

Walls Have Feelings

architecture, film and the city

Katherine Shonfield



London and New York

**Also available as a printed book
see title verso for ISBN details**

Walls Have Feelings

architecture, film and the city

Every day films are made in cities, buildings and rooms, and every day architects and urbanists make decisions about cities, buildings and rooms. Their skills are addressed to the same subject but they inhabit different worlds. Now, for the first time, this book brings the insights, methodologies and visions of film to the practice of architecture.

Walls Have Feelings uses films to reassess post-war architecture and urbanism in London, Paris and New York. It takes a close and provocative look at classic films from the Forties, Fifties and Sixties, including *Alfie*, *Passport to Pimlico*, *Mary Poppins*, *Repulsion* and *Rosemary's Baby*. In particular, the book examines the equivocal portrayal of women and sex to provide new and surprising insights into the impact of 'technical' decisions – from road building to damp penetration – that currently affect our lives. This book interconnects the detail, the interior, and the city at large.

Walls Have Feelings poses unanswered questions from our immediate past, crucial for the future of the city: what was the cultural mind-set leading to the triumph of Brutalism? What is the urban and domestic impact of large-scale office building? Are there alternatives to the planners' city of objects? And why does your flat leak?

This book uniquely brings to bear questions of urgent cultural relevance on critical design decisions. As such, it is of as much importance to architects, planners and students of design as to students of cultural history, geography and all enthusiasts of cities and of film.

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For Roman Williams

How wonderful life is now you're in the world

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How to use this book

This book can be read in any order, from back to front, middle to end, as separate sections and as single chapters.

The proviso is that, like a film, it needs the reader to ‘run with’ its narrative for the duration. To begin to get into its insights you need to suspend some disbelief.

The aim of the book is to get at a number of questions about architecture, construction and the city through using film. And the point is to bring knowledge from fiction and film to challenge professional assumptions about the way architecture and the city invariably ‘work’. *Walls Have Feelings* is divided into three parts, which, if you read them consecutively, move from the particular to the general. The first is *The Detail*, the middle section, *The Interior*, and the final section is *The City*.

Readers with different interests can go straight for the parts that are important to them. If you are interested in film first, and architecture second, read Chapter 1, especially the second part which looks at parallels between the contrasting film aesthetics of an Ealing comedy, *Passport to Pimlico*, an example of the British New Wave, *It Happened Here*, and *Beat Girl*, a 1960s’ camp B-feature with a concrete interior. Read also Chapter 3, on Polanski’s *Repulsion* and *Rosemary’s Baby*; Chapter 4, concerning two films about offices in Manhattan, *The Apartment*, and *Sabrina Fair*, and two great films of 1960s’ London: *Alfie* and *Darling*; Chapter 5, about Jean-Luc Godard’s *Two or Three Things I Know About Her*, and Chapter 6, on *L.A. Story*, and three more London films: *Mary Poppins*, *The Chain*, about moving house, and *Four in the Morning*, about the River Thames.

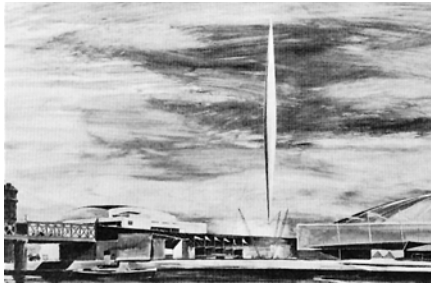
If you are interested in themes of gender, go to Chapter 3, an essay on two films which use the metaphor of the interior of the female body and the interior of an apartment; go to Chapter 4, which deals with the interrelationship of decorative femininity, the interior and the office in the 1960s; and Chapter 5, which is about the way the city of Paris, its interiors and the figure of a prostitute are metaphorically intertwined.

If you are interested in London, then you should go to Chapter 4, for issues emerging from the city’s rebuilding in the 1960s, and Chapter 6, for discussion of alternative imagery from fiction for envisioning London as a whole. For issues surrounding London’s post-war construction, go to Chapter 1 which deals with Brutalism, and Chapter 2, which is about building failure.

If your interest is building technology and its cultural implications, go to Chapter 2, which is an attempt to reassess assumptions in everyday building construction, and Chapter 3, for further discussion on permeability and the cultural imagery of technical literature.

A summary of the contents

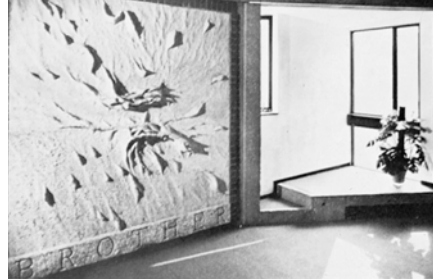
Chapter 1: *How Brutalism defeated picturesque populism: parallels in film and architecture* is set in a post-war Britain anxious about its borders. It draws parallels between the content and aesthetic of British picturesque modernism of the late 1940s, and a classic post-war comedy from London's Ealing studio; it contrasts this with Brutalism and the New Wave monochrome aesthetic of British cinema in the early 1960s.



Chapter 2: *Why does your flat leak?* uses fictions to start to probe building failures normally the province of the technical, in particular permeability. It undoes some of the blindness that comes with accepted ways of looking at construction, such as the Practical, the Common Sense and the Scientific.



In **Chapter 3**, *These walls have feelings: the interiors of Repulsion and Rosemary's Baby*, the architectural interiors in which these two films are set and the bodies of their heroines are interchangeable. This chapter reads these films against technical anxieties about construction, and, again, its permeability, played out in London and New York.



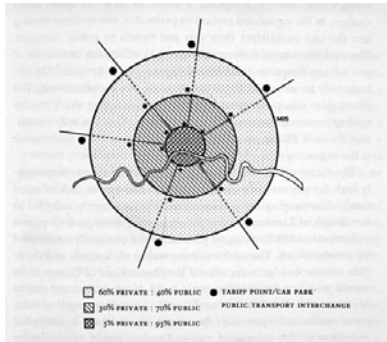
Chapter 4: *Wives and lovers: the 1960s' office interior: Alfie, The Apartment and Darling*, is about another interchangeability: when decorative women substitute for the decorative interior. It looks at the huge offices of London and New York, and the presentation of women within them, as opportunities for a new promiscuity.



In **Chapter 5:** *Free circulation = free copulation: women and roads in Nana and Two or Three Things I Know About Her*, both novel and film are about major road building projects which encompass and define the city. Like *Repulsion* and *Rosemary's Baby*, the body of the woman is a metaphor: this time, not just for the interior, but for the city as a whole.



Chapter 6: *Against the city of objects:* Our Mutual Friend, Mary Poppins, L.A. Story, considers how the metaphors of post-war planning in London enact the need to contain and delineate the city by exclusion. It looks at alternatives from film and the novel to open up future possibilities for new ways to comprehend the city as a whole.



The **Endpiece** is the most academic part of the book. In it I trace the theories and methods the rest of the book uses, and propose some new ways of using fiction in general to interpret architecture and the city. In a sense it is a key to threads which run through the chapters – but you do not need to read it to understand the rest of the book. Each chapter and part can, and does, stand alone.

Part one: The Detail

Chapter 1

How Brutalism defeated picturesque populism:

parallels in film and architecture

It is hardly possible to overdramatise the effects that the wholesale adoption of the Brutalist style – with its trademark bleak, uncovered, grey concrete – has had on the landscape of London. Together with its architectural sister, system building, and the monuments of the office boom, the tower blocks and new housing estates have transformed our experience of the city.

This book starts with an attempt to shed light on a question still to be answered, and which remains as urgent today as much as in the aftermath of the 1960s. What made the British reject out of hand their traditions of gentle adaptation and picturesque embellishment, and take on so comprehensively an architectural style that was self-consciously ugly and ideologically generated? The reason for the continued urgency is an apparently never-ending schism between how the general public perceive the after-effects of Brutalism, and the immovable conviction by architects that this period was their heyday. For architects, this was both the last time the profession could transform the everyday lives of the many on a concerted scale; and also the last time a style had social and political purpose, imbued with architectural integrity. As for the public, they just hate it.

The fall-out persists into this century. Before the public can give any large-scale commitment again to architects, a line of mutual understanding has to be drawn under the circumstances which generated the styles and forms of this period.

To begin a new exploration in this chapter, I try to do two things. The first is to suggest that *the defence (or otherwise) of the border* is an overriding theme which allows an understanding of the interconnection of political, social, architectural and cultural activities in the decades preceding the 1960s. The second is to look for insights outside architecture, specifically in film, and to seek parallels and commentary on the demise of the picturesque aesthetic in British cinema of the same period.

The picturesque architecture of the 1940s and early 1950s is currently enjoying new interest. Its most well-known example is the buildings of the Festival of Britain. This was a national festival put on six years after the end of war, in 1951, which temporarily occupied the area of the South Bank of the Thames directly opposite London's West End. I consider this against the once again popular Ealing comedy, *Passport to Pimlico*. The Festival buildings embody what's been seen either as a happy

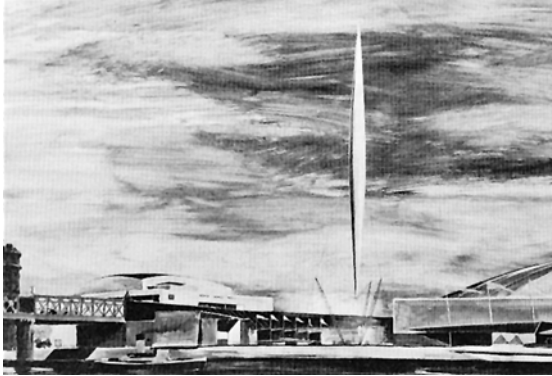
marriage or an abominable birth. They are the result of the fusion between two apparently opposed traditions: the rigours of international modernism and the English picturesque tradition, a tradition which implies design first and foremost in terms of the composition of a series of visual pictures.¹ In film, I suggest, there was a broad, and perhaps equally popular equivalent: the Ealing comedy. These quintessentially English films emanated from the Ealing Studio in west London, and were at their best in this period. They epitomise the spirit of post-war Britain and London in particular: a hybrid world where there was a simultaneous longing for radical change and tangible continuity. As if to express this strange contradiction, the comedies feature gangs of lovable robbers, charming and funny murderers and, in the case of *Passport to Pimlico*, sensible and conventional anarchists.

Both architecture and film began to go markedly out of fashion in the second post-war decade. They were replaced with monochrome, and supposedly true-to-life genres: Brutalism's parallel was Britain's version of the New Wave in cinema.² Angst-ridden, alienated loners replace chirpy communities. Remorseless realism replaces happy endings. This is both an exploration of parallels between their aesthetics and their preoccupations, and an attempt to cast insight from architecture on cinema and vice versa. The preoccupations of post-war architecture set the scene at the beginning of the chapter, and cinematic themes are taken up in the second half.

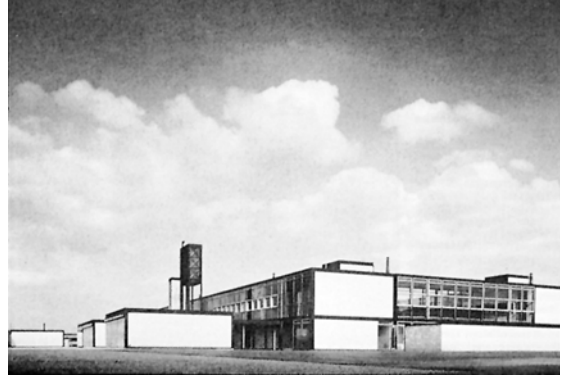
To allow speculation between the social, political architectural and filmic material, I use a fictional motif. It is extrapolated from the anthropologist Mary Douglas' theory of the origins of pollution taboos. It is described in more detail in this book's *Endpiece*. The point of using this work is to arrive at a kind of common *currency* which allows us to move between the various areas of exploration. As I indicated above, this concerns the idea of *the defence of the border*. Borders hold in what is defined and pure. And a set of characteristics allows identification of the pure in contrast to the hybrid. The pure can have a line drawn clearly round it. The pure can be reduced to an original set of classes. The borders between the *form* of the pure and the *formlessness* outside it, are well defined and self-evident.

The idea of the hybrid is the opposite of the pure. The hybrid straddles two or more classes; its edges are unclear, and difficult to delineate, to draw a line around. The hybrid doesn't have an identifiable, categorisable form. The hybrid obscures the possibility of its reduction to an original set of parts or classes. The hybrid transgresses the edges of established forms. The pure and the hybrid polarise the two tendencies in British post-war architecture. And these two tendencies can be personified in two iconic buildings, the Skylon and Hunstanton School.

The Skylon (Fig. 1.1) was a vertical structure built for the Festival of Britain in 1950, and designed by two competition-winning architectural students, Philip Powell and Hidalgo Moya. Hunstanton School, another competition winner designed



1.1 Drawing by Hidalgo Moya of the Skylon, Festival of Britain, London (1951): Powell and Moya.



1.2 Hunstanton School, Norfolk, UK (1956): Alison and Peter Smithson.

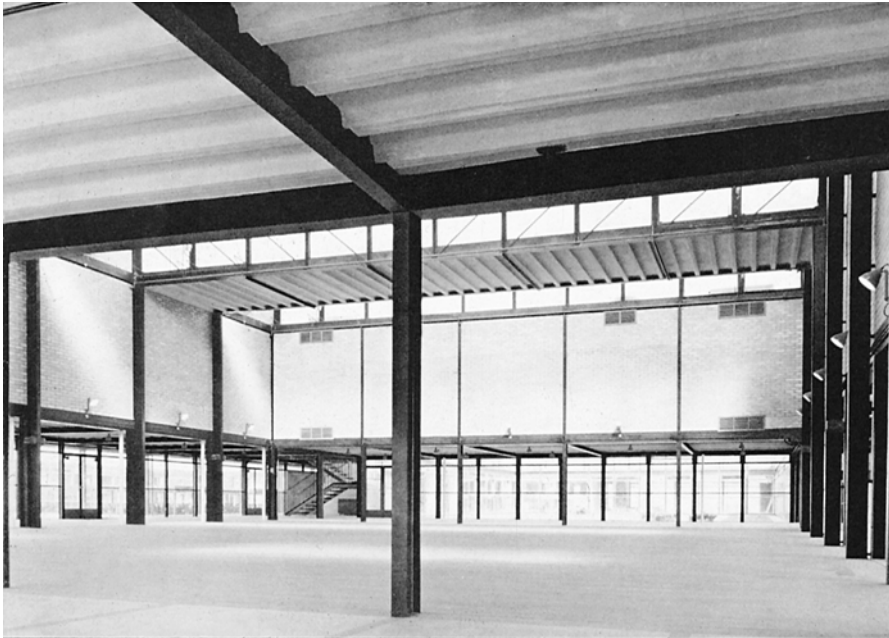
by Alison and Peter Smithson, was one of the first Brutalist buildings completed six years later, and crucial to Brutalism's identification as a new and challenging style (Fig. 1.2).

The presentation drawing shows the Skylon as part of a picturesque composition complete with moody sky, passing boat and Victorian railway bridge. It also shows that it is meant to be experienced as seamless. Skylon was clad in steel panelling but the edges between components are suppressed, the line between distinct constructional parts fuzzed. The structure connecting the Skylon to the ground is similarly made invisible. The structure seems to float intangibly: the point at its bottom end means it can never sit on the ground like a structure that could be categorised as 'tower'. Skylon, like its equally popular post-war namesake, Nylon, is a hybrid.

By contrast, Hunstanton is pure. While it completely lacks what became the Brutalist tag, uncovered concrete, Hunstanton is a textbook of the characteristics behind the *idea* of this most self-conscious of styles. Hunstanton declares the distinct categories of its construction throughout. The edge is clearly underlined between brick panel and steel frame. It is equally clear that the frame not the bricks holds the building up. The purity of its form, expressed by the parts that make up the building, is as transparent from inside as it is from outside (Fig. 1.3).

No attempt is made to cover up any edge, or obscure any category. In this interpretation, Brutalism defends borders; it upholds the unpolluted and pure against the hybrid characteristics of the Festival Style.

The problem, though, as ever, is how to relate these specifically *visual* aspects of architecture to broader social and political ideas, that is, the context for these two



1.3 Interior of hall at Hunstanton School, Norfolk, UK (1956): Alison and Peter Smithson.

markedly different ways of making buildings. Mary Douglas herself establishes terms which cross over from the material to the social. She characterises four varieties of social ‘pollution’, all associated with defence of the border. They are threats to external boundaries; threats to internal lines within a social system; threats to margins of the lines defining a social system; and the fourth variety is ‘danger from internal contradiction, when some of the basic postulates are denied by other basic postulates, so that at certain points the system seems to be at war with itself’.³ All these kinds of social pollution described directly threaten the coherent *delineation* of a particular community, its defining edges and rules. They can be used to understand perceived threats to the architectural community itself after the end of the second world war, and to characterise those threats as a battle of the pure versus the hybrid.

The architectural historian and critic, Reyner Banham, is acknowledged as the official chronicler of Brutalism. He himself along with Alison and Peter Smithson was a member of the self-styled Independent Group, an avant-garde of artists and architects, formed in London in 1952. They originated both the idea and the term ‘Brutalism’. It is from the activities and concerns of the Independent Group that he identifies the genesis of the style in his 1966 book *The New Brutalism*.⁴ For Banham, it’s clear that what the profession understood as ‘architecture’ was under threat both

from the Festival Style, and also from widespread local authority architecture of the immediate post-war years,

a style based on a sentimental regard for nineteenth century vernacular usages, with pitched roofs, brick or rendered walls, window boxes, balconies, pretty paintwork, a tendency to elaborate woodwork detailing and freely picturesque grouping.⁵

He goes on:

The younger generation, viewing these works, had the depressing sense that the drive was going out of Modern Architecture, its pure dogma being diluted by politicians and compromisers who had lost their intellectual nerve.⁶

The functionalist principles of modernist design were handed down from the European masters of the early years of the 20th century. These principles were, by the end of the 1930s, the established rules of architectural practice. Going back to Douglas, it was these rules – machine aesthetic and anti-decorative in appearance – which defined the internal lines, the borders, of architectural aesthetics as a system. And it is these rules, referred to by Banham as modern architecture's 'pure dogma', which were perceived as polluted and transgressed by the post-war hybrid style.

It was not just the new style's literal transgression of pure modernist lines with 'elaborate woodwork detailing and freely picturesque grouping' that threatened professional purity. It was the very fact of the *hybridity* of this new, debased, modernist style. Douglas' statement that pollution threatens when there is 'danger from internal contradiction . . . so that . . . the system seems to be at war with itself' is particularly apposite here. Banham does not identify this as a problem of confrontation of one style with another. Rather, his concern is with the *debasing* of the identifying characteristics of modernism by the new style, which in the public mind was and continues to be associated with 'modern architecture'. The problem, in other words, is the hybrid.

It's important that Banham places Brutalism's ruthless pursuit of 'honesty' in architecture in the tradition of the great modernist rule-makers.

The morality that approved the raw concrete of the Unité (of Le Corbusier) could equally well approve the use that Mies van der Rohe had made of steel, glass and brick in the campus buildings at Illinois.⁷

Reflecting its 19th-century origins as an idea in the work of John Ruskin and others, architectural 'honesty' is characterised as not covering things up. In other words, the

moral connotations of the ‘honest’ are directly transferred onto the architecture. True architecture is created out of a series of bold, and bald, statements of what material abuts what, what structure supports what. How the building is *revealed* to have been made is all important. So this is inevitably an aesthetic preoccupied with construction. It is above all at the junction between two building elements that the architect has the choice between an aesthetic of hiding, covering up how the building is put together, and one of revealing it. If we associate the idea of the *honest* with the *pure*, the characteristics of Brutalist architecture slip into place. These include the use of materials that can be called ‘elemental’ rather than hybrid, invented ones – as in concrete, and not plastic. It means the emphatic underlining of the identifiable origins of materials – as in never colouring painting or rendering over concrete. It means the accentuation of the undisguised edge to a building component, such as recessed joints between individual bricks.

What is intriguing about this particular architectural aesthetic is that these are essentially arbitrary formal qualities, but they come not just to *signify* honesty, but to be understood as honest *in and of themselves*, the moral essence of honesty, as Ruskin himself would have argued. Despite the best intentions of the movement’s promoters, revealed in Peter Smithson’s well-known statement of 1957,

Any discussion of Brutalism will miss the point if it does not take into account Brutalism’s attempt to be objective about ‘reality’ – the cultural objectives of society, its urges, its techniques and so on. Brutalism tries to face up to a mass producing society and drag a rough poetry out of the confused and powerful forces which are at work.⁸

the aesthetic signifiers of Brutalist architecture move beyond referent to subject. What this means is that ‘morality’ in construction is proof to the profession of the internal consistency of its own architectural language, and the firmness of its own closely guarded social distinctions, its ‘internal lines’. Through this sleight of hand, where formal characteristics are inherently honest, it becomes possible to prove a morality, a worthiness in architecture *completely independently* of its social impact on the external world.⁹ And this means that an architect can be well satisfied that his architecture is *moral* despite perceptions on the part of users and the general public that it is *a travesty of morality*. This goes some way to explain the profession’s astounding deafness to the outcry against Brutalist-derived aesthetics which started in the 1970s.

Banham, writing in *The New Brutalism*, conveys the feeling that the post-war decade is a period of political, as well as architectural, muddle, and indeed muddiness. The war-time experiences of the designers of the first new towns and the Festival of Britain ‘had served to confuse their aims and blunt their intellectual attack’.¹⁰ In

particular, Banham implicates the championing by the London County Council, which was the largest architectural practice in post-war Britain, of the decorated modernism he calls ‘People’s Detailing’. He intimates that the style was associated with the Communist caucus within its architect’s department, and that it was seen as the equivalent to Socialist Realism, the Communist Party’s officially sanctioned aesthetic at the time. This is the political context for the unprecedented vilification by Reyner Banham of the respected editor of *Architectural Review*, J.M. Richards, for his book on the English suburb, *The Castles on the Ground*.¹¹

Banham calls the book

a specimen example of war-time home thoughts from abroad, a sentimental evocation (written in Cairo) of the virtues and less damaging vices of Victorian suburbia . . . this book in particular was regarded . . . as a blank betrayal of everything that the Modern Architecture was supposed to stand for.¹²

The betrayal was personal. Before the war, Richards had been one of the most vociferous and influential of exponents of European modernism. *The Castles on the Ground* is a persuasive argument for an architecture of ‘the animating spirit of popular sanction’ – popular architecture, as we would now call it. Such an architecture should stand against both ‘private connoisseurship and technological narcissism’,¹³ and the notion of an avant-garde. And writing on the avant-garde, Richards says that:

we can only progress democratically at a speed which does not outpace the slow growth of the public’s understanding, in particular its assimilation of social and technical change.¹⁴

Richards’ argument favours the suburb. For him it is the formal, architectural expression of a democratic (i.e. popularly led) assimilation of such technological and social change. In fact, his aesthetic support for the suburban *form* rests precisely on the fact that it is a hybrid, and does not fit into one or the other accepted planning category:

It is a mistake to think of the suburb as either the town spaced out or the country packed close . . . the suburb is not primarily a mechanism, nor is it in any sense a modification of something previously existing; it is a world peculiar to itself and – as with a theatre’s drop scene – before and behind it there is nothing.¹⁵

The theatrical metaphor – ‘before and behind it there is nothing’ – reveals not only that Richards sees the suburb as a hybrid, but as a form *where issues of honesty are*

entirely irrelevant. There is an implied political association between arguments for Socialist Realism, with the promotion of hybrid, and fuzzy forms – whether architectural or urban. This is made clear when Richards writes:

What the mass of the Russian public – like the mass of English suburban residents – require of their architecture is a sense that it represents what they themselves are striving after and it must do so in a language they already understand . . . In fact for all their distance apart, geographically and spiritually, Moscow and Metroland have this in common, that architecture is to them not an art form to be accepted or rejected according to the rules of aesthetic taste. It is a symbol of what is real and tangible in an uncertain world.¹⁶

So, this interpretation of *the defence of the border* provides a way of understanding in parallel three sources of disquiet which all colour London's post-war architectural world. The first is to do with form. It concerns the urge to establish an unequivocal set of rules to delineate what is acceptable in built, physical architecture. The second is social. It is the architectural profession's preoccupation with rules defining and delineating its sense of itself. And the third is the wider post-war political context – of flux, uncertainty and change.

On a much broader international scale than architectural infighting at the London County Council during the 1940s, this period was a time of confusion, of shifting social and political borders. The changing status of Russia within a six-year period from foe (1939–42) to ally (1942–48) to foe again (1948 onwards) affected everyone in the West, not just Communist Party members and fellow travellers. It meant certainties of good/evil, east/west, progressive/reactionary were inevitably much more wobbly than in the 20 years preceding the second world war. The proceedings of the 1949 meeting of CIAM,¹⁷ an international organisation of architects which was by now the established voice of the European modernist ascendancy, reflect the three parallel disputes over a sense of order, outlined above, in this wider context.

Siegfried Gideon, the greatest of the chroniclers of modernism, chaired a meeting of the committee on aesthetics – an issue raised for the first time at the previous year's meeting at Bridgwater in Britain.¹⁸ There, Richards and the MARS¹⁹ group (an association of British modernists) had posed this challenging question for modernist faith:

What can architects do to take into account those qualities in building that have, at the present moment, a symbolic or emotional significance for ordinary people so that architecture shall remain an art in whose adventures they can share?

The 1949 response was an uncompromising appeal to the honest and authentic:²⁰

CIAM cannot accept class distinctions nor a lowering of artistic standards for sentimental or political reasons. On the contrary we believe that anyone not perverted by false education is capable of appreciating true values in art.

The representatives from Eastern Europe, an architectural couple appropriately called the Syrkuses, were involved in the reconstruction plan for Warsaw, based, in the centre at least, on the meticulous replication of pre-war urban order. They confirmed the convergence of the political motive with the revision of modernist architectural form. Their argument developed the implications of J.M. Richards' book by directly challenging the principle of revealed honesty in construction:

Art belongs to the people and is understandable by the people . . . Construction is but a skeleton. It has great interest for the anatomist, but for the rest it only becomes beautiful when it is covered with fine muscle and lovely skin. We had nothing else to offer at the time when CIAM began, and so we made a fetish of the skeleton.²¹

This was the Communist Party line: the architectural version of Socialist Realism in the arts, and a reversal of earlier Party support for the modernist avant-garde. Joan Ockman documents how it was soon to be reversed, yet again:

Five years later, after Stalin's death, the Syrkuses would return to the functionalist line newly rehabilitated under Nikita Khrushchev, and in 1956 Szymon Syrkus would travel to CIAM's meeting in Dubrovnik to undertake the necessary revanchism.²²

The undeniable political corruption behind changes of architectural stance, such as those which Ockman documents, and the resulting final disillusionment of progressives with Communism on the invasion of Hungary by Russia in 1956, served only to confirm the moral worth of the architecture and the character of those professionals who had steadfastly adhered to 'honest' rules all the way through. The assumption was established that there is an irradicable correspondence between honest constructional aesthetic, pure rules and a transparent, uncorruptible political position. It continues to this day.

Hybrid Ealing vs. pure new wave – three London films

The parallel in this second part of the chapter is between the circumstances of Brutalism's rejection of the hybrid, picturesque style, and the emergence of British

New Wave cinema, and its own break with the picturesque manifestations of the Ealing Studio. I speculate on the aesthetics and the content of a contemporary change in British cinema, embodied in two great films about London, *Passport to Pimlico* (directed by Henry Cornelius, 1948) and *It Happened Here* (directed by Kevin Brownlow and Andrew Mollo, 1956–63).

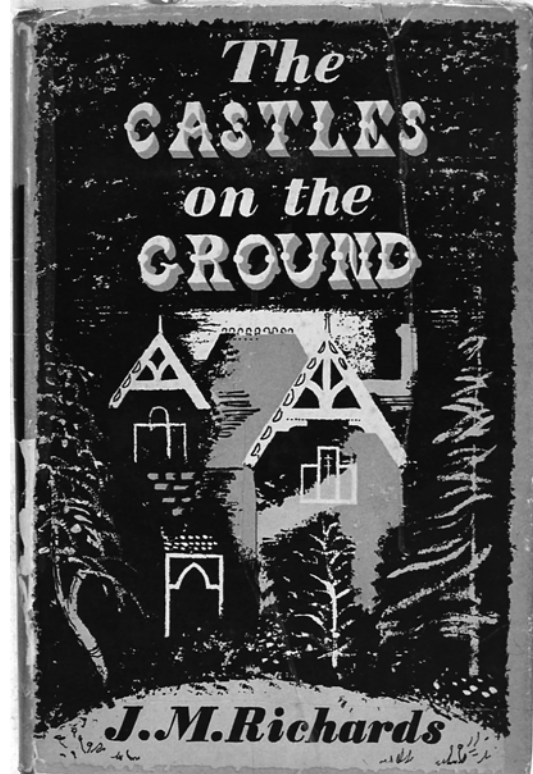
It may seem at first sight eccentric to compare *Passport to Pimlico*, one of the most popular British film comedies ever, with *It Happened Here*, a film that was initiated by a 16-year-old and an 18-year-old in 1956 and was finished seven years later in 1963, and is so disturbing that it remained banned from British television until the early 1980s. But I have deliberately chosen two films to look at in correspondence with the two eras under examination, the 1940s, and the second half of the 1950s, and which are both set in London. They also both tackle the disquieting question: what if the outcome of the war were different? In *Passport to Pimlico* during the immediate post-war aftermath, the inner London district of Pimlico discovers that it is not British at all, but part of the ancient Duchy of Burgundy. In *It Happened Here*, Britain has been defeated by Germany and is under Nazi occupation.

The post-war preoccupation with the nature of nationality and the need for a popular recognition of nationhood is an underlying theme of J.M. Richards' *The Castles on the Ground*. War-time propaganda obviously made it necessary for national identification to be associated unequivocally with the Allies. *Passport to Pimlico* should be seen against the background of Britain Standing Alone propaganda of the first years of the war; the need to frame what was being fought for in terms of protecting what it meant to be British, and the USSR's shifting status in these years from enemy to friend and back again. The great Ealing comedies of the end of the 1940s, *Passport to Pimlico*, *Whisky Galore* and *Kind Hearts and Coronets*, all obsessively explore the hybrid and elusive qualities of Britishness. It is characteristic of them that they combine, like the style and content of the Festival of Britain itself, outrageously imaginative future possibilities with a quaint respect for a quirky, irregular way of life, which signifies a kind of unchanging familiarity. In the Festival this saw the juxtaposition of the still startling futuristic Skylon and Dome of Discovery, with content such as an embroidered relief mural by the Women's Institute entitled 'The Country Wife'.²³ A peculiar graphic style signals this merging of apparently distinct positions. It appears in the advertisement for *Kind Hearts and Coronets* (Fig. 1.4) and is familiar from *The Castles on the Ground* (Fig. 1.5); a graphic with its very own compromised edges and broken lines.

Passport to Pimlico captures London's immediate post-war mood. The people of Pimlico are fed up to the back teeth with all the state restrictions remaining from the war economy, such as trade curbs, food rationing and curfews. Some treasure and ancient documents are unearthed on a bomb site which prove Pimlico to be part of



1.4 *Kind Hearts and Coronets* (1949): Poster.



1.5 *The Castles on the Ground* (1946):
Front cover by John Piper.

the independent French Duchy of Burgundy. After a period of freedom, confrontation with the authorities, and a blockade, Pimlico renegotiates itself as part of Britain. The heat wave that has been continuous since Pimlico was declared part of continental Europe, promptly ends with a massive downpour.

In the aftermath of Pimlico's transformation into Burgundy, a series of social and architectural borders are transgressed. The change to continental, sultry weather turns the squalid back yards of the inner city into a site for romance where a female citizen of Pimlico and the young Burgundian duke kiss. In the new Pimlico two defining characteristics of Britishness are questioned: sexual reticence and grotty back yards. The assailant is a European, literally a category of person which had been out-of-bounds for the duration of the war. On becoming Burgundians, the Pimlico citizens initiate after-hours drinking, free dancing and singing: all social activities, then as now, contained by licence in the UK. They lift rationing and trade restrictions.

The British state's response to these transgressions provides the comedy's most disturbing, and surprising image: Pimlico is cordoned off with a barbed wire fence, a physical, national border where passport controls are promptly installed. The source of all this containment and control of daily life is consistently shown as a bureaucratic, impersonal state. Exactly who has propriety over definitions of nationality is questioned. Nationality defined through *delineation*, the imposition of lines which define pure and impure is particularly called into doubt. Images of Londoners throwing food over the Pimlico barbed wire are a pointed reminder of the Berlin Airlift of the same year, when the non-Communist zones of Berlin were impelled to receive their supplies by air (Fig. 1.6). The trauma of the German capital is, rather touchingly, played out on the fabric of London, its declared enemy only two years before the film was made. The overt analogy suggests that people are pawns and victims of manipulation of notions of nationality in both cities.



1.6 *Passport to Pimlico* (1948): Throwing food over the border to blockaded Pimlico.

Notwithstanding the best attempts of Churchill's 1946 speech to announce an Iron Curtain across Europe, intent on the rigid redefinition of lines of national identity, the spirit of post-war resistance to categorical delineations of nationality is neatly summed up in *Passport to Pimlico*. Betty Warren, a Pimlico grocer's wife, declares:

We always were English, and we will always be English, and it's just because we're English we're sticking out for our right to be Burgundians.

The state of Englishness paradoxically occurs only when the district becomes ersatz France by becoming Burgundy – a mythic place in between the two, neither France nor England. True Englishness exists only when nationality is smeared.

Consequent on its cat-and-mouse game with border and transgression, Pimlico blossoms into a new series of architecturally hybrid (for Britain) adaptations of the street: markets unrestricted by licence, and pavement cafés. The bomb site is flooded to form an open air lido, with a picturesque backdrop of mid-Victorian façades which previously fronted the street (Fig. 1.7).

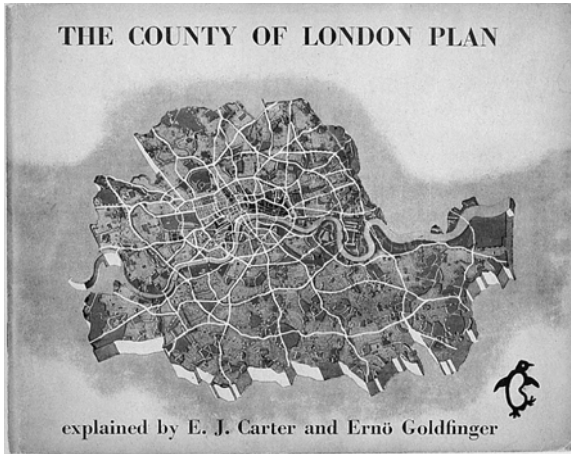
A model and plans for a new centre, in the post-war picturesque modern style, are enthusiastically adopted. Even the barbed wire cordon is literally undermined, as lads crawl under it to experience the rest of London as a foreign territory. They visit and enjoy London's monuments as if they are tourists, and escape back into the haven of Pimlico, newly defined by its imposed borders as different.

Like *Passport to Pimlico*, *It Happened Here* is a story of a fictional post-war era. But instead of winning, Britain has capitulated. A Nazi administration is established. The story is of a woman caught in the crossfire between Nazis and Allied Resistance. Following the shooting of her neighbours, she is forcibly evacuated from her west country village. In London she joins 'Immediate Action', a quasi-military, Fascist nursing corps. She is punished for helping a wounded partisan, and ends up at a tranquil country hospital unknowingly giving lethal injections to those no longer desired by the state. She escapes – the film ends with her capture by partisans.

The continuing preoccupation with the delineation of nationality is introduced in *It Happened Here's* opening sequence. It uses an image familiar to Britons from another opening sequence: that of *Dad's Army*, a cosily nostalgic television comedy set in the early 1940s.²⁴ The Nazi onslaught through Europe is depicted as a series of invading arrows. In *Dad's Army*, however, plucky little arrows fend off the big European bully, and the sharp, white cliff edge to Britain remains intact. This defined island image is found again in the Ernő Goldfinger version of Abercrombie's Plan for London for the general public,²⁵ drawn up during the war. It introduced the idea of the Green Belt, a cordon of open land restraining London, beyond which new satellite towns could contain growth. The Goldfinger version depicts the growth of London as an uncontrollable red peril spreading over the South East (see Chapter 6, Fig. 6.1). It has a plethora of images concerned with the need to contain, delineate and categorise (zone) urban activity. The cover actually shows *London* as an island like Britain, its edge defined by white cliffs (Fig. 1.8), whereas in the opening sequence of *It Happened Here* Britain is shown joined seamlessly with continental Europe. The



1.7 *Passport to Pimlico* (1948): Pimlico Lido.



1.8 *The County of London Plan* (1945) explained by E.J. Carter and Ernő Goldfinger: Front cover.



1.9 *It Happened Here* (1956-63): Opening sequence.

arrows of Nazi progress overrun everywhere (Fig. 1.9). The film's ceaselessly chilling effect starts with an attack on the most familiar way the British defend the borders of their idea of nationhood: as an island.

It Happened Here describes a 'what if . . .?' London through icons of the capital's familiar normality as does *Passport to Pimlico*. Where *Passport* makes a point of featuring the No. 24 bus which continues to go to Pimlico, in *It Happened Here* the 159 red double-decker also carries on going to Streatham Common. It still advertises the *Picture Post*, but now it carries SS officers. Virtually every major physical symbol of stability is shown in occupation by Nazis; and each image delivers its own well-aimed punch in the groin of national self-knowledge. Nazis march outside the most famous survivor of the Blitz, the massive bombardment of London by Germany in 1940, St Paul's Cathedral. Nazified newspaper advertisements for familiar papers are displayed against the backdrop of the Mother of Parliaments (Fig. 1.10).

Nazi soldiers pay homage at the Albert Memorial, the monument erected by a grieving Queen Victoria to her dead German husband, provoking its insidious re-reading as a Teutonic Valhalla.

Brownlow and Mollo build up a palette of harsh contrasts: in each frame the two symbols of apparent categorical difference, British nationhood and Nazi supremacy, are clashed brutally together. What is depicted *within the film* is not, unlike the fantasy 1948 *Pimlico*, a set of transgressions, rule breakings and indeterminate hybrids: in *It Happened Here* two monoliths are shown in unassailable integrity, and the story is of an isolated individual caught between the two. What is under attack,



1.10 *It Happened Here* (1956–63): Nazi images on newspaper advertisements outside the Houses of Parliament.

however, by the film *as a whole* is the same post-war fuzziness of position that Reyner Banham finds reprehensible in J.M. Richards. In architectural terms that can be understood as the view that the established, traditional built fabric of Britain is somehow inherently decent and reflective of national virtue. As it were in response, Brownlow and Mollo single out the unexceptional banality of the suburban terrace, the location of J.M. Richards' sense of nationhood, to site their most inescapably shocking episodes. It is the point where architectural and environmental iconography are apparently at their most cosy that the viewer searches in vain for respite from the film's remorseless violence. It is from the suburban terrace that the 'heroine' takes her measured decision to join the Fascist medical corps. It is in the Home Counties country house that she administers her lethal injections.

Both the content and the aesthetic of this New Wave film have a kinship with Brutalist preoccupations. Architecture was not alone among the arts in perceiving a feeble lack of direction in the post-war decade, characterised by the 1951 Festival of Britain. In 1956 the first Angry Young Man appears in the theatre, in synchrony with the completion of Hunstanton School: Banham notes that the 'revolt' of the younger generation of architects 'has been compared to the Angry Young Men of the British

theatre'.²⁶ Jimmy Porter, John Osborne's protagonist in *Look Back in Anger* is not nice, he is brutal: to his wife he says: 'I want to see you grovel. I want to see your face rubbed in the mud.'²⁷ This contemporary description of the Angry Young Man is taken from Robert Hewison's book *In Anger*:

A new hero has risen among us. He is consciously, even conscientiously, graceless. His face when not dead pan is set in a snarl of exasperation. He has one skin too few . . . it is the phoney to which his nerve endings are tremblingly exposed. At the least suspicion of the phoney he gets tough.²⁸

It reads almost as a formal prescription of the soon-to-be popularised Brutalist style in architecture. The *moral* obligation of gracelessness is suggested by the word *conscientious*; 'his dead pan face', the façade of buildings which reject decorative false fronts; his 'one skin too few', the exposure of vital structure to the exterior without a mediating cover. And, above all, the assumption of honesty behind the driving rejection of the false and the phoney.

In 1959 the director Tony Richardson wrote:

It is absolutely vital to get into British films the same sort of impact and sense of life that what you can loosely call the Angry Young Man cult has had in the theatre and literary worlds . . . It is a desperate need.²⁹

Like Brutalism, the New Wave can be said to have had self-consciously avant-garde origins, manifested first in the magazine *Sequence*, founded in Oxford in 1947, and then in 1956 in the magazine *Free Cinema*, which 'set out to celebrate "the significance of the everyday" . . . The impetus was directly social.'³⁰ In *Free Cinema No. 1* Lindsay Anderson wrote:

An attitude means a style. A style means an attitude. Implicit in our attitude is a belief in freedom, in the importance of people and the significance of the everyday.³¹

Robert Hewison comments that the cinema of the post-war years was 'still obstinately class bound; still rejecting the stimulus of contemporary life'.³² In contrast, a contemporary commentator observed New Wave films confronted 'life as grey, grimy and desperately restricted, never more so than in its pleasures which are taken solemnly, and almost always end in quarrels'.³³ In similar spirit, Nigel Henderson, a member of the Independent Group's Brutalist core, exhibited black and white photographs of the East End at the 1953 ICA show *Parallel of Life and Art* which

stressed the unsanitised reality of everyday life: Peter Smithson's defence of Brutalism through the categorical rhetoric of objectivity and truth, quoted above, echoes Anderson.

It is the automatic connection – still accepted without explanation – made in both Brutalist architecture and in filmic New Wave, between brutal, raw, uncovered aesthetic characteristics, and an intention of moral exposure that is remarkable.

The aesthetic affinity of the two media, Brutalist architecture and New Wave cinema, emerges in their mutual preoccupation with monochrome. While the black and white of *It Happened Here* was necessitated by its exceptionally cheap production costs, the mainstream films of the New Wave era – *A Taste of Honey*, *This Sporting Life*, *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*³⁴ – arguably rejected well-developed colour technology. It was a move akin to Brutalism's own rejection of new, highly coloured, hybrid and artificial building materials, such as the plastic-based panelling, available by the early 1950s, and extensively used in the Festival of Britain. The devastating close-close-ups of *It Happened Here* introduce a sense of monochromatic texture absent from *Passport to Pimlico*. The nearest *Passport to Pimlico* gets to a close-up is a decorous composition of two or three people, or a protagonist talking to others – a technique which emphasises communality, not isolation. In the opening scenes of *It Happened Here* the camera pans across a wall (Fig. 1.11) in a set of frames demonstrating texture alone, to convey the flight of innocent people caught in crossfire between partisans and Nazis. The occupation of the whole frame with the shrapnelled face of a victim becomes a revelation of brutalised surface (Fig. 1.12).

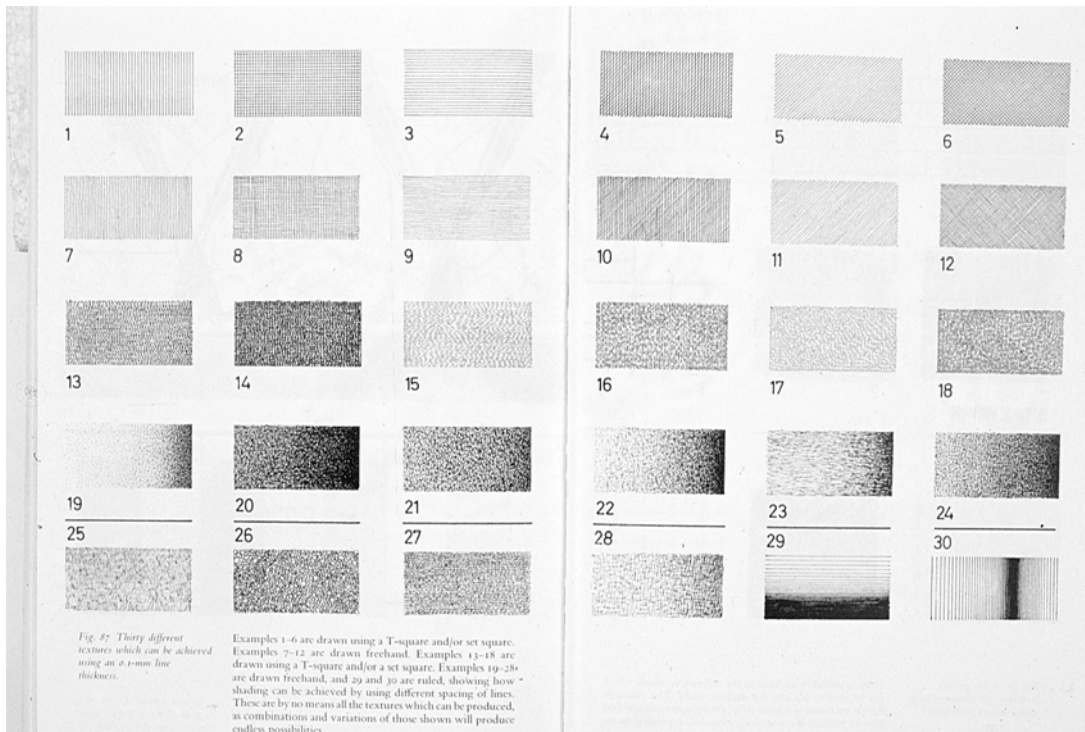


1.11 *It Happened Here* (1956–63): Part of a 5-second sequence where the camera pans close up along a wall, revealing texture alone.



1.12 *It Happened Here* (1956–63): Close-up of a shrapnelled face; deliberately upside down it focuses on its brutalised surface.

Brutalism's continuing sway over the prevailing architectural aesthetic is systematically revealed in the obsessional working of the monochrome building surface represented in *Rendering with Pen and Ink*.³⁵ *Rendering with Pen and Ink* was a technical manual of the early 1970s, aimed at architectural draughtsmen. The book describes an exhaustive catalogue of techniques achievable in the depiction of buildings' exteriors (Fig. 1.13), all within the honest restrictions and categorisations of the Brutalist palette. It is the raw surface of the actual material of construction, rather than any applied finish which is depicted.

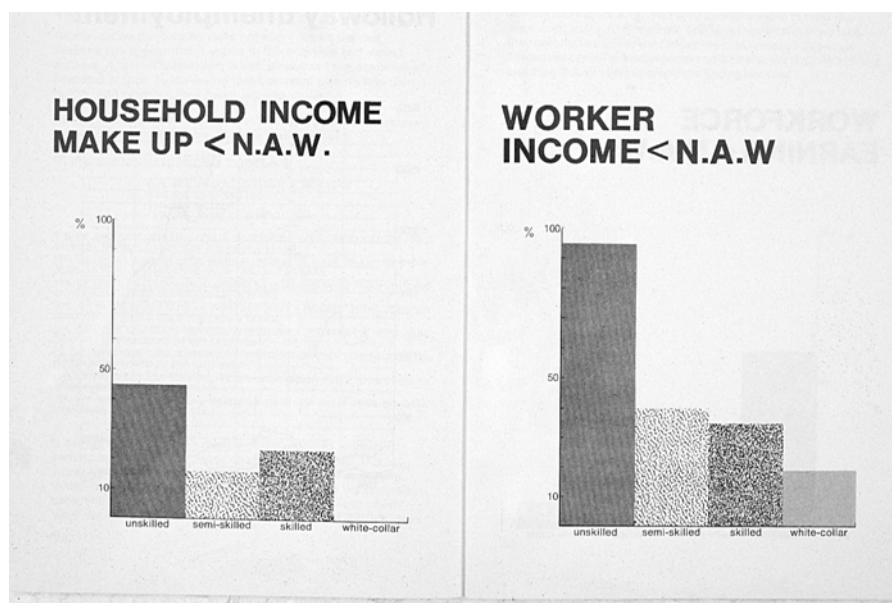


1.13 *The Thames and Hudson Manual of Rendering with Pen and Ink* (1973): Catalogue of different surfaces available to the draughtsman using a consistent width of technical pen.

As in Brownlow and Mollo's film, variation is restricted and contained to shades of grey. This is compounded by the discipline imposed by a single-line thickness of technical pen. Ink is unable to flow through such pens unless they are used at a consistent vertical angle, giving an 'objective', i.e. non-varying, line. As virtually all production and presentation information used the technical pen, mainstream office

practice gave, by default, the capabilities of such a pen decisive authority over what could and could not be depicted. The book *Community Decay*³⁶ of the same period, presents the unpalatable reality of sub-standard housing-stock statistics using the same technique as *Rendering with Pen and Ink*.

Textured monochromatic block charts represent the extent of deprivation. These block charts have the form and textural quality of graphic representations of Brutalist-derived panel built tower blocks, constructed to replace the outdated terraced house (Fig. 1.14). An image from the book juxtaposes just such a terraced house from an inner London suburb, with a page of unassailable ‘truths’ representing the raw horror of what lurks, covered up, and undeclared within.



1.14 *Community Decay* (1973): The brutal truth about the Victorian terraced houses.

This image of stark abutment of the apparently known and familiar with the revealed truth can be read against *It Happened Here*'s own image of a terraced house with a row of armed Nazis stationed in front.

Both images attack the deceptive harmlessness of accepted signifiers of normality and Britishness. Both the image from *Community Decay* and from *It Happened Here* seek to demonstrate unarguably that just 'here' is where it can, and does, 'happen'.

The Brutalist champion and the New Wave film-maker loathe moral and social ambiguity, sentimentality (a key term of condemnation in Reyner Banham's writing), and fuzziness. It follows that these aesthetics challenge the sentimentality and ambiguity of cultural symbols in general. In particular, they challenge the belief that *architectural* symbols whether the monument (St Paul's/Skylon), or the suburban family home (*The Castles on the Ground*) can convey a consistent and good meaning. As we have seen, *It Happened Here* methodically gathers up the major architectural symbols of London's fight for democracy and freedom, and cancels them out by the unequivocally brutal presence of the Nazis. The brutal technique is needed to cut through a decade or more of myth-making and propaganda, during war-time and after, which relied on unspoken and unclarified association. The earlier film, *Passport to Pimlico*, deliberately plays with notions of fuzziness, challenging restriction and categorisation, but this is played out against the stability of defined certainties. Britishness, for example, is symbolised by the dilapidated but unconquered fabric of London. As in J.M. Richards' book *The Castles on the Ground*, the notion that a benign nationhood resides mysteriously in the established architectural fabric is unchallenged. Brownlow and Mollo's film is in direct opposition to such an assumption: in Peter Smithson's words, it faces up, in a big way, to the reality of post-war life: it is concerned with dragging to the surface what we are in the habit of covering up.

The Brutalist demand for demonstrable honesty has an inevitable architectural result: inside becomes the same as outside. The Smithson's Hunstanton School is the archetypal example of this. The constructional system of panel and frame requires that both panel and frame are visible from both sides of the wall, inside and outside (Fig. 1.2) and (Fig. 1.3). Anything less would entail a covering up, an obscuring of the self-evident truth of the construction. Moreover, it is essential for the maintenance of purity that the distinct element, the wall, is unsmearred at the edges, and is seen to be clearly delineated. In this way, the interior, separate and distinct from the outside, begins to be called into question.

Beat Girl (1960, directed by Edmond T. Greville) takes up this architectural theme. 'A risible expose-style melodrama' according to *Halliwel's Film Guide*,³⁷ the protagonists are a successful architect, his new young wife, and his teenage daughter. The film is a prurient B-feature showing a young girl taking to drugs, drink and sex. It draws a parallel with the architect's denial of the physical interior of their domestic home, and his synonymous denial and ignorance of his daughter's *interior* life – what is going on in her head. To express this, the film creates a unique inside architecture. While it presents a surface Brutalism of raw concrete panelling, the filmic interior makes explicit all that is denied by such an aesthetic – i.e. the messy trappings of everyday life – by situating them *within the interior of the wall itself* (Figs 1.15 and 1.16).



1.15 *Beat Girl* (1960): The TV lurks behind its concrete screen.

To make this dramatic point, the film creates the impossible: a Brutalist interior which, far from being merely the other side of the wall, is a manifestly deliberate insert. It is situated within the conventional brick-built exterior of a suburban house with the usual trappings, including decorative awning and window boxes. The opening scenes of *Beat Girl* show a Rolls-Royce drawing up to this London house, containing architect and new bride. Once inside, the double-skinned wall, like an exceptionally narrow haunted house, reveals to the viewer the hidden world which its austere surface forbids. The interior is wholly lined with concrete panelling: it is a Brutalist hybrid. To compound the irony, all the accoutrements of a conventional pre-war life, against which the spirit of Brutalism railed, are present and correct. So the hall, complete with its concrete panelled stair, is the meeting place for the immaculately uniformed elderly housekeeper to greet the young bride (Fig. 1.17).

The conventions slip effortlessly into this new aesthetic austerity. And as effectively as if tucked behind a pre-war green baize door, the new interior has done away not just with the signs of domesticity, but with all signs of human inhabitation.

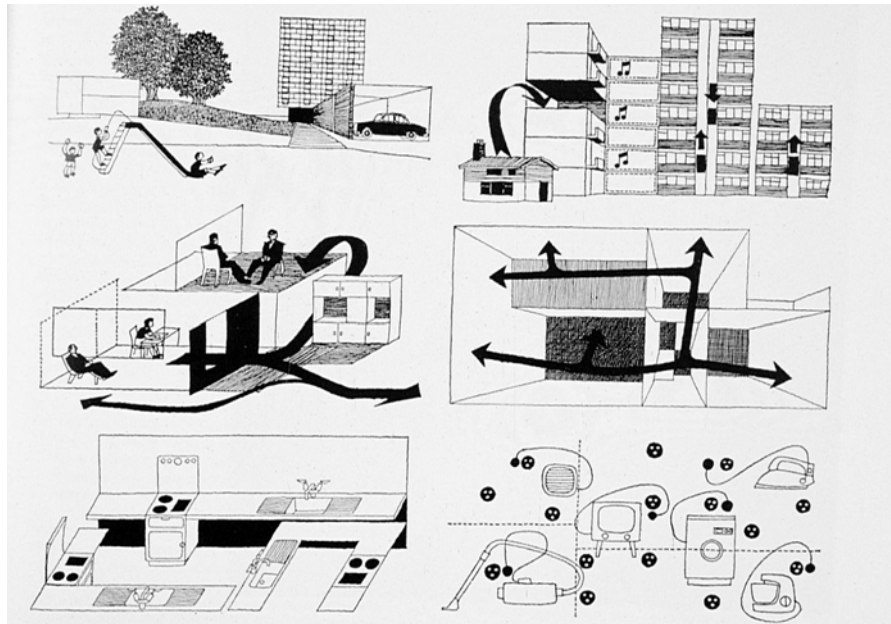


1.16 *Beat Girl* (1960): The wall contains Beat Girl's messy record collection.

1.17 *Beat Girl* (1960): Housekeeper greets architect and new bride in concrete panelled hallway.



The contemporary diagrams from *Parker Morris*³⁸ (Fig. 1.18), the most influential of government documents governing new standards in housing, graphically demonstrate the assumption of inside-as-outside. The diagrams indicate that the interior, conceived as a separate, individual realm with uniquely personal household goods, no longer applies. The logic of inside-as-outside requires that the objects inhabiting the interior must be both *similar* to those of the exterior and *transparent* from the exterior.



1.18 *Homes of Today and Tomorrow*, Ministry of Housing and Local Government (1963): Diagrams by Gordon Cullen.

The objects in the diagram are standard, mass produced, both predicted and prescribed. There is consequently no possibility for the inclusion of the impure, the hybrid, and the uncategorised. The enclosure serves the clearly defined and exposed commodities of your interior life, which must be standardised to ‘go with’ your home: the unexpected, unpredictable, domestic object is excluded.

The contemporary acceptance of this mind-set is widespread. It is revealed when Ronan Point, a system-built tower block in the East End of London, collapsed in May 1968, killing four people (Fig. 1.19). As might be expected, the collapse heralded an unseemly scrambling among building professionals to assign blame to



1.19 *Architects' Journal* (1968):
Close-up of the collapse of Ronan Point
tower block, Newham, London.

anyone but themselves. The final leader in the *Architects' Journal* of that year,³⁹ declares 'gas is far and away the most dangerous (cause of explosions) as regards the likelihood of structural damage' and concludes 'why not ban gas?'. An earlier letter from Sam Webb⁴⁰ points out that if gas is cut off and the block becomes all electric, 'The tenants will, almost without exception, resort to paraffin and store 5 gallon drums to top up their heater'; and he notes that when the constructional joints were tested, they had failed at the equivalent explosion to just two pints of petrol in a room. Thus, the heaters, which do not fit into the predicted catalogue, are by default classed as trespassing hybrids, and blamed for the disaster. That the architect failed to sort out a system of enclosure flexible enough to accommodate the unpredictable messiness of life, without risking death to the tenants, is an explanation that does not appear to have been considered.

In *Beat Girl* such transgressive, messy, unclassified objects appear polemically within the wall which at Ronan Point, fatally, refuses their presence. The excluded objects of the Beat Girl's individuality: the record player, the television, disappear behind sliding concrete panels, which, when closed, return the wall to its *apparently*



1.20 Sitting room at Half Hyde, Sheppall, Stevenage, UK (1957).

honest state. The wall dictates the conditions of everyday life. In contrast, an interior at Stevenage New Town (Fig. 1.20), exhibits the domestic character of a typical picturesque-style modern house.

The room divider is a wall exclusively designed for the interior, with no structural purpose. Where the signs of personality, and of a separate domestic realm in the Beat Girl's life are suppressed, here such objects as the TV, books and ornaments, are both displayed and celebrated. It is a pre-Brutalist interior, where the collecting of disparate, uncategorisable objects is admitted and enjoyed. The image from Stevenage can be read in the context of a pre-Brutalist relationship between inside and outside, one which espouses the picturesque and eschews dictatorship by the wall. J.M. Richards' contemporary and proprietor at the *Architectural Review*, Hugh de Cronin Hastings, defines such a compositional aesthetic of inclusion in his 1949 article *Townscape: a plea for an English Visual Philosophy*.⁴¹

Nine people out of ten are surrounded in the home by household goods whose arrangement is as capricious as their origin is various: a Biedermeier *escritoire*, a horsehair chair covered in chintz, an Aalto table, or a less arty assortment from Great Aunts, the Near East and Oxford Street . . . yet the taste can be extremely high that quite ordinary

tasteless philistines show in the disposition and relationship of their bits and pieces even when those pieces are intrinsically worthless. There are thousands of homes of families-in-the-street which can offer satisfying arrangements of objects simply because their owners pursue unselfconsciously the Picturesque philosophy of giving every object the best possible chance to be itself.

In the Stevenage interior, the trappings of conventional life are incorporated into a modern aesthetic; conversely, the technology of the new is subordinated to notions such as cosy corners taken from the old. It is a hybrid.

The film's cautionary tale of the interior extends to the Beat Girl herself. The domestic interior explicitly requires that she herself is treated like an object: her individuality is unaccommodated and unrecognised. If the Picturesque philosophy gives every object the best possible chance to be itself, de Cronin Hastings is describing the chance the Beat Girl has been denied. Her unnaturally tidy room, with its meticulously categorised clothes hidden in the built-in wardrobe, is an environment wholly unreceptive to her tears of isolation.

The argument of this chapter has been that within both architecture and culture at large the covering up which Brutalism and the New Wave attack is both literal and symbolic. *It Happened Here* is concerned with the way things *are*. The aesthetic is accomplished: and the camera loves both its brutal subject and its brutal technique. Like the theatre's Angry Young Man, the medium of film itself allows a simultaneity: it is possible both to cry out against the way things are, to depict them in their horror, and at the same time to establish an ultimately acceptable new aesthetic which has as its benchmark raw honesty. Even taking into account that commercial considerations and public taste may demand a less remorseless art form of cinema and theatre, the comparison of architecture and film in this period of Britain's life reveals a fundamental problem. For an *architecture*, rather than a form like film, to commit itself to a remorseless depiction of the way things *are* rather than the way things *should be* is a profoundly radical departure from the utopian aspirations that lie behind the very act of building. At the smallest scale building involves transformation, and some investment in the future. This possibility the Brutalist aesthetic denies. The consistent revulsion of the non-architectural public for Brutalism, to whose lives it specifically addressed itself, can, and should, be reconsidered within this context. The inhabitants of new Brutalist public housing were afforded an Angry Young Architecture: a solidified ironic commentary on how things are, to the exclusion of the expression of future hope for the way things could be. The Beat Girl's own inability to occupy the territory of her own home signposts the inevitable schism between these two projects: the brutally honest depiction of the way things are, and the way things should, or could be.

Notes

- 1 Contemporary commentators – for example, the ‘New Empiricism’ edition of the *Architectural Review* – acknowledged the hybrid styles debt to Swedish modernism. The argument here is that this so-called ‘empirical’ modernism was adopted because it was understood within an already established picturesque tradition.
- 2 ‘. . . “the British New Wave”. The phrase was coined in echo of the French nouvelle vogue of distinctive films of around the same time to refer to what was seen as an analogous breakthrough in the production of British film.’ Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties*, (UK: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 117–18.
- 3 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, (London: Routledge, 1966), p. 122.
- 4 Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism*, (London: The Architectural Press, 1966).
- 5 Ibid., p. 12.
- 6 Ibid., p. 13.
- 7 Ibid., p. 17.
- 8 Alison and Peter Smithson, *Architectural Design*, (London, April 1957), p. 14.
- 9 See discussion under the sub-heading ‘Structural Truth’ in this book’s *Endpiece*.
- 10 Banham, op. cit., p. 13.
- 11 J.M. Richards, *The Castles on the Ground*, (London: The Architectural Press, 1946).
- 12 Banham, op. cit., p. 13.
- 13 Richards, op. cit., p. 14.
- 14 Ibid., p. 15.
- 15 Ibid., p. 18.
- 16 Ibid., pp. 55–6.
- 17 Acronym for the International Congresses for Modern Architecture, founded in 1928 by a group of leading modern architects.
- 18 Joan Ockman, editor, *Architecture Culture 1943–1968*, (New York: Columbia Books on Architecture/Rizzoli, 1993), p. 100.
- 19 Acronym for Modern Architectural Research Group, British wing of CIAM founded in 1932.
- 20 Anne Massey in her book *The Independent Group – Modernism and Mass Culture in Britain 1945–1959*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), notes the interest in truth was more than rhetorical for the progenitors of Brutalism. ‘Their second session consisted of a talk by Alfred Jules Ayer, the most prominent British exponent of the philosophy of logical positivism . . . In his complete rejection of all metaphysical statements as unverifiable by experience, Ayer provided the Group with a valuable philosophical framework for defining its position’ (p. 48).
- 21 Ockman, op. cit., p. 121.

- 22 Ockman, op. cit., p. 120.
- 23 Mary Banham and Bevis Hillier, editors, *A Tonic to the Nation: The Festival of Britain 1951*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), p. 45.
- 24 *It Happened Here* predates *Dad's Army* by a number of years.
- 25 *The County of London Plan explained by E.J. Carter and Ernö Goldfinger*, (London: Penguin, 1945).
- 26 Banham, op. cit., p. 13.
- 27 Quoted from *Look Back in Anger*, in Anthony Aldgate, *Censorship and the Permissive Society – British Cinema and Theatre 1955–1965*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 76.
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- 30 Penelope Houston, *The Contemporary Cinema*, (London: Penguin, 1963), p. 114.
- 31 Quoted in Hewison, op. cit., p. 153.
- 32 Ibid.
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- 34 *A Taste of Honey* (UK: British Lion, 1961), director: Tony Richardson, *This Sporting Life* (UK: Rank/Independent Artists, 1963), director: Lindsay Anderson, *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (UK: Bryanston/Woodfall, 1960), director: Karel Reisz. These three New Wave films are typically set, unlike *It Happened Here*, in the North of England, an accepted cultural signifier of authenticity, and life in the raw.
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