in this connection that a magazine about which a number of architects talk warmly (*P/A*), is also surprisingly strong in its appeal among some engineers.
- 16 Build a loyalty early by appealing to the younger professional... and by helping him to prepare for his role.⁶⁷³

⁶⁷³ Ibid. 159-61.

Acting as an appendix, Dichter et al give in this section the original tests of the first (6) and second (19) wave of respondents with pink paper for the first 6 respondents and green for the rest 19. Shedding a light on the precise questions posed to architects and engineers complete with guiding notes to the interviewer on how to probe and stimulate the discussion. First the respondents had to complete basic informative sheets themselves with their personal information and then converse with the interviewers following the questionnaire whose themes followed the themes of the main report's sections. E.g. in the questionnaire's pages that correspond to section II "Image of the Professional," there are questions such as the one in quote: "Sometimes a person is struck by the impression or ideas held by persons outside the field, about the nature of the work he does. Have you ever had an experience like this? Can you recall having heard or read a description of an architect? Of an – [specific engineering area of respondent] engineer? What was it, what was said?"⁶⁷⁴

The same segment was accompanied with guiding notes such as:

"(TO THE INTERVIEWER: In addressing these questions to the respondent always keep in mind his specific profession. Never couple the two professions...)"⁶⁷⁵

"(TO THE INTERVIEWER: Probe at some length. Look for any references to differences in personality as well as other respects.)"⁶⁷⁶

There are differences between the two waves of respondents with more direct questions being added for the second wave of respondents,⁶⁷⁷ while omitting certain sections that exists in the first wave and are incorporated in other ones in the second wave.⁶⁷⁸ However, the whole process shows that the report was formulated following the structure of the interviews and furthermore, the questionnaires show that the working group had well targeted its respondents and formulated questions accordingly. An indicative instance is when probing for the respondents' preference on architectural magazines where the interviewer is advised to ask the responded why he/she chose a certain magazine and any other of the professional magazines mentioned by name followed by the note: "for Western respondents only, *Western Architect* and *Engineer*.)"

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid. 1266-2 p. 2.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁷ E.g. On section "His view of the field," part "For engineers only," 1266-2 p. 4.

⁶⁷⁸ E.g. Section V, titled "Diferention of publications."

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RESPONDENT INFORMATION SURVEY

FOR ARCHITECTS Year registered _____ (17,18)
FOR ENGINEERS Year licensed _____ (19,20)

Type of Employment

Architectural Consulting Firm _____ Position (e.g. principal, partner, staff
engineer chief designer, etc.) _____
Engineering Consulting Firm _____ (21) _____
Private _____ (22) _____
Government: Municipal _____ (23) Position _____ 1-x
State _____ (24) Position _____ 1-x
Federal _____ (25) Position _____ 1-x

Area of Professional Concentration

FOR ARCHITECTS (26) FOR ENGINEERS (27)

Manufacturing, Industrial _____ Specify _____ Which of the following types of engineering
for buildings do you do?
Office Buildings _____ Mechanical _____
Institutional (e.g. hospitals, churches, schools) _____ Specify _____ Electrical _____
Commercial (stores, shops) _____ Structural _____
Specify _____ Other _____
To what extent, if any, are you involved
in overall building design?
Homes _____ Great _____
Recreational _____ Specify _____ Some _____
Other _____ Little _____
None _____

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VI. PROBABILITIES

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: If respondent tends to answer the probes initially in a general way, ask him if he can imagine more specific reasons.

Say to respondent:

Imagine in your mind's eye, a man sitting undisturbed and concentrating on a magazine in the field of architecture.

- What magazine in the field of architecture is this man reading?
- He began a subscription to it several months ago. What events led up to his decision? What feelings?
- Venturing a guess based on his reading this particular magazine, what is this man reading in the "Article" Department? AD? About what?
- How long ago did he receive this issue? How much time has he spent in reading the magazine thus far? What prompted him to pick it up? What time of day is it now as he reads the magazine? Will he pick it up to read again? When? Why? What will he do with the magazine after he has read it?
- What sort of person is he? What activities does he like? What else might you say of him?
- Now this man is planning to drop his subscription. What prompted or led to his decision that he is not satisfied with the magazine? What else might have made him feel this way?

TO THE INTERVIEWER: After the initial instance in which the respondent volunteers the name of a single magazine, and you have asked all the above questions, then ask the following questions for whichever of the following magazines were not named initially by respondent, as the magazine being read in the word picture: Architectural Record, Progressive Architecture, Architectural Forum, Architectural and Engineering News, (and for Western respondents only, Western Architect and Engineer.)

During this run-through, ask the respondent:

- Why might he be reading - or have chosen _____ the first magazine named in the picture? Instead of AR, PA, AF, A and E News, (W and S for Western respondents only).
- How is this reader different from the reader of PA, AR, AF, A and E News, (W and S)?
- Is it likely he subscribes to more than one of these magazines? Which ones? Why?

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RESPONDENT INFORMATION SURVEY

FOR ARCHITECTS Year registered _____ (17,18)
FOR ENGINEERS Year licensed _____ (19,20)

Type of Employment

Architectural Consulting Firm _____ Position (e.g. principal, partner, staff
engineer chief designer, etc.) _____
Engineering Consulting Firm _____ (21) _____
Private _____ (22) _____
Government: Municipal _____ (23) Position _____ 1-x
State _____ (24) Position _____ 1-x
Federal _____ (25) Position _____ 1-x

Area of Professional Concentration

FOR ARCHITECTS (26) FOR ENGINEERS (27)

Manufacturing, Industrial _____ Specify _____ Which of the following types of engineering
for buildings do you do?
Office Buildings _____ Mechanical _____
Institutional (e.g. hospitals, churches, schools) _____ Specify _____ Electrical _____
Commercial (stores, shops) _____ Structural _____
Specify _____ Other _____
To what extent, if any, are you involved
in overall building design?
Homes _____ Great _____
Recreational _____ Specify _____ Some _____
Other _____ Little _____
None _____

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VII. RESPONSES COMPLETION

Once again show respondent the three magazines AR, PA, AR. Then ask him to complete the following:

- Ask the respondent to fill in the name of the magazine or the feelings that seem to be prompted by the sentence.
- Some of the ads in _____ seem written for _____ (41)
- Few of the ads in _____ seem as though they're written for me.
- Most of the ads in _____ talk my language.
- The magazine that requires the most concentration in order to get something out of it is _____ (42)
- I like _____ (43) because it most nearly speaks my language.
- I spend more time reading _____ (44) than Progressive Architect.
- I spend more time reading _____ (45) than Architectural Record.
- I spend more time reading _____ (46) than Architectural Forum.
- In terms of general reading or other activities.....
- I spend more time reading Architectural Record than _____ (47)
- I spend more time reading Progressive Architecture than _____ (48)
- I spend more time reading Architectural Forum than _____ (49)

4

FIG. 5.13 Questionnaires and instructions to interviewers used during the interviews.

5.7 Document E. Blueprint for action

May 1961. Page count: 13 [Fig. 5.13]. Untitled. A year and two months after the submission of the very first document, the report was completed with Document E, which despite missing an external page and therefore a unifying title, seems to respond to the “Blueprint for action” that was referred in the original proposal (Document A). In contrast to the previous documents, Document E is a compilation of smaller documents, lacking a unifying structure. Its content continues upon the same subject that the last sections of Document D had: briefly stating what are the conclusions of the whole report and how the whole process can be operationalised for the purposes of the *Architectural Record*. It is divided in three main parts that present bulleted recommendations:

- 1 a “criteria checklist” on general considerations on advertising in the magazine,
- 2 a second numbered list on guidelines specifically for advertisers, and
- 3 a bulleted list of psychological factors of the *Record*’s audience.

The first part, titled “criteria checklist” presents twelve points that are to be considered “important in reaching and selling architects” through advertising or contact with sales representatives of the manufacturing industry. Those twelve points are: 1) practicality, 2) relatedness, 3) innovation, 4) quality assurances, 5) service, 6) economy, 7) conciseness, 8) individuality, 9) professional respect, 10) creativity, 11) aesthetics, and 12) pleasure. Almost self-explanatory, this is a general list of advices to be considered when in the business of creating ads that are to be published in the *Architectural Record*. The most striking points are the last three, on “creativity,” “aesthetics” and “pleasure” which must have been unanticipated by the people who at that time were interested in promoting products as technical as roof tiles, radiators, flooring or plumbing infrastructure.

Characteristically:

"Pleasure. Your customer is a man whose professional and private lives are often virtually inseparable. His interests pervade both and his pleasures are often intermingled between the two. In advertising, remember that he frequently reads professional journals “on his own time” for enjoyment as well as from necessity, and he expects to derive pleasure from this reading, advertising included."⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁹ Box 57, Item 1266E, Ernest Dichter papers (Accession 2407), Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE 19807, 3.

Further than its topic, this list is also interesting for its writing style which is clearly different from the jargon employed in the previous documents of the study. The language here is more direct and implicative of spoken conversation rather than textual, in a typical fashion of the marketing innuendo of the era. It has to be derived that this document is the only one that was directed to the base personnel of F.W. Dodge Corporation, specifically their creative department responsible for the design of ads and most probably also to external colleagues related to advertising.

Some examples of the direct writing style of the checklist:

"Practicality. Your customer wants practical information on your products and services, presented to him in "ready-to-use" terms, complete and to the point. Relatedness. Don't just tell him your story and leave him to figure out how it applies to his problems. Relate your information, products and services to what you know are his needs. Prove to him that you are aware of his needs and interested in him."⁶⁸⁰

The document's second part is another list of points but this time specifically addressed to external advertisers, titled "What advertisers need to know about AR readers as their potential customers." Divided in four categories it shortly describes the major qualities of the *Record* readers: a) their attitudes, b) their problems, c) their interests and d) their demands from advertisers. A closer look reveals that these points refer to a much wider range of topics than their headings suggest.

Here follows an abbreviated quote of the check-list in question titled":

- A **[The reader's] basic attitudes:** Pride in the profession; pride in their performance; high aesthetic standards in all things; impatience with the insincere, the inept or the tasteless in any form; a sense of brotherhood not only between architects and engineers but with everyone who sufficiently appreciates the "contribution of the professional."
- B **Their problems:** Rapid change in direction, techniques, products etc.; limitations of personal creativity due to administrative responsibilities; lack of understanding and appreciation on the part of the public or the non-professionals; sense of inadequate relationship of architecture with the whole society, immediate and continuing; under pressure of time constriction and obligations that do not allow "side interests and activities which they feel are a part of their profession but not necessarily of their present job."
- C **Their interests:** Reinforcing their feelings about their profession in order to offset the basic insecurities of the architect in today's changing world and to obtain personal

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid. 1.

satisfaction from this role; enlarging their field of knowledge, abstract and specific and reinforcing their self-confidence by keeping up with new developments; the role of the architect in his community as a contributor to something lasting to our civilization; sharing their interests, problems and rewards with their peers; deriving personal pleasure from their occupation.

What they want from advertisers: practical, accurate and comprehensive information; professional levels of communication; aesthetic standards on matters composition, colour, and integration of pictures; brevity; modernity⁶⁸¹; imagination in the content, tone, approach and make-up of an advertisement; enjoyment.

As mentioned, both parts one and two of Document mention a wide array of topics but leave them underdeveloped and without making a concise argument on how precisely to methodise advertising, or instrumentalise those points. This is because their purpose is not to explain thoroughly the matter of advertising towards architects, but rather to open up new possibilities and encourage the creative thinking of ad people and their targeting approach to new directions and make obvious the fact that the ads don't play a singularly informative role, but a much more complex one. This can be seen in passages such as these:

“[The reader] gives more attention to an ad which is distinctive, but rejects what appears to him to be gimmicky or contrived.”⁶⁸²

“Enjoyment. He frankly reads professional magazines, including the advertising, with the expectation of enjoying it as well as benefitting from it professionally.”

Part three on the other hand has an even higher intention: to give insights and operationalise the architect's psychological profile. The last 6 pages of the document are titled “Psychological factors influencing *Architectural Record's* professional audience” and include some of the most significant points of the whole study. Dichter

⁶⁸¹ The complete passage on modernity: “Modernity. He rel[ie]s on advertising as much, if not more than editorial content in a magazine, and as much as on direct mail advertising or visits from salesmen, to keep him in touch with all of the latest developments in his field.” It is interesting to note that for Dichter, the reader of the *Record* perceives modernity firstly through ads and product salesmen equally with editorial or other sources, simply because advertising is the first medium to report and disseminate the latest trends, products and techniques. This insight, although lacking vision and any social analysis of the ties between modernity and architecture, is a concrete argument and a perfect example of the realism and cynicism with which the American scene adopted Modernism and shaped it to its developing needs. Ibid. 3.

⁶⁸² Ibid. 4.

here presents twelve psychological traits of an average *Record* reader accompanied each with the response that the magazine should attain, corresponding to each trait.

First and foremost, the *Record* needs to address the reader's "ego ideal" and "serve its audience within this framework." It needs to recognize that the architect feels under pressure from the "rapid changes and new developments" and provide the "knowledge and the emotional support that the reader needs in this situation." It needs to provide more content that deal with the "farthest-reaching social and philosophical implications of architecture" in order to satisfy the creative, aesthetic, and humanistic needs that *Record* readers feel that "everyday administrative responsibilities are depriving them of."

With the growing proximity of engineer and architect, the *Record* will benefit from content that showcases their common ground and the particular interests of each group while at the same time refer to each profession's separate spheres of responsibility. It must meet the high aesthetic standards of its readers, "appearance, design, proportion and colour, and in texts which are sincere, straightforward and pleasing." Address the inspiration-seeking of architects with the "personification" of architectural intellect and courage in figures "such as Frank Lloyd Wright and Mies van der Rohe." The *Record* needs to provide two kinds of articles: "highlights" that cover rapidly the newest data or ones that can be read at length and from which the reader can derive a sense of personal achievement.

Another aspect of potential insecurity is that the *Record* readers are anxious to maintain familiarity with the material being read by their colleagues and other professionals and therefore the *Record* needs to treat its material as a point of departure for common discussions that take part in the readers' offices. They also seek inspiration in various forms aiming to raise the sights and hopes of the whole profession; the *Record* should join its readers by not allowing the practical considerations obscure the abstract and inspirational potentials of the profession. Lastly, regarding advertising, the *Record* needs to recognise that its readers are receptive of advertising. Because, unlike readers of general magazines, they see the *Record* as a "trusted professional journal" and advertising as a vital part of it and as a way of speaking to them on "their own terms," appealing to their pride. They are however critical of advertisement that they consider "unprofessional, gimmicky, and solely sales- rather than service-oriented" and that's why *Record* has to adjust its advertising so that it speaks to the professional "in his own magazine, in his own language."

5.8 Conclusions

The Dichter report is extremely extensive (in volume and work) and in comparison with the *Forum* survey of 1955 it goes to show the pains to which the architectural publications would go to study their audience and maximize their impact. The most notable thing however, is that once this core readership is defined the next thing is to shape it. In order to serve its audience, the US professional magazines of architecture aimed to find who the architect is. The difference is that to win the competition, the *Record* aimed to delineate who the architect should be. This became clearer in the next ten years of the magazine, when the *Record* would re-organise itself according to Dichter's suggestions and build up its ongoing editorial campaign for the "image of the architect." His insights on the equilibrium of technical and philosophical content can be traced to the long term re-commissioning of Lewis Mumford and his observation that the magazine offers emotional support to professionals is seen in the efforts of the magazine to boost their confidence and built up their sense of brotherhood. They continued however to avoid "flag waving" political content. Discarding the more theoretical content of magazines such as the *Architectural Review*, or the impressive imagery and graphics of the *Forum* and *P/A* or *Arts and Architecture* the *Record* had the ideal harmony of all three aspects: the technical, intellectual and pictorial and its main aim was to conserve the core of professional, by remaining strategically conservative. Dichter's report lays proof that the magazine's played down profile has actually been methodized and even if it would bring short-term drawbacks, in the long term became the main competitive advantage against its competitors. It also comes to show how an editor like Emerson Goble – who was not educated as an architect and was not devoted to cultural or artistic matters – was given the helm of the *Architectural Record* by giving emphasis to "architects not architecture" thus responding to Dichter's bidding of addressing the "ego ideal" of his readers.

6 The image of the architect

The editorship of Emerson Goble, 1958-1967

"Let's face it: Architecture is packaged, just like cookies or cars, is labelled and sold."

– Emerson Goble

6.1 Introduction

With the death of John Knox Shear disrupting the upward course of the *Architectural Record*, a new period was inaugurated, characterised by the stable editorship of Emerson Goble, renewed resources from the part of the publisher F.W. Dodge Co. and the editorial campaign for the architectural profession's public relations under the "image of the architect" article series.

The first effort to establish a new framework for managing the tasks of the magazine following the passing of Shear was addressed on the editorial meeting of the 28th of January 1958. Emerson Goble discussing the future with a sense of urgency was saying to the editors:

"The program will change somewhat. We will try to confine the meetings to group concerns, and I will talk about individual matters with editors at other times. The real reason for this meeting is that everyone is entitled to know what is going on. The lead comes to me, as you know. [Judd Payne} wants to stay out of editorial direction as much as he can."

"At least two new editors are to be hired as fast as possible – probably three. There is real determination among management not to let AR slip, but to push it ahead and get the necessary manpower quickly. [Judd Payne] and others are concentrating on finding the new men; of the two we are looking for primarily, one should be oriented to design and the other to the technical side. The third man would be more or less in between, mainly a journalist. All three, of course, must have definite writing talent. "

"There is a firm determination that we maintain the values [John Knox Shear] built into the magazine—and that we maintain his public relations achievements. In other words, AR is to go forward, not just hold its own."⁶⁸³

Those propositions set by Goble indeed came to fruition. The editorial team saw a rapid restructuring that held fast along the lines organized by Shear. The following period was characterized on the one hand from the insistence of Goble and the Dodge management for the intrinsic public relations of the magazine and on the other hand, the extrinsic projection of the same ideas to the architectural profession.

The editors found themselves in the midst of this developments, and once they had achieved the expertise of the subject it was a matter of time before spreading these ideas to professional architects and were sanctioned by the AIA and individual practitioners which was a precursor to the 1970s introduction of the first consultancies of management and marketing services to architects. All these are encapsulated in the editorial campaign of “the image of the architect” authored by Goble and based on the field of marketing as explored by Dichter’s (see chp #5) that was transmitted in Goble’s credo: “we are for architects, not architecture.”

Other than the editorial restructuring and the “image of the architect” campaign, main significant developments in this particular history of the magazine were the 1962 merger of the publisher F.W. Dodge Co. with McGraw-Hill that added significant resources to the magazine and the gradual reduction of competition that most abruptly became obvious with the 1964 folding of the *Architectural Forum* by far the leading contestant in the field.

Another parenthetical episode, that run in parallel with its reporting services throughout 1960s, was the *Record*’s take on architectural criticism. Goble’s objection to criticism and his insistent support of mild criticism, if any at all, was in

⁶⁸³ PCF to All editors, 28 Jan. 1958.

striking contrast with the current attitude of the *Forum*, headed by the fiery Douglas Haskell and noted critic Jane Jacobs. Goble's "criticism on criticism" also produced issues of intrinsic friction in the *Architectural Record*, and specially with John Ely Burchard, Dean of MIT and consulting editor at the *Record*.

Further than this, from the mid 1960s there was gradual passing of the torch to the next generation of editors with the inclusion of Walter F. Wagner in the team and his assuming of the position of editor-in-chief in 1967, the year of Goble's retirement after 25 years in the leading posts of the *Architectural Record*.

6.2 The *Record's* editorial team: 1958-1967

6.2.1 The "architects' editor": Emerson Goble, 1901-1969

The discussion on the history of the *Architectural Record* during the years of 1958 to 1967 –the period of significant editorial stability– would not be complete without an introduction to Emerson Goble, a largely unknown figure in the annals of architectural history; who, however, set the basis for the establishment of the *Architectural Record* as the greatest enterprise of architectural journalism of the 20th c.

6.2.1.1 Background

Emerson Lloyd Goble, described by the New York Times as the "Architects' Editor" was born in 1901 in Elgin, Illinois, second child in a family of four whose parents Angie May Bradfield and William L. Goble were devoted pedagogues and administrators of local high schools.⁶⁸⁴ Following their trails, Emerson attended

⁶⁸⁴ Emerson's father, William L. Goble has been amply documented as the distinguished principal of Elgin High School for the better part of the first half of the 20th c. Some of the interesting facts about Goble's ancestor's from Williams' directory include: a) the Elgin High School library is named in William Goble's honour; b) their ancestors' Benjamin and Daniel Goble from Kentucky took pride in being friends of Abraham Lincoln while c) Emerson's great grand mother, Ann Brown Goble was a direct descendent of George Washington's mother.

the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, whose yearbook of 1923, names Goble as member of the Beta Delta Sigma fraternity⁶⁸⁵ and in the editorial staff the *Technograph*,⁶⁸⁶ the university's polytechnic school's newspaper. Goble is also seen in the back rows of those two associations' group photos. His B.S. degree in Electrical Engineering (in the words Jeanne Davern) turned out "too easy to be absorbing"⁶⁸⁷ and instead Goble pursued a career in journalism. From 1927 till 1934, Goble served as eastern editor of *Building Management* and from 1934 to 1941 he was editor of the Chicago-based *National Real Estate Journal* from where he gradually transitioned to architecture. His work on Housing Finance and Insurance, a critical issue in the late 1930s, and more specifically the "practical appraisal methods" (meaning, determining value in real estate) was featured in the Housing Index Digest of 1938 alongside work of people such as Catherine Bauer.⁶⁸⁸ His elevated status as expert of the housing real estate market was revealed with a lengthy article published in the *Record* in November 1940 titled "Realty eyes the architect and finds It needs him if-". A five-pages article were he refers to a survey on real estate agents and their view of the architect's role in the building market.⁶⁸⁹

There he remarks:

"the design skill of the architect is badly needed in the small-house field, but the architect is likely to find himself working in fundamentals, frequently minor details. Higher flights of creative genius are likely to go unappreciated."⁶⁹⁰

This astute realism combined with the ability to merge the fields of real estate and architecture were the main attributes of Goble that made him from the start an indispensable member of the *Record's* team. His market-oriented insights and ability to shift writing styles depending on his audience and content⁶⁹¹ were also fitting with the newly-elevated Publishing director Judd Payne and the incoming editor-in-chief Kenneth Stowell, whose book "modernizing buildings for profit" fell in the same category.

⁶⁸⁵ The Illio, 1923 pp 443.

⁶⁸⁶ Id. 231.

⁶⁸⁷ Emerson Goble: 1901-1969, *Architectural Record* Dec 1969.

⁶⁸⁸ Housing Index Digest, Vol. 2, (Nov. 1938).

⁶⁸⁹ The role of the architect and the different styles of architectural forms in the context of the building market was certainly in line with the *Record's* content of the time, especially under Stowell's leadership.

⁶⁹⁰ Emerson Goble, "Realty eyes the architect and finds It needs him if-", *Architectural Record*, (Nov. 1940).

⁶⁹¹ For example, his revealing take on modernism as hard-facts-calculating real estate expert in 1945 and Stowell's rejection modernism due to its bad re-sale prospects are very much similar.

6.2.1.2 Before the editorship

While initially Goble was assigned to the post of associate editor along with the experienced George Sanderson and Frank Lopez Jr.⁶⁹² from 1943 he assumed the position of managing-editor, replacing Roger Sherman, the last of the historic generation of *Record's* editors from the 1930s. As managing director, Goble was responsible for managerial issues supervising the working process and the application of the policies set by the editor-in-chief and the publishing director (first Holden, then Payne). He did however bring editorial benefits to the magazine. For example in the *Architectural Record* issue of March 1945 and ten-articles of "Modern Offices" done in collaboration with the editors of the *Building Management* journal.⁶⁹³ His inter-magazine profile using his contacts in real estate was conserved throughout his tenure and most of his editorial work was done in collaboration with other industrial and professional magazines, or titles that F.W. Dodge Co. was acquiring. *Forum's* Haskell reported that Goble had "closely cultivated" firms such as Albert Kahn's and that he kept certain fields "under his wing"⁶⁹⁴ such as that of hospital design, with Marshall Shaffer mentioned as his main contact.⁶⁹⁵ For his work in hospital design, Goble was presented with⁶⁹⁶ a citation from the Division of Hospital and Medical Facilities of the US public – the first citation ever given by that organization.⁶⁹⁷

Throughout his tenure as associate editor and managing editor, Goble slowly covered the gap between his engineering and real-estate background and the field of architecture and the cultural side that it encompasses. Working besides Stowell, Goble assimilated the traits of the editor-in-chief in networking with architects and railing the readers for the causes of the profession – always keeping in mind their financial issues. In his editorship, Goble reinstated the monthly one-page editorials with the same style as Stowell did in wartime America. With the departure of Stowell in the turn of the 1950s, during the editorial crisis that followed with the short-lived

⁶⁹² Goble's swift rise in the administration of the *Record* might have been another factor added to Lopez's dramatic departure in 1954 for *Progressive Architecture*; who even though was the most senior employee amongst the editors was not elevated to the level of managing director or editor-in-chief.

⁶⁹³ *Architectural Record*, (March 1945): 99-116.

⁶⁹⁴ Haskell to Beard, 24 Feb. 1954, folder: "*Architectural Record*, 1951-1964," Haskell papers.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁶ "Emerson Goble, 68, Architects' editor," [Obituary] *The New York Times*, (20 Nov. 1969).

⁶⁹⁷ Untitled newspaper cut-out from Goble's AIA membership file ca 1965. AIA archives.

tenures of Hauf and Mason,⁶⁹⁸ Goble slowly lifted more responsibilities and by the mid-1950s was found in charge of the of the philosophical and historical articles – most characteristically being the main contact to people such as Lewis Mumford and Henry Russel-Hitchcock. By January 1958 and his instant assuming of Shear’s post, Goble’s experience, contacts, administrative skills and cogent communication style had added to a profile of authority in all the fields of the work. His editorship that begun as “interim” was effectively rendered into a regular post. This development didn’t go unchallenged when John Ely Burchard was brought closer to the editorial team, the MIT historian and dean of humanities who had also been a candidate for the editorship in 1954.

Both in contrast to the figures of Burchard and that of the main competitor, Douglas Haskell (*Forum* editor-in-chief), Goble covered what he was lacking in an architectural and cultural background with managerial professionalism and market-oriented solutions for the working architects. The expanding business model of F.W. Dodge Co. that was headed towards the domination of all industrial and professional publications through its merger with McGraw-Hill as well as the increased professionalization of architects and the changing building market seemed all to align against Burchard’s intellectual historicism or Haskell’s flagrant criticism and more in line with Goble’s pragmatist moto: “we re’ for architects, not architecture.”⁶⁹⁹

6.2.2 Main editorial team

The editorial team at the time of Goble’s assuming of the editorship in January 1958 [Fig. 6.1 and 6.2], consisted of several experienced members such as Elizabeth Kendall Thompson, senior editor and in-charge of the *Record*’s Western Edition and James Hornbeck, described as young and aggressive⁷⁰⁰ and responsible reporting on New-York architects⁷⁰¹ who was elevated to senior editor with the turn of 1958

⁶⁹⁸ After Hauf’s departure in 1951, Goble served for several months as interim editor-in-chief while all throughout Mason’s tenure (1951-1954) – who was formally an executive editor and not editor-in-chief– the *Record* was run under the triad of Mason, Goble and Payne. (See #3 FN....). This pattern extended also during Shear’s tenure (1954-1958) when the trips and personal-relation responsibilities of the editor-in-chief meant that Goble was the main responsible for sustaining the editorial work of the New York office on an every-day basis.

⁶⁹⁹ Jeanne Davern, “Emerson Goble,” *Architectural Record*, (Dec 1969):9.

⁷⁰⁰ Haskell to Beard, op. cit.

⁷⁰¹ Forsey to All editors, 16 Jan 1957, black binder, EKT archive.

acquiring more responsibilities. The associates editors included Herbert Smith, notable for his editing of the *Record Houses* special issues that were by then established annually; Mildred Schmertz, responsible for re-designing the magazine as directed by Shear and who later on became the first female editor-in-chief of the *Record*; and the long-standing editors Robert Fisher, Jeanne Davern, who became an influential figure in Goble's "image of the architect" campaign and the experienced Florence van Wyck, responsible for contacting all external contributors and making sure they honour their delivery deadlines.

6.2.3 Additional members

Further than this, as described in the initial address of Goble to the editors, the first half of 1958 saw the incorporation of senior editor William Dudley Hunt and associate editor Grace Anderson as well as the assignment of increasing responsibility to valuable members of the existing personnel, while the management remained in the steady hands of Emerson Goble and the administration of Dodge publishers Judd Payne, (publishing director) and Bob Marshall (business manager).⁷⁰²

As for the post of the managing-editor, although nowhere made explicit, it was filled-in by Payne till 1964 when Hornbeck was officially promoted to the post. The picture was completed with an array of assisting editors, mostly females of short tenures assigned some of whom were slowly incorporated to the main editorial team such as Margaret Farmer and Anne Keffer;⁷⁰³ the art-department headed by the experienced Eugene Hawley and the industrial consultants of F.W. Dodge Co. Thomas Holden (industry relations), Clyde Shute (Statistical) and Clifford Dunnells Jr. (field research) who, apart from Goble, were the only regular employees throughout the period under examination (1942-1967).

⁷⁰² In several letters of that period it is being repeated that Goble, Payne and Marshall would convene for hours "pooling our reasoning with respect to desirable changes in content and emphasis" of the magazine and producing memorandums for the editors. Source: Payne to Thompson, 29 April 1959, folder "Payne 1959," EKT archive.

⁷⁰³ Florence van Wyck was also a similar case of a successful desk editor before becoming associate in 1947.



GOBLE, Editor
AIA ... engineer ... joined the Record in 1941.



HORNBECK, Senior Editor
AIA ... practicing architect: architectural designer Skidmore, Owings & Merrill and Harrison & Abramovitz ... joined the Record in 1952.



HUNT, Senior Editor
AIA ... practicing architect ... author "The Contemporary Curtain Wall" ... joined the Record in 1958.

1



THOMPSON, Senior Editor (West)
AIA ... member, American Nuclear Society, Association of Architectural Historians ... joined the Record in 1937.



SCHMERTZ, Associate Editor
graduate architect ... American Institute of Graphic Arts ... architectural designer with firm of John Schurko ... joined the Record in 1956.



FOXHALL, Associate Editor
thirteen years associate editor Air Conditioning, Heating and Ventilating magazine ... joined the Record in 1960.

3



DAVERN, Senior Editor
associate member, New York Chapter, AIA ... joined the Record in 1948.



FISCHER, Senior Editor
engineer ... Board of Directors, N.Y. Chapter CSI ... member ASCE, ASHVE ... associate member, New York Chapter, AIA ... joined the Record in 1948.



SMITH, Associate Editor
AIA ... practicing architect ... instructor in architectural design (Tulane) ... joined the Record in 1949.

2



ANDERSON, Associate Editor



RAHM, Editorial Assistant



KEFFER, Associate Editor



HAWLEY, Design Director



CALLANT, Assistant Editor



CULLANO, Assoc. Design Director

4

FIG. 6.1 Presentation of the Record's editorial team from ca. 1966 publicity material. EKT archive.

119 W. 40th St
IN 1958



FIG. 6.2 Sketch plan of the offices of the Architectural Record in New York ca 1958, with the names of the editorial team in their respective working spaces: Goble, Hornbeck, Hunt, Davern, Fisher, Smith, Schmertz, van Wyck, Anderson, Jonathan Barnett and Gene Hawley. Source: Jonathan Barnett in conversation with author.

6.2.4 The *Record's* image

Despite all these, the *Record's* public image was affected by the loss of Shear. Characteristically, in a meeting between Thompson and Dione Neutra, the public relations responsible for Neutra-Alexander partnership, while discussing the topic of a “portfolio article” was sceptical about the *Record's* new set-up. But Thompson steadfastly reassured her that:

“we contemplated no change from the objectives which John particularly had had since those were objectives of the staff, and that if there were any change it would be in deepening and broadening the kind of material we presented.”⁷⁰⁴

The immediate measures to address this hit to the prestige of the magazine, was the listing of John Ely Burchard, Dean of Humanities of MIT as “consulting editor,” second only to Goble in the colophon list and the attempt to attract notable scholars including the long-time associate Henry Russell Hitchcock, Albert Bush-Brown and once more, Lewis Mumford who despite declining having his name on the masthead⁷⁰⁵ as consulting or contributing editor, he continued contributing articles throughout the late 1950s and 1960s, only now at higher rates.^{706,707} [Fig. 6.3] Additionally, moving towards long-time planning, the *Record* management brought the magazine under the extensive investigation of market specialists. Firstly, the Eastman survey of 1958 that explored issues of readership, circulation and advertising performances through thorough statistical research and analysis of hundreds of readers and following that, the 1960 Dichter report (see Chp #5) that pooled a much smaller group of readers but in much greater depth through the psychoanalytical interviews of Dichter's and explored the issue of the magazine's leadership, through its image and the image of its readers.

⁷⁰⁴ Thompson to Goble, 5 Jan 1959, folder: “1958-9 Goble,” EKT archive.

⁷⁰⁵ Goble to Mumford, 6 June 1958, folder: “*Architectural Record* (from),” Mumford papers, University of Pennsylvania.

⁷⁰⁶ Mumford handwritten notes on a letter by Goble from 1958 mentions that the discussed compensation for his *Record* articles was \$1500 per piece, which amounts to more than \$13000 in current value. The fact that the *Record* could support such expenses, attests both to Goble's search for balancing the technical/theoretical content ration as well as Dodge's financial capacity. Ibid.

⁷⁰⁷ Another instance shedding light on Mumford's relation to the *Record* and why his criticism-style was preferable is the following passage from the editors meetings minutiae, 20 May 1958, Emerson Goble speaking: “*Starting out on one long-range aim, JP [Judd Payne] and I had lunch yesterday with Mumford, hoping to get him to participate in AR affairs. He is strong, of course, not so much in the criticism of buildings as in discussion of their relationship to their environment. One thing he would like to do is take apart Connecticut General. (Incidentally, he told us he was happy that his philosophical pieces in some other magazines achieved 10% readership. JP pointed out to him that our philosophical articles get 30% or more!)* Source: PCF to All editors, 20 May 1958, black binder, EKT archive.



FIG. 6.3 Mumford and Goble held a long and productive collaboration that reached its height during Goble's tenure as editor-in-chief. Source: *Architectural Record*, Jan. 1954, usmodernist.com.



FIG. 6.4 John Ely Burchard, MIT dean, consulting editor and proponent of criticism.

In all, the character of the magazine through the period of 1958 to 1967 reflected the personalities and work of the editors and their external contributors that provided the magazine's main content, the directions of the F.W. Dodge managers that set forth the publishing and advertising policies and the input of pioneering marketing surveys such as Dichter's that touched for the first time the field of architecture and which, Goble and his editors assisted to disseminate to professionals.

6.3 Goble, Burchard and the debate on criticism

6.3.1 John Ely Burchard, consulting editor

At the turn of the 1960s, John Ely Burchard (1898-1975) [Fig. 6.4] was the *Record's* only person to stand separate from Goble's model of leadership. Initially considered for the editorship in 1954 (before Shear), and then being a regular contributor on philosophical, critical and historical articles, the MIT Dean was re-introduced in 1958 as "consulting editor." A role that in any other case would be considered trivial, was now the second name to appear on the colophon only after Goble's. And the reason for that was that Burchard was employed to act as the balancing factor to the

editor-in-chief's conservative approach.⁷⁰⁸ In contrast to Goble, Burchard enjoyed national recognition as the first dean of the rapidly influential School of Humanities of MIT and for his numerous publications as an art and architectural historian. What made Burchard a fitting character to the professional magazine was that beyond his academic activities, he had connections to a wide network of public relations as well as a experience in the industrial and professional sector.⁷⁰⁹

Burchard's background is surprisingly rich for someone that is mostly cited for his administrative and academic oeuvre. Born in 1898 in Minnesota, Burchard attended the College of Liberal Arts before serving in the Medical Corps during the first World War until 1919, when he took up his education anew acquiring a M.Sc. in architectural engineering from MIT in 1925. Staying in MIT after his studies, Burchard worked as a functionary and part-time instructor in English and architecture. At the same time, he engaged with journalism writing for the *Boston Evening Transcript* and the *Boston Globe*. But more impressively, since 1930, Burchard joined the staff of Bemis Industries Inc., a company that pioneered pre-fabricated housing construction after the first World War and nationwide standardization of the building industry; more specifically, it applied the first commercial use of the 4-inch grid that was adopted by the War Office in 1941. With the death of the company's founder Albert Farwell Bemis in 1936, John Ely Burchard, who was by then ascended to the position of Vice-President became director of the newly-funded Albert Farwell Bemis Foundation, a separate division of MIT with the rank of professor. As head of the research institute, Burchard was in charge of housing research and assigned to attract leading designers to the institute such as Alvaar Aalto, Paul Nelson, Antonin Raymond and Siegfried Giedion. Burchard's knowledge and influence also extended internationally, mostly due to his military experiences during WWII⁷¹⁰ that allowed him to travel extensively.

⁷⁰⁸ When asked who would be the next editor-in-chief of the *Record* in 1958, *Forum's* Doug Haskell was presuming that Burchard –not Goble– would get the position: “You ask who might be the next editor of *Architectural Record*. My guess is that they will comb the colleges first for another dean. Their first try will be John Burchard of MIT, whom they almost got once before – business salary versus academic salary. If they fail with John, there is another very capable man at MIT, Burnham Kelly. (Kelly by the way, has our viewpoint more strongly than anybody else at MIT.) They might see is Kamphoefner at North Carolina is tired of deaning. Rudolph of Yale might be lured, although he is freshly installed there. I don't think they would try for Schweiker of Carnegie Tech, and they might or might not try for Rapson of the University of Minesota. Beyond this, I won't try! Haskell to Charley Bear, 29 January 1958, folder: “*Architectural Record*”, Haskell Papers, Columbia.

⁷⁰⁹ Burchard's father, John S. Burchard, was also a high profile member of the same organization who had even authored a *Record* article on the research results Bemis Inc. on the topic of housing in 1934. Sources: *Architectural Record*, (Jan 1934):3-8; HHFA Technical Bulletin No. 1 (November 1947): 52 and the finding aids of the Albert Farwell Bemis Foundation and the John Ely Burchard Papers of MIT.

⁷¹⁰ From 1940 to 1945, Dean Burchard served again in the Second World War as executive officer of a committee of the National Research Council; chief of one of the eighteenth divisions of the National Research

Furthermore, Burchard was gaining a wider appeal among architects as an author of articles and books on architectural history. All of these, made Burchard a remarkable addition to the magazine from 1958 onwards.

As Goble put it himself when addressing his editors:

“Some immediate help will be provided by John Burchard, who is to be a consulting editor; he will devote about two days a month to AR. This will give us another contact – especially in Europe– and add strength in the field generally (he may cover some important meetings for us); he will also continue writing for us.”⁷¹¹

Burchard’s main contribution naturally consisted of theoretical articles, such as: international reviews starting in Australia⁷¹² and continuing with France,⁷¹³ Finland⁷¹⁴ and Italy^{715, 716}; philosophical treatises on contemporary aesthetics such as “Humanity our client,”⁷¹⁷ “The Dilemma of Architecture,”⁷¹⁸ “Architecture for the Good Life,”⁷¹⁹ and “Architecture in a restless age,⁷²⁰”; as well as feature articles of crucial importance such as the “Architecture in the Atomic Age.”

Behind the pages of the magazine though, Burchard’s further responsibilities – according to editorial meetings– were to consult the *Record* on all the high profile

Committee; chairman of the two ad hoc committees engaged in studying the problems of navigation and of demolition of obstacles to landing operations – both in preparation for the great amphibious operations which marked the last phase of the war; and deputy chief of the Office of Field Service. He was chairman of the Joint Army-Navy-OSRCD Committee on Scientific Information Policy and of the OSRD Publications Committee; and a member of the Committee on Conservation of Cultural Resources of the National Resources Planning Board. As part of his war work, Dean Burchard headed four military-scientific missions to theatres of operation which included the United Kingdom, the Caribbean, the Central Pacific and Germany. In recognition of his war efforts he was awarded the Medal for Merit, the nation’s highest civilian award, by President Truman in February 1948. [Source: “Dr. Burchard Biography,” folder: “CV and Bio info,” Burchard papers, MIT, 2]

⁷¹¹ PCF to All editors, 28 Jan. 1958, black binder, EKT archive.

⁷¹² John Ely Burchard, “The state of architecture in Australia,” *Architectural Record*, (Aug 1952): 105

⁷¹³ John Ely Burchard, “A Pilgrimage: Ronchamp, Raincy, Vezelay,” *Architectural Record*, (March 1958): 171.

⁷¹⁴ John Ely Burchard, “Finland and architect Aalto,” *Architectural Record*, (January 1959): 126.

⁷¹⁵ John Ely Burchard, “A parable via Milano and Roma, Part I,” *Architectural Record*, (July 1960): 123.

⁷¹⁶ John Ely Burchard, “A parable via Milano and Roma, Part II,” *Architectural Record*, (August 1960)” 157.

⁷¹⁷ John Ely Burchard, “Humanity – our client,” *Architectural Record*, (July 1951): 86.

⁷¹⁸ John Ely Burchard, “The dilemma of architecture,” *Architectural Record*, (May 1955): 193.

⁷¹⁹ John Ely Burchard, “Architecture for the good life,” *Architectural Record*, (July 1956): 197.

⁷²⁰ John Ely Burchard, “Architecture in a restless age,” *Architectural Record*, (May 1959)” 174.

architects featured in the “portfolio” articles of the *Record* (e.g. Pei, Aalto, Saarinen, Noyes, Gropius, Johnson, Breuer, Lundy, Weese, Warnecke, Neutra, Raymond, Thiry, Wurster, Mies, Koch, and Schweiker) and to be in charge of the “AAA-type things from Europe.”⁷²¹ Burchard was also mentioned to accompanied Goble in the recurring meetings in-between the editors of *Record*, *Forum* and *P/A* that were instigated by Shear (see chp #4).⁷²²

He was in conclusion, the man that was supposed to bring legitimacy and intellectual rigour to the *Record*, balancing Goble’s lack of recognizability, academic connections and knowledge of the fields of history and theory of architecture. Of course, Goble would not tolerate this situation for too long.

6.3.2 Haskell’s involvement

Regarding the competition, *Forum* had entered a new phase of its editorial history with Haskell acquiring a laissez faire policy after the separation of *Forum* from *House & Home* and making a stronger push for his idea of architectural magazines as “taste-makers” (see chp #4). In his line of thinking, *Forum* wanted to rail both *P/A* and the *Record* to *Forum*’s campaigns of criticizing urging social or professional matters, therefore expanding the magazines’ and architecture’s influence on the public realm – a policy that emanated from TIME Inc.’s expansionist strategy as a whole.

In the mid 1950s, during Shear’s tenure at the *Record*, Haskell had found fertile ground to built up critical campaigns that allied the magazines, such as the Robie house conservation case (chp #4). But from 1958 onwards, Goble was more and more reluctant to follow Haskell’s *Forum*’s “flag waiving” outbursts. Realizing this, Haskell turned to Burchard for support, shortly after the Dean’s assuming permanent responsibilities at the *Record*. With the opportunity of the Capitol East Front extension of 1958, for which he was strongly protesting,⁷²³

⁷²¹ PCF to All editors, 25 March 1958, black binder, EKT archive, 2.

⁷²² In a letter to Hitchcock, where Goble was inviting the historian to attend the informal meetings of the architectural magazines’ editors, listed the attendees: Haskell, Smith and Hazen for the *Forum*; Magrauder, Creighton and Atkin of *Progressive Architecture*; himself (Goble) and Burchard for the *Record*. Goble to Hitchcock, 14 Feb. 1958. Folder: “*Architectural Record*”, Henry Russel Hitchcock papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

⁷²³ The 1958 extension of the east front of the US Capitol in Washington DC was a project that included the partial reconstruction of the building’s east façade to add more space to the overcrowded offices and galleries

Haskell wrote:

“Dear John, in view of your new position as consulting editor to the *Record*, I would like to write you on a matter about which I have already spoken to Em Goble -- that is the business of the Capitol East Front extension. Em says the building is so unimportant that he thinks the fuss is a storm in a teacup. On this I would thoroughly disagree, as I told Em, because no readier building exists on which to raise the issues of architecture for the general public. They love it, they visit it by ten thousand a day; it is important to them.”⁷²⁴

Beside his argumentation of the project that “put architects under the thumb of a contractor” and that empowered “those vestigial classicists,” Haskell was pressing Burchard against Goble:

“Em thinks that he has simply been laying the facts on the line and letting architects ‘make up their own minds,’ but this is not an instance where there is a truth that can be arrived at by quoting statements. [...] I hope you can persuade the *Record* to enter this with the rest of us and against the purely job-hunting Engineering New *Record*”⁷²⁵

Despite Haskell’s best efforts, his campaign held minor influence on the *Record*. While Burchard was convinced and voiced publicly his opinion, Goble resisted to letting him speak in the name of the *Record*.⁷²⁶

inside. The project raised fierce reaction from the architecture world, since amongst other things, was directly commissioned to contractors without considerable consultation from architects, and was raising the historic east front of the building instead of extending the wings or the relatively newer west front. Haskell found himself leading the fight which, as he explained to Burchard was “an educational episode” and a “critical battle for the architectural profession.” Along with architects Ralph Walker FAIA and Lorimer Rich FAIA, he co-authored a paper at the AIA national convention of 1958 (Cleveland) and was called to speak at the US Senate “as an individual and as a member of the Committee to Preserve the National Capitol” (Subcommittee on Public Works, 17th Feb. 1958). He was also featured at Washington Post’s articles on the same subject (13th Aug 1958 and 9th April 1958). Source: Working group, Hearing before a subcommittee of the committee on appropriations house of representatives: ninety-fifth congress, part 2. (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1977), 86.

⁷²⁴ Haskell to Burchard, 27 March 1958, folder: “1951-1964 *Architectural Record*,” Haskell Papers Columbia University.

⁷²⁵ Ibid.

⁷²⁶ Goble’s response to the whole issue is surprisingly abrupt, showcasing his immediate assumption of action, his polar opposition to Haskell’s polemic stance, and to Burchard’s sentiment of adding the *Record* to the public fight: “Dear John, After being missing for a couple of days with a flu bug, I came in this morning to be surrounded with this controversy over the East Front of the Capitol. I am afraid I shall have to resist your efforts, as well as those of Doug Haskell, to get the *Record* into this squabble. I realize, of course, that Doug’s position is (jeepers, I listened to him for an hour the other night) that such a controversy as this is very healthy for architecture, and that a battle for a principle of aesthetics should not be lost. I am afraid I cannot agree, however, with this sort of flag waving. If it is good architecture I don’t think it is good for architects.

Finally, getting no results in terms of a public endorsement of *Forum's* fight by the *Record*, Haskell came into conclusions, both for the *Record's* future compromising stance on criticism, as well as, Burchard's role in all this. For him, Burchard was no longer able to construct valid criticism and his role was one of a networking access to MIT:

“there is no question that the dean is a learned man and he is highly regarded in architectural circles, but thus far any specific criticism of his –other than generalized trend articles—have been directed at buildings safely distant such as Le Corbusier's Ronchamp. Since the time we learned dean began having an active interest in the fleshpots of non-academic journalism, some odd things have been happening in relation to the journalistic accessibility of material emanating in the MIT vicinity.”⁷²⁷

Goble on the other hand, had a different view. On the editorial meeting of April 1958, he was quick to dismiss the whole East Front issue as a misunderstanding, that only validated the *Record's* professionalism:

“Haskell asked AR and PA to join the opposition. Haskell then issued a statement saying that AR and PA were with AF in the opposition. A later release from *Forum* quoted EG's letter saying AR has taken no position and that AR is a professional, informative magazine, etc.”⁷²⁸

Or, as he stated to the architect of the Capitol, George Stewart:

“We have taken no position either for or against the proposed extension, and have, as you said attempted to present the facts objectively to our readers.[...] Since *Architectural Record* makes a point of being a strictly professional journal, we tend to resist any efforts to involve us in public squabbles over aesthetic disagreements.”⁷²⁹

In truth, the whole incident of the *Record's* dropping of criticism during Goble's tenure was indicative of the *Record's* and *Forum's* different business strategies. Since *Forum* was after wide circulation, criticism was its main weapon of acquiring visibility.

It sets architects against other architects.” Source: goble to Burchard, 10 April 1958, folder: “*Architectural Record* correspondence,” Burchard papers, MIT.

⁷²⁷ Haskell to Benton, Dyer and Bear, 30 Sept. 1959. folder: “*Architectural Record* 1951-1964,” Haskell papers, Columbia.

⁷²⁸ PCF to All editors, 22 Apr. 1958, black binder, EKT archive.

⁷²⁹ Goble to George Stewart, and Burchard (cc'ed), undated, 9 Apr. 1958, folder: “*Architectural Record*, correspondence,” Burchard papers, MIT.

While for the *Record*, whose main obligation was towards its advertisers and had no interest in circulation unless it affected its core readership of practicing architects that supplied Dodge with their wealth of data, criticism was only hurtful.

It was through these ideals that Goble would go on in producing his own “image of the architect” with alliances towards marketers, his superiors in Dodge and the sector of industrial and professional publications. But first he would do away with Burchard.

6.3.3 **Fallout between Goble and Burchard**

In the early months of 1958, the situation was still unclear for whether Goble or someone else would fill permanently the position of John Knox Shear. With Judd Payne distancing himself from editorial direction (as he did during Mason’s tenure), Goble held all executive responsibilities.⁷³⁰ But Payne was still on the lookout for another man: Albert Bush-Brown, MIT professor and close collaborator of Burchard’s.⁷³¹ At the same time, Burchard himself was once again a nominee for the job. After his acceptance of the position of consulting editor, Burchard sent Goble a letter explaining in a long list his proposals for the future development of the magazine which was bluntly turned down by Goble, possibly because Burchard felt threatened or that he was reaching outreach further than his position allowed. Inquiring to learn information on all ongoing articles as well as the compiled directories of upcoming architects with a sense of hurry for reformations,⁷³² Goble gave him a disheartening response: “Relax, John, all is not lost.”⁷³³

Clarifying the situation, Goble explained that the course of operations was taking place smoothly, without Burchard strongly in the picture:

“**Might as well get it straight: Judd [Payne] and I are as close together in our thoughts and objective in this magazine as two people could possibly be.**”

⁷³⁰ PCF to All editors, 28 Jan. 1958, black binder, EKT archive.

⁷³¹ Bush-Brown and Burchard co-authored the seminal book “Architecture of America: A social and cultural history,” Little & Brown, Boston, 1961.

⁷³² Burchard to Goble, 24 February, 1958, folder: “*Architectural Record*, correspondence,” Burchard papers, MIT.

⁷³³ Goble to Burchard, 26 February, 1958, Id.

We are looking for some man like Bush-Brown, for the very reason that we do not intend to slip in the brighter parts of our work.”⁷³⁴

Following the “east front controversy” that interceded, in April of 1958 Bush-Brown declined to join the *Record*⁷³⁵ and the definite bestowment of the position of editor-in-chief was handed officially to Goble in July. To these developments Burchard was left frustrated, which he confided to Payne:

“this definitive appointment together with a number of subordinate appointments reported in Minutes of the various editorial meetings raise the question as to what my future relations to the *Record* ought to be”⁷³⁶⁷³⁷

It was shortly after this, that Burchard’s suggestions and counselling turned into complaints and expressions of frustration with Payne trying to ease the escalating situation and ensuring Burchard that everything is being done “in good faith”.⁷³⁸ And while one of the final criticisms of Burchard’s was documented on the editorial meeting by the end of 1960,⁷³⁹ no major change took place. As Haskell assessed the situation in 1961, Burchard’s contribution to the *Record* was by then of limited responsibility; and that simply:

“the [*Record*] presents [Burchard]’s own stuff in the manner in which he likes to have it presented, a connection that was settled by the time of John Knox Shear, and that “there is no great tie with Goble”.⁷⁴⁰

The diffusion of the situation came to an abrupt end in the summer of 1961, which despite its complicated entanglements and personal differences, came down to

⁷³⁴ Ibid.

⁷³⁵ Considering that Burchard was acting as mediator in between Payne and Bush-Brown, it is possible that Burchard discouraged himself Bush-Brown from accepting the job offer, either because he wanted it for himself or due to his differences of opinion with Goble and Payne as to the direction of the magazine.

⁷³⁶ Burchard to Payne, 21 July 1958, folder: “*Architectural Record*, correspondence,” Burchard papers.

⁷³⁷ Burchard transmitted the same sentiment to Goble too, with more clear intentions: “now that the house of the *Record* has been put in order it is not likely that I can make a contribution that is worth what I am paid and that this matter ought to be reviewed.” Burchard to Goble, 21 July 1958, Burchard papers.

⁷³⁸ Payne to Burchard, 23 July 1958, folder: “*Architectural Record*, correspondence,” Burchard papers.

⁷³⁹ “Notes on editorial staff meeting Nov 29 1960,” folder: “*Architectural Record*, correspondence,” Burchard papers.

⁷⁴⁰ Haskell to Paine and Fey, 6 Feb. 1961. Folder: “1951-1964 *Architectural Record*,” Haskell papers Columbia University.

Burchard's criticism of the *Record's* business model, and the value and involvement of advertisers in editorial matters.

"I have constantly urged on Em that he be firm about the relations between advertising sales and editorial content. I have never thought that advertising policy was used venally to impose content on the magazine, and I have never been sure whether the lack of crusading vigor was due to caution imposed by advertising or to the instincts of the earlier crusading editors like Croly, Mikkelsen, Kocher and Schuyler. What I have talked about a good deal is my thought that it was folly to allow the advertising sales to condition the size of the editorial content month by month instead of on a quarterly or semi-annual basis, and the relation of the table of contents and other important parts of the editorial matter to the advertising matter. I have constantly urged a clear distinction between them as I have felt the readers' interests are prejudiced by the present arrangements."⁷⁴¹

In June 1962 Emerson Goble announced 5 architects that would form a new panel of editorial consultants of the *Architectural Record* scheduled to serve for a year. Those were: Walter Gropius, Edward Larrabee Barnes, Paul Rudolph, Robert Anshen and Robert F. Hastings succeeding John Ely Burchard after three years as a consulting editor.⁷⁴² But it was precisely the developments that Burchard delineated above that were taking effect.

As Haskell explained cheerfully the situation in the opposing camp:

"We have the strongest reasons for believing that the rapture came about because Burchard wanted *Record* to be a firmer, broader, more positive magazine than Emerson Goble wanted it to be. For obvious reasons, I'll not go farther into the non-competitive, constructive conversion upon this situation that *Forum* might undertake."⁷⁴³

Whether if and how *Forum* attempted to make use of their perceived competitive edge on the issue of criticism, it is largely unknown – or at least not yet "open." But Haskell's and Burchard's conviction that criticism is innate and necessary to architectural journalism was the big rift that separated the *Record* of the 1960s with the other magazines. It was by 1958, already obvious that Goble was moving towards another direction; for as he had untrusted to Hitchcock, criticism was for

⁷⁴¹ Burchard to Bob Marshall, F.W.Dodge Co. executive vice president, 18 July 1961, folder: "*Architectural Record*, correspondence," Burchard papers.

⁷⁴² *Architectural Record*, (May, 1962): 12. (Published belatedly in June).

⁷⁴³ Haskell to Beard and Lawson, 21 June 1961. Folder: "1951-1964 *Architectural Record*", Haskell papers, Columbia University.

him the “wrapper breaker”⁷⁴⁴, the prestigious cover content but the “bread and butter”⁷⁴⁵ sections were the ones that held priority.

Behind the pages of the magazine, Goble was laying the situation bare as an opposition between sophistication and commercialism:

“AR reached a height of sophistication in the 30’s while it was reaching its lowest in advertising. [Judd Payne] in about 1938 gave AR a new aim; to provide valuable information. Now AR is the second monthly magazine in volume of advertising. In other words, the informational approach gradually worked. This may be a form of commercialism, but it is also a challenge; it is adult education at a high level. Architecture is vitally important in our lives. How do we go about getting this across?”

“It is hard to name a field in which there is greater need for basic information than architecture. We help architects – who control 80% of all commercial buildings – do better buildings. We have to keep their goals in mind; most of them must focus their work on the specific needs of people.”

“This is their everyday, bread-and-butter concern. The outstanding architects are different – they can branch out to new theories of design. And we certainly won’t back off from design. We should also continue help architects fight against the steady deterioration of our environment. The world of technology, too, is waiting for the kind of order and understanding the top architects have. All these must continue to be our concerns.”⁷⁴⁶

The episode of the fallout between Burchard and Goble is indicative to the shift in the editorial journalism of the time, away from cultural engagements unless they are operationalized and a complete devotion to the professionalization of the architect, seizing the opportunity of the changing market field to mediate between architects and their audience and shape their image on their behalf. These concerns are what gradually led Goble to his in-depth consideration of the architect’s contact with his markets and his development of the “image of the architect” article series.

⁷⁴⁴ From a 1952 letter to Hudnut, during Goble’s interim tenure as acting editor-in-chief in between Mason and Shear’s editorships, Goble was discussing his proposal of the “wrapper breaker” with regards to the *Record’s* use of criticism. Source: Goble to Hudnut, 15 Jan 1952, Hudnut archives, Harvard U.

⁷⁴⁵ Burchard to Goble, 24 February 1958, Burchard papers, folder: “*Architectural Record*, correspondence,” Burchard papers, MIT.

⁷⁴⁶ PCF to All editors, 28 Jan. 1958, black binder, EKT archive, 2.

While maintaining a strong hold on the professionals and retaining advertisers with an increased emphasis on technical content specifications.⁷⁴⁷

As Goble mentioned regarding the Capitol controversy to George Stewart after refraining from exercising criticism:

“Perhaps it is fitting to add that the *Record* has some of its own projects which we are urging upon architects, and I should have to believe that the realization of them would be more important to the profession and to the public than is the resolution of this one issue of what is a proper base for the Capitol dome.”⁷⁴⁸

This “project” of the *Record*, was the editorial campaign for the image of the architect that left Goble's mark on the magazine.

6.4 The image of the architect: Goble's editorial campaign

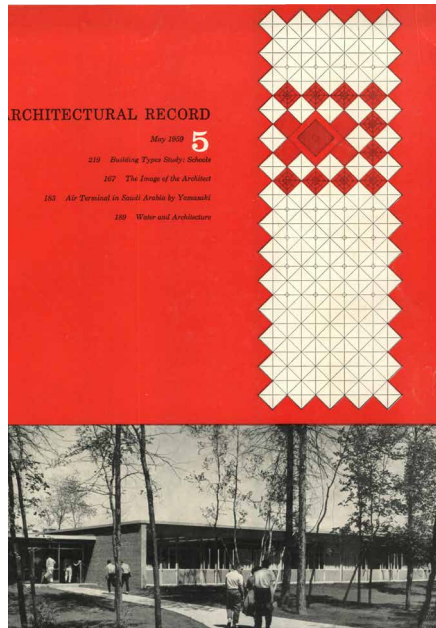
Goble's greatest contribution as editor-in-chief was briefly described by Jeanne Davern (managing editor), as a pivotal series of articles under the title “the image of the architect” that began “a searching examination of the changing role of the architect.”⁷⁴⁹ The ideas expressed there, were also sided with flaring opinion-editorials of Goble's which bore parallels with Dichter's 1959–60 marketing report (chp#5) as well as further disseminations of them through the external activities of the *Record* editors and in conclusion, as Davern again observes, were “strongly influential in the development in vast changes in the attitudes and policies of the American Institute of Architects.”⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁷ PCF to All editors, 28 Mar. 1958, black binder, EKT archive, 3.

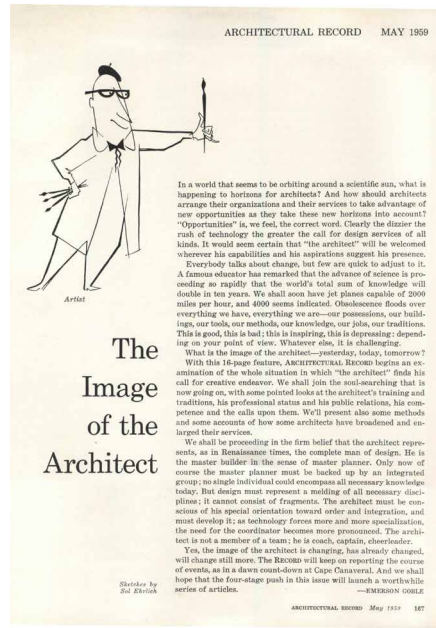
⁷⁴⁸ Goble to George Stewart, 9 April 1958, op.cit. Burchard papers, MIT.

⁷⁴⁹ Jeanne Davern, “Emerson Goble: 1901–1969,” *Architectural Record*, (December 1969):9.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid.



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FIG. 6.5 The May 1959 article that opened the "Image of the architect" series and the July 1966 75th anniversary issue that transmitted the campaign to the AIA and posited the dilemma of criticism vs public relations. Source: usmodernist.com

6.4.1 Editorial content

6.4.1.1 Feature articles

The May 1959 issue [Fig. 6.5] of the *Architectural Record*, presented its readers with a four-article section under the unifying title "The image of the architect" that initiated the theme on which Goble and his editors would most emphatically ground their practice throughout the 1960s. The sixteen-pages section, opened with an introductory essay of Goble's:

"What is the image of the architect—yesterday, today, tomorrow? [...] *Architectural Record* begins an examination of the whole situation in which "the architect" finds his call for creative endeavor. We shall join the soul-searching that is now going on, with some pointed looks at the architect's training and traditions, his professional

status and his public relations, his competence and the calls upon them. We'll present also some methods and some accounts of how some architects have broadened and enlarged their services.”⁷⁵¹

Despite the all-round description of this opening segment, what was at the core of Goble's intentions, was the conscious re-examination of the architect's public image, to their clients, the greater public as well as their own self-image. A public relations campaign at a historical moment. At a time that the AIA had just prepared their public relations regulations (see Chp #3), was opening up the discussion to architects and debating whether or not to allow marketing and management consultations to individual architectural practices (which happened in the 1970s).

Those first group of articles of 1959, included the survey “The architect as others see him” that featured interviews with “client groups”; the more theoretical examination “Architecture in a restless age” by none other than Burchard; the practice oriented “Architectural analysis” by the office of Caudill, Rowlett and Scott and an article of Edmund R. Purves, FAIA, executive director of the AIA that declared that “the ‘public’ is a better word than the ‘client’”⁷⁵² and that “the American Institute of Architects, the magazines, and the advertisers have made great strides in educating the public to the need for good planning and salubrious surroundings.”⁷⁵³ This tripartite alliance, was organized to mediate between the architect and the newly-formed market of “corporate clients,” a result of the booming American businesses that brought with them the concept of “area development” as defined by the Committee on Economic Development. The series was continued with more FAIA executives in July issue's “The architect and society” by Robert E. Alexander FAIA and “The architect's orbit of influence” of John Noble Richards, AIA President.⁷⁵⁴ But it was in the November issue that Goble found more fertile ground to disseminate the discussion in academia in the article “Image of the future architect” that featured contributions from no less than seventeen deans of architecture schools and members of the *Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture*.

⁷⁵¹ Emerson Goble, “The image of the architect,” *Architectural Record*, (May 1959): 167.

⁷⁵² Edmund R. Purves, “Today's concepts of architectural practice,” *Architectural Record*, (May 1959): 169.

⁷⁵³ Ibid. 170.

⁷⁵⁴ John Noble Richard's “The architect's orbit of influence” and August Heckscher's “The new measure of the architect” and the “Image of the Future architect” Nov 1959.

From 1960 the series tone changed gradually. With a changed title to “The image of the architect in practice” the series now featured articles authored by practitioners but still verged on the same topics: public relations and office organization with regards to clients. A new introduction of the theme by Goble in February was coupled with “the architect and public relations” by Burson and introduced the article series “Organization for efficient practice.” Formally, the last article to bear the header “image of the architect” (and the same graphics with May 1959 articles) was the April 1962 “The new role of the architect.” There, William Dudley Hunt, senior editor, was proclaiming: “It has been pretty well established, by now, that the architectural profession must prepare itself for a larger role in environmental design. That is, it must prepare itself if it is to fulfil the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual needs of a complex society in a complex time. Discussion of the exact character of this role has been under way in architectural circles for some time now. The discussion continues –as it must– but the action has already begun.”

Even though no more direct relations can be traced for the “Image of the architect” article series after 1962, the themes had already been diffused and the rhetoric and lingo were to be found in all kinds of articles. The “Organization” series continued till 1963⁷⁵⁵ when other similar articles took upon the topics (eg. “The architect in practice: Commercial developers,”⁷⁵⁶ “Corporate architectural practice,”⁷⁵⁷) until a specific F.W. Dodge publication was released in December 1965: “Architecture for business.” and a separate column in the news section “Architectural business” in 1967.

It should be noted that all major feature article series of the *Record* under Goble’s editorship were related to the “image of the architect” main points of a) unifying the profession, and b) expanding its clientele and design field:

- Mumford’s five-part “Future of the city,”⁷⁵⁸ was reassessing the significance of urban theory and design by talking about “urban integration” and “organic city-design.”
- The similar seven part series “Architecture for total community” by Mumford’s associates Albert Mayer and Clarence Stein was expanding the environmental design (also referred by Hunt above) and culminated in the additional article “One total profession” in 1965⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁵ *Architectural Record*, (March 1963).

⁷⁵⁶ *Architectural Record*, (October 1962): 157.

⁷⁵⁷ *Architectural Record*, (May 1963): 163.

⁷⁵⁸ October, November, December issues of 1962 and January and February 1963.

⁷⁵⁹ *Architectural Record*, (October 1965): 189.

- Furthermore, the interior design series did the same for smaller scale projects exploring the involvement of architects in such projects.
- The “Architectural details” series, where architects such as Gropius, Yamasaki and Mies were presenting technical details (in a feature not technical article) was designed to bridge the gap between the “anonymous’ masses of practitioners and the “bold, innovative and egocentric” ones that were seen to monopolize attention.
- Lastly, the “Young professionals” series was similarly designed to bring into the *Record*’s core practitioners audience newest members. In these last two, Dichter’s influence on the self-image of the architect and the *Record*’s strategy is considerable.

75 Years special issue: The new role of the architect

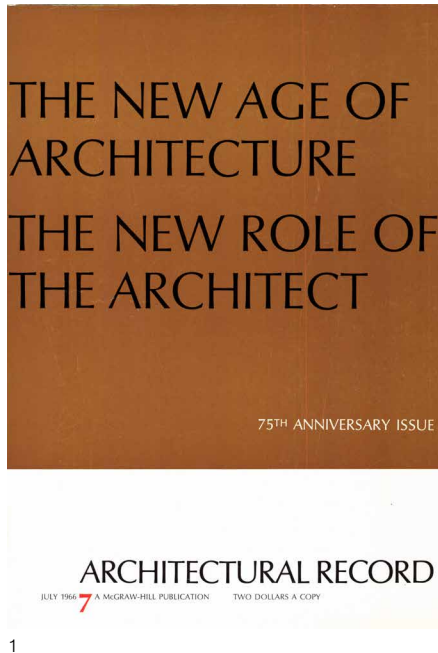
On the whole, as can be expected, the article series held no definitive conclusions on what precisely the image of the architect is or would be other than generalisms of the kind “the architect is becoming more diverse”⁷⁶⁰ and “the new architect is going to be oriented toward current problems, technical developments and the new sciences.”⁷⁶¹ It did however clarify, that the responsible people for constructing the image of the architect, were the editors, the high-profile academics and executives of the AIA. But Goble was not only interested in expanding the campaign. He was also interested in leaving its mark in the history of the *Architectural Record*. The 75th anniversary issue of 1966 [Fig. 6.6], was in essence a complete overview of the “image of the architect’ campaign.

The July 1966 issue came to bind all things together, with a brandishing title over its cover: “The new age of architecture/ The new role of the architect” giving the editors the chance to make once more a loud declaration on the changing role of the architect, which had now exited the pages of the magazines and was adopted by the AIA: “This new revolution is not a design revolution” and “The new revolution is a revolution in the whole concept of the architect’s role, and therefore in the whole concept of architectural practice. From the time when the image of the architect was a moustache and lovely drawings on the charrette, we are now, as we said in the editorial last month, ‘increasingly conscious that architects and engineers, in growing numbers, are shoving out into space with an orbit-minded world, eagerly inventing an architectural approach to every problem the world the world can toss them’”⁷⁶²

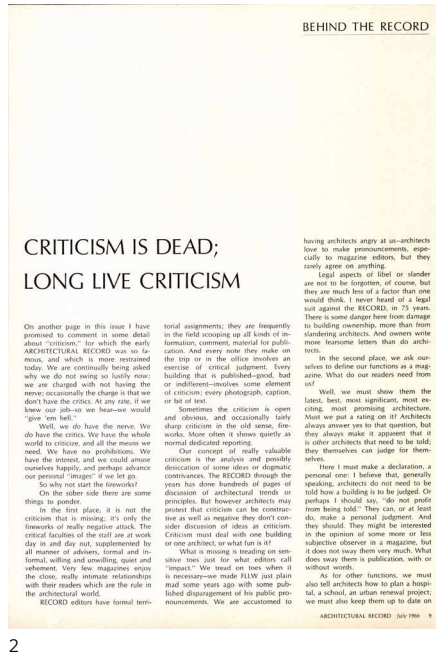
⁷⁶⁰ “Image of the future architect,” *Architectural Record*, (November 1959): 177.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

⁷⁶² Emerson Goble, “The new age of architecture,” *Architectural Record*, (July 1966): 147.



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FIG. 6.6 The July 1966, 75th anniversary issue that passed the campaign to the AIA and posited the dilemma of criticism vs public relations. Source: usmodernist.com

The opening article by Walter Wagner Jr, “What is happening is nothing less than a revolution” was followed by feature articles/statements authored by the *Record*’s own editors – an unusual practice: Hornbeck, Fischer and Foxhall reporting on science and technology, Barnett on architectural history, Mildred F. Schmertz on communities, Emerson Goble on the 75 years of history of the *Architectural Record*, Herbert Smith on the development of the “Changing job to be done”

On the same issue, Goble built up his position on the destructive effects of criticism: **“I have promised to comment in some detail about ‘criticism,’ for which the early *Architectural Record* was so famous, and which is more restrained today. We are continually being asked why we do not swing so lustily now”⁷⁶³**

⁷⁶³ Emerson Goble, “Criticism is dead; Long live criticism,” *Architectural Record*, (July 1966):9.

His explanation which was repeated often during his tenure,⁷⁶⁴ was in the end, that the magazine's job is to show architects the latest, best, most promising architecture –“must we put a rating on it?”⁷⁶⁵ By criticizing, Goble writes, “we should probably be neglecting our jobs.”⁷⁶⁶

And he goes on, linking the problem of criticism with the issue's topic of the image of the architect:

“The usual thing that is understood by ‘criticism’ is a whirling of abstract concepts in a closed academic atmosphere. I don’t mean to disparage the world [...] I merely mean it is best done in a closed circle, not in a magazine. It was a small world in which the earlier *Record* won its acclaim for criticism. [...] the architectural world grows larger, much as we might wish it wouldn’t.”⁷⁶⁷

Soon after, follows Goble's credo:

“One must make a distinction, I think, between whether one is for architecture–art in the abstract– or for architects. My own loyalty –shoot if you must– is to architects.”

⁷⁶⁴ Goble's opinion editorials held consistently their topics around the architect's communication and public relations problems and flaringly attempted to encourage architects to follow the editors and AIA's bidding. It is this consistency that allows us to characterize the complete twelve-year period of Goble's editorship as a cohesive editorial campaign on the image of the architect and the profession's public relation and a personal issue of Goble more specifically at that. The opinion editorials alone are a grand oeuvre that opens up the discussion and could be possible a topic for further research with graphic images of how American editors perceived the situation. Through these editorials Goble arguably single-handedly shifted the emergence of the professional architect as a public image in the post-war era. But since they do not extend much further the ideas set at the feature articles of the “image of the architect” series they are not fully presented here. The titles of the editorials alone are self-explanatory: “A precise language of visual communication,” (3/61), “Architects as leaders,” (10/61), “Image of the architect,” (4/62), “Corporate architectural practice,” (5/62), “Do publicity efforts damage the architects?,” (10/65), “Do you understand your clients?,” (4/66), “The packaged society and tis architecture,” (9/66), “Is there comprehension of architects and their work?,” (2/67), “Current architecture and its communication,” (4/67), “Where do architects look for new clients?,” (5/67). Lastly, we cannot avoid mentioning that in all these directions that Goble delineated in his op-eds, there is significant influence of Kenneth Stowell (from whom he copied the *modus operandi* of op-eds) and Hudnut (that Goble called “mentor”).

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid. 10.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid.

This distinction, is based once again on public relations, for which the architectural world has “very old fashioned ideas.”⁷⁶⁸ Disregarding criticism, as a something innate to the art-world and not necessarily architecture, Goble is directing the architects’ attention to what remains:

“Art is real, and art is earnest, but the world wants to go the moon. [...] Must the commercial world engulf us? Well, it has. It has engulfed us or left us behind.”⁷⁶⁹

The conclusion, – which was actual common practice – was another example of Goble’s public relations savviness:

“If you are going to insist on arguing about abstractions of architectural art, come visit the *Record* offices. We’ll buy you a lunch, and we’ll all enjoy indulgence in earnest jousting.”⁷⁷⁰

6.4.2 “The image of the architect” beyond the *Record*

6.4.2.1 Dudley Hunt, editor and AIA publisher

William Dudley Hunt (1922-1987) [Fig. 6.8], already referred as the additional employee in 1958 in the position of senior editor and as author of the 1962 “role of the architect” article, was a notable connection between the *Record* and the American Institute of Architects – and not the only one.

In 1962, while still an editor of the *Record*, Hunt was commissioned by the AIA’s Committee on the Profession to edit a series of twelve articles under the title of “The new role of the architect” and on the topic of “Comprehensive Architectural Practice.” This was described as part of the AIA’s “unprecedented program of professional education”⁷⁷¹ that intended to “help the architect increase his design competence services.”⁷⁷² The whole section of the *AIA Journal* that featured these articles was

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁷¹ *AIA Journal*, April 1962.: 68.

⁷⁷² AIA Memo, 29 August 1962: 1. AIA Archives.

conceived as “a second report on your profession” and was indeed a report handed out as “required reading for every AIA member” at the National Convention of the same year in Dallas. As listed, the objective of this effort was “to increase our competence in design” and “improve our competitive position in today’s economy.”⁷⁷³ In the following years, Hunt would find himself at the core of the AIA’s new PR campaign.

Already, in its program for action of the Committee on the Profession, Hunt’s activities gained further funding for workshops and seminars to take place at the regional conventions of the AIA chapters in order to “keep the membership informed on the principles of expanded services.”⁷⁷⁴

As Hunt put it, the ideas were similar to these presented at the *Record*:
“if the architectural profession is to perform the great role sketched here, it must first determine what image it chooses to project for itself. Then, every effort must be extended to impress that image on the public”

The following year, Hunt left the *Record*⁷⁷⁵ to devote himself to his AIA tasks, but now from a new standpoint. At the annual meeting of the Institute’s “Standards of Professional Practice” in January 1963 it was decided that Hunt would study the competitiveness of the Institute’s official organ of public relations: the newly re-instated *AIA Journal*.

Hunt’s recommendations for the solution of the *AIA Journal*’s problems were considerably similar to Dichter’s study⁷⁷⁶ on the *Record* and effectively transformed the magazine from an informative publication to basically a profit-oriented enterprise, which extemporized beyond its membership base and competed in circulation and revenue with the big three magazines, despite its limitations.⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷³ *AIA Journal*, April 1962: 68

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁵ Despite leaving his position as senior editor in 1963, Hunt remained as consultant at Dodge Books and subsequently, to McGraw Hill and authored seven books on architectural and related subjects while “several hundred of his articles have been published in professional magazines.” Source: Hunt, AIA membership file, AIA archives, 6.

⁷⁷⁶ According to Hunt’s own testament, the *Journal* was found to be in considerable trouble and focused on the issue of its low circulation, financial deficit and attractiveness towards advertisers. Trying to raise its competitiveness, Hunt advised for the magazines’ extemporization in 4 recommendations: 1) Improved editorial content and graphics, 2) Attract professional associates and members to become subscribers, 3) Use architect circulation to attract advertising in higher rates. 4) Strengthen the administration of the magazine from a business point of view. William Dudley Hunt AIA membership folder, AIA archives, pages 6B and 6C.

⁷⁷⁷ For example, the increase in ad pages that Hunt attempted –as also Dichter had delineated– was blocked by established policies of the journal that only allowed for a ration of one ad to one editorial page and no more. Source: William Dudley Hunt, AIA membership folder, AIA archives, page 6C.



FIG. 6.7 AIA, North Carolina Chapter annual meeting panel discussion on “the image of the architect” featuring Emerson Goble. Southern Architect, (January 1963): 13.



FIG. 6.8 William Dudley Hunt, Record editor and AIA publishing director. Source: Hunt's AIA membership file, AIA archives.



FIG. 6.9 Jeanne Davern, Record editor and a pioneer in public relations services. Source: Ball State University Libraries, ddarchive.blogspot.com

Hunt's report was presented in December 1963 and on January 1st he was appointed Publisher of the *AIA Journal* with the specific charge of implementing his own recommendations:

- 1 To establish a program of continuing editorial improvement
- 2 To operate the magazine in a self-sustaining basis and in conformance with good, business-like publishing practices.⁷⁷⁸

In 1970 Hunt was further promoted to Director of AIA's newly-established Publishing Department⁷⁷⁹ while also maintaining his position of the journal's publisher. In his renewed tasks, Hunt was expected to unify all Institute publications, such as books, contracts, reports, forms, as well as the *Journal*.⁷⁸⁰ The material of Hunt's series articles and reports were also published as an AIA guidebook in 1965 under the title "Comprehensive Architectural Services." A book that was described as "the first book of its kind dealing with the expanding architecture of today and tomorrow" and dealt with issues on "clients and analysis and programming of their requirements, on how to perform services for colleges, shopping centres, housing and other types, fees for services, legal and ethical considerations, promotional services and many others."⁷⁸¹

These contributions,⁷⁸² like the "image of the architect" campaign of the *Architectural Record*, were focused on an internal and public relations campaign for the expansion of architectural services. As noted from AIA memo's: "these Institute activities could have a pronounced effect on almost every level of architectural practice."⁷⁸³ Hunt mentioned that his work "originated and implemented the investigations leading to current and future major programs of the Institute."

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁹ AIA Memo August 1970: 1

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁸¹ AIA Memo, 29 January, 1965: 4, AIA Archives.

⁷⁸² As referred in his AIA file Hunt's complete contribution to the AIA included: 1959-1961, Chairman of the NYC Chapter Student Committee; 1959- NYC Delegate to National Conventions; 1961-1964, Consulting member, Institute Committee on the Profession and Editor & Director of its publishing program; 1963-4 Chairman of the NYC Chapter Publications Committee; 1964- Publisher *AIA Journal*. Hunt also produced studies of the "philosophy & plan for improvement" of the NYC's journals *Empire State Architect* in 1968, the *Oculus* and "future publications." Source: Hunt, membership file, 7.

⁷⁸³ AIA Memo, 29 August 1962:1. AIA Archives.

Such references greatly popularized a discussion among AIA members of which only a fraction can be traced⁷⁸⁴ but especially the topic of the “image” was often repeated. The problem, as Albert Bush-Brown poignantly framed it in his own AIA address: “Popularly, the architect is thought to be a tweedy, art, smooth, impractical and expensive snob.”⁷⁸⁵ But a much more direct connection between the *Record* and the AIA came with the incorporation of Goble himself in AIA panels on topics of the same title, as for example the North Carolina Chapter annual meeting, Dec. 1962 [Fig. 6.8].

Even more explicitly, Hunt wrote that while at the *Architectural Record* he: “directed, and wrote/edited series “Image of the Architect,” a basic forerunner of Institute programs for future of architecture (published as book ‘Organizing for successful practice’)”⁷⁸⁶

6.4.2.2 *Record* editors and the Department of Public Relations, AIA

As mentioned, Hunt was not the only *Record* editor to contribute to the new PR policy-changes of the AIA in the post-war era.⁷⁸⁷

In fact, he was preceded by Elisabeth Thompson who apart from her life-long involvement in award committees and public-relations workshops, confidentially mentioned in 1953 the “well-kept secret of co-authoring the Institute’s public relations”⁷⁸⁸; and Harold Hauf who was held the key role for the reinstatement of the AIA’s Public Relations office in 1954 and organized the collaboration with The Producer’s Council for a national public relations joint effort of the two organizations.⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁴ Eg. Richard W. Snibble, “The image of the architect,” *AIA Journal*, (1963): 11; William H. Scheick, “An introduction to the membership,” *AIA Journal*, (1961): 62.

⁷⁸⁵ Op. cit. 86.

⁷⁸⁶ Hunt, membership file, 7.

⁷⁸⁷ Before the war, several limitations applied regarding architects’ (individually or a professional body) to advertise and promote their practices. And as such, the AIA held a Committee on Information that was later transformed into “Public Relations” with much greater responsibilities and impact on the profession. For the AIA’s treatment of public relations before the war, see: Andrew Shanken, “Breaking the taboo”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 69, No 3, (Sept. 2010): 406-429.

⁷⁸⁸ “a well-kept-secret—that Joe [McCarthy] and I [Thompson] wrote the Institute’s public relations program. (We did, but we’ve never publicized the fact.)” Thompson to Payne, Oct., 1953 folder: “Payne-1953,” EKT archive.

This referred contribution of Thompson to the consultation of the AIA Board (along with San Francisco architect Joe McCarthy⁷⁹⁰ and Ketchum Inc.⁷⁹¹) was a beginning step for the exploration of the public's understanding of architectural services and led to the approval of additional funds specifically for the "inauguration and pursue of a program of public relations."⁷⁹²

In January 1954, Harold Hauf, former *Record* editor-in-chief (1949-51) was the second such case, being appointed as Director of the Department of Public and Professional Relations of the AIA.⁷⁹³ A post, which to his own accord, was vacant for several years and whose assignment was to develop the position's functions with respect to the Institute's publication policy.⁷⁹⁴ Which is in essence the gap that Hunt was called to cover in the early 1960s.

⁷⁸⁹ Established in 1947, the joint Committee of the AIA and the Producer's Council referred to a cooperative public relations effort of two organization, in both of whom Hauf was already a member. As publicly announced in the AIA newsletter, the Joint Committee's duties, was "to consider all matters of common interest between the Institute and the Council and make recommendations thereon to their respective organizations" and to "define practical standards of acceptability for advertising to architects." Source: Bulletin of the American Institute of Architects (November 1947).

⁷⁹⁰ According to Nancy Hadley, Director of AIA archives & Records, Francis Joseph McCarthy was Vice-Chairman on a Board-appointed Committee on Public Relations from 1951 to 1954.

⁷⁹¹ Walter Megronigle and Anson Campbell were representatives of Ketchum Inc., public relations counsel. "Minutes of the spring meeting of the board of directors, March 4,5 and 6, 1953" AIA Board/ Excom minutes, 1953: Doc # 361, page 10.

⁷⁹² 1952 Board Report to AIA convention.

⁷⁹³ One of the PR Department's incentives was the inauguration of "Awards for articles on architecture and architects" to newspapers, popular magazines, and strictly architectural ones; to broaden public interest. (with Jeanne Davern as head jury). And distributed "Teacher's manual" in 1955 to the first nine grades of schools for the purpose of giving "students an understanding and appreciation of good architecture" to create a "bureau of speakers" as public representatives of the AIA. Sources: AIA Board's annual report, 1959", AIA archives; "Minutes of the spring meeting of the board of directors, March 4,5 and 6, 1953."; "Minutes of the spring meeting of the board of directors, of the American Institute of Architects, March 29 -April 2 1955" AIA Board/ Excom minutes, 1955: Doc # 372, page: 15.

⁷⁹⁴ "Harold D. Hauf Professional *Record*," Hauf's AIA membership file, AIA archives, 5.

Further extensions of these ventures of the AIA were:

- A studies on interprofessional relations, ⁷⁹⁵;
- B the establishment of Architectural Graphic Standards
- C and the establishment of Committees on Education.

All of them, posts that Hauf^{796,797} covered while Hunt was supervising the institute's national expansive plans on publications.

6.4.2.3 Jeanne Davern, editor and consultant

Jeanne Davern (1922-1982) [Fig. 6.9], was another example of the dissemination of the editors' public relations expertise outside of the magazine.

Davern, had joined the *Record* in 1948 as editorial assistant became Associate Editor in 1954 in charge of keeping track of architects's lists under the restructured editorial policies of Payne and Shear and during Goble's editorship rose immediately to senior editorship (1958) and consecutively to the important post of managing editor (1960). Davern, was both active at the AIA (associate member 1960 and Honorary) and the Architectural League of New York (secretary and member since 1952), continuing the expansive plan of networking of the magazine. As explained in an internal memo of 1959,⁷⁹⁸ the *Record* was to counter *P/A*'s tactics of procuring corporate AIA memberships with *Record* editors Davern, Schmerz, Fischer and Goble were the next ones on the list of Dodge administrators (Judd Payne and Bob Marshall) to acquire corporate membership.⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹⁵ Of which, not much came to fruition according to a report of 1955: "Some years ago, Mr. Walker (when President) called a meeting of representatives of various "professions" in the design field of the construction industry. This gathering was comprehensive but it included, unfortunately, representatives who, though themselves men of good will, came from organizations which were at odd with each other. Nothing came of the meeting except injured feelings and a 'non-existent' organization, known as the Joint Committee of Design Professions. [...] Through the effort of Roy Larson, FAIA, Fritz Gurheim and later Harold Hauf, a series of documents was finally published." Source: "Report of the executive director, October 1, 1954," AIA Board/Excom minutes, Appendix.

⁷⁹⁶ Harold Hauf's AIA membership file, biographical note 1968.

⁷⁹⁷ Id. 17.

⁷⁹⁸ Payne to Marshall, May 4 1959, folder: "AIA memberships," EKT archive.

⁷⁹⁹ Although quite germane, this particular instance is revealing the degree of managerial manoeuvring that took place amongst magazines of the time. According to the letter, *Progressive Architecture*'s tactic to procure AIA corporate membership of its senior editors (Magruder, Holmes, Reese) worried Dodge

But further than her involvement with associations, Davern would advance the *Record's* mid-century push towards a business-oriented education of architects as founding editor of the bi-weekly newsletter “Legal Briefs for Architects, Engineers and Contractors” that first circulated in May 1975.⁸⁰⁰ A magazine that dealt with legal developments and the professional liability of architects, meaning, it was covering the legal implications of the architect’s expanding practices. The column “Legal perspectives” that was inaugurated in the section “Architectural Business” (see above) in 1977 often referred to the Legal Brief’s material.

Lastly, Davern has been referred to have acted as “free-lance architectural journalist” and “consultant”⁸⁰¹ for editorial matters⁸⁰² and also to “have provided public relations services to design professionals” a specialized field in its nascency to which she has been characterized to be a pioneer,⁸⁰³ continuing the tendency of mid-century *Architectural Record* editors.

salesmen, who were afraid of losing their appeal towards advertisers due to having less AIA members than their competitors. Instead, they consulted publishing director Payne to follow the same tactics for the *Record* editors as well. But while the first impulse of Payne was indeed to follow his directives, he chose for a different strategy. Out of the four editors considered, 1) Schmertz would go through the regular process as any architect, by taking courses and accreditation examination by the National Association of Accreditation Boards before applying for AIA corporate membership; 2) Bob Fischer would conserve his existing associate (not corporate) membership but would rather use to use his engineering society identifications (for “trading purposes”) instead of a forced AIA one; 3) Goble would be proposed by existing AIA members Hornbeck and Hunt (also *Record* editors) for a direct honorary membership in recognition of his contribution and 4) Davern would await for a similar occasion since her longtime employment would also justify an honorary application in due time. This way, the *Record* would: a) not submissively follow *P/A's* lead; b) would refrain from forcibly acquiring memberships that risked being seen as aggressive by current AIA members; c) would retain memberships to engineering societies to maintain its appeal to practitioners and d) would acquire memberships of higher statute for its highest standing personel (Goble). Ibid.

⁸⁰⁰ *Architectural Record*, (February 1977): 57.

⁸⁰¹ Her obituary in the *Press-Republican* (the newspaper where Davern begun her journalistic career), Davern was a “free-lance architectural journalist, working as a consultant, editor and writer on a variety of assignments.” Funeral today for former P-R city editor Jeanne Davern, “*Press Republican*,” (*Press-Republican*, 17 Nov. 1982): 6.

⁸⁰² Davern’s file from Wellesley College (her alma matter) briefly mentions her as “editor, editorial consultant.” Wellesley Archive, Jeanne Marguerite Davern bio file.

⁸⁰³ The source comes again from the Wellesley Archive, Davern’s bio file and more specifically from the letter that informed the college of their alumni’s death, authored by Joan L. Capelin who established herself one of the first consultancies on public relations and marketing services to architects.

On a different note, Davern should also be noted to have edited an array of *Architectural Record* books, especially in the 1970s in-between her employment as managing director and her editorship of the “Legal Briefs.” One such book was the anthology of Lewis Mumford’s contributions to the *Architectural Record* published 1975 for which she wrote the introductory preface leading to warming letters from the historian.⁸⁰⁴



FIG. 6.10 From left-to-right: New College of Florida trustee Phillip H.Hiss in conversation with the editors of the “Big 3” magazines circa 1964: Emerson Goble (*Architectural Record*), Jon Rowan (*P/A*) and Walter McQuade (*Architectural Forum*). Source: New College of Florida, ncf.edu.

⁸⁰⁴ Mumford to Davern, 30 July 1975, folder “*Architectural Record* (to)” Mumford papers, UPenn archives.

6.5 Towards a new journalistic field

Apart from the historical and biographical information of Goble's editorial team, the issues of criticism and the editorial campaign for the "image of the architect," several other episodes of the *Record's* history are worth mentioning providing a clear context of the *Record* editor and Dodge administrators decisions and future developments.

6.5.1 The Dodge-McGraw-Hill Merger

In 1962 the F.W. Dodge Corporation which published the *Architectural Record* merged with *McGraw-Hill Publishing Company*,⁸⁰⁵ changing completely the field of professional architectural journalism and the competitiveness in between the big three magazines.

McGraw-Hill and Dodge created the biggest publishing conglomerate of industrial, professional and educational content that followed the common business strategy of both companies of focusing on specialized fields to maximize their revenues⁸⁰⁶ from advertisements, not subscribers. Despite the creation of this grand organization – which is still thriving⁸⁰⁷ – the *Architectural Record* continued to be published under the name of Dodge (officially: "F.W. Dodge a McGraw-Hill Company." Because, as Thompson's notes suggest, the directive of the *Record's* consultants (possibly Eastman or Dichter) was that architects "don't like bigness

⁸⁰⁵ McGraw-Hill was one of the companies that largely invested in technical and professional publishing and thus managed to be largely unaffected by the rising competitiveness of TV and radio by receding to more specialized fields. Being a colossus in educational publishing and having expanded in the medical science in the 1940s, McGraw-Hill gained prominence in the 1950s as the first American company to massively produce encyclopaedias and multi-authored guides for any science and field of knowledge. This way, they were not only gaining the largest share of the professional publishing market, but aimed to set the systems for measuring, categorizing and analysing any scientific issue, thus becoming the base of reference for any other related publication.

⁸⁰⁶ According to Fortune 500, McGraw-Hill held a 116.8 million dollars' revenue in 1961 while in 1962, after the acquisition of Dodge, this figure rose to 148 million making the company leap from the 351st position of the Fortune 500 index. to only the 2nd.

⁸⁰⁷ McGraw Hill is the only company to be listed in the Fortune 500 list of greatest US companies since the list's creation and more recently broke out in the public sphere with the acquisition of Standards and Poor and the creation of the S+P 500 index rating. McGraw-Hill, changed its name to the more recognizable S+P Global, and was divided from its publishing branch McGraw-Hill Education. Dodge still exists as well but no more as a publishing organization. Instead, it is focused exclusively on business analytics.

(McGraw Hill is BIG)", "don't like feeling being pushed especially by bigness" and therefore the magazine was best to pursue a lower profile since "architects like underdogs."⁸⁰⁸

The merger was officially announced in the May issue of 1961, but talks had spread out a bit earlier as indicated by an alarming internal memo from the *Forum*, on February 1961 where Haskell was informing his publishers McGraw-Hill and Dodge were still discussing the terms of the deal and the risk that the *Record* was taking of being reduced to another technical and dry professional journal.⁸⁰⁹ On earlier instances, the editors of the *Record* were themselves alarmed from the rising competition of McGraw-Hill's expanding publications. For example with McGraw-Hill's purchase of the San Francisco-based "Architect and Engineer" that promised immediate competition for the Western Section.⁸¹⁰

At the time, such situations of intense competition were responded with a further focus on editorial content that was seen as the magazine's competitive edge against very specialized trade magazines.

Judd Payne explained their strategy to keep both a wide readership and the interest of "specifiers":

"Our great strength against this and future competition is that we aim AR at the architect and engineer as collaborators—the man who takes final responsibility and the technical detail man. Thus we should not try to compartmentalize, but should flavour our contents with technical information throughout."⁸¹¹

Beyond the internal discussions of the *Architectural Record*, Dodge by 1960 had itself added to its ranks a considerable number of trade publications. In the letterheads of the company's letters alone, the title of the *Architectural Record* was coupled with these of "College and University Business," "The Modern Hospital," "The Nation's Schools," "Dodge Books," "Hospital Purchasing File,"

⁸⁰⁸ Thompson to Tredwell, 3 Nov 1965, folder: "1965-1975, Personal," EKT archive.

⁸⁰⁹ "the question is still wide open whether *Record* at McGraw-Hill will be 'reduced to another Engineering News-Record.'" In all this discussion, Haskell's lead was none other than John Ely Burchard, by then distanced but not officially discharged from the *Record*, and who also was "forbidden to talk at presents with friends at McGraw-Hill about it." Haskell to Paine and Frey, 6 Feb. 1961, folder "1951-1964 *Architectural Record*," Haskell papers, Columbia University.

⁸¹⁰ Payne to Thompson, 3 April 1959, folder: "1959 Payne," EKT archive.

⁸¹¹ Pamela Fosey to All Editors, "Editorial Meeting," April 1, 1958, black binder, EKT archive.

“Real Estate *Record*.”⁸¹² Considering this and the fact that the 1960s would see the beginning of a greater crisis of magazine publishing with the expansion of radios and TV as the major mass media, the merger was a move of financial security and solidification of both companies’ stand.

Personnel transfers can be traced in both sides of the merger. Robert Marshall, former *Record* publisher, for example, was appointed McGraw-Hill’s Vice-President⁸¹³ while on the other hand, Walter F. Wagner Jr. former editor of various McGraw-Hill titles was appointed executive editor of the *Architectural Record* in February 1965 effectively taking the lead from Goble, whose receding health by then had limited his contribution to the magazine. Goble, did however maintain his opinion-editorial articles until his official retirement in 1967 at which point Wagner became editor-in-chief inaugurating a new chapter of the magazine’s history.

6.5.2 The declining competition

Regarding the magazine’s competition [Fig. 6.10] with *Forum* and *P/A*, although still third in circulation in 1960 Goble was proclaiming:

“As for PA and *Forum*, we are pretty relaxed about competition with them these days as far as national publication is concerned. We win more battles than we lose with the *Forum*, and we almost never have any with PA.”⁸¹⁴

Goble’s competitive strategy was focused on dismissing the idea of criticism in favour of closer ties with the AIA and the immediate concerns of the profession. Even in matters of exclusive reportage of certain projects, which was a constant subject of contention, Goble was dismissive of any conformism and was bidding architects to deny this policy while he would support when conversing with Doug Haskell (*Forum*) and Tom Creighton (*P/A*). On a matter regarding an exclusive on an SOM buildings he was explaining:

“We could go on for a long while about exclusives, but I think the only thing we are really trying to put over with a fellow like Nat [Owings, of SOM] is that he could avoid all the trouble by simply saying all publications may do whatever they like”⁸¹⁵

⁸¹² Goble to Thompson, 24 Feb 1960, folder: “Policy *Record*,” EKT archive.

⁸¹³ From Goble’s obituary *Record* Dec 1969.

⁸¹⁴ Goble to Thompson, 24 Feb 1960, folder: “1960 Policy *Record*.”

⁸¹⁵ Goble to Thompson, “Nat Owings and exclusives,” 26 May 1960, folder: “1960 Policy *Record*,” EKT archive.

“This is fairly easy thing to sell, and this is really what we want. Oddly enough it infuriates Doug, and Tom also for that matter.”^{816 817}

In the most stunning development in the history of American architectural journalism of the 1960s, on September 1964, Time Inc. suspended the publishing of the *Architectural Forum*, that was still soaring in circulation numbers. Conveniently, Haskell, received his retirement at the age of sixty-five⁸¹⁸ and although *Forum* resurfaced, under Urban America Inc. and the editorial care of Peter Blake, the limited circulation and continued financial difficulties retracted it from *Record's* main competition. *Forum* came to its definite end in March 1974.⁸¹⁹ Ironically, Walter Wagner, the *Record's* upcoming editor-in-chief, had his sole experience on architectural journalism as assistant managing editor of *House & Home* of Time Inc., the side-publication of the *Forum* from 1950.⁸²⁰

The folding of the *Forum* in 1964 as well as *Arts and Architecture* in 1967 signified the end of experimentation and widening with the field. Like architects of the time, magazines were also incorporated and receded in their functional conservatism. With *Progressive Architecture* having a strong hold on young professionals and the *Record* the core of practitioners their competition would last a bit longer. *P/A's* editor-in-chief Creighton was succeeded by Jan Rowan in 1963, with further changes in leadership in 1969, 1971 and 1972 that disrupted its editorial stability. On the contrary, Walter Wagner's tenure until 1985 and his succession by Mildred Schmetz whose editorship lasted until 2013 had rendered the *Record* as the main public vehicle of architectural journalism.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid.

⁸¹⁷ From the other side of the dispute, Haskell was furious on the matter of exclusives and “firsts” publications of important buildings. In April 1960, he was complaining of PA and *Record's* practice of claiming to have published first buildings that were recently awarded by the AIA. In a letter titled “Phony AIA building-award claims by *Architectural Record*” he was saying: “The total unreliability of the data in this compilation shines out best in an entry on the last page, re: The Zeckendorf Plaza Development. Here the first publication is twice wrongly placed. Heavy checkmarks signifying first publication are given both *Record* and *P/*; we get just a light me-too check. The facts? *P/A* never published the job at all—on the month indicated it published a totally different Denver hotel. And *Record* doesn't show the job at all either. So, from a publication which boasts that it serves a prize statistical organization, we have two prime statistical “errors,” self-serving ones, on a single major claim.” Haskell to Benton, 11 April 1960, folder: “1951-1964 *Architectural Record*,” Haskell papers, Columbia University.

⁸¹⁸ Haskell Papers, finding aid brief biographical note, Columbia U.

⁸¹⁹ Op. cit. Tomlan. 292.

⁸²⁰ “Walter F. Wagner Jr. appointed editor of *Architectural Record*,” AIA Memo, 1967 Dec p2.

6.6 Conclusions

The history of the *Architectural Record* from 1958 to 1967 is marked by Emerson Goble's editorial campaign on the image of the architect. Taken over from Dichter's report of the same time, and expanding upon the legacy of John Knox Shear, Goble managed to disseminate the sentiment and ideas of the business world to architects. Starting from inside the *Record*, with the public relations policies instigated in 1954 and the gradual clash of different opinions with Haskell and Burchard, Goble crafted an expertise on public relations that was later extemporized to the working architect.



FIG. 6.11 1945-1966, "towards more of everything." The co-existence of all styles together without any parameters for their comparison puts an end to modernism as a discourse, and sets forth contemporaneity: production conditioned by media, the consumer market and the "packaged variety." Source: *Architectural Record* July 1966, usmodernist.com

As referred again in the introductory meeting of 1958:

“In maintaining and increasing the public relations gains JKS made, we must continue and push the territorial coverage plan. Everyone must be a “contacter” all the time. That means that contacts and leads, though, not bringing back lots of miscellaneous material!”⁸²¹

This opinion was strengthened with the studies of Eastman and Dichter:

“The Eastman Reports show many readers start with the table of contents and pick out things they need to keep up with technical developments. The low vote for philosophical articles proves this. We need to keep in mind the rapid reader who clips things out.”⁸²²

Based on this strategy, Goble built up his editorial campaign for the image of the architect, profoundly embracing commercialism:

“Let’s face it: architecture is packaged, just like cookies or cars, is labelled and sold. The models are changed, and the styles and the labels. I haven’t seen any architectural packages that say ‘2\$ off’ in the upper corner, or ‘push here,’ but the reliance on the packaging technique is just about as plain”⁸²³

Tied to his client of the newly dawned consumer society, the architect had become conditioned by his market. And architecture became what the client wanted:

“Separate good architecture from bad as you will, what the public understands as architecture is definitely the packaged variety.”⁸²⁴ [Fig. 6.11]

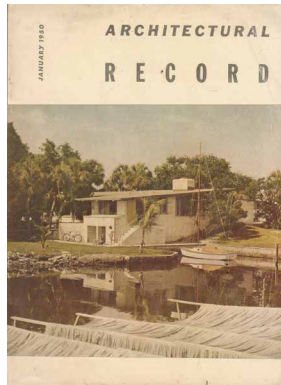
⁸²¹ PCF to All editors, 28 Jan. 1958, black binder, EKT archive.

⁸²² PCF to All editors, 1 Apr. 1958, black binder, EKT archive.

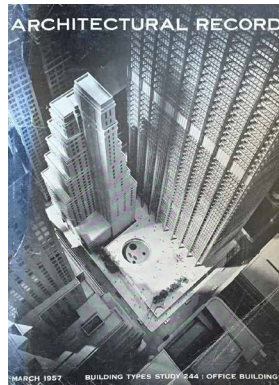
⁸²³ *Architectural Record*, (September 1966):9.

⁸²⁴ *Ibid.*

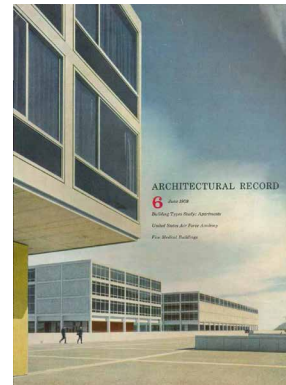
General conclusions



Architectural Record, Jan. 1950.



Architectural Record, March 1957.



Architectural Record, June 1959.

The *Architectural Record*: 1942 to 1967

This study set out to study the historical trace of the most important magazine of the United States throughout the 20th century. But more than the historical findings, it is its systemic role that emerges here in parallel as the most fertile ground for further discussion. Meaning the role that magazines play as an institution in contemporary specialized process of architectural production, a role which the midcentury *Architectural Record* largely defined.

Research findings and their importance

Chapter 1, addressing the history of architectural magazines is underlying the behind-the-scenes conditioning factor of the publishing organizations that run the architectural magazines under discussion. Either directly or indirectly, they affected the editorial policies of the US magazines. Most characteristically, on the discussion of affluence and formalistic pluralism, it is imperative to understand why the American magazines and foremost the *Record* were receptive of "more of everything." What was a taboo for 1930s functionalistic modernists, for midcentury architectural editors was a practical problem of how to fit both traditional and modern style buildings in the

same issue. And while for magazines such as *Progressive Architecture* the phenomenon was awkwardly criticized as the "era of chaotism." Instead, the more conservative *Record* embraced it as a sign of normalcy and bid architects to one direction or the other, following the winds of the market, that the *Record* taught architects how to adapt to. As the questionnaire that they would sent to architects noted, architects' and students' ideology was slowly perceived as obstacle. The architect instead of a manifesto-inducing agent, would slowly need to operate in the defined social and professional role that magazines and professional organizations defined.

Chapter 2, focusing on the wartime and post-war adjustment period of the *Architectural Record* points to the figure of Kenneth Stowell, whose agile composure managed to balance both functionalism and pluralism during his editorship. This era also defined the magazine's target group of practicing architects, with an emphasis on "anonymous" and industrial large-scale projects. As we saw, this was not only an editorial choice but also a directive from F. W. Dodge Co. executives and more importantly Judd Payne, Publishing and Editorial Director. This core readership defined the business strategy of the magazine from being dependent on subscribers to being dependent on advertising revenue, whose focus was on practicing architects—their consumers.

Chapter 3, acting as a self-standing chapter, dealt with the specific case of Elisabeth Kendall Thompson whose personal archive revealed the most hollistic view of how a midcentury editor functined and what their responsibilities, capacities and relations with architects were. The Western Edition of the magazine, set forth again by F. W. Dodge executives (Payne and Wettstein), took a long time to become fully functioning and to be recognized as the total responsibility of Thompson who rose to prominence both in the magazine and beyond. The role of Thompson in the national recognition of the West Coast architecture cannot be understated. At a time when residential architecture became again the central market of architects, and the AIA was turned over to West architects (Wurster and Belluschi), and institutions such as the MoMA were challenged by ones such as the SFMA, whose Bay Region exhibition straightly defied the 1932 International Style one.

Chapter 4, picked up again the chronological history of the magazine from the second chapter while building up on themes advanced in the third one. The return to house design and the further organization of the editorial policies to target more closely architects were the two main directives of the magazine at the time and their application by editors-in-chief Mason and Shear had wide implications. The "Treasury" books and the *Record Houses* special issues that were developed under Mason in the early 1950s, came along with a renewed emphasis on the word "contemporary" instead of "modern," and emphasized deilight and comfort instead of function. Under Shear, the most adept editor in the period examined, the change

in policies set forth the Record as the major force in terms of communication, public relations, marketing and management consultation for practicing architects. The regional assignments of editors were brought to the last detail, establishing editors and magazines as the agents that rank and assess the quality and status of architects. Finally, the campaign for modernist preservation rendered the rift with modernism permanent. From then on the social basis of architects would be propulgated through media, competitions and awards sanctioned by the magazines and the official bodies of the AIA. Behind the scenes, the editors and publishers would built up their expertise for the promotion and shaping of the image and self-image of the architect.

Chapter 5, presented probably the most surprising finding: the marketing report of Ernest Dichter and the Institute of Motivational Research for the competitiveness of the *Architectural Record*. The documents of this report from 1959 consist the very first documentation combining the fields of marketing and architecture and would not have been possible without the specific competitive environment and publishing direction that the magazine had. The depth of the psychoanalytical investigation on architects and the guidelines set by Dichter gave *Architectural Record* a specialized know how. The complete lack of references to the Dichter report in any archival communication between editors or their meeting minutiae proves that the report was disclosed only to the highest-profile employees of the magazine, and that the decision to commission it came from the publishing company. However, as seen in the text, several points of Dichter's became established practice and built up on the ad-revenue strategy of the *Record's*. His statement that the magazine is and should stay conservative by balancing heroic and anonymous figures of architects, is revealing the level of inquiry and pains that the editors went through to study their audience. Later on, they would move on to export this expertise in co-ordination with the AIA.

Chapter 6, finally, brings to conclusion the shift of the magazine from a literary to a business consultation apparatus for the practicing architect. From 1958 to 1967, the editorship of the experienced Emerson Goble, once engineer and real estate editor, put into effect both Stowell's rounding of the profession, Shear's PR expertise and Dichter's marketing consultation in his editorial campaign for "the image of the architect." The coordination of the campaign with the AIA most characteristically seen in the case of William D. Hunt is also extended with more information on the actions of editors beyond the magazine, such as Thompson's involvement in authoring the AIA's PR regulation and Jeanne Davern's consultancies that paved the way to marketing services to architects. The *Record's* contest against Haskell's *Forum* was also transmitted in the interior of the magazine with the debate between Goble and Burchard on the issue of criticism that set it off the agenda. *Forum's* folding in 1964, *P/A's* narrowed focus on young professionals and the AIA's

alignment with the *Record* legitimized Goble's fight for a magazine that servers "architects, not architecture" and the profession's surrender to the "packaged society" and the "copy-paste" culture of contemporary architectural design that media perpetuate.

Further discussion: The architect as a commodity

Having addressed the historical documentation that emerged from this research and the the role of midcentury magazines as systemic institutions, further discussion can be advanced on the nature of architectural history today and it's development.

This research started under the premise that architecture is conditioned by its environment and most specifically to study the level of affect of media to the architectural profession. This phenomenon was traced to be much deeper than anticipated. The media not only set the rules for architecture's public apperence and means of operation but also effectively rendered the architect to a commodity. This was literally seen in the 1926 booklet *Selling the Architect*, referred as a precedent to Dichter's study in Chapter #5, and which showcased the ways through which architects are targeted for the purpose of selling building products.

In essence, architectural media give "emotional support" to architects as Dichter mentions, console them and at played upon their anxieties to conform them to their market role and sell them material through different channels (cold and hot mediums). The business model of the *Record* based on ad revenue that outclassed its contemporaries, is today the main strategy of large scale architectural media and its strategization in midcentury America was historical for the contemporary state of the profession.

The frontier laying ahead, that obstructs further discussions on the criticality of architectural history and practice, is the examination of a business history of architecture. A field currently undetected, but gravitating everything around it.

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List of archival sources

Archival sources accessed in situ		
Institutional repository	Records/papers	Specific focus
Harvard University, Houghton Library Repository	Records of the Office of the Dean	on Joseph Fairman Hudnut, Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Design
Harvard University, Harvard University Archives Repository	Walter and Ise Gropius Papers	-
MIT, Distinctive Collections Repository	John Ely Burchard Papers	-
	Albert Farwel Bemis Foundation Records	on John Ely Burchard, Foundation President.
Princeton University, Princeton University Archives. (Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library)	Department Records	on John Knox Shear and John W. Ragsdale. Record editors and Princeton alumni.
Princeton University, Special Collections. Manuscripts Division. (Freestone Library)	Stamos Papadakis Papers	-
Smithsonian Institution, Archives of American Art	Architectural League of New York Records, 1880s-1974	on Record editors: Emerson Goble, Jeanne Davern, James Hornbeck, Kenneth K. Stowell, Douglas Haskell, Mildred Schmertz, John S. Margolies, John Knox Shear; Also other competing editors or otherwise affiliated: Walter McQuade, Phillip Johnson, Thomas Holden, Arthur C. Holden
	Henry Russel Hitchcock Papers	-
Syracuse University Archives, Special Collections Research Center	Alan and Mary Dunn Papers	-
	Pietro Belluschi Papers	-
	Marcel Breuer Papers	-
	William Lescaze Papers	-
University of California Berkeley Archives	Eli[s]abeth Kendall Thompson papers	-

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Archival sources accessed in situ		
Institutional repository	Records/papers	Specific focus
University of California Santa Barbara Archives	Maynard Lyndon Papers	-
University of California Los Angeles	Richard and Dion Neutra papers	-
University of Pennsylvania	Lewis Mumford papers	-
Wellesley College Archives	Alumni Records	On Jeanne Davern, alumni of Wellesley.
Colonial Williamsburg Collections	Lawrence Kocher Papers	
Yale University Libraries	Johnathan Barnett papers	
	Gabo	
	Records of the office of the Dean	On Harold D. Hauf, Yale Dean
	Saarinen	
Hagley Museum and Library	Ernest Dichter papers	-
AIA Archives & Records		on:
Het Nieuwe Instituut	J.J.P. Oud papers	on Douglas Haskell
	Cornelius van Estereen	on Lawrence Kocher
Canadian Centre for Architecture	Maxwell Levinson fonds	on Kenneth Stowell

In addition to the above, several archival sources were accessed thanks to the help of various archivists and librarians who shared digitized documents for the purposes of this research.

Archival sources accessed through correspondence.		
Institutional repository	Records/papers	Specific focus
Carnegie Tech.	John Knox Shear papers	-
Georgia Tech.	College of Architecture Records	on Kenneth Stowell
Fondation Le Corbusier	"Voyages L-C"	on Kenneth Stowell
Plattsburgh		on Jeanne Davern
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	Records of the Department of Architecture	on Harold D. Hauf, RPI alumni
Tulane University	John S. Kendall papers	on Elisabeth Kendall Thompson
Bauhaus Archiv	Mies van der Roer papers	on Emerson Goble
The Art Institute of Chicago		

Compiled list of editors and other affiliates

The following diagrams present a list of the *Architectural Record's* editorial team throughout the period of focus of this dissertation (1942-1967), compiled from the colophon lists of the issues. However, the dates of employment and dismissal should be deemed approximate since in multiple occasions the published information didn't represent the actual situation in the workplace. The board of architects' consultants for example is not clear of its actual input in the production process.

The list does also is not reflective of the F.W.Dodge Co. executives' influence. Only in the section of publishers appear the names of the Dodge higher management who wanted to be affiliated with the editorial effort. The salespeople and advertisers that were responsible for a large percentage of the magazine's content, not to mention their implications in editorial content, are not be found here.



Art Department

Eugene H. Hawley	
W. K. Allen	art director
Myron S. Hall	art director
Peter Piening	art consultant
Francis Torbert	
Sigman-Ward	drafting
Eleine Sehnert	assistant
Alfred Petersen	
Donald Ervin	
Joseph D'Amato	
Thomas L. McArthur	
Mary Ann Godfrey	
Burt Kramer	
Richard P. Kluga	
Julia Lee	
Sheila Dressner	
Alex H. Stillano	
Wilson E. Wright	
John Wilhelm	
Alan Dunn	cartoonist

Editorial Consultants

Robert Anshen	
Edward Larrabee Barnes	
Walter Gropius	
Robert F. Hastings	
Paul Rudolph	

Industrial Consultants

Thomas S. Holden	Industry relations
Clyde Shute	Statistical
Clifford Dunnells Jr.	field research
Norbert Brown	building economics
Jane Grafe	librarian
Samuel C. Pace	public relations
George Cline Smith	economics consultant
Daniel J. Howe	public relations
Edwin W. Magee	industry relations
Gordon W. McKinley	economics
George A. Christie	economics
Myron L. Mathews	building costs
William D. Edgerton	

Publisher

H. Judd Payne	publishing director
Robert F. Marshall	business Manager
Marshall T. Ginn	circulation manager
Robert M. Cunningham Jr	editorial director
James E. Boddorf	sales manager
Henry G. Hardwick	circulation manager
Blake Hughes	assistant to publisher
Eugene Weyeneth	publisher

Alan Dunn, 1900-1974

A special mention needs to be made on the account of the cartoonist Alan Dunn that did not fit in the main narrative of this historical research but is nonetheless, quite important.

Alan Dunn, 1900-1974, along with his wife, Mary Petty⁸²⁵ are accounted among the most important cartoonists of 20th c. America, mainly making their names as the artists behind the thousands of cartoons of the monthly *New Yorker*. But in parallel, Dunn sustained another long-standing collaboration that linked him inextricably with the architectural world.

In 1936, editor-in-chief of the *Architectural Record* Orville C. Anderson contacted Dunn and invited him to contribute a monthly cartoon after having probably noticed his work in the *New Yorker*.⁸²⁶ By 1974 and his sudden death, there have been more than 450 cartoons of his, published in the *Record* and were a major point of interest of the reading audience. Along with his notebooks full of sketches and ideas for architectural cartoons, Dunn's archive also holds the extensive correspondence between the cartoonists and his architects-fans, who would express their amusement when being subjects of his sketches or even, order copies of them for promotional reasons. And the list went well-beyond practitioners. Mumford, the noted historian and philosopher wrote to Dunn, saying that his cartoons "rounded" his education on modern architecture, and that Ruskin was "the invisible link" between them, considering their critical lenses on architecture.⁸²⁷

⁸²⁵ Mary Petty is also reported to have contributed to the *Record*. See: "Alan Dunn," *Architectural Record*, (July 1974): 87.

⁸²⁶ Box # 1 "Biographical material," Alan Dunn and Mary Petty Papers, Syracuse University, Special Collections Research Center.

⁸²⁷ Mumford to Dunn, 27 October 1971, Alan Dunn and Mary Petty Papers, Syracuse.

His importance to the *Architectural Record* throughout the midcentury years is however ineluctable, which is why he was not included in the main part of this study. But it can well be assumed that a grand percentage of readers going through the *Record* would go directly in page #15 to find Dunn's cartoon. Even more, they would get a sense of calmness and lightness for their work than neither the informative neither the intellectual material of the magazine could provide.

Especially, for a magazine with conservative views that witheld from strong criticism, Dunn was an essential asset of providing modest and non-hurting criticism. Three monograph books of Dunn's cartoons, were published as *Architectural Record Books* introduced by the editors themselves who also commissioned him for several special articles as well as the design of their annual Christmass card that they would share with their key-architects-contacts.

Alan Dunn was awarded the AIA Architectural Critic's Citation in 1973.

Comparison of Dichter's and Columbia's surveys

For means of comparison in regards to Dichter's report (Chapter #5), here are presented the concluding remarks of a) Dichter's 1960 report on the psychological profile of the *Architectural Record* reader and b) *Forum*/Columbia's 1955 statistical survey final findings.

[The Record's] audience is composed of men who:⁸²⁸

- Are influenced by an "ego-ideal" of their profession; not conceit, which encourages resting on one's laurels, but the "ego-ideal" which sets up standards which the individual tries constantly to live up to.
- *Architectural Record* recognizes and understands this "ego-ideal," and serves its audiences within this framework.
- Are being faced today with rapid changes and new developments in their field at a rate which causes them concern for their ability to keep pace. They are haunted by a constant feeling of insecurity, and one which is not expected to end in the foreseeable future. They not only fear not being aware of a particular innovation at a time when they need it the most, but feel that they are caught in a rat-race of trying to keep abreast of changes, not temporarily but possibly permanently. The result is a degree of tension.⁸²⁹
- *Architectural Record* offers both the specific knowledge and the emotional support the reader needs in this situation.
- Are seeking the creative, aesthetic, and philosophical satisfactions from their profession. They feel frustrated and unfulfilled and seek secondary outlets for their creative and aesthetic satisfactions.
- *Architectural Record* addresses itself to both aspects of the architect's job. Its content satisfies some of his creative needs while fulfilling necessary functions of him.
- Are growing increasingly concerned with the human and sociological implications of their profession. There is today apparently almost a beginning of a renaissance of architecture as a humanistic art rather than a purely functional occupation.
- *Architectural Record* will deal more extensively in the future with the farthest-reaching social and philosophical implications of architecture along with the most specific and practical aspects.
- Are being drawn into close partnership of architect and engineer, as the scope of each, in concept and responsibility changes and merges. They need an increased awareness of their similarities and the potentials for greater, rather than lesser, accomplishments and satisfactions.
- *Architectural Record* deals in the common and the individual interest of both groups

⁸²⁸ Document E, part three: "Psychological factors influencing *Architectural Record*'s professional audience." Pages 2-6.

⁸²⁹ Box 57, Item 1266E, Ernest Dichter papers (Accession 2407), Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE 19807. Section 3, 2.

- Are concerned with the aesthetic values of everything.
- *Architectural Record* recognises that, throughout its pages, it must meet the high aesthetic standards of its readers, in appearance, design, proportion and colour, and in texts which are sincere, straightforward and pleasing.
- Are seeking, consciously or unconsciously, the inspiration and support of the traditions of their profession, or from the ideals of the architectural giants, past and present, such as Frank Lloyd Wright or Mies van der Rohe. The personification of architectural intellect and courage can offer great satisfaction to those now working in the field.
- *Architectural Record* is aware of this search for greater continuity and philosophical meaning for architecture, and will expand its material in this direction in the future.
- Are rushed by the pressures of the job to a degree which creates not only problems but a sense of inadequacy and superficiality in trying to keep on top of all the developments in the field.
- *Architectural Record* is the magazine whose readers can draw what they need from it, whether they scan it hastily or read it at length. It is the magazine of "highlights" which can cover rapidly all of the newest important data, or can be read in depth for the fullest benefits.
- Are anxious to maintain their familiarity with the material being read by other professionals, especially since discussions at meetings or individual conversations may deal with such material. This is another aspect of potential insecurity.
- *Architectural Record* readers know that they will find most members of any professional group meeting, formal or informal, will be familiar with the editorial and advertising content of *Record* and will enjoy taking part in a discussion surrounding such topics.
- Are seeking inspiration in any of many forms; successes in some new undertaking, consideration of a truly creative concept, or personal experiences which help to raise the sights and the hopes of the whole profession.

Architectural Record joins in recognising that the practical considerations of architecture must not be allowed to obscure the abstract and inspirational potentials.

Forum/Columbia survey findings

- The *Forum* 1955 survey was done in collaboration with the University of Columbia's Leopold Arnaud (Dean of Faculty of Architecture) and Oscar N. Serbein (Professor, Graduate School of Business) and Erdos & Morgan research consultants. Those people were the ones responsible for collecting the data, analysing them with cross tabulation and extracting further information that was summed up in 28 findings.
- Less than half the registered architects are associated with architectural or engineering firms
- Meaning that more than half of them practice privately, do work related to architecture or not related to architecture...
- No matter how registered architects practice or are employed, closely comparable coverage of regular readers is delivered by *Forum*, *Record* and *P/A*.
- Just over half the registered architects who are associated with architectural or engineering firms are senior members of their firms
- Whatever the positions held by registered architects associated with architectural or engineering firms, the coverage of regular readers delivered by *Forum*, *Record* or *P/A* is – for all practical purposes – equal in both numbers and percentage.
- Less than one seventh of the registered architects who are not practicing as architects (but are doing work related to architecture) are associated with industrial or manufacturing organizations.
- Irrespective of the fields in which registered architects are doing work related to architecture (although not practicing architecture), the coverage of regular readers delivered by *Forum*, *Record* or *P/A* shows a similar pattern.
- Over 40 per cent of the registered architects who are doing work NOT related to architecture are working with commercial or manufacturing organizations.
- The number of registered architects who are doing work not related to architecture is too small to show any significant pattern of regular readership.
- Only one tenth of the registered architects are also registered engineers.

- Among the small percentage of registered architects who are also registered engineers, closely comparable coverage of regular readers is delivered by *Forum*, *Record* and *P/A*.
- Almost one-fifth of all registered architects graduated from one of four schools: University of Illinois, University of Pennsylvania, Columbia University and the University of Michigan.
- More than half the registered architects graduated after 1930.
- No matter which year registered architects graduated, a closely comparable coverage of regular readers is delivered by *Forum*, *Record* and *P/A*.
- Over half the registered architects are associated with the AIA — as fellows, members or associates.
- The regular readership coverage of AIA members delivered by *Forum*, *Record* or *P/A* is – for all practical purposes – equal in both numbers and percentages.
- Less than one out of every five registered architects is registered with the NCARB (National Council of Architectural Registration Boards).
- Among registered architects who are registered with NCARB, the coverage of regular readers delivered by *Forum*, *Record* or *P/A* is – for all practical purposes – equal in numbers and percentages.
- No architectural magazine is read regularly by more than three out of every four registered architects.
- Any combination of *Forum*, *Record* or *P/A* delivers a better than 80% duplication of regular readership among registered architects. For example: 7,590 of the respondents read *Record* regularly. Of these, 80,4 % also read *Forum*. Similarly, 7,344 respondents read *P/A* regularly. Of these, 84,9 % read *Record* as well.
- Just over half the registered architects who are regular readers of *Forum*, *Record* or *P/A*, read all three magazines, in addition no more than 10 percent are regular readers of any combination of two of these magazines; no magazine has better than 6 percent exclusive readership.
- Foreign architectural magazines are read-regularly by less than ten per cent of the registered architects.
- Architectural Review 3,6 %, Domus 2,8%, L'architecture d' Aujourd' hui 0,9%, Werk 0,4%.
- More than five out of every six registered architects were working on an architectural project when the study was made.
- Among registered architects who were working on architectural projects when the study was made, equal numbers and percentage of regular readers – for all practical purposes – are delivered by *Forum*, *Record* and *P/A*.
- Less than half the registered architects associated with a project were in architectural charge of the project.
- Regardless of the responsibility wielded by registered architects for projects, the coverage of regular readers delivered by *Forum*, *Record* or *P/A* shows a similar pattern.
- The Architects, Principals and in charge of whole jobs held the highest percentages (*Forum* 49,8%, *Record* 50,2%, *P/A* 50,1%).
- Four out of every five registered architects were working on non-residential building projects.
- No matter whether registered architects are working on non-residential, or residential projects, or both, equal percentage of regular readers are delivered by *Forum*, *Record* and *P/A*.
- Registered architects who design houses are regular readers of exclusively non-residential magazines as well as of magazines which do contain residential features.
- Less than one-third of the registered architects were working on residential buildings when the study was made.

Architectural Record 1942-1967

Chapters from the history of an architectural magazine

Phoebus Ilias Panigyrakis

The *Architectural Record* during its midcentury years of 1942 to 1967, was a riveting centre of architectural journalism following and participating in the changing development of the architectural profession. Through the Second World War and the Korean War that brought functionalist modernism to the foreword and through the emerging consumer market of the 1950s, the magazine's editors' mission was one of "helping this new-born architectural infant to learn to walk, talk, and attain his full power." Through archival research, this study deals with the particular history of the *Record* editors, publishers and contributors along the course of US midcentury modernism and the developing "image of the architect".

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