A Curious Constellation Modern Architecture and an International Sensibility

Thesis

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A Curious Constellation
Modern Architecture and an International Sensibility

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I have redacted all the images that were used in the dissertation as I did not seek permission to use them. However, the captions of the image narrate the reason why the images were used and identify their source.
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I woke up at dawn shivering. Madame Mode, the owner of the boarding house where I rent a room says that it is better for our health to sleep with our windows open. Though I cannot bear the cold, I have started to crack the windows open for an hour before bedtime and upon waking. The first order of the day is exercise. I pick up the booklet that madame gave me on arriving at the house. It is called My System for Ladies and it was written by a Dane, J.P.Muller. His ‘clinic’ is on Dover Street, which madame explains is a health haven for those who can afford it, but one can equally benefit by following the guided pamphlet. The exercises are illustrated with photographs, and I work through the routine slowly, stopping frequently as I do not know it by heart. This is all new to me. I moved from the farm to the city to work a few months ago. My parents were not too happy with the move but with the number of mouths to feed, my father protested—weakly. I was lucky, Emma worked at the newly opened department store as a shop girl and though I did not have any references they agreed to hire me on her recommendation. I have known Emma since we were children—her father owned the farm next door. In the first week at work they introduced us to these new scientific ideas about fatigue and efficiency. Apparently, they are all the rage in America where a couple—the Gilbreths (if I remember correctly)—have made it their business to reduce tiredness at work and increase satisfaction by using motion-studies. I still feel quite tired at the end of the day but maybe I would be even more tired without these lessons. It is difficult to say. Though my salary is not enough to send home as yet; however, it is adequate enough to allow me to live in the city. And I do like living here—I am independent, and I hear, learn and experience new things every day. We will be reviewed twice a year at work, which involves a discussion about career progression. Thus, I can confidently say that I am satisfied. I never thought about satisfaction in this way before—a sense of self-growth.

Yesterday, one of the shop girls, a Swede, invited me to a lecture by an American called Charlotte Gilman. I didn’t understand everything that she said but I did enjoy her illustrations. My favourite was her drawing of a horse wearing a corset. I couldn’t stop giggling. Many of the ladies there nodded in agreement. I recognised some of the faces from work and from the boarding house. We don’t wear corsets in the farm. At the store, our uniform includes one, but we don’t take our uniform home; they are laundered at the store. We were given two pairs when we started, and we can order more if we want. I was thinking of buying a corset for my city outings but now fortuitously, I think I will spend my money on something else. At the end of the talk, Madame Gilman read out one of her poems to us—it was a celebration of another American named Isadora Duncan, a dancer who began a dance school for orphan girls. She showed us a picture of Isadora. Her veil—like dresses were quite …revealing! I wonder if they will ever become fashionable on the
streets. I think not!

After the lecture the host had organised a small soirée to celebrate Gilman’s work. As an homage to her, I was informed, she had the food catered from a cooperative kitchen that was managed by women. At this event I learned about the women’s movement. I learned about Charlotte Gilman, Isadora Duncan and someone called Ellen Key. They were characters—Ellen believed that women needn’t be married to have children; Isadora had two illegitimate children; and Charlotte had given up her daughter to her ex-husband to pursue a writer’s path. This behaviour would be considered unnatural in the provinces, but I can’t help thinking about how fortunate and unencumbered their lives are. It seems a luxury to forge one’s path, especially as a woman. The evening was exhilarating but I was out longer than I intended to be and I just about made it on time before the doors of the boarding house closed for the night. They close around 11pm on weeknights and at midnight on the weekend. Though it was late, no one raised an eyebrow; however, the next morning, I struggled to get out of bed and was inclined to skip the exercises. But then, Emma’s voice reverberated in my head. She was insistent that exercise was important. She had whispered conspiratorially that many a shop girl has been relieved of her position because they neglected their countenance and their bodies allowing it to degenerate with the pollution and temptations of urban living including alcohol and sweetmeats. It was her who had introduced me to madame and told me that I would progress by obeying her health regiment.

Madame Mode runs her boarding house liberally. The inhabitants include women from all parts of the world and from different sections of society. Some are single but many are divorced, and a few have little children. The boarding house has a nursery and most of the children study at the kindergarten down the road from us. Madame is fastidious about hygiene. She lectures us on personal hygiene regularly and a small part of the weekend is spent on dusting and cleaning our rooms. However, it does not take too much of our time—the rooms are sparsely furnished with simple furniture that reminds me of the furniture that we had back home, quite unlike the luxuries I expected in the city. When I arrived at the boarding house, I spotted a painting in Madame’s study that I could swear was the inspiration for her décor in the boarding house. Later, I learned that it was a painting by a Swede named Carl Larsson. I must remember to ask my friend about him. Her demands for cleanliness mean that we were not allowed to wear our street shoes inside the house. On arrival, she gave us a pair of slippers insisting that we should leave out footwear in the cabinet by the door. We each have a basket outside our room where we leave our ‘dirty’ clothes, which is emptied twice a week, laundered and returned to us. Furthermore, on Sundays our bed linen is stripped off and sent to the laundry. Moreover, madame demands that we wash every day. This cleaning ritual is expensive, but it appears like everybody is doing it in the city. And, I do like the way everything smells in the boarding house—
antiseptic like—and quite different from the ripe smells in the farm. The boarding house is cleaned everyday by an army of efficient contracted cleaners. The house is dustless though there are many windows in this house; most of them open. It sparkles like a diamond in the night in our otherwise dark and gloomy neighbourhood. Honestly, it is quite cheery. The only other building that it can be compared to in the neighbourhood is to the kindergarten down the street. In fact, it looks very similar and like the kindergarten we too have a large garden where we spend Saturdays playing ‘games’ like the children do and apparently in the summer, we can go sunbathe upstairs on the roof. I do feel that her rules on health and hygiene are a bit extreme but then maybe this is what they mean by a modern lifestyle.

When I moved into the boarding house, I was shocked by the scarcity of food. Every meal is strictly portioned and moreover, is always vegetarian with grains and seasonal fruits and vegetables. Here in the city there are a lot of vegetarians. I have been to some vegetarian restaurants with my colleagues, and it is common to share the room with many writers, socialists, feminists, or so I have heard. Apparently, many of them are part of the women’s movement and though I would have assumed that it was about the vote—they to the contrary, seem to be focused on many other things, including education and housework. They say that it is all connected. I have to be honest, I did initially struggle with this diet reform that was thrust upon me, but the upside is that I have lost much of the ‘baby’ fat from the farm, and as has been observed at the store, I am looking svelte and more city-like. We are allowed to buy some of the clothing at a discount and some of the new modern styles, which did not look so flattering on my curves, are now skimming my body in a new way. I have also become sportier. I was asked out by one of the boys who work in the men’s department section. He seemed equally enamoured by the fact that I was living in a boarding house and said that he wished for an equal consort. Whatever that means! Nevertheless, I accepted his invitation and we are going to the pleasure garden on the coming Saturday evening. I have never been to one and Emma told me that I would be mesmerised with the lights, the mirrors and the beauty of the people. She recommended that I should visit the freak shows and the baby exhibitions. I am not too sure though—deformed people and babies in glass vitrines displaying their bodies for their livelihood and lives seems rather cruel a thing to enjoy as entertainment. But then, the city does enjoy people watching—people here seem to spend a lot of time promenading. I find it all a bit vain, but I must confess, I am guilty of a fair share of vanity. She also mentioned that now, with my new shape I would fit it in beautifully. So, I am determined to keep with the diet and the exercises. I am excited to go home for Christmas, to share all that I have learned and seen. I can’t help wondering if mama and papa will recognise me when I return as a modern city girl.
An International Sensibility

In the fictional account above a young girl narrates her first impressions of city life in the evolving modern era. Later, we will hear from her again, when she is older, at the dawning of the Nuremberg trials after World War II when she observes the changes she experienced in her lifetime. This sketch attempts to display the underlying hypothesis of my research—the pervasiveness of a sensibility that was predicated on constructing an ethical lifestyle and an equal society that in turn, forwarded a certain taste of intellectual ideas and behaviours that impregnated society, often unwittingly, at the level of the individual, the intimate, and the domestic. Furthermore, I argue that this sensibility was an inseparable part of modernism and in many ways shaped it. In addition, it was intimately woven with international movements. I use the term international sensibility to distinguish what I am discussing from the more accepted understanding of internationalism—a legal political construct that determines relations between nations and the institutions that protect these relations such as, intergovernmental organisations. This differentiation is necessary because internationalism is now a defined category, while I am trying to unearth a moment in history, at the turn of the modern era, when the word ‘international’, though brandished frequently enough, was still anticipating a form and a definition, at least in the eyes of the common man and everyday living. What did it mean to be international? What behaviours, lifestyles and socio-politics did it consider as its own? What part did architecture play in this sensibility? Moreover, I contend that this sensibility was forwarded by private individuals and their association therefore, suggesting that internationalism is both rooted in the relations between nations as much
as it is formed by the relations between people. I refer to Susan Sontag’s definition of a sensibility\(^1\) as something that is ineffable, or in other words something that is difficult to pin down though it may be easier to capture the intellectual ideas that enveloped a period or even a series of behaviours that describe the sensibility. By identifying behaviours, and intellectual interconnections, I am going to attempt to display the existence of an international sensibility as a part of the progressive era that came alive in the last few decades of the twentieth century.

The late nineteenth century can be considered the period when both the national and the international were being defined. Though the international is often portrayed as adversarial to the national, it is more accurate to view it as its complement.\(^2\) The international is nothing if it is not relations between nations. The nation-making project was essentially international in nature as only equal nations could have relations between them and therefore, it was to the benefit of the nation to share and co-operate in disseminating best practices of nation-making around the world.\(^3\) I display that the international sensibility was part of this view—the nation as the dominant socio-political entity—although it was practiced across borders using the infrastructure that aided internationalisation and modernisation, which included but was not limited to publications and their translations, scientific societies and international conferences and world’s fairs. This sensibility contributed to existing international movements such as the science of work, the women’s movement, or the kindergarten movement, all of which can be traced to the international peace movement. Unsurprisingly,\(^4\) the human body—its health and its degeneration—proved to be one of the more pervasive spaces of intervention that was shared by and preoccupied national and international movements.\(^5\) Towards this end, architecture and its discourse on health, hygiene, fatigue, degeneration

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3 I have discussed this in greater detail in chapter 2.
4 This should be unsurprising in the Covid era where a pandemic has displayed the necessity of international cooperation between nations, especially in matters related to health. It has also displayed that despite these indications, nations prefer not to.
was a tool that was developed and deployed by numerous visionaries and self-designated social reformers who created institutions and forwarded practices that were grounded in an argument of equality and the transformation of relations in society. These visionaries all contributed to the existing international movements deploying spatial reorganisation, architecture, urban planning, and landscape design and therefore, I contend that architecture played a part in international movements by both contributing to them and transforming their audience and remit.

I frame an alternative history of internationalism that straddles the disciplinary space of an intellectual history of modern international thought and an international history of intellectual thought; however, in this research the latter is emphasised while the former acts as the scaffolding that enables the latter. It displays the existence of a sensibility that was shared by many, was rooted in social reform and was spread internationally through

6 David Armitage, ‘Introduction’ in Foundations of Modern International Thought, (Cambridge University Press, 2012). In the introduction Armitage observes that as a discipline the intellectual history of international thought originated around the 2000s. Before, histories on internationalism focused on international law and the relations between nations. However, in the twenty-first century, once international thought became associated with a cultural and linguistic turn along with the older view of a history associated with power and nations, the discipline grew exponentially leading to the development of two distinct but interrelated strands—the international history of intellectual thought and the intellectual history of international thought. The former focused on the spread of ideas through material equipment such as books, art or music; while the latter looked into the history of international law and relations beyond national players. I believe that the thesis sits in between these two disciplines as it describes the spread of architecture through material equipment and international movements. Armitage mentions that it is difficult to draw clear boundaries between the two disciplines.

7 Armitage, Sluga and Clavin, Mazower and Iriye, all provided me with a scaffolding that allowed me to further an alternative history of internationalism. I have discussed Armitage above and I will briefly discuss the other three in relevance to this thesis.

A. Genda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, ‘Rethinking the History of Internationalism’ in Internationalisms: A Twentieth Century History; ed. by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, (Cambridge University Press, 2017). The authors argue that the history of internationalism, especially in the twentieth century, is often told from the view of the nation and its foreign policies. It is especially negligent in its description of a liberal intellectual thought of internationalism and its role in shaping international organisations. Furthermore, these histories neglect to mention the role of international thought in improving the short comings of the nation told through the ‘the history of the repressed’ for example, women and immigrants. In the essays they hope to disband the dualism portrayed between internationalism as realist vis-à-vis idealist and instead, display their interrelationship especially in ‘subaltern’ movements such as feminism, pacifism, to mention a few. They have
institutions, books, exhibitions and performances, to mention a few. Furthermore, it displays the role of architecture and other spatial practices such as dance, interior architecture, urban design and landscape design in constructing a shared language in the progressive era that was predicated on the human body and relations between people and geared towards enabling an equal and peaceful modern international society by transforming forms of living. The traditional historiography of internationalism is usually, but not always, expressed as a bubble of intergovernmental and nongovernmental organisations, and specialised agencies in a construction of global political order. It is rare to express internationalism as a concept of everyday life and in relation to topics such as diet reform, dress reform and the design of kitchens. But I will show that in the late nineteenth century, at the moment when international cooperation between nations was blooming, there was simultaneously a drive to interpret internationalism as an ethic that began in the bowels of private society—in the home and all its related institutions.

The relationship between the modern movement, and hygiene, health and the body cannot be overstated. Moreover, health as an international movement is epitomised in the spread of the design of the treatment of tuberculosis as evidenced in the architecture

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chosen the late nineteenth century as the period of focus because it is associated with a new form of internationalism, which in turn, was associated with sociological transformations and a realisation that the social and economic were globally entangled.

B. Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: A History of an Idea*, (Penguin, 2013), Kindle. This book traces the idea of international thought tracking its origins in culture, science, and politics. It is referenced by Armitage, Sluga, Crinson, to mention a few. The relevant parts of this work for this thesis reside in Section I of the book 'The Era of Internationalism' that focuses on the intellectual momentum of the word ‘international’. Sluga says that Mazower's work should be considered an intellectual-liberal history of internationalism. And, Crinson uses the structure and content laid out by Mazower as a guide to his history of modernism and internationalism.

C. Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, (John Hopkins University Press, 2000). Dr. Iriye taught at Colombia and Harvard until his retirement in 2005. He is a historian of diplomatic history, and international and transnational history. He contends that the history of international relations need to be revised to include what he defines as cultural internationalism: "It argues that individuals and groups of people from different lands have sought to develop an alternative community of nations and peoples on the basis of their cultural interchanges and that, while frequently ridiculed by practitioners of power politics and ignored by historians, their efforts have significantly altered the world community and immeasurably enriched our understanding of international affairs. I call the inspiration behind these endeavours, as well as the sum of their achievements, 'cultural internationalism.'" He uses the writing of Jean-Jacques Rousseau as a point of departure for his term cultural internationalism.
of the modern sanatoria that could be found around the world in the early twentieth century. Fears around fatigue, strength, degeneration, neurasthenia, to mention a few, plagued both the national and the international movements. I will display that modern architecture was generated, to a large extent, by a constellation of visionaries who contributed to international movements and their concerns about the body.

8 Colomina, X-Ray Architecture.
Exhibition 15 and *The International Style*

In 1964, Catherine Bauer delivered a paper at the second biennial Modern Architecture Symposium titled ‘The Social Front of Modern Architecture in the 1930s’ where she felt the need to revise some of the historiographic legacy of the 1932 Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) exhibition *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition* (titled exhibition 15 in the MOMA archives). Bauer, agreeing with Giedion, believed that the term ‘International Style’ had flattened the discourse about modern architecture, and more importantly, had done considerable damage to the legacy of the exhibition by helping the world forget the social agenda that underlined the work of the internationalists of the time. Barbara Penner says that Bauer did not intend to “cross swords with [Philip] Johnson, who, after more than three decades of collaborations and collisions, was well aware of her views”, and furthermore, in the three decades since the exhibition, though Bauer appeared to be sure of the convictions that she pronounced in her book *Modern Housing*, at this symposium she appeared less sure about Functionalism.

Bauer’s need to revisit the international exhibition was because the book *The International Style* by Philip Johnson and Henry Russell Hitchcock, which was released concurrently with the exhibition and its catalogue, and which inadvertently turned out to become the main document detailing the exhibition for a large part of the twentieth century, mis-represented the exhibition to a large extent. The book has been in constant publication since 1932 while the catalogue was out of print until 1969 and therefore, is less known. The exhibition itself had not been documented to any critical extent before Terence Riley’s exhibition at Columbia University that was documented as a book and even in his pro-

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10 Penner, ‘Housing is More than Houses’, loc. 398.
ject there are some gaps.\textsuperscript{13} Riley enumerates the differences in content between the three formats— the exhibition, its catalogue, and the book—and he is till date one of the more knowledgeable proponents about the exhibition— its planning, structure and development. Furthermore, the exhibition, the catalogue and the book have been conflated by many historians leading to a number of misrepresentations and confused criticisms and this is true in Mark Crinson’s\textsuperscript{14} work on internationalism, amongst others, which has led to gross misunderstandings about the intention and the content of the exhibition. In her paper,\textsuperscript{15} Bauer details the achievements and the failures of the internationalists but more importantly, she argues that modern architecture for these internationalists, at least in the early decades of the twentieth century, was inseparable from social and civic improvement. Doubly relevant, at least in my opinion, is her suggestion that the ‘International Style’ in many ways aided in advancing Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius as the ‘most famous and influential world leaders in architecture’.\textsuperscript{16} This can be interpreted to imply that there were two distinct but interconnected facets of internationalism that were forwarded in the exhibition. On one hand, internationalism is closely associated with a progressive social agenda as elaborated by the housing and educational projects displayed in the exhibition. On the other hand, quite diametrically and advanced through the book, internationalism was associated with the construction of the star-architect or the ‘primadonnas’ who would spread the gospel of modern architecture through international commissions. These forking streams that structured the exhibition is visible in the exhibition plans that Riley has reconstructed.

\textsuperscript{13} Penner, ‘Housing is More than Houses’, refer to the end notes. In note 11 she explains that Riley’s book The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art is the authoritative account of the exhibition. Further in note 16 she explains that one of the panel’s that were in the housing section of Exhibition 15 is reproduced in the Modern Housing by Catherine Bauer; however, she says that this panel is not mentioned in Riley’s book where he has identified another panel from the housing section, which can be found in his book.

\textsuperscript{14} Crinson, ‘Echo Chamber: The International Style and its Deviations’ in Rebuilding Babel, pp. 149-161.


\textsuperscript{16} Bauer, ‘The Social Front of Modern Architecture in the 1930s’. 
The plan of the exhibition as redrawn by Terence Riley showing the main spine, path A and path B. Image source: Riley, *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art*. 
The exhibition was structured around five rooms on a floor MOMA was renting at the Heckscher building (now known as the Crown building). It was divided into three sections. Section one celebrated the ‘master architects’ and their contribution to modern architecture, while displaying the aesthetic parallels that existed in their work. Section two was a survey that aimed to display the extent of the ‘international style’. The third section focused on housing which included both good examples and bad examples of housing along with text panels that discussed strategies and their merits and limitations. This didactic curatorial style, which was designed by Bauer and not Johnson will nevertheless, be used by him in future exhibitions. As one entered the entrance foyer, which was sparsely furnished with a reception desk and a sofa, and walked northwards into a small squarish exhibition room, one was greeted with the work of Howe and Lescaze who had just completed their Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building. For the exhibition, the practice produced a model of their proposed design for the Chrystie-Forsyth project—one of the first housing projects proposed for New York that was derived from the European Siedlung. After much debate the curators had decided that each of the four European

17 Riley, *The International Style*. This section is heavily influenced by Riley’s description and drawings of the layout of the exhibition. I chose to describe the manner in which a visitor would go through the exhibition to describe the exhibition as two pathways that resonate with the two versions of internationalism that I argue are suggested in this one exhibition.


20 Woudstra, ‘Exhibiting Reform’. Woudstra talks about the importance of this positioning. I think that the choice of this project and its primary positioning at the entrance has led many to believe that Johnson was sympathetic to housing projects and social concerns of the era; however, Lamster dispels these doubts when he lays bare many of the reasons that Johnson made the choices that he did. The first five chapters of the book are very informative in understanding the formative years of Johnson both as a boy and as an aesthete, which is intimately linked with his actions in curating this exhibition.

21 After reading Lamster it is apparent that Johnson chose many of the American projects and architects on display to appease numerous influential people in New York. I do not make this statement to disparage Howe and Lescaze’s work but it had to be more than a coincidence that Johnson, who was the least interested in social concerns amongst the curators, allowed them to display a proposed housing project that was financed by the same name who owned the building that housed MOMA’s temporary galleries. Additionally, in spite of being a housing project it does, however, display on the characteristics that probably resonated with Johnson – ‘modern and audacious’ and funded by philanthropic private industrial enterprise.
architects would display a model of a built project while each of the five American architects would display an unbuilt project, which may have been done for many reasons but nevertheless, it aided Johnson’s assertion that the modern project was essentially European and America needed to catch up. This small room in turn, opened westwards on to one of the three medium sized rooms, which in turn, continued the sight-line and opened into the largest room of the exhibition where models of the private houses designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, and J.J.P.Oud were exhibited. This large room spanned the western width of the exhibition space—its length was equal to three shorter sides of the mid-sized exhibition rooms. In effect the main spine of the exhibition, was defined by these three rooms—the smallest and the largest connected by a mid-sized space that housed the work of the Bowman brothers and Walter Gropius. Though this oblong connecting room was adequately sized; however, because it was capped by these two end spaces that denoted a beginning and an end, it inadvertently behaved as a thoroughfare pulling people towards the what was designed to be the crowing jewels of Exhibition 15. Further to Riley’s observation, I argue that this main spine highlights Johnson’s vision of internationalism—private international industrial capital as patrons of modern architecture realised by famous architects—which resonates with the role that he fashioned for himself. After visiting the sanctum, visitors could turn around and return to the corridor-like medium sized room and then either turn northwards to see the didactic housing exhibition (section 2) designed by Bauer, with others, that detailed the second version of internationalism—as progressive social visions to foster an equal modernity. Let us call this path A. Alternatively, one could decide to traverse along path B, where they would miss the housing exhibition and instead, turn southwards—a shorter path—that would allow them to breeze past the work of Hood and Neutra, and a survey exhibition that displayed the spread of modern architecture as they exited the space. These two

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22 Riley, *The International Style*.  
23 Riley, *The International Style*. Riley suggests that Johnson naturally adopted the role of the patron of modern architecture while he was the curator. On reading his biography it becomes increasingly evident that while Johnson appears to be an ardent advocate for modern living and therefore was propagating it with such vigour; nevertheless, the reason behind his fervour lies in his very complicated relationship with his family especially his father; his wealth and status; his homosexuality; and most of all, his struggle to create an identity or ambition for himself; which left him feeling like an outsider. He appeared to be a shy young man prone to periods of extensive melancholia and low moods. It can be surmised that Johnson became the patron saint of modern architecture to save himself.
paths of the exhibition were not devised by chance but displayed the relationship between sections one and two, and section three. As evident from the book, which essentially is a diluted form of path B—the main spine and the spread of modern architecture—Johnson apparently believed that it was sufficient to display the international style as he envisioned. Moreover, the housing section was obviously visualised as an attachment to the ‘main’ exhibition, albeit an important one. Nevertheless, it was well-received by real estate developers, housing boards, and construction companies and proved to be the ‘unexpected star’ of the show and an important concern in the depression-ridden 1930s for both MOMA and the city.

These two diverging strands of internationalism can also be read in the phrasing chosen by Alfred Barr in the close of the foreword of the exhibition catalogue when he says:

“Many difficult architecture problems are touched upon in the exhibition – the private house, the school, the apartment houses, both urban and suburban, the church, the factory, the department store, the club, and (alumni please note), the college dormitory. But more urgently than any of these is the problem of low rent housing. Lewis Mumford’s article is an admirable and challenging exposition of this subject, more vital these days of superfluous population than ever before. The aerial photographs of slums and super-slums are instructive criticisms of contemporary city planning – or lack of planning. But of even more positive value is the model of a housing development, by the German Haesler, one of the foremost European experts. In this project the economy, adaptability and beauty of the International Style are as clearly demonstrated as in the more costly kinds of buildings shown elsewhere in the exhibition.”

24 In spite of the step-treatment, the importance of the housing section for the curators has been mentioned by Riley, Bergdoll, and Woudstra.
These words reinforce the two diverging paths that the exhibition is about to embark upon. It is important to note that when Mumford discusses housing in the essay in the catalogue, though he emphasises the importance of social housing, he begins by saying that houses of all types are important architectural types that need more thought in the early twentieth century.26 Housing in America until the 1930s was not a defined category but by the end of that decade not least because of the efforts of MOMA it became so and came to signify affordable or low-income houses.27 After Exhibition 15, houses and housing were two interconnected but distinct types that were repeatedly exhibited at MOMA in the 1930s.

In 1934, Philip Johnson curated Housing Exhibition of the City of New York in collaboration with George Lyman Paine, an employee of New York City Housing Authority where he deployed a number of display strategies that were seen in the housing section of Exhibition 15. In 1936, Bauer was invited to be part of the committee on Architecture and Industrial Art at MOMA and it displays an even greater commitment from MOMA in engaging with housing.28 In the same year, MOMA held the exhibition Architecture in Government Housing where it forwarded housing types that were quintessentially American.29 This exhibition was curated by Ernestine Fantl, who began her career in MOMA as Johnson's secretary and who along with Hitchcock curated Modern Architecture in England in 1937 at MOMA.30 Rixt Woudstra has displayed that MOMA in the 1930s was actively involved in advocating and shaping government intervention in housing in the United States. In addition, Keith Eggener has displayed that MOMA in the late 1930s with John McAndrew as curator of the architecture department attempted to transform the discourse around modern architecture and naturalise it to some extent by infusing with a national identity and modern American architectural history.31 Therefore,

27 Woudstra, ‘Exhibiting Reform’.
28 Woudstra, ‘Exhibiting Reform’.
29 Woudstra, ‘Exhibiting Reform’.
30 Crinson, ‘Echo Chamber: The International Style and its Deviations’ in Rebuilding Babel, pp. 149-161. Crinson argues that in five years the curators were already making disclaimers about many of the ideas touted in the first international exhibition.
it is not far-fetched to surmise that these two intentions were interconnected. The decade ended with an exhibition titled *Houses and Housing* (1939) that was curated by John McAndrews\(^{32}\) and it was this exhibition that ossified the two—houses and housing—as distinct types in American architecture.\(^{33}\) In 1963 the ‘international style’ was seamlessly connected with American values when the Kennedy/Johnson administration awarded Mies van der Rohe with the Jon. F. Kennedy Presidential Medal of Freedom.\(^{34}\) Surely, this award can be traced back not only to Exhibition 15 but also *The International Style* and its legacy along with the later efforts of MOMA in naturalising and connecting modern architecture and the international style with American values. This third stream—the emergence of the relationship between international relations and Exhibition 15/*The International Style*—is yet another layer of internationalism that should be counted as part of the historiographical legacy of the exhibition and its conflation with the book.

Though Exhibition 15 was an international event that furthered a socially-minded progressive vision for modern architecture beyond national boundaries that can be traced back to many of the visions of the progressive era; nevertheless, it carried within it the parasite of an internationalism that was rooted in capital and imperialistic visions that was unleashed in the book *The International Style*, which unfortunately tainted and confused the history and legacy of the exhibition, and modern architecture and MOMA.

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32 Lamster, ‘A Man of Style’ in *The Man in the Glass House*. Philip Johnson initially met John McAndrew in the late 1920s in Germany on one of his trips to Europe. Johnson had recently become acquainted with Barr and had attended some of his lectures and was enthused about modern architecture. McAndrew had graduated from Harvard and was in process of completing his thesis to earn a degree in architecture. It appears that they shared an intimate relationship and Johnson benefitted from the more knowledgeable McAndrew who had studied architecture and could guide Johnson through Europe. Johnson began collaborating with McAndrew on a book project that was meant to be an ‘illustrated guide to modern architecture with photographs and a brief descriptions’. When their relationship ran its course, Johnson moved on to other pastures and it appears that he took this project, which became *The International Style* in due course.

33 Woudstra, ‘Exhibiting Reform’.

to a large extent, whose effects and consequences are still being picked out and revised till date. Furthermore, in my reading of Bauer’s essay, I would argue that in the exhibition displayed the progressive ideas that were brewing in the work of the protagonists I have identified in the constellation, for example, progressive education and the recalibration of the role of the woman in the home.
Terminology - Internationalism

Internationalism, cosmopolitanism, globalism, universalism and transnationalism are often used interchangeably and the distinctions between the terms are relatively difficult to discern. Some of course are more obvious than others. I have chosen to follow Crinson’s elaboration of the terms as it was the definition that he used—internationalism as an ethical world view—that spurred the thesis. I will elaborate on my interpretation of the terms using internationalism as the hinge to display the differences and overlaps in the terms.

Internationalism and globalism are the least interchangeable. While globalism (process – globalisation) refers to the movement of capital, goods and people and is closely connected with trade and colonialism; internationalism to the contrary, aims to ‘civilise’ globalism. This understanding of internationalism vis-à-vis globalism stems from internationalism’s roots in international law, which historically was initiated as a way to maintain peaceful relations between nations and limit the exploitative practices of nations on their colonies or subjects. While it is inevitable that internationalism is founded in colonial practices; nevertheless, it is situated in the desire to construct, transform and maintain relations and in this thesis it trickles down to the ethic of transforming relations between people, which includes ambitions of ‘civilising’ them.

35 Crinson, Rebuilding Babel, pp. 6-9.
36 Crinson, Rebuilding Babel, p. 6.
37 Carl Schmitt, Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of Jus Publicum Europeum, (U.S.: Telos Press, 2003). It is undeniable that Schmitt’s work is one of the more important books that attempts to historicise international law. It reveals its history as a colonial device of global appropriation and control. In this history, Schmitt displayed the manner in which the law changed as colonies were being accumulated showing, to a certain degree, some of the more humane aspects of the law as a way to civilise global accumulation. Though I agree that Schmitt cannot be ignored in any discussion about international law and internationalism; nevertheless, I believe that the book is written with the aim of displaying the legality of the Nazi occupation. Furthermore, I am surprised that there is no mention of the atrocities of the regime in the history. Fortunately, in the last two decades there has been an increase in the scholarship of international law and internationalism, and I am able to today, display that I have read the book and I have found other equally well researched material of prestige to refer to rather than Schmitt.
Universalism, as related to the modern era was predicated on an Enlightenment ideal and is premised on the belief that human beings—their body and therefore, its comforts, requirements and rights—are universally the same. Crinson discusses Buckminster Fuller’s work as aspiring towards universality and it could be argued that Mies, and the International Style in their eradication of cultural context attempted something similar. He also suggests that universalism is understood to be close to internationalism; however, I contend that while internationalism is founded on the fundamental notion of universality nevertheless, they are different. Internationalism is predicated on relations between nations and acknowledges the nation as a construct. Universalism on the other hand assumes that human beings are purely biological and attributes far too little to cultural constructs and historicity. Internationalism is bordered while universalism is a seamless surface. The internationalists in my thesis do not assume that all human beings are equal, for better and for worse, even though they are able to comprehend the universality of the human body and the right to dignity and life. Their sensitivity permits them to differentiate between individuals and cater to issues of gender, age, culture and other differences that may arise due to disabilities. Unfortunately, it also allows them to blindly believe the ‘scientific’ narratives of colonialism, nationalism and eugenics.

Cosmopolitanism was a term that appeared in Kant’s project for peace and as Crinson mentions it has little to do with internationalism. A cosmopolitan is interested in other cultures and learning from them, but a cosmopolitan could be considered to be passive while an internationalist is active—in the sense that a cosmopolitan is happy to collect, while an internationalist seeks to transform. In chapter 6 I briefly discuss the origin of cosmopolitanism as a term and its relation to European Jews.

Finally, Crinson suggests that transnationalism was just a substitution for internationalism to bypass some of the negative sentiments that have growing about internationalism and its association with colonialism. Though this appears correct; nevertheless, it could also be stated that transnationalism is best understood as a dialogue between two or more players and is intimately associated with a transfer of knowledge aided by the

38 Crinson, Rebuilding Babel, p. 8.
infrastructure of internationalisation such as publications, world’s fairs etc. For example, though the kindergarten is an international institution; nevertheless, to understand the differences between a kindergarten in India and in the United States, one would have to study the manner in which the knowledge of the institution was transferred to these two countries independently from a point of origin, which in turn would highlight the differences in the way that the institutions were deployed in the two countries. Transnational, like international is cognisant and aware of cultural differences.
Eugenics is a socio-political programme that sought to improve society through selective breeding and social practices. Etymologically eugenics is a combination of “eu” (good) and the suffix genes (born) and thus, as a social programme it is closely coupled with the science of hereditary and evolution and its modern development. Francis Galton, who was Charles Darwin’s cousin, and a British scientist and statistician coined the word eugenics in 1883 to name in a manner of speaking, and thus constitute, ‘the science of improving stock’. In fact, before Galton coined eugenics he was studying ‘the heritability of genius’, which he argued was an inborn ability. To prove his theory, he devised a statistical method where he traced eminent men and their relations concluding that as eminence was inversely proportional to degree of relations therefore it must be inherited. Galton had other similarly dubious statistical conclusions—his beauty map is one of the more infamous ones where he graded female beauty in relation to geography. Thus, using these devices, Galton attempted to use maths and statistics as a way to display hereditary characteristics in populations towards bettering the stock. Eugenics was not limited to Western nations but was an international movement that was realised in different forms in different countries. The different facets of this movement are inseparable from the scientific development of hereditary and evolutionary theory.

In the early nineteenth century the naturalist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck proposed a theory of evolution. The two main principles that he would become famous for were—organisms

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40 Das, ‘Living with Eugenics’.
42 Levine, Eugenics, p. 25.
44 Levine, Eugenics, p. 13.
45 Melvyn Bragg, ‘Lamarck and Natural Selection’, In Our Time, BBC Radio 4 (podcast), 28 December 2003, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p005495d> [accessed 30 August 2021]. The guests say that Lamarck did not invent the theory of evolution, which was in the air during this period, but he can be credited for unifying the theories of evolution into workable laws.
could be arranged along a linear path tending towards complexity, and they adapted to their environment by the use or disuse of some characteristics that were passed on to successive generations. Lamarck called this move towards complexity, perfect or what would later be interpreted as perfectibility. He never explained how they were passed on, but his use and disuse theory was appropriated by Darwin to illustrate his theory of natural selection, where he argued that it was one of the ways that variations occurred. It can be argued that Lamarckism, as it came to be called, was associated rather simplistically with perfectibility and the moulding role of the environment, especially after it was revised as neo-Lamarckism, which will be discussed shortly. However, before that by the end of the nineteenth century, Lamarckism was eclipsed by the modern advancements in genetic and hereditary knowledge including Darwin’s, Gregor Mendel’s and Auguste Weismann’s work. Gregor Mendel work which dates to the 1860s was only discovered and made accessible towards the cusp of the twentieth century. With a number of plant breeding experiments over eight years he displayed a consistency in the manner in which genetic material was transferred, thereby arguing that there were recessive and dominant genes that reliably transferred material from one generation to another. Auguste Weismann’s germ plasma theory stated that genetic transference was impervious to changes in the environment because only the germ cells in the gonads (ovaries and testes) are capable of transmitting genetic information. Mendelian genetics helped to confirm Weismann’s theory. Their work discredited Lamarckism to a large degree. In fact, Weismann was adamant on proving the fallacy of Lamarckian thought, which he was unable to prove to any scientific merit. However, it did not deter the followers of Lamarckism who furthered a revised theory called neo-Lamarckism. Neo-Lamarckism is essentially a revision of Lamarckism to incorporate the development of modern scientific knowledge about hereditary and evolution. Neo-Lamarckism is not a unified movement; nevertheless, at its core the movement questions the centrality of natural selection in evolutionary theory. Followers of neo-Lamarckism to the contrary,

46 Bragg, ‘Lamarck and Natural Selection’.
argued that the cause of variation—use and disuse of characteristics—that contributes to the logic of natural selection is predicated on the moulding role of the environment, which had not been given due consideration in evolutionary theory. Therefore, at a simplistic level it can be said that neo-Lamarckism argued for a more active, direct and prominent role of the environment on evolution, possibly even more than Lamarck had done. I cannot ascertain with any surety why the social reformers who adopted the posture of neo-Lamarckism believed in the idea of perfectibility of the human race; nevertheless, it could be surmised that it is tied with Lamarck’s ideas of a one-way progress towards greater complexity, which he called ‘perfect’.  

The developments in modern ideas of hereditary led to the nature-nurture debate, which in turn, fostered two distinct forms of eugenic practices. While the former followed the ideas of Mendelian genetics and had different intertwined attitudes towards race betterment that included prohibiting reproduction through segregation or neutering (negative eugenics), euthanasia or withholding medical treatment, and rewarding reproduction amongst the suitable (positive eugenics). Neo-Lamarckism, on the other hand, furthered a form of eugenics, which argued for the role of the environment—design and living conditions—in the betterment of the race, thus forwarding ideas of nurture that enthused scientists and social reformers. Though these two branches of eugenics thought appear to be divergent; nevertheless, it has been observed that they often intertwined—for example, the Chicago doctor Harry J. Haiselden who was renowned for withholding treatment for defective babies often blamed environmental causes as much as hereditary for their deformities.

49 Bragg, ‘Lamarck and Natural Selection’. The guests discuss Lamarck’s linear graph of progress and his belief that organisms tended towards greater complexity, which he called perfect. In addition, Lamarck apparently did not believe in extinction. The scientific community is critical of these ideas. I have not been able to find any document that suggests that the scientific community of neo-Lamarckism believed in this theory. However, I think that the word ‘perfect’ or perfectibility is an interpretation of Lamarck’s ideas that fed social reform.

50 López-Durán, *Eugenics in the Garden*, p. 9. “…In France, Lamarckian theory surged again and again in the public arena as a way to argue for the transformative power of the environment. In fact, at the turn of the nineteenth century, a contingency of scientists worldwide, calling themselves neo-Lamarckians, extended Lamarck’s ideas to global arenas, including the United States, where environmental reforms for the sake of race betterment were known as ‘euthenics’.”

51 Pernick, *The Black Stork*, p 77. I have discussed Dr. Haiselden and weaklings in chapter 6.
In 2013, I studied the International Criminal Court (ICC) for my MPhil dissertation as part of the Projective Cities programme at the Architectural Association. The new headquarters for the court was being designed at the time by the winners of an international competition—a Danish practice, Larsen, Hammer and Schmitt—and for the project I studied The Hague as a centre of international law, the influence of the court on the spatial reorganisation of the city and the relationship between the architecture of the court and legal processes. Internationalism at that time, for me, was limited to the relations between nations and the institutions constructed towards this end including nongovernmental organisations. In other words, I understood internationalism as the construction of a global political and legal order. This way of thinking about internationalism was prevalent in the political science and legal disciplines. The research primarily looked at the historiography of intergovernmental organisations, politically and architecturally. There was a growing discontent about the efficacy of intergovernmental organisations and their politics as apparent in the number of books that were being published that were challenging the roles played by inter- and non-governmental organisations. Diametrically there was an equal number of studies that displayed the growth and development of a new global order.

A few weeks before I submitted the document for the mini viva, I came across Mark Crinson’s book *Rebuilding Babel: Modern Architecture and Internationalism*. Crinson argues for the inseparability between modern architecture and internationalism. He contends that the historiography of modern architecture has omitted displaying this inseparability, in fact, he even suggests that it was plausibly as important a part of its vocabulary as were the terms elucidated by Adrian Forty.\(^52\) In his book Crinson looked at the role of modern architecture in attempting to construct a shared global language, which ranged from ways to disseminate, organise and represent knowledge to the design of intergovernmental institutions and their architectural representation; the transnational transfer of architectural knowledge; attempts to construct specialised agencies such as CIAM that could work for intergovernmental institutions; and the identification of a

\(^{52}\) Crinson, *Rebuilding Babel*, pp. 9-11.
style that bracketed the architecture of the twentieth century. Furthermore, it included governmental institutions designed for newly formed countries as they journeyed towards becoming equal political partners in the global world order. The slipperiness of the word ‘international’ caught my attention—it was a word that was self-evident and yet, had many meanings.

Moreover, it was Crinson’s observations about the ‘shape-shifting’ and ‘amorphous’ nature of the term ‘international’, the lack of an understanding of its relationship with national identity, and its definition as an ethical world-view that captured my attention, as it apparently had for a number of visionaries that Crinson suggested made the most ‘interesting links between architecture and internationalism’. Of course, the visionaries that he mentioned—Paul Otlet, Otto Neurath, Elisée Recluse, Hendrik Anderson, to mention a few—were by now well-known within the scholarship of modern architecture and internationalism. In addition, they all viewed internationalism as an opportunity to suggest an alternative political world order furthering the myth that internationalism was a utopian ideal. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin have criticised the utopian view that is associated with international projects as they believe that it marginalises internationalism and negates its relevance, as a correcting and balancing device, in the nation-making project. Furthermore, they believe that this utopian view stems from an elitist section of society—upper class, white and usually male. They state that internationalism was a view that was adopted by the marginalised in society, for example women, as they were unable to participate in many of the institutions that were part of the nation. Therefore, I decided to expand on this sliver of the history of internationalism—visionaries in the progressive era who especially catered to the marginalised and their attempts to link architecture and internationalism while defining internationalism as an ethos or an international sensibility.

54 There are parallels in the manner in which Sontag describes ‘a sensibility’ as something that is ineffable and the manner in which Crinson observes how the word ‘international’ lacked a clear definition but was more akin to a feeling or a world-view.
55 Sluga and Clavin, ‘Rethinking the History of Internationalism’ in *Internationalisms: A Twentieth Century History*. 
The method of this research is informed by the quest for these visionaries, and in turn, it dictated the form of the thesis. Moreover, the argument of the thesis was formed by both the search as much as the content. The design of the thesis was an integral part of its research. The search was a process of accruement and elimination—where juxtaposition and interconnection, at the end, rendered visible what I call the international sensibility. It can be compared to a process of sedimentation. The visionaries precipitated from history and coalesced into an amorphous constellation that, maybe, will evolve in the future as more material is added. Some of these visionaries are better known in the architectural discipline than others. Nevertheless, the originality of the research is not in the unearthing of new material as would be in archival research but instead, from a re-reading and repositioning of existing material to narrate a different history through the lens of internationalism and modernism. Barring the Nuremberg courtroom and the partly successful definition of cultural genocide as part of an international legal framework, the rest of the work has never been strictly associated with internationalism; however, when one studies their work in relationship to prevailing international movements and the internationalisation apparatus of the era, one is able to understand the relationship that existed between international movements and the work of the protagonists and more importantly, its influence on modern architecture.

Georges Teyssot’s *A Topology of Everyday Constellations* proved to be of immeasurable help in the design of this research especially his essays: ‘A Topology of Everyday Constellations’, ‘Dream House’ and ‘Figuring the Invisible’. While the first two were instrumental in helping me to develop my own method, loosely based on my interpretation of his description of Walter Benjamin’s historical method, the three together, helped me formulate an argument and provided a reasoning that allowed me to choose the protagonists that I did. Teyssot explains Benjamin’s historical method as:

“To write history one must accumulate minutiae, including ephemeral items, discarded paraphernalia, useless gadgets or outmoded gizmos. Far from drawing a large fresco with the illusion of giving a full picture of the epoch, those trivial details must keep their fragmentary nature.”

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Departing from this observation, I looked for those who were unknown (Martin Couney and J.P. Muller, Rafael Lemkin); those who were forgotten (Daniel Urban Kiley, Gregor Paulsson); those who had been misunderstood (Lillian Gilbreth, Ellen Key); or those whose work was being revised in view of women’s movements (Isadora Duncan, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Friedrich Froebel). To be able to see these protagonists in a new way I had to start reading them in a different manner—I started looking for anecdotes. Did they practice vegetarianism as part of their philosophy? What were their views on dressing and cooking? Did they go to a kindergarten or did they live near one? Were their parents divorced and what was the role of each one in their upbringing? What were their views on marriage and gender relationships? Who were their role models? What books were they reading? Did they exercise or engage in other physical activity? How was all of this related to their understanding of space? It was an exercise of squinting and even misreading to some extent, not in the sense that I was reading things incorrectly, but to the contrary, I was focusing on things that were unremarked upon in relationship to their work and their understanding of space. I read their (auto)biographies, some of their work and a number of papers or books (secondary literature) that allowed me to depart from everything that was said about them and add to the material from my view as an architect.

As suggested by Phillipe Ariès, an (auto)biography corresponds with the modern vision of childhood as a formative period of one’s life.\textsuperscript{57} Therefore, it would not be incorrect to view the (auto)biography as both a reflective and analytical tool that allows one to burrow in the mind of the protagonist allowing one to glean their attempts in understanding and positioning themselves in the context that they are working in. Therefore, in this thesis I use their work as much as I use their memories and their reflections as evidence to unveil the hidden sensibility. Their personal history provides clues about the environment and context that they were working in, and the relationships and associations that they sought, and avoided. Moreover, it shows their beliefs and their struggles and displays the inseparability between their work and their life where aesthetic

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\textsuperscript{57} Phillipe Ariès, \textit{Centuries of Childhood}, (Pimlico, 1996).
choices were closely connected to ethical beliefs. Furthermore, the (auto)biographies shed light on the importance of spatial issues such as proximity, serendipity and context. The biographies provided me with invisible connections between protagonists that ranged from dietary reform and dress reform to their views on eugenics, neo-Lamarckism and more importantly, their views on architecture and spatial organisation as part of those discussions.

While it may appear that the protagonists that I am dwelling on are the hero(ines) of my thesis, in reality they are only the occasion that enable me to portray the real star of the thesis—the international sensibility. This explains the fragmentary manner in which I have used the (auto)biographies. I have dwelled on certain periods of their life in relationship with their work. Besides, every chapter is both a whole and a part of the larger argument. It is designed as six different essays where interconnections between ideas, beliefs and contexts are interwoven in the text and through the footnotes.

Architectural history is better versed with the monograph that prefers to describe architectural work rather than the lives of the architects and the influence of personal history and context on their own development. However, in the last few decades there is an increase of the journalistic biographies of ‘stararchitects’. Modern architectural historiography has effaced the multi-faceted nature of its personalities by painting them in a uniform colour—machinist. It is hardly surprising that in recent years this history has been seeing many revisions that display that the machinist and technologist view of modern architecture is not as white as was earlier thought. It could be surmised that by refusing to accept the eccentricities of living, modern architecture was able to construct a historiography that appeared evolutionary and ‘scientific’, however, as will become apparent through the thesis is that many of the tenets that are closely guarded by modern architecture and professed by the International Style exhibition are rooted in strange, personal and intimate circumstances that were both individualistic and part of the political, cultural and social environment of the era. Melvyn Bragg’s radio show In Our Time best evidences the importance of the biography as a way to draw out the inherent contradictions and therefore, the richness of the thought processes of the protagonists that it aired. Furthermore, the technique has been used by numerous historians including
Orlando Figes and Phillipe Sands.\textsuperscript{58} In addition, authors such as Amor Towles\textsuperscript{59} use fictional biographies to humanise historical moments in his fictions.

I took three key themes\textsuperscript{60} from Teyssot’s essays – the relationship between the nation, the body, and the home; the interplay between interiority and exteriority; and finally, the threshold into modernity and a drive to design a mass collective consciousness. As evident, they are all intimately connected with Benjamin’s historical method. If the turn of the twentieth century was a drive towards modernity, the rise of the masses and a fear of mediocrity, which was the crux of the nation-making project as evidenced in its social hygiene programme, it is inevitable that it became the seed that shaped social reform as a way of challenging or bettering the nation-making project and thus, became the centre of the concerns of the international movements. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the home became the centre of all discussion and debate as a way to transform, form and reconstitute the masses in the modern era.

“\textit{The nineteenth century, like no other century, was addicted to dwelling. It conceived the residence as a receptacle for the person, and it encased him with all his appurtenances so deeply in the dwelling’s interior that one may be reminded of the inside of a compass case, where the instrument with all its accessories lies embedded in deep, usually violet folds of velvet.”}\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{58} Orlando Figes, \textit{The Europeans: Three Lives and the Making of a Cosmopolitan Culture}, (Penguin, 2020). And Phillipe Sands, \textit{East-West Street}, (W&N., 2017). These two authors as they have used biographies and prosopography in very different ways. Whilst Figes uses biographies to evidence his arguments showing how the characters moved in space and time; Sands on the other hand uses the biography to display the similarities and differences between two of most important protagonists in forwarding international criminal law. He displays their role in the Nuremberg trials but also traces their journey setting out a causal relationship between the events of their lives and their chosen paths.

\textsuperscript{59} I have used Amor Towles, \textit{Rules of Civility}, (Sceptre, 2011) as a guide to write the fictional pieces in the prologue and epilogue of this introduction.

\textsuperscript{60} The layering in Teyssot’s essays along with the richness of content is inexhaustible; therefore, I prefer to discuss his writing only in relevance to the role that it played in my thesis.

\textsuperscript{61} Georges Teyssot, ‘Dream House’ in \textit{A Topology of Everyday Constellations}, pp. 84-85.
The home, lifestyles and the institutions that were concerned with complementing or transforming ideas of domesticity by exteriorising interior spaces across city landscapes soon became the lens through which I started to look for social reform. Furthermore, the home was intimately connected with the individual and the relations fostered through bodies in space. While Teyssot displays the origin of the idea of typology and morphology in architecture, it can be argued that the history that he displays is one that is intimately tied with a Foucauldian vision of the world where authority, power and apparatuses are defined in a linear top-down manner. He is cognisant of this world view and discusses the inherent contradictions in this way of looking at power. He suggests that space also holds the ability to transform power through the way that it is used. Through my research, I attempt to show the private attempts of nudging the institutions of power towards creating social equality and justice in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The essays played a very important role as I searched for visionaries—they gave me a lens to look through as seen in Matrix 1. In addition, as a ‘fitness test’, I introduced three important parameters that allowed me to eliminate or choose the visionaries. The first, demanded that the visionaries were engaged in social reform which in some way challenged or at the least was in dialogue with the nation’s vision of the social body. This meant that the issues for reform had to be within the purview of both an international nation-making ideology and international movements. Second, and connected with the first was that the visionaries should have used the spaces and technologies of internationalisation such as translations and publications, world’s fairs and international conferences to mention a few. And lastly, but equally importantly, they should have engaged or deployed architecture as a critical part of their reform, which includes the construction of alternative institutions.

Once I had a rather long but in no way exhaustive list of personalities, I began to group them in themes. One of the earlier comments by Dr. Mark Morris was that rather than have a chapter that focuses on one individual, it would be a far more interesting aspect to

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juxtapose two such characters, thereby displaying the complexity in the issues and themes and refocusing the thesis on its main task—identifying an international sensibility. This task required elimination of another degree—personalities were grouped by what can be best be described as the single most important issue of their reform, which could be the body and its reconstruction, the development of childcare through education or in medicine, or their role in forwarding women’s issues as related to the home. Focusing on a single issue was for the benefit of writing as much as it was for the sake of research. Some of these groupings were self-evident such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Ellen Key who were contemporaries and had a publicly contentious relationship with each other. Others for example, Gregor Paulsson and Lillian Gilbreth or Friedrich Froebel and Martin Couney were slotted together more self-consciously. The first two are tied together because of their contribution to science of work as an international movement and the latter two are connected chronologically, displaying the temporal development of childcare. This rudimentary network of connections and contentions was mapped as Matrix 2, which structured the chapters in the thesis.

This study is not exhaustive and is in no manner complete. It is a starting point to look at the relationship between modern architecture and internationalism in a new light.
Chapter 1

ONE
Work Reform

Industrialisation, the work space and housing: Equal Measure.

Challenging the relationship between people in an attempt to redefine race relations.

The home became the refuge and the space of a kindergarten.

They argued for the reorganisation of education of the child and adults.

Three

Child Care

Education and dignity of a child. Difference and progression.

Relationship and difference between a child and an adult.

Self-determination and celebration of the child and the space of a kindergarten.

The space of a child in the home.

The practices of Pauline and Gilbreth can be considered an internationally because they addressed a concern that was prevalent in nation states, and was redefined on the creation of modern cities: Industry - Industrialisation and work in the factory, which was not restricted to national boundaries.

They wanted to redefine the concept of race relations.

Their argument focused on the reorganisation and bettering the working space and living conditions of the worker.

In addition, Gregor’s delivery of his beliefs through the Stockholm Exhibition, created a unique form of internationalism - it became closely associated with a national and international exhibitions.

Three

Child Care

Education and dignity of a child. Difference and progression.

Relationship and difference between a child and an adult.

Self-determination and celebration of the child and the space of a kindergarten.

The space of a child in the home.

The practices of Pauline and Gilbreth can be considered an internationally because they addressed a concern that was prevalent in nation states, and was redefined on the creation of modern cities: Industry - Industrialisation and work in the factory, which was not restricted to national boundaries.

With the creation of modern factories, the relationship between work and home changed.

Challenging the relationship between work and the outside relating it to health and society.

Five

Challenging Eugenics

Workers, the ideal in a city, difference; the isolation of the home.

The home became the refuge and the space of premature infants.

Challenging the relationship between work and the outside relating it to health and society.

The practices of Muller and Comer can be considered an internationally because they addressed and challenged the attitude of the nation towards weak individuals. They implemented their practice outside the confines of national institutions.

Muller’s work provided an individual who was considered weak or sickly, the tools for transformation and correction.

Comer, found that hospitals did not undertake the care of premature infants and he instead, used fairgrounds and world fairs as a site to introduce this care. He exhibited incubator exhibitions where, worried parents brought their infants for treatment and care. Spectators paid to see the exhibitions and the cost of viewing supported the exhibitions, providing treatment for free. It initiated the design for neonatal units in American hospitals, which can be seen across the world.

Seven

Utopian Communities

For them and alternative theories that redefined new relations between people as an attempt to construct more equal societies.

The theories and practices of Schopenhauer and Blavatsky can be considered an internationally because they propose alternatives to existing systems of race, caste, gender and national relations.

Schopenhauer and Blavatsky’s work influenced the use of glass, made potent with metaphorical reflection of transparency and visibility.
Challenging Eugenics

Utopian Communities

between people in an attempt to

that redefine race relations

between the inside and the

prison for those

home.

Weakness, the ideal vis-a-vis

home.

adult.

child. Difference and

Education and Dignity of a

workforce and person.

'Skills and Satisfaction' of

managing the workforce to

Modernity.

space and Housing. Equal

Industrialisation, the work

Child Care

Chapter Internationality

Protagonists and Key Published Works

Lillian Gilbreth  1878-1972

Jorgen P . Muller 1866-1938

Paul Scheerbart 1863-1915

Melusina Fay Pierce  1836-1926

Ellen Key  1849-1926

Frederik van Eeden 1860-1930

Hersch Lauterpacht 1897-1960

Rafael Lemkin  1900-1952

Clara Littledale  1891-1956

Pieter Eijkman 1862-1914

International law

International treaties

International law and

International criminal law

international law

international labour

bourgeois

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The visionaries and their constellation - 2018

Gregor Paulsson 1890-1977
Friedrich Fröbel 1782-1852
Jorgen P. Muller 1866-1938
Isadora Duncan 1877-1927
Paul Scheerbart 1863-1915
Helena Blavatsky 1831-1891
Martin Couney 1870-1950
Daniel Urban Kiley 1912-2004
Raphael Lemkin 1900-1952
Ellen Key 1849-1926
Charlotte Perkins Gilman 1860-1935

Work Reform and Fatigue
Child Care and protection
New Social Structures and Spiritualities
International Law and Shared Languages

Body Reform and Empowerment
Family Reform and Puericulture

influential in developing his idea of 'beauty'
influential in developing her educational methods
Der Strum Magazine
Child Care was an important part of her work in relationship to the role of the woman
Empowerment and protection are two sides of the same coin
Societies relationship to women as part of the family
Advancing special spatial practices for children
Light and Air/Windows and Pores
influenced the architecture of Frank Llyod Wright
Closely related, Kitchen Reform as seen as an important part of work reform
Gilbreth’s Kitchen Practical and Markelius’ kitchenless apartments
Chapters

Jean Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant and Jeremy Bentham were all invested in forwarding projects for peace and in different ways prescribed an inextricability between world peace and internationalism. Peace became one of the more important concerns in the nineteenth century and could be considered one of the first international movements that spurred individuals. It brought together divergent interests and included the workers’ movement, the women’s movement, educational reform, equal suffrage and free trade. Soon, peace was equated with social reform and was an important part of a liberal vision in the progressive era, at the turn of the twentieth century, that conflated modernity with social justice and equality. Furthermore, the development of ‘scientific’ disciplines including quasi-scientific disciplines such as social hygiene became an important concern as nations moved towards greater enfranchisement especially in the wake of the worker’s riots in the mid nineteenth century. In this chapter, I layout the role of peace movements in the intellectual history of internationalism that predicated the social reformist agenda of the progressive era. Each of the chapters that follows describes a single-issue reform that was related to the peace movement.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Ellen Key were self-styled social reformers who challenged the prevalent narrative of puericulture and advocated for family reform. As part of their agenda they advocated for a spatial reorganisation and design reform of the home towards female empowerment and economic independence. Gilman historicised the oppression of women displaying systemic violence in the manner in which the family was constituted. She suggested that domestic institutions such as laundering, cooking and childcare should be removed from the home—thus reorganising its interior and exterior relations. Key to the contrary, was uninterested in domestic labour and focused her energies on staging a relationship between aesthetic and social reform geared towards women, especially working-class women. Their work was internationally renowned in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century contributing to the international women’s movement and later regained importance in the 1930s, as will be seen in the next chapter, and again in the 1960s by contributing to the work of the material feminists. Nonetheless, they were complicit in forwarding the myth of motherhood, which in turn resulted in issues of gendered relations and institutional forms that still plagues societal concerns today.
Gregor Paulsson and Lillian Gilbreth could not be more different in their attitude towards work reform and fatigue. Nevertheless, they both utilised and in turn, transformed and contributed to the growing international discipline of science of work that was being advanced by nations to combat degeneracy and the fear of a deceleration of national productivity. Additionally, they conflated the worker’s question with the women’s question, thereby casting a new light on the two issues. They addressed work reform by redesigning behaviours and lifestyles, which in turn transformed domestic space and relations. Paulsson, the curator of the Stockholm exhibition addressed the problem by forwarding the ideas furthered by Ellen Key—the relationship between aesthetic and social reform—by deploying architecture as a tool for transforming society. The exhibition was an attempt to display an alternative Swedish social vision for modern architecture and was recognised internationally as such. Gilbreth on the other hand, reinterpreted the work of Catherine Beecher and focused on fatigue and attempted to design a number of products to combat it at different scales from reading boxes, to designing kitchens for the differently-abled. However, it is undeniable that they were both inextricably consumed by the narrative of productivity furthered by the nation and inadvertently, furthered consumerism through their visions.

J.P.Muller and Isadora Duncan founded institutions to increase the spread of their health practices and contributed to the discourse on body reform as a tool to subvert authority and challenge existing norms around class, race and gender. Through their practice they contributed to the aesthetics and discourses that plagued modern architecture surrounding health, cleanliness, to mention a few. Their work was closely aligned with the principles that were later projected in the International Style exhibition. In addition, they contributed to the international health movement that was rampant in the period and listed numerous health practitioners under the guise of democratising health and fitness. In parallel, the nation promoted physical culture and movement to retard degeneracy and in turn, strengthen the population. Muller was an inspector of the Vejle sanatorium in Denmark before he styled himself as a physical culturist. His regimen domesticated the treatment of tuberculosis, which he aligned with many of ongoing concerns of cleanliness, hygiene, ventilation and sunlight that plagued modern architecture, thereby furthering and demystifying a connection between physical culture and modern architecture. Duncan on the other hand, was interested in transforming
dance into a modern artistic discipline and through it - she sought to liberate the female body from its objectification. However, it is undeniable that while benefitting from both the international spread of a health culture and the nations preoccupation with it, Muller and Duncan did very little to stem the myths about race and health and to some extent, even used them to further their own cause.

Friedrich Froebel and Martin Couney are separated in time by about a century. While the former contributed to defining childhood as a formative and protective period of life; nevertheless, his work inadvertently led to the understanding of the importance of children as a national resource. The latter on the other hand, was faced with the consequences of this understanding; he worked at a time when eugenics was rampant and there was a drive to redesign the population and weed out weakness. Froebel secularised education through the use of geometry, which in turn, aided its spread around the world. The Froebelian Kindergarten was novel for the time as it programmed an educational regimen for children of both sexes below the age of seven and across classes, which was aligned with the spatial organisation of the institution. As a distinct institution that was separated from the home, it professionalised the education of children and by happenchance promoted the education of children as a cause for the women’s movement. As the movement internationalised and spread around the world so did the kindergarten. Along with education of children the women’s movement absorbed other caring practices such as nursing. Martin Couney, a showman who introduced baby incubators at world’s fairs equipped with real preemies, helped to spread the knowledge of the technology, which was greatly lacking in the early twentieth century, and contributed to the development of neonatal care. Both Froebel and Couney helped develop the architecture of the institutions which were intricately woven with the processes of childcare.

Daniel Urban Kiley and Rafael Lemkin were both involved with the Office of Strategic Services, which was a department that worked closely with the Department of Justice in the United States to prepare evidence for the Nuremberg trials against Nazi Germany. Kiley was the architect-in-charge for the Nuremberg trials—an unprecedented legal occasion. His brief stipulated that the courtroom had to represent international criminal law; cater to new technologies of evidence; and constitute an audience that would support this new legal system. Kiley’s spatial organisation of the courtroom hybridised both the
common and civil law systems of criminal justice resulting in a new spatial language for international criminal justice. Lemkin too attempted to construct a shared language that would explain genocides as individualised but serialised events in history. He argued that Genocide was an an extreme measure of reconstituting the national population to design a national identity. Within his definition of Genocide lay the crime of Cultural Genocide, which was broadly speaking the destruction of shared cultural artifacts of a group of people in an attempt to erase the existence and continuation of a group. Post World-War II, the Human Rights Convention and the United Nations became the main institution that catered to a more formalised way of enabling reform through nongovernmental organisations and specialised agencies inadvertently, formalising the relationship between a private citizen and international thought.
The Nuremberg trials started a fortnight ago. There is a buzz about it at work—I work at a prestigious hotel in the city as an events assistant. I got this job about fifteen years ago when they had just completed the building works. Their new ballroom got stunning reviews and was considered the event space of the decade. I am rather pleased to have found this job. During the war we were the site of refuge for a number of heads of state and I had to learn about diplomatic protocol, which is proving to be very handy at the moment because a month ago, Justice Robert Jackson, the chief-prosecutor of the Nuremberg trials, on his way to Germany stopped in this country to meet a number of people involved in the trial at our hotel and I was part of the in-house team to liaise with their event design team. A few days before the meeting a number of people visited the hotel to organise the meeting room. A nice unassuming man who introduced himself as Daniel Kiley—the architect who designed the courtrooms for the trial—was in charge of these arrangements. He looked young for a responsibility of this nature. He asked if he could visit some of the recently designed sections of the hotel and of course, I took him on a tour. He was not very chatty, but he spent a long time appreciating the décor. He mentioned that now that the trials were going to begin, he would soon be returning to the States to resume work as a landscape architect. He had been missing his wife. When I came home and told my husband Ben about my day, he did not simply nod passively as was his custom, but instead, was genuinely interested and I sensed, even a little envious that I had seen a glimpse of something historic and important. He says that we should plan a holiday to the United States soon and that it is going to be the destination de jure in the coming years. The United States is now far more powerful than Europe—the new United Nations headquarters—a new world organisation to maintain peace (God knows we need it) is going to be located in New York. Maybe we will visit when the building is completed.

It is probably because of my job but I feel close to the trials and try to catch the radio broadcasts every day. Some of my colleagues believe that the trial is a farce, they call it a ‘victor’s justice’. I am not sure I quite agree with them; however, I don’t debate with them either. It seems pointless to engage when they seem otherwise convinced. I thought that the war was horrific and the trial is cathartic. The accounts of the camp and the horrible Nazi doctor who experimented with children and coloured folk sends shivers down my spine even now. It reminded me of the shows that used to be part of the carnivals and fairs here in the city – the tribal village shows, the baby incubator shows and the freak shows. I could barely stomach those. Thankfully, all those shows died a natural death, though the incubator shows were providing a service. It certainly took its time. I remember that about a decade ago in Chicago, at the world’s fair, these kinds of shows were all the rage. Even worse, in that exposition they had a show where babies were paraded competitively.
I think that it was called ‘better babies’ or something like that. What a terrible idea! Don’t get me wrong, I am as vain as I ever was and when my two girls were born after the first war, I was pretty pleased with the results. Nevertheless, I would never think of parading them and having them measured up.

The world is a very different place today compared to when I moved to the city nearly 35 years ago. I came to work, and I needed to work. Today, however, most of the girls work. Even those who don’t look like they need to. They are often employed as assistants to publishers, gallerists and those sorts and their pay is pittance but allegedly, no woman wants to be seen to be a lady of leisure these days. I would not have minded that title! I had to work hard. My older one has recently got qualified as a teacher. In addition, she is engaged to a man from Denmark. He is very progressive and when they come by for dinner, he seems to be very comfortable in our kitchen. A natural really. I have to nag to get Ben to enter the kitchen. He is very progressive but when it comes to housework, he adorns his conservative garb just to get out of it. I see through him. He dared to suggest that it is a woman’s job and I should train my younger one, who is still living with us, to run a house. She won’t have any of that! She is studying to be a paralegal. I am proud of her and was ecstatic when I realised that the Nuremberg trials team did not have any female lawyers; the only women in that group were part of the secretarial pool. My daughter is going to be a front runner. She was curious if I had met a gentleman named Rafael Lemkin at the hotel. I hadn’t. She says that he will change international law with his new word ‘genocide’. I must confess, I don’t understand everything that she says about the trials but then I am not as educated as she is.

When I got married, I was working in a shop as an assistant and we waited a long time to have children. I was an old mother by the standards of the day; there was the first war and there was money to worry about. Nowadays its commonplace to have children late. Though we had a tough decade; however, we were prudent and once I had secured this job, we bought ourselves a nice modern apartment in a quiet village-like neighbourhood. We furnished it with furniture that was inspired by the Swedish exhibition that was the talk of the town then. It was not unlike Madame Mode’s boarding house where I lived when I first came to the city. Both Ben and I do like the modern style. Our neighbourhood has a number of new buildings designed in this new style and is home to a number of architects including some emigres. Ben’s sister married an artist and through her we hobnobbed with the literary and arty folks (some were even part of the Bloomsbury group) at this really nice bar on the ground floor of this ultra-modernist apartment building. The building was nice, but I think a little too modern for me, I didn’t really appreciate the size of the kitchen that I could see from the outside. Allegedly, every kitchen is connected by a dumb waiter to a professional kitchen service. Too la-di-dah for Ben and me. Nevertheless, we were socially and politically active. In fact, if I could dare say, we were not simply part of
the progress, but we were the progress. Today, things appear a little more backward than I would have expected considering the strides that we made. My girls say that I am being nostalgic, but I think that the 20s was far more progressive than today. But then, in the 20s there was a similar refrain that about the turn of the twentieth century. Maybe every generation believes that they were more progressive when they were in their 20s! It is quite astounding how much change we have encountered within one lifetime!
2. Work Reform and Fatigue

1. Peace Movements and the International Sensibility

Introduction

Conclusion

5. Child Care and Eugenics

6. International Law and Shared Languages

4. Body Reform and Empowerment

3. Family Reform and Puericulture

Gregor Paulsson 1890-1977

Friedrich Fröbel 1782-1852

Jorgen P. Muller 1866-1938 Isadora Duncan 1877-1927

Martin Couney 1870-1950

Daniel Urban Kiley 1912-2004

Scandinavian

Le Corbusier

Walter Gropius

Frank Lloyd Wright

The Start

The End

Territory belonging to Germany Jewish/Polish immigrants in America American

Raphael Lemkin 1900-1952

Ellen Key 1849-1926 Charlotte Perkins Gilman 1860-1935

Lillian Gilbreth 1878-1972

Autodidact

The invisible constellation with the structure of the research, 2020.
Peace Movements and an International Sensibility

Introduction

Diego Velázquez returned to Madrid, after a year and a half of travelling in Italy, to resume his position as the king’s portraitist. On arrival, he immersed himself in painting members of the royal entourage, many of which would soon grace the walls of the Salón de los Reinos in the new palace Buen Retiro. The paintings in the Salon were dedicated to Spain’s victories, particularly the magnanimity that it displayed towards the defeated.1 Towards this end, a series of 12 tableaus were commissioned, one of which was painted by Velázquez—the 307cm x 367cm Surrender of Breda (1635) dedicated to the Genoese captain-general Ambrogio Spinola and his reacquisition of Breda, in the Low Countries, for Spain a decade earlier. Velázquez had travelled with Spinola to Italy and during the trip had become better acquainted with the captain-general. He had drawn a number of sketches of him and heard first-hand about the siege and surrender of Breda. In addition, he found that the captain-general and he shared a similar temperament—they were serious, undemonstrative, and known for their modestia.2 It was those qualities along with the stories that he heard about the conditions of the surrender that Spinola had acquiesced to that he wanted to portray, and which were centred in the painting. During the siege, Spinola was an astute and brutal commander.3 However, the conditions of the surrender displayed his humanity and his modesty. It was customary for the winning general to

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2 Bailey, Velázquez and the Surrender of Breda, p. 77.
3 Bailey, Velázquez and the Surrender of Breda, pp. 58-73.
be shown seated on his horse looking down upon the prostrated figure of the defeated general. However, in Velázquez’s painting, Spinola is shown standing beside Justin Nassau, the governor of Breda, who is handing him the symbolic keys of the city. Nassau is bending towards Spinola, who is reciprocating the gesture by touching Nassau gently on the shoulder. Behind the two men, the terms of the surrender are being enacted—the casualties and the sick are being carried away unharmed towards the one thousand and two hundred wagons, and sixty boats that they were promised—an offer that was deemed extravagant by many. Velázquez’s painting was both a personal dedication to Spinola, who was dead by this time, and a celebration of Spain’s humaneness. Two years later in 1637, Frederick Henry, the prince of Orange, reclaimed Breda, which remained with the Dutch till the end of the eighty-year war that was ended by the peace treaties of Westphalia in 1648. The impact that the treaties had on the relationship between states makes it impossible not to view the painting, retrospectively, as an augury of a future where humaneness is encouraged or even expected in relations between nations, especially in times of war.

The Treaty of Westphalia was not a multilateral treaty but two bilateral treaties—one between Sweden and the Emperor and the second, between France and the Emperor. However, it is often referred to as the originator of the system of legitimising states. This system was set into motion at Westphalia, but it took centuries of practice, revisions and congresses before it evolved into the form that it finally acquired in the nineteenth century and that we would recognise today. Nevertheless, the treaties initiated practices that have impacted the way that relations between states have been constituted, and equally importantly, set the stage for the manner in which jurisdiction—a configuration of law and politics that stages the relationship between governments and their population—has evolved. The main issues addressed by the treaties were—for an estate to be accepted as an ultimate authority over a particular territory it had to accept the same about other estates; alliances between estates would check the expansionist desires of any one estate; and territorial authority included authority over natural resources, water bodies,
forests, and people. Therefore, the Treaty of Westphalia set the stage for the inviolable relationship between sovereignty, territorial jurisdiction and the nation as a predicate for international relations. However:

“Although the peace of Westphalia confirmed the right, [right of estates to decide on the religion of their subjects] an important qualification was added: that all subjects were guaranteed not only the rights to emigrate, but also to freedom of conscience, to worship in neighbouring territories, to send their children abroad to school or to educate them at home. Thus, the endorsement of individual rights at Westphalia limited state sovereignty.”

The act of legitimising absolute authority of an estate on a territory, forwarded in the hope of bettering relations between estates, also necessitated the setting of a limit to that authority. This limit protected individual rights of people within the estate. The dialogue between the domestic configuration of a nation and relations between nations has been revised and reinterpreted through the centuries—in the Enlightenment, a republican form of government was forwarded as a companion to international peace. However, by the progressive era—a period defined by rampant nationalism—internationalism came to mean different things. One version included an expansionist neo-imperialistic domination of the world. However, there were other versions that were more utopian. Astute pacifists pointed out the inseparability between social conflict and international warfare, especially since wars dominated resources and benefitted a certain section of society, thereby leaving a large majority in social despair. They, therefore, advocated for social reform as a way to foster peaceful relations between nations.

In this chapter, I trace a skein of the intellectual history of international thought that saw internationalism as a project towards a more peaceful world that would result in social equality and justice, at least, for a greater majority than ever before.

7 Croxton, ‘The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the Origins of Sovereignty’.
An image of Diego Velazquez’s The Surrender of Breda (1635) modified to magnify the conditions of the Surrender of the city. The captain-general Spinola is to the left, and Justin Nassau is handing him the keys to the city. Behind them it is possible to see the defeated army leaving the city with the sick and aged.
Peace Proposals in the Enlightenment

Immanuel Kant’s *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Essay,* was written in 1795 after the French Revolution and its unpleasant aftermath—Napoleon’s drive towards a universal monarchy. In the spirit of the recent American and French revolutions it elevated the role of the citizenry by including them in the governmental process. Kant, like many others, thought that a republic would force governance out of the grasp of the war-making classes—monarchs, diplomats, statesmen, aristocracy, generals—and instead place it into the conscience of the people. Furthermore, he believed that creating an environment of mutual self-interest was the only way to stem belligerence, saying that:

“The peoples of the earth have thus entered in varying degrees into a universal community, and it has developed to the point where a violation of rights in one part of the world is felt everywhere. The idea of cosmopolitan right is therefore not fantastic and overstrained; it is a necessary complement to the unwritten code of a political and international right, transforming it into a universal right of humanity.”

He contended that a republican form of government would encourage an environment that would force a nation to reconsider recourse to war, especially as the decision would partially rest with its citizens. He believed that once citizens understood the cost of war,

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10 Michael Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience,* (Oxford, Toronto and Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 25. Kant, like many others, believed that war was a pet project of the ruling classes. Therefore, he suggested that nations should not be allowed to hire armies for war as he reasoned that if the citizenry were enlisted to fight in wars, they would be less supportive of the practice.

11 Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea,* (Penguin, 2013). “Kant thus argues that states bound by rules designed merely to avert war are no substitute for an eventual cosmopolitan world order, something he imagines emerging gradually and inevitably, as states federate and attract others to join them. He specifies no mechanism through which this could come about; we are not yet in an age comfortable with theorising the problem of organisation. But it would certainly not be through commerce, as others believed it might, because Kant did not think that commerce civilised: he took a dim view of European traders and their impact on the rest of the world, and he criticised ‘the injustice which they show to lands and peoples they visit.”

12 Kant, *Perpetual Peace.*
to themselves, they would not support it. Writing after the annexation and dissection of Poland, the essay stipulates five preliminary prerequisites or ‘interdicts’ for states to follow if they were keen to perpetuate peace. These rules restate the inviolability of every nation and forbid the interference, appropriation, or looting of a nation by any other nation. The interdicts are followed by three definitive articles—introduction of a republican constitution in all countries; the construction of a confederation of equal states; and an agreement for universal hospitality that would encourage the citizenry to travel and learn about other cultures. Kant’s proposal did not question why a nation would favour such a system but instead, was predicated on his customary belief in reason, rights and duties.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s translation\(^\text{13}\) of Abbé Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre’s *Paix Perpetuelle*, originally written in 1712 predates Kant’s philosophical essay. Rousseau was less optimistic about universal peace than Kant was because it appears that he believed that peace is antithetical to the character of a nation. The text has two parts—the ‘abstract’ and the ‘judgement.’ While the former is a translation interspersed with Rousseau’s thoughts;\(^\text{14}\) the latter on the other hand, displays his characteristic scepticism and was only published after his death.

In the ‘abstract’ he reasons that war was considered essential for a nation for both its internal and external security; therefore, nations spent vast amounts of resources in arming themselves. In addition, though a civil society based on a social contract had mitigated private wars inside a country; however, this civility did not extend to the relationship between nations. Thus, he proposes that a federation of governments that imitates the relationship forged in society between individuals should be conceived at the scale of nations because ‘it is the only force capable of holding the subject, the ruler, the foreigner equally in check.’\(^\text{15}\) His proposal states that the federation should be


\(^{15}\) Jacques Rousseau, *A Lasting Peace through the Federation of Europe and The State of War*. 

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permanent and that all nations should be obligated to become members. Moreover, this membership could neither expire nor be revoked, and all laws between states had to be binding and enforceable. Towards this end, he argues that a confederation in Europe was not improbable. The continent shared much in common—its religion, the inter-marriage of monarchs, the ease of travel between the countries. Moreover, commerce, arts and the printing-press had already constituted a ‘community of interests’ who shared ‘habits and customs.’

However, in the ‘judgement’, he is more forthcoming—he expresses his doubts about the project, which he observes does not take into account the primal tendency of every monarch which is to continually expand their range of absolute power. A confederation would not only transform relations between nations but in addition, it would limit the power that a sovereign exerts over his own territory and people. Thus, it would never be in the nation’s or more accurately, the monarch’s and his war-mongering associates’ interest in joining or constructing such a federation. Rousseau, as was typical of his dialectical manner, sketched the ideal alongside what he believed was more in-keeping with reality.

Both Kant and Rousseau observed the inextricability between international relations and cosmopolitanism, and both of them were equally sceptical about the role that international law could play in fostering an environment of peace as they argued that international law was predicated in the framework of war rather than peace. In fact, the word international had legal origins. Jeremy Bentham, a jurist, coined the neologism ‘international’ in 1789 in his treatise *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislations* in which he argued for a need to qualify and differentiate the laws that were practiced inside a nation and those between nations.

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16 Jacques Rousseau, *A Lasting Peace through the Federation of Europe and The State of War*. Rousseau contends that a similar approach may not be conceivable in other parts of the world. He says that people in Africa or Asia have less in common with each other than Europeans do.


Bentham coined ‘international’ to replace the Law of Nations after (mis)reading William Blackstone’s *Commentaries of the Laws of England*. He had listened to lectures by Blackstone while he was at Oxford and disagreed with the jurist in his *A Fragment on Government* that was published in 1776. In *Fragment* he commented on the relationship articulated by Blackstone between the Law of Nations and municipal laws. However, he delved deeper in a more caustic text called *Comments on the Commentaries* that was written between 1774-1776, but was not published at the time. Nevertheless, it was published in 1928 and it displays Bentham’s misreading of Blackstone’s work. Bentham wrote prolifically and at a constant rate of fifteen pages every day for most of his adult life though many of his writings were destroyed or unpublished at the time. His thoughts evolved through the exercise of writing, and many of his works remained unfinished and under-developed. This has been said so about *Comments*.

His interest in ‘international law’ began in 1776, when he wrote about the United States Declaration of Independence, anonymously and in collaboration with his friend John Lind. It was then that he forwarded the ‘utility principle,’ which he had developed earlier in relation to universal jurisprudence. He had developed the principle as way of bringing a scientific method to the social sciences via psychology (before the discipline

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20 Janis. ‘Jeremy Bentham and the fashioning of “international law”’.
23 Howard. *War and the Liberal Conscience*, Pg. 34. Howard describes Bentham as a universalist: “There is nothing to indicate that Bentham appreciated the fundamental nature of the problem which would be created
was formally invented). The utility principle is based on his reading of Priestley’s *Essay on Government*. It states that people seek pleasure and avoid pain and thus, he surmised that if socially benefitting conduct would reap pleasure and its converse, pain, there would be a greater desire for the former rather than the latter. This principle underlined his penal reforms. He reasoned that any ‘disinterested legislator’ could codify international laws if it was predicated on the utility principle—the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people as a basic moral duty—and undoubtedly no ‘world citizen’ would have a quarrel with that. In addition, though he was never able to squash the doubts about the legitimacy of international law, he argued for the legal relevance of censorial jurisprudence based on moral and religious grounds stating that:

“That which is Law, is, in different countries, widely different; while that which ought to be, is in all countries to a great degree the same.”

Between 1786 and 1789, he wrote four articles on international law, which were hastily bundled together by his editors in 1843 as *Principles of International Law*. The first is titled ‘Objects of International Law’ and describes a role for international law in creating codes and conventions to foster peaceful relations between countries. The fourth, ‘A Plan for an Universal and Perpetual Peace’ is a model developed with France and England as examples, to illustrate the attitude that would have to adopted by nations to enable an environment for peaceful international relations. In the essay he argued for disarmament, decolonisation, free trade, and an international judicature to foster such an environment. Though Bentham was mistaken about the improvements that he was making to the Law of Nations by renaming and redefining it as ‘international’ law; nevertheless, in half a century, the word international became a part of everyday parlance, which in turn, by any such invasion of the sovereign powers of governments or the difficulties that would arise…Underlying Bentham and all his disciples was the assumption that all peoples, all nations, all cultures were homogeneous or could be made so.” However, Armitage argues that Bentham, like many others, oscillated (and struggled) between the universalism and the particularism of an international law and was simply unable to reconcile the two. His image as a universalist was not helped by the editing of his work by his publishers after his death, as they were writing in the context of the peace movements and projected him to be more of a pacifist than he was during his life time.

24  Wallas. ‘Jeremy Bentham’.
spawned its own world of meaning and practices. His writings were inspirational for nationalist movements around the world and the Westminster group of radical politicians such as, James Mill and his son John Mill.\textsuperscript{26}

Kant, Rousseau and Bentham played important roles in the development of the word international and its association with peace. Their peace proposals were reinterpreted in different ways in the nineteenth century and informed the diverse strands of the peace movements that followed after the Congress of Vienna.

\textsuperscript{26} Wallas, 'Jeremy Bentham'. Wallas says that in India, for example, Bentham was closely affiliated with the reformer Raja Ram Mohan Roy and attempted to implement laws and judicial institutions in the country to thwart the existing despotic discretion. Roy was crucial in the drive towards banning Sati - self-immolation of widows. In addition, with Gibbon Wakefield he addressed the principles of self-government in Australia.
In the nineteenth century, after the Napoleonic wars and the Congress of Vienna, the ‘friends of peace societies’ coalesced into an international movement that evolved and developed in parallel with the political ideologies of the century, especially liberalism. The peace movement during this period can broadly be classified into three distinct phases. The first phase (1815) was reactive—the peace movement refrained from engaging with political issues and instead, made infinitesimal gestures to resist the restorative stance adopted by the Concert of Europe. The second phase (1840) was confrontational—it was a pivotal time that forced the peace movement to recalibrate its position on social conflicts as the tension between laissez-faire economic policies clashed with anti-protectionists’, workers’ and nationalist movements. The third phase (after the Franco-Prussian war) was about cooperation—social issues and gender equality became the pillars of the movement. International cooperation increased considerably during this phase resulting in numerous intergovernmental organisations, international conferences and congresses.

The Concert of Europe, initiated at the Congress of Vienna, can be considered the first formal confederation of states comprising of the five principal powers—Prussia, Russia, Austria, Britain and eventually, France. The formation of a Concert was catalysed by the Napoleonic wars and as suggested by some historians, was prompted by the fear of a revolutionary fervour gripping the continent and beyond. It was indisputably conservative and restorative and attempted to quash all progress made by the liberal and nationalist sentiments in the wake of the French revolution—moderate and radical—obliterating the progress that was made towards republicanism and self-determination. In addition, it restored Christianity as a rightful consort to legitimate monarchies reinforcing the coalition of religion and the state. Urged by Tsar Alexander I, the non-British component of the Concert envisaged a Holy Alliance of Christian Powers. Though Britain did not whole-heartedly support the interventionist stance taken by the Concert; however, fearing a revolution, it did not oppose it either. Instead, it began to increase its collaboration with the United States in an attempt to distance itself from

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the Holy Alliance, which in effect, saved some of the spirit of republicanism especially in the Americas. It is during this post-Napoleonic horror and the Concert’s restorative position that a number of Christian peace societies sprouted in Britain and the United States of America especially in New England. These societies backed issues that the earlier Christian evangelicals and ‘friends of peace’ had campaigned against, for example, slavery and temperance. In other words, they equated practices of peace with practices of everyday life. In 1815, David Low Dodge along with members of the clergy formed the New York Peace Society. 28 In the same year William Allen a Quaker began the British Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace. The peace societies saw a crucial victory when the Treaty of Paris in 1815 condemned the slave trade. 29 By the 1920s, the membership of the peace societies had grown considerably. The Massachusetts Peace Society boasted of a thousand members and was the first to extend its membership to women, which would later prove to be consequential to the international women’s movement. Women were found to be vehemently against slavery and alcohol and advocated for ‘non-violent’ lifestyle choices by arguing that peace began at home. Though the first phase of peace movements were mainly Anglo-American, societies were soon founded in Paris and Geneva, which were encouraged by the participation of key liberal economists and utopian socialists including Charles Fourier, Jean-Baptiste Say and Henri de Saint Simon. The European denominations extended the remit of the peace movement to include issues of equality and liberty and directly opposed the restorations by the Congress of Vienna. 30 This network of small societies harnessed public opinion by printing and distributing tracts for their cause. However, it only in the 1840s that they would become what can be considered an international movement. 31

One of the first international conferences organised was the Anti-Slavery Convention that met in London in 1840. During that decade there was at least one international conference organised every year in Europe. In addition, the movement shifted from being

31 Mazower, *Governing the World*, p. 32.
a middle-class club when a large number of working-class people enrolled for membership, not in the least because of the efforts of Elihu Burritt, the ‘learned blacksmith’. Burritt was an autodidact and a polyglot who campaigned for social reform and believed in what he called ‘peoples-diplomacy’ which was in contradistinction to the existing aristocratic forms of diplomacy that were perceived as belligerent and self-invested. He founded the Christian Citizen—a weekly pacifist paper and in 1846. Soon after, disillusioned with the conservative attitude of the American Peace Society he began his own society in London—The League of Universal Brotherhood—that opposed war but also ‘condemned slavery and other forms of social injustice that divided human communities and caused social conflicts’. Though the league was essentially rooted in a Christian tradition it proclaimed itself as non-sectarian and anti-classist. Thus, it was one of the more inclusive international peace organisations and was oblivious to gender differentiations. In spite of its short lifespan of approximately a dozen years, its membership grew to 30,000 in Britain and 25,000 in the United States.

Elihu Burritt and Richard Cobden (the architect of the Anti-Corn Laws movement) were influential members of the peace movement in the 1840s and both described the Great Exhibition in London in 1851 as a symbol of peace, but for very different reasons. For Burritt the exhibition expressed the intentions of the peace movement by fostering an international brotherhood. Many other delegates felt similarly and renamed the Crystal Palace, the ‘Temple of Peace’. In one of its final but momentous rallies, the Brotherhood Bazaar, overtook the Great Exhibition as some fifteen to twenty thousand members ‘marched in an orderly procession to picnic at the exhibition’. This naïve belief was encouraged by the exhibition’s rhetoric that was printed in the newspapers and in the Queen’s speeches where brotherhood of nations, vegetarianism, progress and military might were themes that were deployed to justify the expenditure for the event. In reality, the exhibition displayed the colonies for what they were to the Empire—raw

32 Mazower, Governing the World, p. 33.
33 Cortright, Peace, p. 33.
34 Nicholls, ‘Richard Cobden and the International Peace Congress Movement, 1848-1853’.
35 Mazower, Governing the World, p. 36.
material—and treated the workers, who the exhibition was meant to valorise, with disdain. Cobden simplistically saw the exhibition as a nod to the anti-protectionist stand\(^{37}\) that he had argued for and won with the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1843. He was convinced that free trade was complementary to a spirit of internationalism as it would foster an interdependence of nation states leading to harmony, mutual progress and peaceful relations.\(^{38}\) Free trade was a small part of his pacifist agenda—he was an avid participant in the peace congresses and supported disarmament, anti-colonial sentiments, anti-interventionism and arbitration as a means of resolving conflict. He argued against war loans and war taxes and believed that by using a practical economic agenda war could be made distasteful.\(^{39}\) However, unlike Burritt he did not support a Congress or Brotherhood of Nations.

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\(^{37}\) Helena Rosenblatt, *The Lost History of Liberalism: From Ancient Rome to the Twenty-First Century*, (Princeton University Press, 2018), p. 82, p. 111. Rosenblatt says that liberalism was not against government intervention as it is believed.

\(^{38}\) Mazower, *Governing the World*, pp. 40-42. “And because the architects of repression [The Concert of Europe] saw their tasks as interconnected, and came where necessary to one another’s aid – this was, after all, how the Concert of Europe was supposed to function – Radicals such as Cobden, and domestic reformers in general, were driven for this reason too to pursue strategies of international cooperation…Cobden himself looked forward to the day when nations were united by ‘race, religion, language…not by the parchment title deeds of sovereigns.’ The spread of democracy and trade went hand in hand…Cobden’s free trade movement was the leading and unquestionably most successful version of radical internationalism to emerge in the first half of the nineteenth century. But its success was a mixed blessing…”

\(^{39}\) Nicholls, ‘Richard Cobden and the International Peace Congress Movement, 1848-1853’.
Peace Movements, Progressivism and International Exhibitions

The Great Exhibition was forged in an anti-protectionist logic that was sowed in France but germinated in Britain. In 1834, the renowned geologist Jacques Boucher de Perthes recommended that French exhibitions, which had begun in Paris after the revolution to bolster the spirit and the economy of the nation, adopt an international outlook that would inject healthy competition and brotherly international relations. French manufacturers resisted this suggestion and furthermore, it was unsupported by the government who were unwilling to reduce tax tariffs on imported goods. Fifteen years later the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce broached the subject again, and again it was rejected. In 1849, France hosted a national exhibition where Henry Cole, the chief organiser of the Great Exhibition in London, learned about these proposals. He shared these details with Prince Albert who seized the opportunity to embrace foreign production, and of course, eclipse France by hosting the first international exhibition in the world.

“[Its more progressive promoters envisaged it as an opportunity to publicize not only the physical advances of the new technology of the machine age, but the contribution of the industrial workers to this advance and their social maturity as well. But they could not avoid a certain ambivalence arising from the ruling classes’ residual distrust for the masses and a consequent concern about their behaviour in the circumstances of the forthcoming Exhibition.”](https://www.jstor.org/stable/3825189)  

The Great Exhibition claimed to be a celebration of the worker and to a minimal extent, it was. However, every attempt was made to elbow the workers from participating in the planning of the exhibition. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that the exhibition was successful because the industrial working class, proud of their contribution to the products that were on display and eager to see the industrial marvels that the exhibition proclaimed, thronged to the Crystal Palace with their families, shedding their hard-earned savings on the entry ticket of a shilling per person, which had been contrived to

keep them away.\textsuperscript{42} After the 1848 workers’ revolution in France, there was an increasing distrust of the working class across the continent and in Britain.\textsuperscript{43} However, even before, in the 1830s, liberalism was being criticised for its social antipathy, and in the 1850s it was believed that liberalism was at an end as it was seen to be merging with conservative ideals especially regarding the working class. The peace movement went silent in the 1850s when it became evident that neither the state nor its people were as peace loving as it was hoped for. There was an increase in nationalist movements and the period saw a series of international conflicts—Britain’s intervention in Crimea, the American Mexican war, the American civil war, the nationalist revolutions in Europe, France’s rule in Algeria. This proved to the proponents of the peace movement that world peace was inextricably linked to domestic social conditions. This realisation engulfed the next phase of the movement where a new liberalism was defined in relation to fostering global peace. However, it took another war and France’s defeat before there was progress.

In the 1860s, the peace movement had split into two factions—the \emph{Ligue Internationale et Permanente de la Paix} in Paris and the \emph{Ligue Internationale de la Paix et de la Liberté} in Geneva. While the former was conservative, moderate and pro-colonisation, the latter, campaigned for social justice, national liberation and self-determination. This division continued well in the early twentieth century. The two groups, however, shared the need to ‘civilise’ the population as a response to the social issues; albeit, they did so in different ways. Therefore, two very different attitudes of international cooperation regarding the social question emerged—the expansionist vis-à-vis the reformist. The expansionist form translated international cooperation as global trade, migration of labour and the creation of a global commodity market, in effect generating a wave of ‘new imperialism,’ as part of a civilising mandate. The United States, a new player in the scene, embraced this strategy.\textsuperscript{44} However, apart from Britain, free trade was not a norm neither in the United States nor in the rest of Europe. The world’s fairs and train stations for example, Penn Station in New York and Union Station in Washington D.C. are architectural

\textsuperscript{42} Short, ‘Workers under Glass in 1851’.
\textsuperscript{43} Rosenblatt, \emph{The Lost History of Liberalism}, pp. 136-138.
expressions of the expansionist vision of international relations.\(^{45}\) As a counterpoint to the expansionist world view, and possibly as a reaction to it to some extent, the reformists deployed an alternative form of international cooperation—in the service of reform, social justice, and equally importantly, women’s liberation as an integral part of fostering peace and creating an equal modern society. This belief was only reinforced in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian war.

> “It is important to recognise the international dimension of this effort. In a world knit together by far-flung markets and the international state system, progressives confronted social problems that crossed national boundaries and their solution did the same. Whether battling for women’s suffrage, temperance or labour standards, they commonly joined forces with their counterparts from Europe to Australia.”\(^{46}\)

The Franco-Prussian war in 1870 and the violence witnessed in the suppression of the Paris commune transformed liberalism and the focus of the peace movement—social issues became central to both their agendas. France was surprised by the strength of the German army that defeated them, which was attributed to the country’s mandatory health plan that included vaccinations, amongst many other welfare policies for every individual citizen.\(^{47}\) Thus, public education and government intervention into the social and physical welfare of its people soon became part of the nation-making ideology that spread beyond France and Europe. Furthermore, laissez-faire economic policies were heavily criticised, and this led to the creation of ‘two liberalisms’—one that supported commerce, big business and free trade and the other that focused on social issues and carved a space for limited government intervention. To differentiate between the two

\(^{46}\) Dawley, *Changing the World*, p. 3.
\(^{47}\) Michael Anton Budd, *The Sculpture Machine: Physical Culture and Body Politics in the Age of Empire*. (Hampshire and London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1997). pp. 22-24. Lord Brabazon wrote prolifically about the relationship between social unrest and immoral practices and argued that physical culture was a suitable cure for degeneracy. In addition, he is credited with identifying the Jahn *Turner-Verein* system as the source for Germany’s victory in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870s therefore, forwarding the need for a national regime of physical culture, and moreover, inventing the myth that united the strength of a nation with its welfare programme.
strands of thought the latter was rebranded as ‘new liberalism’ or progressivism, as it is also known, and it braided together precepts from socialism, republicanism and classical liberalism.\textsuperscript{48} The new liberals were however, not absolutely against capitalism, though they aimed to temper both the laissez-faire policies but also the nationalist agendas and sentiments that included harnessing biopower to amass wealth and power for the nation at the expense of its people.\textsuperscript{49} New Liberalism was overtly international in its outlook and promoted civic participation and social justice for all.

After the Great Exhibition, there was a flurry amongst nations to host international exhibitions, which in turn, led to an increase in intellectual cooperation between nations through international conferences and publications under the umbrella of the exhibitions. The social question ranked high on the agenda of intellectual cooperation. In 1889, on the centenary of the French Revolution, the First Universal Peace Conference was organised as part of the \textit{Exposition Universelle} in Paris and led to the formation of the International Parliamentary Union. A decade later, in 1898 Tsar Nicholas II sent out a rescript inviting countries to participate in the first Hague Peace Convention to address issues such as the arms race, international arbitration and ethical conduct during

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{48} Dawley, \textit{Changing the World}, p. 4. “The key to understanding the political philosophy of American Progressivism is to see it as a quarrel with liberalism. The liberal component in progressive thought is easy to spot. The terms ‘progressive’ and ‘liberal’ were often used more or less interchangeably, and progressives typically mounted the battlements in defence of such quintessentially liberal ideas as civil liberty and limited government. Certainly, progressives preferred modest government regulation to state ownership…The fact is, however, that progressives had serious objections to laissez-faire liberalism…While accepting the general framework of capitalistic property relations, progressives had lost faith in the capacity of the free market to create social justice. Setting out to bring the market under social control, but suspicious of coercive bureaucracy, they fashioned compacts in civil society and imposed regulations in the public sphere that went beyond old liberalism.”
\item \textsuperscript{49} Dawley, \textit{Changing the World}, p. 5. “Progressives braided together republican, socialist, and liberal strands to create something new. Dissatisfied with social and economic inequalities that arose under laissez-faire, they developed a distinct set of practices pitting social justice against class rule, civic engagement against patronage, and international cooperation against balance-of-power politics.”
\end{itemize}
war. Though many pacifists were disappointed that the conference did not result in a commitment to disarmament; it was however successful in amending the Geneva Convention and formalising the first international law court for arbitration between nations—the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) in The Hague in the Netherlands. In the second peace conference in 1907, the foundation for the Peace Palace was laid. The architect Louis Cordonnier had won the international architectural competition and the building was partly funded by the Carnegie foundation. Over the course of the twentieth century, The Hague has become the centre of international adjudication and currently hosts the PCA, the International Court of Justice, Europol, Eurojust, International Criminal Tribunals of ex-Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and the International Criminal Court, along with numerous governmental and nongovernmental institutions dedicated to international law.
Social Hygiene and Architecture

On the centenary of the French Revolution—fifty years after Hausmann ripped apart the centre of France to implement his urban hygiene plans; and two decades after France acknowledged the abysmal state of government intervention in social issues for the poor—France hosted the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris (1889). The exposition was both a celebration of progress and an attempt to reverse the adverse social consequences of urbanisation and industrialisation. In addition, the exposition professed its support for world peace and republican governments by hosting the International Peace Congress, which led to the formal establishment of the Inter-Parliamentary Union—a collaborative endeavour begun in the previous year by Frédéric Passy and William Randal Cremer.

Along the *Champs de Mars*, the exposition celebrated France’s technological and industrial prowess evidenced in the Gallery of Machines and the Eiffel Tower, which loomed over Charles Garnier’s exhibition of to-scale models of Etruscans villas, cave huts, and Persian mansions amongst others, portraying a fictional history of habitation around the world. The history of habitation exposition was complemented by the exhibition about the history of the development of work through the ages, thereby staging the dynamism between progress and discipline—a theme that would be explored in considerable detail along the *Esplanade des Invalides*.

France’s social hygiene programme—a practice that went beyond urban hygiene and was not only about the management and regulation of biopower but instead, was predicated on perfecting and improving the human race—was programmed along the length of the *Esplanade des Invalides*. Roughly a third of the area fronting the esplanade was dedicated to the ‘social question.’ The intricacy of the problem unfurled sequentially as one traversed towards the Seine. Though it could be read as a series of distinct exhibitions;

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51 Fabiola López-Durán, *Eugenics in the Garden: Transatlantic Architecture and the Crafting of Modernity*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), pp. 43-44. “…social hygiene went beyond the health of the city and its population to encompass a new method for not only preserving the human race but achieving its ‘constant improvement, to its perfection.’ She discusses the transnationality of social hygiene as it was adopted by other nations as part of their nation-making agenda.

Top: Plan of the Esplanade des Invalides at the Exposition Universelle, in 1889 in Paris, France.

A The exhibition of agriculture
B The exhibition of social economy
C The exhibition of hygiene
D The exhibition of the Ministry of War
E The colonial villages

Bottom: A detailed plan showing the different villages organised by regions of the world.

Top: Rue de Cairo. Image source: Greenhalgh, 'Human Showcases' in *Fair World*.
nevertheless, the juxtaposition of different expositions, indisputably, was meant to
subliminally connect in the mind of the spectator. The agricultural exposition spanned
the length of the esplanade along its outer bay. Parallelly, one arm of the inner bay was
populated by colonial villages, which in turn, was fronted by expositions hosted by the
ministry of war, social economy and hygiene. Therefore, an inseparability was implied
between war, agriculture, colonies, social economy and public hygiene, where the scientific
and quasi-scientific research of one fed into the other.

Though the Great Exhibition in London was the first to display the power of its empire;
however, France in 1889, was the first to introduce colonial people as exhibits within
an international exposition.\(^53\) This trend continued shamelessly in Britain and America
through the early twentieth century in the world’s fairs that followed. The import of
colonial people and the (re)presentation of their way of life had begun a few decades
earlier in 1877 at the Jardin d’Acclimatation, which was initially used as a space to study
botany and zoology.\(^54\) The decision to introduce peoples was intertwined with the
introduction of anthropology as a discipline. In the exposition, colonial villages were
recreated in sequence and fenced off from one another. Each village was inhabited by a
number of families, who not only built their homes for the performance but were part
of the performance as they re-enacted a scripted ritual for the spectators. Along with
villages from French territories the exposition also boasted villages that were part of other
territories such as the Javanese village—Indonesia was a Dutch colony, but it is difficult
to ascertain if the Dutch government was involved in the endeavour. Images of these
colonial villages show Javanese female dancers and Indian snake charmers outfitted in
their ‘native’ costumes exoticizing and separating these cultures from that of their colonial
masters. Imported people were also brought in to add ‘authenticity’ to the cafés sprinkled
around the exposition site.

Birthed from these early expositions, in 1931, Paris saw the opening of one of the ‘last international world’s fair exclusively devoted to the celebration of international colonialism’—the l’exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris.55 This between-the-wars exposition was both a celebration of France’s imperial spread, and equally importantly, European colonialism and its relevance for modernity and the furthering of a civilising world society.56 If the earlier expositions were staged to narrate the barbarity of the colonies, indisputably to justify colonialisation this exhibition to the contrary, aimed to show the success of the civilising mission. It has been observed that in this period there appeared to be less patience for colonisation especially in light of the devastation and economic hardship faced by the people in the country after the war. Furthermore, there was also a growing unease about the manner in which the colonial subjects were treated and this was rendered vivid through a counter exposition fuelled by anti-imperialist sentiments that ran parallel to the main exposition, which in turn, had its own problems and consequences.57

“Social Hygiene is an economic science, having human capital as its purpose, its production and reproduction (eugenics and puericulture), its conservation (hygiene, medicine, and preventative assistance), its utilisation (professional and physical education) and its output (scientific organisation of work).”58

58 López-Durán, Eugenics in the Garden, p. 38.
However, returning to 1889, the exposition on social economy was designed to display the measures that were undertaken by the country to ameliorate the social conditions of the working class. Beaming workers accompanied by their families stood in front of model houses set in a workers’ village that was equipped with dispensaries, day-care centres, and other similar social infrastructure. One of the fifteen displays in this section unveiled the social hygiene programme that the French were in the process of rolling-out to eradicate social degeneracy and other ‘diseases’ that threatened the social body, and three of the fifteen portrayed the role that architecture would play in the ‘social question’. The social economy exhibition was followed by the hygiene pavilion, which displayed the scientific advancements in curing and preventing disease in society. While social hygiene was dedicated to the social body, hygiene was focused on the private body and public health. The sequencing of the two spaces one after the other created a tense dialogue and reciprocity between them. Furthermore, it suggested a scientific affiliation between the two programmes and seemed to suggest that disciplines such as eugenics, physical culture, sociology were based in scientific knowledge. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of the primitive next to the ‘civilised’ was contrived to justify the need for disciplining the (social) body, which was underlined in the sequencing of the degenerate beside the healthy. Social hygiene and hygiene soon became repeated themes across world’s fairs.
Disciplining the Body

Though disciplining the body was not a new tactic geared towards increasing productivity and managing people—it can be traced back to feudal society and peasant cultures—nonetheless, in the late nineteenth century it was incorporated into the national strategy as a completely new beast as will become evident in this research. Scholars have noted that contrary to Foucauldian historiography, which traces it to the eighteenth-century, it in fact, began as far back as the sixteenth century if one took into consideration the disciplining of women towards primitive accumulation. In pre-modern societies, disciplining was a violent act that laid the foundations of the patriarchal society. It was predicated on the removal of women from the marketplace, reducing their ability to contribute to forms of work that they participated in earlier, and silencing their protests. It was enabled by violating their bodies by controlling their reproductive rights, sanctioning rape, and throwing their female character into suspicion. Working class men were complicit in this act, enjoying the comfort of having an unpaid slave at home; however, they unwittingly built their own prisons in the patriarchal societal structure for example, in the form of the family. In the nineteenth century, after two hundred years of oppression—confident that centuries of conditioning had been effective—women were no longer violated but instead, were infantilised. They were reconstructed as suitable partners for the state and their contribution in society was hinged on their role as dutiful daughters, mothers and housewives who would be a calming and beneficent influence on wayward men. By the end of the century, neo-Lamarckian sociologists began to ambition a way to take this further creating perfect examples of the types that had been constructed through a long historical process.

Towards this end, the social economy section of the Universal Exposition was soon made permanent as the musée social, which was devised as a ‘civic and pedagogical’ institution—“a living museum of research and practice” that would “sponsor research by

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interdisciplinary professionals whose investigations of social questions went beyond the industrial world and the boundaries of the French territories and colonies. It was only a matter of time before the musée began a coalition under the heading *Alliance d’hygiène sociale* and focused on the urban and rural environment, which brought together health professionals, architects and urban planners. It identified two important strands within its purview, puericulture—a focus on the relationship between the mother and the child—and hominiculture—the cultivation of the human being throughout his lifespan. The French were not alone in this endeavour. There were numerous international conferences hosted during the exposition and several were dedicated to the ‘social question’ which testifies to its international spread. In addition, as mentioned, the *musée social* was not interested in limiting its research to France and its dependencies but was eager to disseminate its studies as widely as possible. This was a new phenomenon—international cooperation in the vein of the Hague conventions—where ‘scientific’ knowledge was liberally shared to remake a new civilised and peaceful world of nation states. Some of the practices that nations shared that situate well into the remit of ‘social hygiene’ are physical culture, the primacy of the family, the factory system, the education curriculum, to mention a few.

In this context it is possible to find numerous progressive era ‘reformists’ who made ‘social hygiene’ their primary concern, which is the concern of this research. They specifically focused on social hygiene and hygiene as part of the nation-making project and challenged the precepts and the institutions that were being forwarded by the nation in different ways. They actively disseminated their work using the same technologies of internationalisation that were used by nations such as world’s fairs and international expositions, international conferences and translated publications; and contributed to international movements. In addition, they argued for the role of the environment and instrumentalised architecture and other spatial practices to enact their reformist agendas. Though they challenged the national agenda to a large extent and displayed a social-liberal inclination and favoured government intervention (not ownership); nevertheless, they were inextricably rooted in the (re)productive and capitalist framework that was staged by

the nation and at best were proto feminists, in the sense that they rarely questioned the
premises of puericulture or the gender division that structured society.63 Their attitude
towards non-western cultures left a lot to be desired and they happily engaged within the
pseudoscience that was rampant in the nineteenth century such as eugenics and never
betrayed the Lamarckian inspired world view.64 In fact, they passionately believed in the
perfectibility of the human race and the remaking of society.

63 Rosenblatt, ‘Two Liberalisms: Old and New’ in The Lost History of Liberalism, pp. 220-244. Rosenblatt is
explicit that even after liberalism was recalibrated as new liberalism, (she never refers to it as the progressivism)
the view of the liberals on the women’s question especially on the vote was still ambivalent. It appears that the
reformers were keen to first advance the education and financial emancipation of women because there was a
concern that giving a woman with no power or capacity for thinking for herself the vote would be wasted.
64 Dawley, Changing the World, p. 3. Dawley echoes Rosenblatt when he says that the progressives left a lot to
be desired in their position on race.
The International Language

“Social Hygiene is an economic science, having human capital as its purpose, its production and reproduction (eugenics and puericulture), its conservation (hygiene, medicine, and preventative assistance), its utilisation (professional and physical education) and its output (scientific organisation of work).”

During the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900, the French Association for the Advancement of Sciences hosted a general conference where Louis de Beaufront delivered a paper on behalf of M. Unuel (Monsieur one of the people) titled ‘Essence and Future of the Idea of an International Language’. M. Unuel was none other than Ludovik Lazarus Zamenhof, a practicing ophthalmologist and inventor of Esperanto. Zamenhof had published the inaugural pamphlet, the *Unua Libro* or the first book, in Russian in 1887 and within two years it was translated into German, Hebrew, Yiddish, Swedish, Latvian, Danish, Bulgarian, Italian, French, Spanish, Czech and English. Zamenhof translated it into Hebrew and Yiddish himself and Beaufront translated it into French. Beaufront initiated the *Société pour la Propagation de l’Esperanto* in 1898, which was supported through memberships and provided graded courses that prescribed to French regulations for language courses thus, giving it an air of legitimacy and seriousness. At the exposition, Esperanto was advertised as a language of everyday transactions. It was well-received by many French intellectuals including the reformer of library classification, Emile Boirac, and worldly mathematician, Carlo Bouret, who in turn, introduced it to the cycling organisation the *Touring Club de France*. In the twentieth century, before World War I, France hosted numerous Esperanto conferences. Moreover, the dissemination of the language was made possible by the technologies and organisations during the period—the world fair, international congresses and societies, translation and commercial publishing for example, when Hachette agreed to publish world classical literature in Esperanto. In addition, he was supported by a group of people who shared his visions for

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67 Schor, *Bridge of Words*, loc 1221-1370.
encouraging social relations unlimited by the limits posed by national languages and who contributed to the cause willingly with their time, intellect and money, which it can be argued, was a particularity of the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The first conference was convened in 1905 in Boulogne-sur-Mer where Zamenhof, unheeding suggestions that he should focus on the ease of its use in commerce and trade, instead, spoke of peace and brotherhood for all the children of mankind,68 thereby appealing to the sentiments of a nation that had seen a century of bloodshed and a political climate with a dangerously growing nationalistic sentiment. French was then the international language of culture and diplomacy and treaties were drafted in French even if the participating countries were not French speaking.69 Thus, it is unsurprising that the French delegation resisted the adoption of Esperanto as a diplomatic language in the League of Nations. Nevertheless, it had captured the imagination of more than a few elites and intellectuals70 just as Volüpuk, another international language, had done before it. There were numerous international languages invented in the mid nineteenth century, many of which gained some followers for a short period of time. Esperanto too saw the ebb and flow of supporters, and it too birthed many a offspring that shared a tumultuous relationship with their father; however, it stood the test of time after being revived numerous times in the twentieth century. A conservative estimate states that there are two million Esperanto speakers today.71 For example, In the 1930s, Forrest Ackermann, a science-fiction magazine editor and writer proclaimed Esperanto as an ideal scientific

69 Okrent, In a Land of Invented Languages, loc 818.
70 Rafael Lemkin in his autobiography had noted that during his campaign for the Genocide Convention in Paris in 1948, many French intellectuals were especially sympathetic to the cause as was the host country. It can be assumed that the regular bloodshed in the nineteenth century on French soil, while not without nationalistic undertones, also resulted in support for brotherhood amongst nations.
71 In conversation with colleagues at the Architectural Association I have found that Dr. M. Gudici knows the structure of the language, Dr. M. Morris was part of an Esperanto club as a child, and Dr. N.Cridge, who comes from the ex-Yugoslavia said that it was quite common for a young educated Yugoslavian to learn Esperanto as Tito was an internationalist and an Esperantist. In the Land of Invented Languages, Okrent points out that Esperanto is held together by a community that believes in its cause, and it boasts of as many scientists, politicians, intellectuals as it does of kooks wearing green stockings and stars.
language to nurture communication between scientists,\textsuperscript{72} arguably to hint at the political neutrality of science.

Zamenhof was born in 1859 in Bialystok in Poland, which was part of the Russian Empire. Poland and Greater Lithuania experienced continual upheavals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and in different times were either independent, or part of Russia or Germany. In Bialystok, “Russians jostled Poles; Poles, Germans; and everyone, Jews, since they made up 70% of the population. Multilingualism was not the preserve of the educated, it was the way one bought eggs, greeted policeman, prayed and gossiped with coreligionists.”\textsuperscript{73} Though Zamenhof was brought up in a multilingual city he found that people around him were consumed by the differences between them and a seething animosity brewed in the marketplace. His father was a schoolteacher who was proficient in many languages and worked with the Tsar’s administration as a censor. His father’s love for languages infected Ludovik, who was soon adept at conversing in different languages as occasion demanded—Hebrew in the synagogue, Yiddish with his neighbours, German, Polish and Russian in the city. This led him to believe that the lack of a common tongue was the reason that there was animosity between people, which in turn, motivated him to construct one. He thus, identified language as a way to transform social relations and more importantly, the behaviour of people. After the 1881 pogroms, Zamenhof had briefly joined the Zionist movement but was disillusioned with it. In fact, some scholars observe the Esperanto was Zamenhof’s response to both modernising Yiddish and creating an international language in a hope to integrate the Jewish people as part of a worldwide community.\textsuperscript{74} Therefore, he invented an international language, free of nationalism and imperialism as a gateway to peaceful relations and a modern society.\textsuperscript{75}


\textsuperscript{73} Schor, Bridge of Words, loc 153-165 and loc 456.

\textsuperscript{74} Schor, Bridge of Words, loc 502 - 517. “Zamenhof had already spent several years trying to modernise Yiddish, but with Esperanto, he found another, better way to recast Yiddish as a modern language. It was as if he wrapped Yiddish in a chrysalis, where its medieval German metamorphosed into French modernity. When it emerged, it would have shed forever its ancient Hebraicism. And as we shall see, it was Esperanto, rather than his Romanised Yiddish, that Zamenhof would offer up as a language for emancipated Jews.”

Adolph Hitler understood the implications of Esperanto and in Mein Kampf he writes: “As long

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Moreover, he did not view Esperanto as a way of erasing national differences but instead, as a way of sharing them. Esperanto was never about the extinction of the nation—it was never about homogenisation or universalisation.

Both Rafael Lemkin and Hersch Lauterpacht came from the same part of the world as Zamenhof did, and like him, they too were multilingual. Though they did not attempt to invent a new spoken language, both of them instead contributed to the definition of international crime to criminalise Genocide and Crimes against Humanity respectively, for the International Military Tribunal in 1945. Zamenhof died in 1917 of a weak heart, years before the devastation of Warsaw and the forced relocation and extermination of the Jews that forced Lemkin and Lauterpacht to flee their country. Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, the brain behind the revival of Hebrew in 1882, also came from similar political climate as Zamenhof did and his work displays parallels with Zamenhof’s. Ben-Yehuda was born in Russian-ruled Lithuania and his experiences in the city echoed those of Zamenhof. He observed in language the power to unite and legitimise feelings of a common identity and on moving to Palestine, understood its implications for the diaspora of Jews that would come there from different parts of the world.

Like Ben-Yehuda, Zamenhof did not see Esperanto as a language meant for philologists but instead, encouraged people to practice it. Ben-Yehuda introduced the language to people by founding a newspaper. In this manner it became a part of daily practice rather than an academic practice—it developed through use. Zamenhof adopted a similar

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75 Schor, *Bridge of Words*. Schor argues that Zamenhof invented Esperanto, not as a way to transcend translation and eradicate differences but instead, as a way to talk about them. She believes that Zamenhof did not understand the myth of Babel to be the creation of diverse tongues but instead, the curse was the inability of human beings to understand each other. Therefore, Zamenhof attempted to invent a language that was simple, and would enable communication. He wanted to create perfect human communication.


77 Okrent, *In a Land of Invented Languages*, loc 1294.

78 Okrent, *In a Land of Invented Languages*, loc 1077.
strategy. Along with Esperantists newspapers and journals, edited by a diverse group
of people, he encouraged people to use the language. As an example, he suggested that
people send out a sample text accompanied with an index consisting of a few translated
words to their friends who were abroad and gauge their reaction. He was quite certain
that the ease by which the structure and logic of the language would be comprehended by
the readers would enlist them as users. In addition, he believed that the challenge would
appeal to people’s innate interest for solving puzzles. Zamenhof never claimed Esperanto
to be a finished project, instead, he left it left it open-ended—it was structured around
some rules that allowed people from around the world to add to the language.80

In the Unuo Libro he laid out sixteen grammatical rules and a lexic on of nine hundred
words accompanied by examples for users to decipher the structure. Though the lexic on
had expanded considerably, the rules remain as basic as ever. Essentially the language is a
hybrid of Roman languages, German, Russian and English. It is composed of roots and
affixes that never change in form. Therefore, it is easy to discern if a word is a noun or an
adjective and if it is singular or plural. The affix indicates the tense of a verb. Opposites
are created by prefixing mal to the adjective. As a child he had enjoyed the structural
ease of the English language, with its minimal verb conjugations and gender-neutral
nouns, which can also be found in Esperanto. Moreover, the language is accent-neutral,
allowing all nationalities to speak it fairly comprehensibly with people from other parts of
the world. The beauty of its history and simplicity of the language notwithstanding, it is
undeniably a clunky assemblage of sounds.

“It is a threat to beauty: neutral, antiseptic, soulless. A Mao jacket. A concrete
apartment block.”81

79 Okrent, In a Land of Invented Languages, loc 1331.
80 Schor, Bridge of Words, loc 1266.
81 Okrent, In a Land of Invented Languages, loc 1204.
Top: Yugoslavia under Tito was modelled as an international country and Esperanto was encouraged.

Bottom: A uniting language for the workers of the world

Left: The simplicity of the structure of the language in a diagram.
The quest for an international language is the heart of the international project. Mark Crinson in *Rebuilding Babel* has shown that for many modernists, internationalism was first about building a common language—visual, textual, informational—to bridge the cultural differences and connect people across national boundaries. Crinson mentions Esperanto as one of the visionary projects of modernism and if one delves deeper into understanding Zamenhof and Esperanto, one becomes aware of a certain constellation that was part of this project that was invisible to some extent. This is a story about reformists in the nineteenth century who attempted to do something similar and were supported by vast number of people. Instead of a language or a style; however, they attempted to transform social relations by redrawing the environment, which included architectural spaces, where these relations were enacted in a hope of transforming society similarly, across national boundaries, from the inside out. In Crinson’s understanding of Adelbert von Chamisso’s *Peter Schlemihl’s Miraculous Story*, Schemihl had to lose his shadow to begin his journey. In a similar vein, though I am aware of the oppressive framework of internationalism that include war, colonisation, racism; however, through this work I prefer to focus on its attempts and successes in contributing to a more equitable, just and civilised society—its contribution to the protection of children, the rights of workers, the emancipation of women, the integration of the disabled in society, and the furthering of an international criminal law.

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82 Mark Crinson equates Schemihl’s shadow with national identity, saying that he had to be willing to lose it to be able to become part of a larger global world. Crinson is arguing that creating a shared language comes with some losses. For me, the ‘shadow’ is the history of internationalism. It needs to be remembered and to some degree, decisively put aside if we want to see a different facet of internationalism. For example, in India, the practice of Sati, where a widow was forced to immolate herself on her husband’s pyre upon his death, was abolished in the nineteenth century through the reforms of Raja Ram Mohan Roy with the support of the British East India Company. The laws were ‘westernised’, and an Indian ‘culture’ was destroyed but needless to say, for the better. To remind you, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Jeremy Bentham corresponded and knowledge was shared multi-directionally.
Introduction

The myth of motherhood is inextricably interwoven with the sanctity of the ‘family’ and is one of the more enduring legacies of the modern nation.¹ Even today it is difficult, if not impossible, to dismantle this narrative.² Furthermore, the myth is so well established that feminists, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, have sanctioned it as an argument to propel the rights of women to an education and career opportunities as carers.³ The narrative was constructed over centuries and involved the reconstitution of the very nature of women till they did not themselves internalise it and enable it in the service of the nation.⁴ Therefore, family reform and motherhood became the theme for intervention.

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³ Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, P. 21. “By augmenting the civil authority of the mother, the doctor furnished her with social status. It was this promotion of the woman as mother, educator and medical auxiliary that was to serve as a point of support for the main feminist currents of the nineteenth century.”
⁴ Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, trans. from the French by Robert Hurley, (London: Hutchinson, 1980). Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women: The Body and Primitive Accumulation*, (New York: Autonomedia, 2004). Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*, (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1986). The three books read in parallel provide a unifying historiography that explains the process that led to the institutionalisation of the family with a focus on the role played by women in the family, and equally importantly, how they got there. Donzelot focuses on the political and institutional formation of the family in the nineteenth century departing from Foucault’s definition of policing. He argues that the family is an institution that paralleled other welfare institutions to police citizens in service of the state. In addition, he shows how women were integrated within this policing mechanism. Mies and Federici on the other hand, look at a longer timeline focusing on the political, economic and
in the work of feminists/social reformers in the late nineteenth century such as Charlotte Gilman Perkins and Ellen Key who connected the issue with the re-design of the home as part of their reformist agenda.

The family is a relatively new institution—its modern form can be traced to the nineteenth century when it was successfully replicated at the level of the working class. Some scholars have argued that before the nineteenth century the family was not a norm—it was neither part of the aristocratic way of life and nor was it a consideration for the working class; marriage and even procreation was prohibited to a large extent for the non-propertied classes. It has been shown that marriage benefitted men far more than women and therefore, luring women into the bond involved a process of housewifisation, which I will discuss later. This process, to a large extent, became necessary with colonisation and the fears around interraciality and were soon re-imported into the home countries as a strategy. Though the tactics that promoted the propagation of the family differed depending on class and race; nevertheless, the process that inadvertently allowed for the invention of the modern family has been traced back to what feminist Marxist scholars have identified as one of the overlooked but critical acts of primitive accumulation—the subjection of women. Scholars have traced the process that resulted in the social causes that led to the subjection of women well before the nineteenth century that inadvertently led to the constitution of the family as an institution. Federici argues that Foucault begins his analysis of bio-power in the eighteenth century, well after power relations had already subjected women to the will of men and the European rising class.

5 Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*, p. 104.  
6 Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*, p. 100. Mies explains how it became imperative for the colonising state to curtail interracial marriages and prevent mixed-race babies being born and towards that end they sent white women to the colonies to set up house with the men who were already there.  
9 Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*, pp. 63-64. Federici says that Marx introduced the term primitive accumulation to display that capitalism was a process that began with the construction of the ‘free independent worker’ that eventually led to the constitution of the proletariat in service of industrialisation. However, she contends that Marx did not account for the role that subjection of women played within this process. She adds that primitive accumulation was not only about the expropriation of European workers and the enslavement of indigenous workers; but also included the creation of the body as a work machine, which included the body of women. To ensure the complete absorption of the female body within the process it necessitated the construction of differences, divisions and hierarchies based on gender, race, and age.
in the housewifisation\textsuperscript{10} of women in the nineteenth century back to the fifteenth century. Summarily, the process can be described in three acts that reconstituted the nature of women and staged their role in society—terrorising, infantilizing and finally, housewifery.

In the fifteenth century, women worked alongside men.\textsuperscript{11} With the enclosures and privatisation of the commons the peasants were unable to feed themselves and were increasingly enslaved to the wage. A competitive job market and ‘free’ labour was created. Soon, women found themselves unemployed and forced to work as unpaid and unrecognised assistants to men. Furthermore, their work was categorised as domestic or biological, and thereby devalued. Though the subjection of women may have emerged as an unplanned consequence; nevertheless, it proved to be fortuitous for both men and the ruling class. Over time this led to a more deliberate series of mechanisms—witch hunts, raping and violence, policies against abortions, forcing midwives to become spies for the state, to mention a few—that ensured complete control over women. After women were stripped of their power, economic independence and right to their own body, they were then ‘feminised’ in contradistinction to the masculine traits expected of men where women were conditioned to believe that they were physically and mentally weaker than men and in need of protection.\textsuperscript{12} By the nineteenth century, the tame, timid, virtuous, moral housewife was fully formed and ready to be moulded as an agent of the state who was granted ultimate authority over the home, the family and the upbringing of the children, thus, solidifying and perpetuating the association between their power, motherhood and the family.\textsuperscript{13} It can be conjectured that Darwin’s theory of ‘natural selection,’ and Herbert Spencer’s articulation of the ‘survival of the fittest,’ which were predicated on the ability of an ‘animal’ to reproduce, helped to further the myth that women’s role in society was quintessentially reproductive. Surely, these ‘scientific’ theories of biological and social evolution helped to reassert women’s work as biological rather than as a social construct. Moreover, it veiled oppression as a biological inevitability.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{10} Mies, Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale, pp. 100-109.
\item \textsuperscript{11} Federici, ‘The Accumulation and the Degradation of Women’ in Caliban and the Witch, pp. 61-132.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Federici, Caliban and the Witch, pp. 100-101.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Donzelot, ‘The Preservation of Children’ in The Policing of Families, pp. 9-47.
\end{itemize}
By the late nineteenth century, the family was being challenged in different ways depending on one’s political ideology—the conservatives and liberals were keen on retaining it as complementary to their political agendas, while the socialists and utopians saw it as contrarian to theirs. The state was heavily invested in propagating the sanctity of the institution and this can be evidenced in the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1889, which hosted one of the earliest expositions on social hygiene and social economics. One of the more radical outcomes of this exhibition was the musée social, a proto think tank that combined Lamarckism with the hygienist discourse, thereby connecting urban design with medicine and social reform and transforming social welfare from an act of assistance to an act of ‘prevoyance.’ Towards this end, Adolphe Pinard, an eminent sociologist who was influential in the formulation of the theory of social hygiene reactivated the term puericulture, which bound together a pro-natalist outlook with a pro-family outlook. He argued that the future of the nation rested on its children and in turn, their upbringing was determined by the health of the mother and the environment that the family lived in. This saw a surge in the design of hygienic cities. Furthermore, the women’s movement opportunistically deployed the same reasoning to argue for the rights for women.

It is within this context that Gilman and Key deployed the myth of motherhood to challenge existing gender relations and the family as its supporting institution. Furthermore, they believed that by transforming the design and spatial organisation of the home they could affect greater change beginning from the interior—which was accepted as the female domain—outwards towards the male/public domain. Gilman and Key contributed and participated in the early waves of the international women’s movement

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14 Donzelot, The Policing of Families, Pp. 40-41. “The social housing that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century, its major form being the habitations à bon marché, was the result of numerous studies of the working class carried out in the course of the century; the result too of experimentation and international exchanges (beginning in the Second Empire, the worlds fairs [sic] devoted a portion of their activities to this question).”

15 I have discussed the International Universal Exposition in Paris (1889) in chapter 2.


17 López-Durán, Eugenics in the Garden, p. 38.
and though they differed considerably in their feminist orientation, they propelled a series of important discussions and debates that have periodically risen across the twentieth century for example, at the Stockholm Exhibition in 1930, and in the work of the material feminists in the 1960s. One of their more important contributions was describing motherhood as both a biological and social construct.

Gilman’s work focused on systemic violence that was perpetuated in the manner in which the family was forwarded as an institution. Furthermore, she believed that the biological aspects—birthing—for example anticipated certain characteristics in women that were crucial for the development of society but were currently being wasted when women’s roles were limited to the home and family. To that end, Gilman advocated for a transformation of the home and its industries—laundry, cooking and childcare. However, Gilman did not challenge the family as an institution. Key, to the contrary, believed that motherhood was a biological need but as it contributed to society it should, therefore, be supported by society. Moreover, it should be divorced from traditions of marriage. Key’s focus on the relationship between aesthetic reform and social reform was predicated on the belief that an aesthetic education helped in self-determination, equalising relations differences and created a benevolent environment for the raising of children. Both women forwarded ideas for female economic independence but in very different ways. Gilman’s work focused on professional middle-class women, while Key’s feminism battled for the rights of working-class women. Despite the differences in their feminism, their work influenced the politics and architecture of the early twentieth century and helped in forging an inextricability between gender relations and the design of the home.
Charlotte Perkins Gilman

The Beecher Sisters and Gilman

On her father’s side, Charlotte Perkins Gilman was the grandniece of the famous New England Beecher sisters. They played an important role in her upbringing; her father had abandoned his family, and his extended family extended a helping hand to Gilman’s mother and her two young children. Gilman was indisputably in awe of their accomplishments and was quick to inform people of her relations with them. Furthermore, as it will be shown, her work furthered theirs. Harriet Beecher Stowe is the most well-known of the three sisters. She was against slavery and wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was a seminal critique of the practice of the time. Isabella Beecher Hooker marshalled her energy for equal suffrage, and though Gilman did not actively support equal suffrage, she wasn’t against it—she pragmatically believed that it depended on women being emancipated, educated and socially equal to men. Lastly, Catherine Esther Beecher forwarded the education for women and initiated one of the first higher education institutions dedicated towards this cause—the Hartford Seminary. She supposed that housework deterred women from pursuing an education and she addressed this in her *Treatise on Domestic Economy* in 1846, which was later revised, edited and re-published as *The American Woman’s Home* (1869). She should be considered an early proponent of home economics as she spent considerable effort to streamline the processes and equipment related to housework as evidenced in her kitchen designs. Moreover, she proposed an alternative perspective of the relationship between women and domestic work by referring to the housewife as a ‘professional housewife’ or a ‘home minister’. In 1893, the home economics movement initiated the National Household Economic Association at the Chicago White City exposition. Though Gilman supported all

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the Beecher causes, 22 it is evident that she believed that the liberation of women was predicated on their economic independence; 23 and moreover, the family as an institution and the manner in which it conceptualised motherhood prevented just that. Therefore, her reforms included challenging existing familial traditions and women’s role in domestic work and childcare and arguably, she can be considered a progressive-era successor of Catherine Beecher. In Home: Its Work and Influence (1903) and later in What Diantha Did (1910), she peered into the organisation of the home arguing for its redesign and the erasure of what she labelled old-fashioned domestic industries such as food preparation, childcare and laundry services 24 to actualise relational transformation within the family. Equally importantly, she understood domestic work as a form of modern-day slavery, which included, but was not limited to the ‘servant question’. Gilman’s work attempted to dismantle social myths regarding the role of women in society, which she believed was the structural scaffolding that supported a patriarchal society. Gilman, like Catherine Beecher and many later home economics disciples 25 saw the kitchen as the space for reform in order to transform women’s relation in the home and in society. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the kitchen proved to be the barometer of social, technological and industrial changes as will be seen both in this chapter and the next. 26

24 I believe that when Gilman talks about economic independence of women and their contribution to society she means it differently from the later capitalistic idea about women being seen as producers for the nation. Though she talks about wastefulness of money, time, skill when a woman is idle; however, her argument is tied to her belief that women were different from men because of their biological abilities of giving birth, which she believes gives them a more nurturing, conservative, preservative and industrious outlook. Therefore, their contribution, in her argument, would help in the progress of the race because it would balance the male or androcentric way of doing things, which she identifies as aggressive, violent and risky.
25 Giedion, Mechanisation Takes Command, pp. 512-515. The kitchen was an important space for both feminists and anti-feminists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Ranging from community kitchens, to kitchen-less homes, and efficient kitchens it epitomised the tug-of-war between the progressives and the conservatives.
26 Giedion, Mechanisation Takes Command, pp. 512-515. Siegfried Giedion argues that many of the changes in kitchen design were set in motion by the early modern architects to transform social relations and set the stage for a socially relevant modern architecture.
Before agreeing to marry her first husband Charles Walter Stetson, an artist, Charlotte Perkins Gilman had him pledge that:

“I hereby take my solemn oath that I shall never in future years expect of my wife any culinary or housekeeping proficiency. She shall never be required, whatever the emergency, to DUST”\textsuperscript{27 }

It cannot be ascertained whether Gilman was particularly fond of a dusty home; however, she was certain that it was not her job to clean it, certainly, not as part of her wifely duties. After getting married she asked to be remunerated for her work at home as she argued that housework prevented her from earning a wage and conversely, allowed her husband the time to do so.\textsuperscript{28 }In Gilman’s perspective, the crux of the women’s question was linked to the economic dependency of a woman on a man, be it a husband or a father, and was fortified in the gender relations that were constructed by society through the institution of the family and the role of the woman as a mother. Therefore, the main body of her work attempted to dismantle these axiomatic gender relations.

Unravelling the Domestic Mythology

Gilman’s project does not aim to dismantle the family. To the contrary, she believed that her work would reform it and in turn, reconstitute it for the modern age. \textit{In Home: Its Work and Influence}, she categorises the traditional home as a spatio-political device that is supported on the fantasy (the domestic mythology) that the home is a private space that protects the sanctity of the family and is designed for the well-being of children. She argues that these self-evident truths about the home are shouldered on, and in turn, shoulder the enslavement of women in the house. I contend that the linchpin of her argument lies in the dexterity with which she disentangles the myth that women should stay at home for the sake of the children—if it was not tackled head-on it would discount all her arguments because it was a sentiment that was dear to both the women’s movement

and the nation.\textsuperscript{29} Motherhood, as explained earlier, was a particularly difficult sentiment to discard lightly. Instead, she slides around the issue by arguing that a woman’s unique quality as a mother demands that she is not only a mother to her own children but instead, a world-mother for the progress of the race and all children and therefore, it is imperative that she is included in public or race-work, as she calls it. The terms world-mother and race-work are closely aligned to her contribution to Lester Ward’s gynocentric theory and will be discussed later.

To enable this argument, she carefully dismantles traditional beliefs about the role of a mother in the upbringing of a child and its relationship to housework. First, she displays statistics that prove that a mother who is a housewife or even one who can afford a servant spends a large chunk of her time doing housework.\textsuperscript{30} Therefore, her children rarely benefit from her presence. Second, she questions whether a housewife has the required training about hygiene, or nutrition, or education of a child to really care for its needs in a medical and scientific manner. Third, she casts reasonable doubt on the apodictic ‘maternal instinct’ by using examples from the animal kingdom and unveiling it as a unconscious biological device that was evolutionarily designed to keep a child alive rather than foster its progress as is required in the modern era.\textsuperscript{31} Furthermore, she questions if modern women, who have been divorced from their primitive instincts for as long as they have, are able to function to the instinctual level visible in the animal kingdom. After questioning, challenging and portraying the fallacies behind these ideas she then advocates the need for replacing all domestic industries—laundry, cooking, and childcare\textsuperscript{32}—with professionalised services that ‘scientifically’ serve the home and are focused on proper techniques of child rearing suitable for the modern era. The women in her opinion would

\textsuperscript{29} I discuss the women’s movement in relationship to the kindergarten movement, and education of women and children in chapter 6.


\textsuperscript{31} Gilman, \textit{Home: Its Work and Influence}, loc. 2355.

\textsuperscript{32} Gilman, \textit{Home: Its Work and Influence}, loc. 369. Gilman argues a very interesting point here referring to the Armenian Genocide that would spur Rafael Lemkin into defining the word Genocide (please refer to chapter 6). Gilman’s argument is that neither the mother nor the home defends children from atrocities as evidenced in Armenia, but to the contrary, the American system of public care and public accountability keeps them safe.
then be able to release themselves from the work at home and instead, educate themselves and contribute to race-work in the public domain. Though she is best known for the radical idea of removing kitchens from the home; however, she spends considerable time in the book expounding on the importance of designing the home around the needs of a child. It can be surmised that Clara Savage Littledale, the editor of *Parents* was inspired by some of these ideas. 33 *Parents* was an influential magazine in the early twentieth century that contributed to the conception of ‘parenthood’ and the specialisation of modern design for children.

The removal of the kitchen was not such a novel idea in the late nineteenth century American reform circle. Collective kitchens were already a feature in American architecture.34 However, Gilman, who had a terrible experience with a collective kitchen establishment as a child, did not support it. She believed that collective kitchens continued to further the expectation that women were responsible for domestic work. Gilman, to the contrary, wanted to terminate the relationship between women and domestic work. However, her work came with its own set of problematic relations as will be seen in the next section, which focuses on *What Diantha Did* and the book’s role in addressing the ‘servant question’ as part of the domestic mythology that Gilman was trying to debunk.35

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33 Allen, *The Feminism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, pp. 183. Clara Savage Littledale went to a number of Gilman’s talks though she often found that she disliked her manner and her voice. And Alexandra Lange, *The Design of Childhood: How the Material World Shapes Independent Kids*, (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018). p. 92. Clara Savage Littledale was the editor of *Parents* magazine and she published numerous articles on public policies related to families and children. *Parents* was an influential magazine that contributed to the conception of ‘parenthood’ as a distinct role. I would argue that Littledale was influenced by Gilman’s work.

34 Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution*; and Allen, *The Feminism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*; and Gilman herself in her autobiography differentiates between collectivised kitchens and professionalised kitchens; nevertheless, she was happy for them to be grouped together when it benefits her arguments. She contends that a collection of ignorant housewives cooking together did not transform gender relations. When Gilman was younger, her family lived in a collective Swedenborganian boarding house. The distaste of that experience lingered through her life and she did not speak favourably about either Swedenborgians or collective kitchens.

35 Gilman, *Home: Its Work and Influence*, loc. 868. The servant question was raised repeatedly in the early twentieth century, but it was only later, after World War I, that it truly began to transform the design of the home and the kitchen.
“The apartment hotel is a boarding house at its best and worst. It is the most dangerous enemy American domesticity has yet to encounter.” Reaction recorded in the Architectural Record.
Diantha lives a typical life of a late nineteenth century girl of restricted means—she teaches at the local school; lives with her parents and helps her mother manage the house; and is engaged to marry her boyfriend who is studying medicine and who is struggling to meet the financial demands of his education and his home after the death of his father as he is tending to the upkeep of his mother and two sisters who are schooled to be ladies of leisure. Frustrated with the conditions both in her own house and what she witnesses in her fiancé’s house, Diantha is determined to become independent and help support her going-to-be husband, his protests notwithstanding. She leaves to the city and finds herself in the employ of a young professional couple—the Pornes—with a newborn child. Their marriage is troubled because Mrs Porne, is increasingly dissatisfied with their life as she is unable to manage her home, her baby and her profession as an architect. Desperate, she hires Diantha who insists on redrawing the customary contract that exists between servants and their masters such that her new contract re-calibrates their relationship as one of employer and employee. Soon Diantha changes jobs and is promoted from a housekeeper to a house manager at Mrs. Weatherspoon’s. Shortly after, she sets out to start her own house-managing business. In her business, women pay for the requisite housekeeping training and for their boarding and in turn, are guaranteed sound employment contracts as part-time domestic workers around the city. As the business flourishes it begins to offer food catering and laundry services. Mrs. Porne is a regular patron of the services offered, which in turn, allows her to spend more time on her work, which results in a serene marriage with, it can be assumed, a happier child and husband. Mrs Weatherspoon profitably invests in Diantha’s business and Diantha’s fiancé

36 Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *What Diantha Did*, (Forgotten Books, 2018). Kindle edition. loc 955 – 969. An important clause in the contract is: “In further consideration of the conditions of the time, I am willing to accept part payment in board and lodging instead of cash.” By paying for her boarding and food, Diantha changes the relationship that the employers have over her body.

37 Diantha’s progress is related to the beneficent/progressive nature of her employers. Both Mrs. Porne and Mrs. Weatherstone find domestic work a demand on their time and intelligence. Charlotte Gilman Perkins in her autobiography mentions many of the women she considered allies who helped her both personally and in her work.
reluctantly makes peace with her success as he understands the relevance of her work towards the progress of world society.

I argue that in *What Diantha Did*, Gilman adroitly binds women across class divisions. She displays how every woman is enslaved by the same issue—domestic industries and traditions—even though they suffer it in different ways. Whilst those who can afford domestic help are enslaved by the inexperience and lack of training of their help, servants, on the other hand, are nothing but modern-day slaves. Nevertheless, it is evident that Gilman’s audience were professional women who were keen to have both a family and work to the detriment of the lower-class women who were, even in Gilman’s world, designated as domestic help though they were better trained and armed with professional contracts. However, it is undeniable that there is an abolitionist tone in her work. While Gilman’s argument is not about race, it can be surmised that she approaches the servant question and their enslavement with the same determination, and used the similar motif that was seen in Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* rendered vivid the spaces of slavery in the domestic environment, and in turn, furthered a common architectural trope found in many abolitionist and black narrative literature of the day—the significance of owning or building one’s own home as a testament of being free. This trope was also seen in Charles Dicken’s *Bleak House*, which was a common reference in the abolitionist circles, when Esther Summerson’s housekeeper becomes a home owner. I contend that *What Diantha Did* not only argued for the liberation of professional women from domestic labour but also furthered a discussion about the servant question using the same architectural imagination of ownership in two ways. Firstly, it displays the idea of self-ownership in the upward mobility that Diantha

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41 Gleason, *Sites Unseen*, p. 34. “Following Bell hooks, who has observed that ‘many [black] narratives of struggle and resistance, from the time of slavery to the present, share an obsession with the politics of space, particularly the need to construct and build houses.’”
42 Gleason, *Sites Unseen*, p. 28.
experienced beginning as a domestic worker and progressing to a house manager and finally a business owner. Secondly, it discusses self-determination in the way that Diantha repossesses her body in the contract that she makes with Mrs. Porne, which is reiterated when the boarding house that Diantha owns charges the part-time workers for boarding and lodging. The separation of the body of the servant (employee) from that of the master (employer) allows the servant, possibly for the first time, to have ownership over their own body.

In spite of her abolitionist tone, it is undeniable that Gilman’s ethnocentrism/racism is convoluted. On one hand she was a Reform Darwinist and believed in evolutionary hierarchy predicated on skin colour. She also believed that every race evolves and can evolve to match that of the white race. Nevertheless, she campaigned against the inclusion of other-race servants in the folds of white domesticity. Her beliefs on interraciuality were also never clear—however, she was against miscegenation as a way to whitewash out other races. Moreover, and importantly, she was vehemently against the Jim Crow segregation policies. It is also indisputable that her opinions against other ethnicities hardened after the first war—she became increasingly annoyed by the number of immigrants who were allowed into the country and weren’t assimilated into the American way of life and were instead, constructing national colonies all around New York and propagating their own nationalistic views. Furthermore, she became increasingly convinced that many races were simply incapable of evolution because of the way that they treated women. I would contend that like Gilman’s feminism, her ethnocentrism was complicated, as were the issues that she was dealing with. Nonetheless, her work, especially related to the systemic violence against women is relevant to date.

Allen, *The Feminism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, pp. 300 - 313. Gilman’s race politics is neither easy to describe nor easy to defend. Judith Allen describes her as ethnocentric rather than racist. In Allen’s definition “the former meant the tendency to judge other ethnic groups negatively in the light of one’s own (privileged) attributes and characteristics. ‘Racism’ was not formally used in Gilman’s own lifetime, but when first defined in 1935, it was the ‘ascriptive of inferior negative characteristics judged innate, inherent, and inalterable, and thus which justified segregation, enslavement, or extermination.”
Historicising the Patriarchial Structure of Society

In 1888 Gilman moved to Pasadena in California with her three-year-old daughter. She had suffered from post-natal depression after the birth of her daughter and the only cure to her melancholia proved to be physical distance from her husband. During this trip, her husband joined her hoping to salvage their marriage, which Gilman was determined to end. Though he was unable to change her mind, she on the other hand, managed to find a replacement for herself in his life by kindling a romantic interest between him and her friend Grace Channing. The two would later marry and even take care of Gilman’s daughter for a while as she tried to find her footing within the intellectual world. Two years later, in 1890 Edward Bellamy published *Looking Backwards*, which was welcomed in California. Gilman observes that Californians were especially eager to experiment with new fads and Bellamy’s writings sparked a new movement. She herself was not beyond its charms and began her journey as an orator by speaking for Nationalism. Bellamy’s vision resonated with the feminists of the time—his utopia argued for economic independence for women. It has also been suggested by some that *Looking Backwards* was the inspiration behind Gilman’s kitchen-less homes. It is indisputable that Nationalism played a part in the development of Gilman’s work; however, unlike Nationalists she believed that a socialist world would only be possible after women were emancipated.

44 Robertson, *The Last Utopians*, p. 186.
45 Gilman sent her daughter to live with her ex-husband and his new wife. She was heavily criticised for this and later, wrote her essay ‘The Unnatural Mother’ as an explanation and a portrayal of the conservative antagonistic treatment that she received because of this decision. Gilman describes the years (1895-1900) as painful but also some of her most productive ones.
48 Robertson, *The Last Utopians*, p. 200. Though Robertson says that Gilman’s vision for kitchen-less homes was inspired by Bellamy’s *Looking Backwards* who is one of the four utopians the book focuses on; however, the kitchen-less home is indisputably a result of many influences such as the works of Catherine Beecher, Melusina Fay Pierce, and of course, Bellamy.
The years between 1895-1900 were a formative period for Gilman’s work and she travelled, wrote, and lectured prolifically. She became interested in the ideas of Lester Frank Ward on reading his essay ‘Our Better Halves’ (1888)\textsuperscript{50} and by 1895 they began corresponding with each other in her role as an editor with Helen Stuart Campbell of the journal Impress.\textsuperscript{51} Gilman’s relationship with Ward was complicated.\textsuperscript{52} In 1897, she began writing *Women and Economics*, one of her more translated and published works that detailed a socio-historical narrative about the suppression of women.\textsuperscript{53} Its central thesis is founded in Ward’s gynocentric theory; nevertheless, she did not simply use his work but instead, transformed it to include an original feminine perspective.\textsuperscript{54} Moreover, Ward’s work was esoteric and Gilman helped to disseminate his work to a larger audience than he would have achieved by himself.\textsuperscript{55} Gilman’s contention with Ward appears to lie in her own insecurities—her non-academic standing—which was undeniably aggravated by his refusal to reference her contribution to his theory.

“My Socialism was of the early humanitarian kind, based on the first exponents, French and English, with the American enthusiasm of Bellamy. The narrow and rigid ‘economic determinism of Marx, with its ‘class consciousness’ and ‘class struggle’ I never accepted, nor the political methods pursued by Marxians. My main interest then was in the position of women, and the need for more scientific care for young children. As to women, the basic need for economic independence seemed to me of far more importance than the ballot; though that of course was a belated and legitimate claim, for which I always worked as opportunity offered.”\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{49} Gilman, *The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, p. 122.
\textsuperscript{50} Allen, *The Feminism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, p. 87.
\textsuperscript{51} Allen, *The Feminism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, p. 171.
\textsuperscript{52} Allen, *The Feminism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, p. 90.
\textsuperscript{54} Allen, *The Feminism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, p. 104. “…a key sticking point emerged between them. Despite his reform Darwinist commitment to human intervention to secure the best evolutionary outcomes, on the matter of the sexes Ward accorded the prime agency to men. Indeed, he seemed to expect women to be satisfied by pinning their hopes for the future on men’s evolution of romantic love, tenderness and chivalry towards women. On this crucial matter, the differences between him and Gilman were strategic and political yet grounded in key analytical divergence on the demise of gynaecocentric culture and the establishment of androcentric rule of men over women.”
\textsuperscript{55} Allen, *The Feminism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, p. 88.
Ward’s theories like Herbert Spencer’s were predicated on Darwinism—he agreed with Spencer that evolutionary theories as observed by Charles Darwin could be extrapolated to explain social phenomena; however, he did not agree that social reform was an interference in natural processes and as a Reform Darwinist, he, to the contrary, argued that it was necessary for the progress of humanity.\(^5^6\)

His important contribution to sociology was his gynocentric theory in which he argued that human beings were unique in the animal kingdom because men were the race-type\(^5^7\)—in most other species it was the female who was the race-type. He displayed that in human beings this was not always the case and to the contrary, initially women were the race-type, which consequently, helped the race to progress. In fact, it was so effective that men soon became equal to women. This, he argued, inadvertently led to women being dominated by men which inevitably led to the degeneration of the species because men were driven by sexual desires to the detriment of other characteristics thus, propagating a species in which one half of the population was deliberately weakened to cater to other’s sexual whims. Though Ward may not have intended to, his theory appears to read as if the rise of the androcentric culture was not a social construct but an inevitable process. Furthermore, women play a secondary role in his theory even while he is arguing for their supremacy in evolutionary history—Gilman did not accept this.

Gilman argued for female agency in the shift from a gynocentric to an androcentric culture.\(^5^8\) She argued that women had always been the more industrious of the sex and therefore, ran all industry. In addition, they were inherently more caring and nurturing. These two traits made them conservative and inclined towards preserving society. In contradistinction, men as hunters were aggressive, risk-takers and thus, also more progressive. This balance allowed the race to progress because women were the race-type and chose partners for the betterment of the race. In time, as preservers, women thought that it would be better for the race if they set up a voluntary system of polygyny,

\(^{56}\) Robertson, *The Last Utopians*, p. 196.
\(^{57}\) Lester Ward defines the race-type as the gender that determines or chooses who they will procreate with, thereby determining the evolution of the species.
which ultimately led to their downfall. Men were highly sexual compared to women who were more periodic. In addition, men enjoyed being taken care of by women. In the situation of voluntary polygyny, women soon started competing with each other by giving up industry and instead, began exaggerating their nurturing qualities and their sexual identifiers through artificial means, which soon became acquired characteristics that passed from one generation to another thus, slowly weakening the race. Therefore, as is evident, Gilman contributed a unique feminine perspective to a social history of gender relations. Furthermore, her theory situates women as natural nurturers and preservers of society, thereby preparing for her argument that it is to the benefit of society to include women in race-work to balance the aggressive, violent and over-sexualised male nature that had led to the degeneration of the race in the first place. As they skimmed over historical details relying on selective examples from the animal kingdom or certain tribal or rural matriarchal practices as evidence, Ward’s and subsequently Gilman’s arguments even in the late nineteenth century was considered scumbled; nevertheless, their work gave feminists of the progressive era a socio-historical platform to depart from. However, by 1900 Gilman had grown increasingly distant from Ward, and at least, some of her detachment could be attributed to his public views in support of miscegenation.

59 Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*. Mies describes a social history of the subjection beginning from the matristic society of the hunter gatherers till the modern era describing the changes in the manner in which women were stripped off their power. In her argument of early societies, she attributes male violence and the use of power and weapons as the cause of subjection of women. I would argue that her arguments and the authors that she references were more influenced by Ward’s thesis than Gilman’s, which is not surprising because Ward was a recognised academic.

60 Allen, *The Feminism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, pp. 94 - 101. In 1907, Ward was appointed to the Chair of Sociology at Brown University. Gilman resented this appointment. In addition, after the appointment Ward detached himself from his ailing wife and a number of female intellectuals that he used to correspond with and instead, found in Mrs. Emily Palmer Cape an ally. Cape undertook to write his biography and, furthermore, managed all his affairs and controlled all his communication.

Violence and Vegetarianism

In the mid 1890s, Gilman went to London as a delegate for the International Congress of Trade Unionists and Socialists. She travelled to England at least five times before the turn of the twentieth century. While she was there, she dined with William and Jane Morris and became acquainted with George Bernard Shaw—all socialists and members of the Fabian Society to which she was made an honorary member. Though it cannot be ascertained but it appears that these trips left an impression on her. In England, vegetarianism was commonplace and acted as a placeholder against all forms of violence. It was the preferred diet in support of women, animals, pacifism, radical socialism, and anti-colonialism—often a supporter of one was usually a supporter of the other.\(^\text{62}\) It was rooted in a belief that the ‘environment writes upon’ the society that grows from it and it was the fundamental reasoning behind natural law.\(^\text{63}\) Percy Shelly wrote that vegetarianism would reduce the need for global trade and suppression of other peoples. George Bernard Shaw was a vegetarian, was anti-vaccination, anti-vivisection, anti-blood sport, pro-dress reform, and pro-spelling.

“The pacifist movement and the idea of world peace were seen as measures which would ease violence from the home and the school.”\(^\text{64}\)

The behavioural link between male violence and brutality towards animals was shared by numerous suffragettes, especially in Britain. It has been observed that suffragettes were against the domestication and subjugation of animals believing it to mirror their own treatment, at the hands of men.\(^\text{65}\) This made them favour a vegetarian diet as a statement against cruelty both towards animals and women. Some suffragettes, like Margaret

\(^{63}\) Spencer, \textit{Vegetarianism}, p. 213.  
\(^{64}\) Spencer, \textit{Vegetarianism}, p. 277.  
Cousins contended that vegetarian cuisine required less preparation time and it should be adopted for health, economy and efficiency. It is equally possible that women adopted this diet because of the growing number of vegetarian restaurants in London that did not serve alcohol, were inexpensive to eat at, and were considered to be safe for single women and consequently, these restaurants became the centre of women’s movements. There were thirty-two such establishments in the capital at the turn of the twentieth century.

“Who went to all these restaurants then? […] It was the new lower middle classes, dressmakers and shopkeepers’ assistants, women from genteel families who had to scrape along on a very small income, for the restaurants were safe places for women to go alone or in couples; indeed at the St. George in St. Martin’s Lane there was a ladies chess club.”

In *Herland* (1915) Gilman describes vegetarianism as a principle characteristic of her make-believe gynocentric community. Her female protagonists live in a community of women and reproduce parthenogenetically and are shocked by the way that animals are caged and domesticated in the rest of the world, which they learn about after they capture the three male invaders who tried to invade their settlement. Gilman was against domestication of animals and everything that she believed that broke with the natural processes of motherhood—including consuming animal milk. Furthermore, she believed that an androcentric culture was inherently war-mongering and violent, therefore a gynocentric balance was required in society for international peace. In the 1920s Gilman readopted a vegetarian diet. She had experienced it when she was younger when she lived with her mother in the Swedenborgian housing. In general, she revolted against


67 Vegetarianism is often associated with a diet reform related to pacifism. It is also the diet of a large majority of Indian Hindus, and not in the least the preferred diet of many of the members of the Nationalist Party headed by Narendra Modi, who is India’s current prime minister. Narendra Modi has been accused, though he was acquitted by the courts of the country, of inciting racial violence against Muslims that led to a village in Gujarat being set on fire killing a number of innocent civilians including children. Hitler also dappled in vegetarianism.

68 There are two types of pacifists: one who is categorically against violence including for practices of self-defence and the other who attempts not to engage in violence but will defend themselves if necessary. It could be surmised that Gilman was of the second type.

everything that she experienced in that house even though it paralleled many of her ideas, so it is probable that economic reasons notwithstanding, her dietary reform resonated with the ideas that she was grappling with in her work.

Gilman was an extremely disciplined person—she believed in the perfectibility of the human being through self-discipline and training of the will. She lived the beliefs that she advocated for in her work even though she often struggled with the tensions between her desires and her beliefs. It is apparent that Gilman led a considerably difficult life, but it is indisputable that she did little to alleviate the hardship of her life and even added to it with her self-designed regiments and restrictions. The body was an important space of intervention in her work and was intimately tied to her gynocentric theory. However, many of her views—anti-free love, dress reform, disdain for Freudian psychotherapy—led to her being seen as conservative by the feminists in the 1920s.

She Didn’t Wear Corsets

“She Didn’t Wear Corsets. Artist C.W. Stetson Seeks A Divorce From His Handsome Wife. He Says She Is A Crank On Dress And Physical Reforms. Mrs Stetson Established A Literary Bureau And Had No Time To Devote To Her Husband – She Is Charged With Appearing In Public Without Corset, Waist-Belt or Boot Heels.”

Her preoccupation with exercise and her body can be traced back to her childhood. As a young girl she was proud of her physical prowess and agility. Her mother, a gifted musician, home-schooled her children in the kindergarten method. When she was fourteen, she was enrolled in the local school and willingly took to calisthenics, hygiene

70 In her autobiography, her memories of her childhood depict the manner in which she attempted to train her will and sought perfectibility. In addition, though she seemed to desire affection and intimacy it appears that she was scared that it would consume her time and distract her from her work.
73 Robertson, The Last Utopians, p. 192.
Gilman’s illustration depicting a horse that enhances its sexual identifiers... Image source: https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:17454836$1i [accessed 20 November 2020].
Gilman’s illustrations for ‘Soapine’. Though it cannot be ascertained that were satirical in any way, it is difficult to miss how bizarre these images appear especially to a reader of her work. Images sourced from Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s papers and illustrations from <https://digitalcollections.lib.rochester.edu/ur/charlotte-perkins-gilman-papers?page=1> [accessed 4 August 2019].
classes, poetry and natural philosophy. Later, in her twenties, she found out that a physical culture for women was a norm in Europe and campaigned for a gymnasium for women in her neighbourhood. Dress reform and physical culture were important in her work and were a continuation of her dialogue on transforming gender relations—they went hand-in-hand with kitchen-less homes and they all contributed to her arguments about the weakening of women as a social construct, which it can be argued she identified as a form of systemic violence against women. She criticised the extent that women would go to accentuate their sexual differences to attract a man and the effect that it had on the progress of the race and human society as a whole.

As a perspicacious theorist she understood that one’s private life was inextricable from the political context that one lived in. Dress reform, diet reform, and exercise were ways to transform the manner in which women projected themselves and in turn, defined themselves. It was an integral component in dismantling the androcentric culture. In one of her lectures, she depicted the absurdity of the corset by illustrating a corseted horse with its bulging posterior end seducing the viewer juxtaposed with a copy of a statue of the Venus de Milo. She had trained as an illustrator at the Rhode Island School of Design and though she talks about it as a passing interest, it is possible to read more in her illustrations than perhaps even she intended. In one of the advertisement cards that she illustrated in 1883 for Soapine, a detergent company, a lady balancing an enormous feather hat is shooting an arrow at a target that is inscribed with the word ‘dirt’. In another, a flouncily dressed lady is hanging up the washing on a windy day. In stark contrast to the sartorial choices of the women who are engaged in their daily work, some of the cards portray men who are out and about performing their daily work, which usually involves being atop a mast and attired in sensible modern garb. One cannot but help wonder if these illustrations subliminally catalysed her, especially because of the vivid contrast of the work of a woman vis-à-vis that of a man; and moreover, the absurdity of

how women are expected to be seen even while they are elbow-deep in laundry detergent. Gilman loathed feathers, which she described as contributing to the over-sexed behaviour of women geared to please men, not unlike the way a peacock puffs his feathers to attract the peahen. Furthermore, she had an obsession with sensible shoes—there are numerous clippings of orthopaedic shoes and tracings of her feet in her papers in her archives.  

Gilman’s feminism was based on her argument that women, at least before the advent of an androcentric culture, were not as sexually charged as men—they had sex for the sake of procreation. Furthermore, not only were they the race-type in a gynocentric culture but also participated in public roles. Therefore, the heightened sexuality of women, she observed, that was visible in an androcentric culture was prompted by economic necessity. Thus, she was critical of any overt feminine display of sexual differences and identifiers. However, she was acutely aware that not everyone agreed with her and feminism could not be defined as a singular construct. Therefore, she identified two branches of feminism. She categorised herself as a ‘human feminist’, which she described as a construct that aimed to minimise differences between the genders and the other branch as ‘feminine feminist’, which highlighted or even exaggerated these differences. Gilman was often compared to Ellen Key, and it is indisputable that this irked her and prompted her classification of feminism to better differentiate her ideas from those of Key. She categorised Key as a feminine feminist.

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79 Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s digital archives can be found at <http://schlesinger.radcliffe.harvard.edu/online-collections/gilman/search?query> [accessed 7 September 2020].
Ellen Key

From Swedish Grace to the Stockholm Exhibition 1930

Ellen Key foregrounded Carl Larsson’s *Ett Hem* (At Home) series of paintings in her review of the Stockholm Exhibition in 1897. The paintings were inspired by the home that he and his wife Karin Larsson had designed together and were living in with their six children. The Larsson’s designed their home to evoke a lifestyle that was modest and modern, continually redecorating, building and furnishing their house to create what later came to be known as Swedish Grace (a quality that underlined Swedish modern) which was associated with simplicity and beauty. In one of the paintings—*Koket*—two children dominate the picture frame: the older girl who is about twelve years old appears to be busy mopping the floor, while the younger one who is probably four years old is closely watching her. The older child is intent on her work—her hair is plaited back, and she is wearing a loose red puffed-sleeved blouse with a purple and white striped pinafore that skims her stockinged legs leading the eye down to her primly laced oxfords. The younger child on the other hand, appears to have just crept out of bed as her blonde curls tumble out of her green woolly hat and her loosely done shoelaces lie limp on the floor. It is crisp in the kitchen as the wind blows in through the open casement window unobstructed by the thin diaphanous curtains that billow inside. The dishwashing counter fronts the window and on it rests a flourishing potted plant that visually connects the kitchen with the dense foliage that one can see through the window. The kitchen is sparse—its walls are panelled with varnished wood. To our right lies a recessed alcove that hugs the stove-counter and is painted a shade of deep green, which is paired, on the


82 Fiona MacCarthy, ‘A Modest Proposal’, *The Guardian* (1959-2003); Oct 11, 1997. “You can trace back the start of Swedish Modern to Carl Larsson, the late nineteenth century artist decorator… In the late 19th century, the country-craft tradition was still strong, and in their house in Sundborn the Larssons’ evolved a style of decoration that embraced the folk art of the countryside around. The Larsson style had a particular, peculiar Swedish sweetness for which the only word is ‘lagom’. This means decorous and modest, not excessive. Swedish modern was consciously a non-problematic style.”

83 The description of the painting is based on my reading of Key’s essay. She was inspired by these painting and used them as a template to explain what she meant by beauty. After reading her essay I used the guidelines that she advocates for to try to display what she plausibly liked about these paintings.
Carl Larsson’s painting, T: Koket (Kitchen), BL: Name day in the Storehouse, BR: Summer Morning.
opposite side, with a similarly coloured open-hearth. Dishes, barrels, jugs animate the kitchen with colour and pattern. In-keeping with the muted colour palette, a contrasting salmon coloured floor topped with a stripped salmon and beige runner runs diagonally across the room bifurcating the cooking and the dining areas. A red chair, that has possibly been pulled away from the dining table, stands facing the window adding a burst of contrast colour to the ensemble and visually reconnecting us to the girl with her red puffed sleeve blouse.

The other paintings in the series display a similar aesthetic—minimally furnished rooms that are painted in contrasting and complementary muted colour schemes with bright accents all bathed in sunlight and peppered with natural vegetation. Moreover, they portray happy and busy children going about their daily routines, chores and leisure activities. These paintings anticipated the arguments Key would make about the relationship between a beautiful home and the spiritual, physical and mental development of its inhabitants, which echoes the reasoning professed by the reformers at the musée social who believed that well-designed cities would render better formed citizens. Her definition of beauty was predicated on the work of philosopher Carl August Ehrensvärd who defined it as something that was rooted in a ‘back to nature’ simplicity. She argued that beauty was a basic necessity after food and shelter and that everyone sought out beauty because it enlightened the life of everyone it touched. She believed that unfortunately, not everyone was capable of discerning beauty and that was a fault of a lack of an education. Luxury and ostentation were often confused with beauty, which contrariwise, was to be found in utility, composition and memories. Her ideas were founded in the early industrial revolution when there was a disproportionate increase in productivity that was unfortunately, inversely proportional to good design, or at least inexpensive good design. Though Sweden had industrialised late compared to other the countries in Europe; nevertheless, it was facing some of the same problems that were

84 Miller Lane, ‘An Introduction to Ellen Key’s ‘Beauty in the Home’ in Modern Swedish Design, p. 22. Lane says that Key and her circle subscribed to Carl August Ehrensvärd’s “belief that Swedish artists and architects had a special mission to achieve an almost primitive simplicity.”
85 López-Durán, Eugenics in the Garden, pp. 52-57.
86 Miller Lane, ‘An Introduction to Ellen Key’s ‘Beauty in the Home’, pp. 22-23.
visible in other parts of the world—Stockholm was growing as a city and was a hub for developer invested housing that was of poor quality. Her thoughts on the importance of beauty and the construction of ‘taste’ as part of social reform would continue to dominate Sweden at least until the 1930s, when Gregor Paulsson’s Stockholm Exhibition would deploy her ideas binding architecture, product and lifestyle design with social and worker’s reform.

It can be surmised that Larsson’s paintings contributed to a visual imaginary to enable her to express her ideas that fused Ehrensvärd’s philosophical arguments with an aesthetic, thereby furthering a relationship between the social and the aesthetic. Later when she published a series of essays as Beauty for All following her successful contribution to an exhibition at the Worker’s Institute run by Anton Nystöm, Larsson’s painting adorned the front cover of the book. While, it cannot be stated with surety that his paintings inspired her to write ‘Beauty in the Home’; nonetheless, it is a critical visual and stylistic reference that she refers her readers to in the essay. Moreover, it can be argued that Key’s interventions were key in creating a lineage between Larsson’s Swedish Grace and the Stockholm Exhibition in 1930. She reinterpreted Larsson’s work as design principles in ‘Beauty in the Home’ as a project to construct ‘taste’. ‘Beauty in the Home’ began as a short text that accompanied the exhibition that she collaborated with artists Gerda Bergh and Richard Bergh and art historian Carl G. Laurin in 1899. There were two main exhibits in this successful exhibition—the Blue Room and the Green Room. Whilst the Blue Room was a typical Swedish apartment that was stripped of its excess and made to look ‘tasteful’, the Green Room on the other hand, displayed a worker’s house that was decorated in a similar language but with less expensive materials and designed objects to highlight that taste was independent of income. The exhibition was arguably an important step in transforming consumer culture in Sweden from both ends of the financial spectrum.

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87 Miller Lane, ‘An Introduction to Ellen Key’s ‘Beauty in the Home’, pp. 22-23.
88 I talk about the Stockholm Exhibition and Gregor Paulsson’s curatorial intent in chapter 4.
89 Ellen Key, ‘Beauty in the Home’ in Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts.
Design of the Green Room by Ellen Key displaying the simple furniture that would be appropriate for a working-class home that resonates with the idea of interior design that is proposed in the Blue Room and meant for the richer person. Image source: *Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts*, ed. Lucy Creagh, Helena Käberg and Barbara Miller Lane. The Museum of Modern Art (New York, 2008).
This essay highlights Key’s main concerns—workers, women and working-class women.\(^91\) It is addressed to women—women in the nineteenth century commanded domestic interiors in the ‘separate sphere’ view of the world,\(^92\) which it can be argued Key subscribed to. Key believed that women as mothers were the best agents to forward a practice of ‘good taste’ and therefore, it was in the interest of society to educate women and financially support them in their upbringing of children, especially working-class women who because of limited means often had to sacrifice their role as mothers to manage their financial responsibilities.\(^93\)

Key’s feminism, which many scholars have described as conservative, to the contrary catered to a different audience and should be considered radical as it challenged societal norms and existing feminist discourse.\(^94\)

**Working-Class Feminism**

Key’s contemporaries have criticised her work as being reactionary and conservative, not in the least Charlotte Perkins Gilman,\(^95\) who described her as a feminine feminist. Key’s conservative feminism can be partially justified when viewed from the point of view of working-class women;\(^96\) nevertheless, her views, especially about a woman’s role as a mother was unduly militant, more about which will be discussed later. She believed that working-class women were neglected in the contemporary feminist discourse.\(^97\) She

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91 Lundell, ‘Ellen Key and Swedish Feminist Views on Motherhood.’
93 Hällström et al, ‘Ellen Key and the Birth of a New Children’s Culture’.
94 Hällström et al. ‘Ellen Key and the Birth of a New Children’s Culture’.
96 Miller Lane, ‘An Introduction to Ellen Key’s “Beauty in the Home”,’ p. 28. footnote nr. 12. Miller says: “...she scandalised many feminists of her time [...] by arguing that women, being biologically different from men, should remain at home in nurturing roles. This publication has been much misunderstood. It was an overstatement of her views, almost certainly to provoke controversy and also to protect working women and children from exploitation.” This view is shared by Louise Nyström, and Hällström et al.
contended that the prevailing arguments about women wanting to work was one-sided and focused on the needs of middle-class professional women rather than the hardship that working-class women faced as working-mothers. She contended that working-class women were sacrificing the upbringing of their children and their happiness because of economic needs. Towards that end, she argued that all mothers should be given an equal opportunity to bring up children to the best of their abilities and motherhood should be considered a service to the nation and to society; therefore, it should be economically supported.

This support would ensure that all children would avail a minimum standard of care and thence, it would be a large step towards equalising society. Moreover, it would release women from the typical bondage of marriage and traditional familial roles. Key felt that many women, especially working-class women were forced into marriage because they wanted children and being married provided marginal respite to their economic situation. However, many of these marriages were loveless and that it was not to the benefit to society that couples stay together when they are estranged as it constitutes unhappy homes and even worse, troubled offspring. In other words, Key believed that with state support, marriage and the family would prove to be obsolete—which was indisputably a rather radical view on family reform, one that, I would argue, even Gilman did not dare further. Key believed that her reforms were applicable to all classes.  

While at the Institute she initiated a group called the Tof terna (the twelve)—where middle-class and working-class women would sit around the table discussing the differences and similarities in their lives. To a certain extent, Tof terna is comparable to Jane Addams Hull house, and in some ways it resonates with Gilman’s intention in What Diantha Did where she tried to display the situational similarities of women across classes and reduce the chasm between the classes.

97 Hällström et al, ‘Ellen Key and the Birth of a New Children’s Culture’.
98 Key, ‘Beauty in the Home’, p. 36.
100 Nyström, Ellen Key, p. 76.
“Ellen Key once heard a young working-girl, say: ‘It is not your better food and finer clothes that we mostly envy, but it is the many intellectual enjoyments which are so much more within your reach than ours.’”

Key’s feminism hinged on equalising resources so that all women could be independent. By cruising on the nation’s focus on puericulture, she found a way to liberate women—she was an unacknowledged but indisputable influence on the social reformers/politicians Gunnar and Alva Myrdal who in the 1930s, with the declining birth-rate in Sweden reinterpreted some of the issues that were raised by Key about motherhood and its relationship to economic independence of women. However, it is undeniable that the liberation that Key sought for women economically was double-edged—economic support by the state came with strict conditions and restrictions which surely, institutionalised control of motherhood in many ways.

Key romanticised the nature of motherhood and the relationship between a mother and a child to a large extent. She even demanded that women sacrifice their needs if they conflict with the needs of their children. Therefore, she did not believe that a mother should work when the children were young. She also did not believe in institutionalised child-care because she thought that it simply could not provide the same extent of individual care and love a mother could. In contradistinction with Gilman’s view that women, because of their ‘natural’ nurturing abilities as mothers should contribute to the making of society in the public realm, Key saw motherhood itself as a form of public service, albeit from the safety of the home and in a separate sphere.

101 Lundell, ‘Ellen Key and Swedish Feminist Views on Motherhood.’ “Gunnar and Alva Myrdal are credited with formulating the ideology and policy which promoted the belief that since society is dependent on a rising birth rate for its survival, it would also have to assume some of the economic responsibility for motherhood. They also recognized that women were more likely to reproduce if conditions for motherhood were favourable. As Cheri Register points out, this ideology is inspired by Ellen Key’s ideas, though they were not acknowledged as such. The author further states that though the Myrdals cloaked Key’s arguments in a more scientific garb; nevertheless, women in Sweden were still responsible for childcare, homemaking and work outside the home. I don’t completely agree with this comment because as it will be seen in the next chapter, Alva Myrdal forwarded ‘apartment-hotels’ that would off-load some of the domestic work that women were burdened with.

102 Lundell, ‘Ellen Key and Swedish Feminist Views on Motherhood.’

103 Lundell, ‘Ellen Key and Swedish Feminist Views on Motherhood.’ Key said that mothers should in fact, work when their children were older because it would keep them occupied and later on prevent the empty nest syndrome.
The Separated Spheres in Ellen Key’s Home

I contend that Key’s philosophies are indisputably rooted in her own upbringing and childhood. She was the eldest daughter of Emil Key, a landowner, politician and one of the founders of the Swedish Agrarian party, and Sophie Key who was a radical liberal. Her parents, on observing her individual spirit and her desire for knowledge, encouraged her reading and studying. When she was eighteen her mother introduced her to some of the more modern cultural work of the time including plays by Ibsen, which influenced the young Ellen deeply. She was an avid reader and was home-schooled to a large extent. Her mother was actively involved in her education and the extensive library in their house provided her with as much material as she could consume. This undoubtedly solidified her core beliefs on the role of the house and the role of the mother in enabling a child towards self-realisation. Furthermore, it necessitated that a mother is well-educated to be able to foster such an environment for the child. At a young age she took on the responsibility of teaching her siblings. She started a Sunday school for the workers’ children on her family estate and opened a lending library in which she shared books from her own collection with them. She was born into a privileged life and it appears that this privilege underlined much of her philosophy—she wanted others to share a similar privilege, in spirit at the least. In addition, in light of the role played by her mother in her own development it could be argued that she was convinced that given an opportunity all mothers would do the same. Therefore, her principle campaigns were about reformation of the home, the school and of parenthood.

Her father was also instrumental in her studies and inspired within her a love for travel and world art. He took her with him on his travels across Europe and they visited world’s exhibitions and art galleries. At a young age she acted as his secretary and helped him in his work as a member of the Swedish Riksdag, where she became aware of issues concerned with industrialisation, the working class and the women’s question. Though she was not politically active; nonetheless, she lectured on progress, education and social justice. The difference in the roles played by her mother and her father in her upbringing—the

104 Louise Nyström, Ellen Key: Her Life and her Work. I have used this book for most of the biographical facts about Key.
former confined to the home and the latter in the public realm—indisputably fossilised the gendered spheres that she argued for in her feminism. It is difficult to ascertain if she would have chosen public work if it had not been for her economic situation.

In 1880 Key moved to Stockholm. She had lived in Stockholm briefly in 1868 for her confirmation studies. Now in her thirties for the first time in her life she had to work for a living—her father had overextended the finances of the family and was unable to support their earlier lifestyle. It is then that she truly experienced the plight of the working class, industrialisation and the housing shortage. She worked at the Anna Whitlock’s school with Whitlock and helped define a new pedagogical method, which was ‘radically modern’ and incorporated ‘learning by doing, practical work, study visits, training debates and tuition free from religion.’ In parallel, she began teaching at the People’s Institute.

From 1900-1910 Key did not live in Sweden but instead, travelled across Europe and the United States—writing and lecturing. Key believed that Sweden should play a leading role in educating the rest of the world on the scope of the new aesthetic and it appears that she saw herself as a new visionary. With Gregor Paulsson’s curation of the Stockholm Exhibition in 1930, which departed from Key’s writings, she would have been pleased to realise that her dreams were not too utopian. In the twentieth-century Key was not only a Scandinavian intellectual but an international intellectual. Her work was translated in nine languages and she contributed to a diverse field of interests including issues of peace, human rights, personal freedom, aggressive nationalism, military barbarism and the immorality of war. Scholars have observed some of her work anticipates the more recent Rights of Children. Mamah Borthwick, Frank Lloyd Wright’s second wife, was the official translator for her work that was published in the United States and in a letter to Key she says that Wright was attempting to interpret Key’s philosophy about love, and

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105 Miller Lane, ‘An Introduction to Ellen Key’s ‘Beauty in the Home’, pp. 22-23.
106 Hällström et al, ‘Ellen Key and the Birth of a New Children's Culture’.
107 Miller Lane, ‘An Introduction to Ellen Key’s ‘Beauty in the Home’, p. 23.
108 Hällström et al, ‘Ellen Key and the Birth of a New Children's Culture’.
109 Hällström et al, ‘Ellen Key and the Birth of a New Children's Culture’.
beauty, in his architecture. Furthermore, she mentions that Gilman had visited some of Wright’s designs and had been appreciative of what they stood for. The influence of Gilman and Key, and of course Borthwick can be witnessed in the kitchens that Wright designed in the Malcolm Willey house (1934) and later in the Gregor Affleck House (1940). The kitchens were seamlessly connected to the living/dining room and integrated these different gendered spaces into what Wright defined as the ‘workspace of the house,’ thereby ending the isolation of the kitchen and spatially articulating alternative relations between the family members, including that of the servants in relation to the rest of the household. Though Gilman’s and Key’s feminism was at odds with each other when they were alive; however as evident in the example of Frank Lloyd Wright and the Stockholm Exhibition in 1930, which will be addressed in the next chapter, their ideas came together to foster change in the domestic environment and gender-class relations.

110 Mamah Borthwick and Alice T. Friedman, ‘Frank Lloyd Wright and Feminism’. It is not clear what Borthwick meant when she said that Wright was incorporating Key’s philosophy into his work but Giedion talks about the changes in kitchen design in Wright’s houses and in light of the letters it appears that it could have been one of the things that she meant.

111 Giedion, Mechanisation Takes Command, p. 624
Affleck house by Frank Lloyd Wright. The kitchen is integrated with the dining room and the living room redefining the three rooms as the ‘workplace’ entity. Image source: Giedion. Mechanisation Takes Command.
Conclusion

Gilman’s and Key’s reforms addressed the cult of motherhood and its relationship with the family as an institution, which were critical nation-making concerns that were shared across national borders. They both attempted to display that the myth of motherhood was not purely biological but was equally a social construct that was enabled by making women economically dependent. Thus, both of them advocated for economic independence for women because of their capabilities as mothers, albeit in diametrically different ways. However, it is indisputable that while challenging the myth of motherhood, they inadvertently helped to cultivate it. Though the relationship between motherhood and the family was more a late nineteenth century development; nevertheless, it was able to come into being through centuries of subjection of women in an effort to construct a disciplined labour force. Gilman was not as adverse as Key was to the institution of the family though she was far more ruthless in disjoining biological processes from social processes. Nonetheless, even she found that her reforms were limited to, and had to take into consideration the overarching cult of motherhood that was the leading rhetoric deployed to different ends by progressives, socialists, conservatives and feminists. Whilst Gilman argued that the unique capability of procreation determined that women were inherently nurturing; therefore, they should be employed in public service for the betterment of society. Key on the other hand, used the biological characteristic of women including their ‘innate nurturing capabilities’ to argue that motherhood itself was an act towards the betterment of society, thereby demanding that women should be economically supported for it. Their differences can be traced to the audience that they are catering to—where Gilman is acting on behalf of professional women, Key instead is championing on the behalf of working-class women.

Through the work of Frank Lloyd Wright, it could be argued that both Gilman and Key were extremely influential in the development of the International Style. The curators of the International Style Exhibition repeatedly mention the importance of Wright’s work for the style even though he was too eclectic for them to include his work in the exhibition. Moreover, in the Stockholm Exhibition in 1930, an important moment for the development of the Scandinavian and to a large extent international modern architecture, traces of Ellen Key and Charlotte Gilman Perkins pepper the thoughts of
Gregor Paulsson, Sven Markelius and Alva Myrdal. In addition, Dolores Hayden has displayed the impact of Gilman’s work on early twentieth century architecture and urban planning and on the material feminists of the 1960s. Furthermore, Gilman and Key not only contributed to the international woman’s movement but transformed its remit in the manner in which they introduced architecture, and aesthetic reform into the conversation. Therefore, I consider their work as part of the international sensibility.

Though both Gilman and Key worked hard to address the subjection of women in society, which has undeniably led to greater equality between the sexes, it is also undeniable that the progress that was made was within progressive era constraints in the sense that their reforms were embedded in the social and political constructs of the time. I would argue that further aesthetic, social and spatial reforms related to the home and to gender discrimination need to be identified with regard to contemporary ideas of rights of children, rights of parents, changing gender identities and transforming family structures.

The feminists of the nineteenth century used motherhood as the basis to argue for women’s rights, and thereby contributed to a culture that inadvertently cemented the role of women as primary caretakers—mothers, nurses, social workers and teachers to mention a few. Furthermore, Donzelot who studied the family law court in the nineteenth century observes that in that court the father is rendered insignificant as an agent in the upbringing of the child.¹¹² He argues that the role that the father played was to some extent appropriated by the institutions of education, social work and the judiciary, while the role that the mother played was calculatedly elevated as an agent in the interests of the state to police the family. I contend that the piggy-backing of the women’s movement on motherhood, though probably appropriate for the time, needs to be recalibrated because it has served its purpose, and today it probably works against feminism by fostering gender stereotypes—women as caretakers for example—and at the same time prohibits or penalises men who would like to play a greater role in childcare and other forms of caring.

Ruth Bader Ginsburg’s cases are testament to the fact that often discrimination ‘on the basis of sex’ affects both men and women.\textsuperscript{113}

Furthermore, in contemporary society, the term motherhood is still considered a biological function. By refusing to uncouple the biological and social terminology that underlines the term mother, one is still to a large extent working within the framework that Gilman was trying to, and to a certain extent managed to perforate. Moreover, by refusing to recognise the ‘mothering’ role a father or a man may play in domestic relations, it further reinforces gender stereotyping as was evident during the Covid-19 pandemic. It also institutionally discriminates against fathers in a marriage and divorce, forging a greater animosity between the genders, which was the argument that the material feminists were also trying to make. The gender wars only benefit the state and do not help to transform the patriarchy. In light of contemporary society, it is indisputable that Gilman’s and Key’s work has been absorbed within the framework of the government and benefits the rights of children,\textsuperscript{114} as long as they are aligned with the interests of the state.

\textsuperscript{113} Though one can simply reference the movie \textit{On the Basis of Sex}, a quick search of Ginsburg’s cases against gender discrimination highlights that certain rules that were made to ‘protect’ women not only led to them being discriminated against but often meant that the rights of men were equally curtailed.

\textsuperscript{114} Robert Booth, ‘Trans man loses UK legal battle to Register as his child’s father’, \textit{The Guardian}, 16 November 2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2020/nov/16/trans-man-loses-uk-legal-battle-to-register-as-his-childs-father> [accessed 16 November 2020]. Though the issue is very different from what is being discussed; nevertheless, the article displays that the legal system has simply not changed to comply with modern families, issues of sexual identity parental rights and the definition of mother. It says that: “In the appeal court, Lord Burnett came down in favour of the right of a child born to a transgender parent to know the biological reality of its birth, rather than the parent’s right to be recognised on the birth certificate in their legal gender. Burnett said that laws passed by parliament had not “decoupled the concept of mother from gender”. He said any interference with McConnell’s rights to family life, caused by birth registration documents describing him as a mother when he lives as his child’s father, could be justified. McConnell said it was the “traditional system that does not account for modern families”.}
Introduction

The factory—“a creature of the modern world”\(^1\)—single-handedly transformed society and international relations. Early factory administrators had the unenviable task of acquiring, training and managing the workforce. The skilled artisans that they hired, worked to a different ‘clock’ than what was demanded by the production line and were easily disgruntled with the repetitive nature of the work. Thus, to re-train this workforce from ‘idleness’—as it was perceived—a paternalistic management strategy was adopted that “extended beyond the factory walls into the workers homes and minds.”\(^2\) Whilst early factories used workhouses as precedents; however, by the nineteenth century there was a shift in the training methods that were used. Pedagogical methods seen in schools were experimented with in factory communities for example, Robert Owen adopted methods that he learned from Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi’s school in Yverdon in his virtuous sounding “Institute for the Formation of Character”\(^3\) at New Lanark.

By the mid-nineteenth century, especially after the 1848 revolts, even though the working class was viewed with increasing suspicion; nevertheless, it was argued that engaging with the worker’s question was a priority towards a peaceful society. Irrespective, it took until the turn of the twentieth century for these reforms to be enacted, which were

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2 Freeman, *Behemoth*, p. 119.
scaffolded on mid-nineteenth century scientific postulates related to thermodynamics and energy conservation. The mechanical analogies of the human body were soon replaced by an energetic model of the ‘human motor.’ The dread of fatigue replaced the morality of idleness; a regimen of optimisation replaced the regimen of discipline; and a scientific managerial attitude replaced the paternalistic one. In the late nineteenth century, concerns about the degeneration of the population caused by urbanisation and industrialisation were increasing, which was exacerbated by scientific developments in genetics including theories of Lamarckian acquired characteristics and other pseudo-scientific discourses. Physiologists, psychologists and sociologists began to appropriate these discourses into their fields to understand physical, psychological and social fatigue. Progressive reformists believed that the ‘scientific’ study of fatigue would advance policies that would be objective and fair, thereby improving the living and working conditions of the workers. It resulted in new disciplines such as science of work, which in turn encompassed and informed other disciplines, for example, nutrition, physical education, and personality tests.

“By the early 1890s, progressive scientists and reformers were attempting to end the cacophony of moralising claims and to resolve the ‘workers’ question’ through science. These experts in fatigue, nutrition and the physiology of the ‘human motor’ sought to provide a neutral, objective solution to economic and political conflicts arising from labour – one that replaces moral exhortation with experiment and reasoned argument.”

Though fatigue was the occasion of the story; its hero was productivism. Productivism was a philosophy that aimed to reduce the wasteful employ of labour energy by reducing its abuse and exploitation. It was ideologically neutral—it equally energised

7 Rabinbach, *The Human Motor*. My definition of the term productivism is derived from Rabinach’s work - a discourse that was rooted in and interpreted developments in science in the mid nineteenth century, specifically thermodynamics – the conservation of energy and entropy. The fundamental tenet of productivism was to reduce the wasteful employ of labour energy by reducing its abuse and exploitation. Though productivism is not the same as productivity; nevertheless, I contend that it is the management of productivity.
capitalists, socialists, liberals, and communists— and within a short span of time the European science of work, which originated in France and Germany, that was focused on studying productivism and fatigue became an international movement. That said, Taylorism, another product of productivism developed by Frederick Winslow Taylor in the 1880s, which paralleled science of work was more popular in the United States. Superficially, they appeared similar — they both studied motions and situated themselves in the recalibration of habits and behaviours to increase the efficiency of work processes; however, they differed considerably in their intentions. Taylorism was conservative, capitalistic and was determined by managers and engineers. Science of work to the contrary, was progressive and reformist, determined by a physio-psycho-engineering collaboration that hoped to reduce social conflict and determine more equitable relationships between workers and managers. Therefore, it studied practices for the physical and mental strengthening of the body that included physical education and the programming of the school curricula. Additionally, it engaged with policies to increase wages and shorten working hours. However, while science of work was studied in a laboratory, Taylorism by contrast, was practiced in the factory with workers as live subjects, and thus, it grew exponentially as it was adopted by numerous factories on both sides of the Atlantic much to the chagrin of the proponents of science of work who were initially critical of it. However, after the Great War the two schools of thought merged, informing each other to create an international movement promoted by psychotechnical institutes that helped to professionalise and internationalise science of work.

The ‘workers’ question’— social inequality and conflicts, deteriorating living and working conditions and social fracturing— was a concern that was shared between nations as can

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9 Rabinbach, ‘The Science of Work between the Wars’ in The Human Motor, p. 202. “By the beginning of the first decade of the twentieth century, the European science of work was firmly established as a branch of ‘social hygiene’. Communities of advocates were established in France, Belgium, Germany and Italy with outposts in America, Russia and Japan. Although we should not neglect important national differences in the style and background of the science of work, this internationalism was an underpinning of its advocates’ claim to neutrality and objectivity.”
be evidenced in the space given to it at world’s fairs—since the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1889, the workers’ question along with social hygiene had become a leitmotif in expositions in Europe and the United States. The Paris exposition had resulted in the founding of the musée social, which brought together planners, architects, physicians and scientists as co-collaborators to address the social question. Progressives were optimistic about the role that science, technology, and modernisation could play in addressing social conflict and injustice. It can be surmised that the nation was heavily invested in reconciling the relationship between fatigue and productivity. Productivity was linked to the geopolitical and economic identity of the nation and managing fatigue was its linchpin. Production was intertwined with national pride, exacerbated by the world’s fairs where a competitive display of productive capacities and modern sensibilities “became an important part of the economic warfare between the industrialised Western nations with exhibition floors as battlefields.”12 However, it can be argued that the world’s fairs were not only spaces of international competition, but also spaces of international collaboration—numerous international medical and science conferences peppered the calendars of the fairs. In addition, they were pedagogical spaces—nations proudly exhibited new designs for workers’ housing; nutrition; improved medical technologies and other welfare devices and institutions for the modern world society. World’s fairs were the spaces where nations dialogued with each other and shared knowledge on the best nation-building practices.13 In addition, they were also the spaces where the nation-making strategies were challenged and reinterpreted, sometimes overtly and at other times, indirectly.

Gregor Paulsson and Lillian Gilbreth engaged with issues of productivism and fatigue and more importantly, related it to the design of the home, gender relations and the discourse

13 International relations is predicated on equality of states or a ‘society of states’ and therefore, it was imperative that nations progressed together and shared nation-building ideologies to construct a peaceful and civilised world society. It is the logic that underlines the Westphalian treaties. Therefore, it can be argued that the conferences, exhibits and other events of the world’s fairs were devices for international exchange not only for the scientific disciplines but also for the nations. I have discussed international cooperation and world’s fairs, peace movements and the treaties in chapter 1.
Paulsson was the curator of the Stockholm Exhibition in 1930 and he connected national concerns about productivity with the worker’s question and argued for the importance of an equal modernity to combat both. He centred the question to transform the structure of Swedish society and equally importantly, the role of architecture and design in the construction of said society. Lillian Gilbreth was a practitioner of Scientific Management and an early adopter of the European science of work in the United States, which she instrumentalised to reform American Taylorism. Later, she deployed her methods in Home Economics to respond to the needs of the differently-abled and deployed her scientific knowledge to argue against beliefs that restricted the role that women could play in the workplace. The Stockholm Exhibition and the Gilbreth’s Scientific Management system could not be more different. The former was state sponsored and converged on the creation of the ‘typical’ person as part of an equal society; the latter, to the contrary, was predicated on private funding and dependent on the participation of individuals driven by self-interest. Besides, the Gilbreth method embraced differences and anomalies, while the Stockholm Exhibition averaged man out. Nevertheless, they both contributed to the development of science of work as an international movement by expanding its audience, tools and its remit in the manner in which they instrumentalised architecture and spatial organisation towards interpreting productivism. Furthermore, they integrated concerns about the worker’s question with those of the women’s question, thereby challenging the discourse on separate spheres. Therefore, I argue that they were enmeshed within the international sensibility that was an important part of the early twentieth century ideal that tried to transform habits and lifestyles using architecture towards social reform. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that

14 Gregor Paulsson, ‘Better Things for Everyday Life’ in Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts, ed. Lucy Creagh, Helena Kåberg and Barbara Miller Lane, (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008), p. 89. It appears that Paulsson was aware of the debates about labour and in this pamphlet he refers to Peter Kropotkin arguing that standardisation was critical to improve labour conditions because “Economic conditions in society cannot be permanently improved through wage raises, but only by perfecting labour and working methods so that the amount of work required for existence can be reduced.” It is especially interesting because he deliberately does not refer to Karl Marx, because if he did it would clash with the Swedish socialist democracy, which was not Marxian. To understand the non-Marxian dimension of Swedish politics please refer to Timothy Tilton, ‘A Swedish Road to Socialism: Ernst Wigforss and the Ideological Foundations of Swedish Social Democracy’, The American Political Science Review, Vol. 73, 2, (1979), <http://www.jstor.com/stable/1954894> [accessed 1 August 2020]. Lillian Gilbreth’s engagement with productivity is more obvious.
they were both ingrained in their national contexts and its political ideologies. Moreover, they never questioned the premise of productivism, and in fact, it could be argued that they contributed to its yolk rather willingly.
Sweden and the International Modern Movement

The Stockholm Exhibition was a purely Swedish affair—it did not house national pavilions or host international conferences—and therefore, it was different from an international exposition or a world’s fair. Nevertheless, akin to world’s fairs, the exhibition engaged with issues of progress and national identity. Moreover, it was unique because it could be considered a physical manifestation of progressive-era ambitions to shape an equal and peaceful society through social and architectural reform by focusing on a single issue—the workers’ question. In other words, by targeting a social issue that was internationally pressing—the workers’ question—and connecting it to national progress, productivism and architectural reform it displayed an alternative nation-making ideology that was grounded in consensus and cooperation.

“They are usually grouped together under the heading ‘The Swedish model’ and include not only state control of certain functions, but also the co-operative spirit that reigned between employers and employees, consolidated by the Saltsjöbad agreement of 1938. This involved the large co-operatives that influenced the market especially in the building sector – The National Association of Tenants’ Saving and Building Societies (HSB), Riksbyggen, Cooperative Union (KF) etc. Part of the background was the lively activity of associations, political or non-profit making, temperance movements, study circles and other organised leisure activities, that have long distinguished Sweden. In 1937, the American Marquis Childs formulated the concept of ‘Sweden – The Middle Way’ – to denote what the outside world saw as a combination of capitalist market forces, cooperation and socialist/social-democratic management.”

Gregor Paulsson, in collaboration with the architect Gunnaar Apslund and the journalist Ludvig Nordström designed the Stockholm Exhibition in 1930. Two years earlier, as the appointed commissioner-general of the exhibition on behalf of the Swedish arts and crafts organisation, Svenska Slöjdföreningen (SSF), he shared his ambitions for the exhibition—

he envisaged the exhibition in the political context of industrialisation, urbanisation and the democratic socialism that had been developing in Sweden since the 1880s that ‘blends demands for social justice with a desire to respond to the individual’s needs, wants and rights.’

Sweden industrialised late—in the age of electricity and the internal combustion engine (second industrial revolution)—therefore, it would be assumed that it was better prepared to tackle the issues that had plagued the early industrialising countries. After all they had at their disposal an international body of scientific knowledge to help leapfrog past some of the issues seen elsewhere. With the development of science and social science, the workers’ question in the twentieth century was different from that seen a hundred years before. Though Sweden was a neutral country and was relatively unscathed by the Great War thus, allowing it to spend its resources on its social development; however, it was found that it had not bypassed the social problems that were witnessed in other countries—a spurt of growth, housing shortage and social inequality—and therefore, by the early twentieth century it tried to balance its industrial agenda with a robust social programme. These concerns can be evidenced in the shift from an agenda that was focused on ramping industrialisation in the early 1920s to one that placed social reform as the highlight of the

16 Lucy Creagh, Helena Kåberg and Barbara Miller Lane, ‘General Introduction’ in Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts, p. 13. Please also refer to Timothy Tilton, ‘The Social Origins of Liberal Democracy: The Swedish Case’, The American Political Science Review, Vol. 68, 2 (1974), <http://www.jstor.com/stable/1959505> [accessed 1 August 2020]. Tilton argues that the particularity of Swedish socialist democracy and its radical reformist liberalism is rooted in: a. its late industrialisation; b. the political strength of a powerful free-holding peasantry who sympathised with the factory workers; and c. The late democratization of the country, which he dates to the 1920s. The Social Democratic Party, was initiated in 1880s but came to power in the 1930s by forging an alliance with the farmers’ party in a political climate of economic depression and a fear of revolutionary fervour. It argued for full democracy, equality of property to reduce classes predicated on inheritance and lastly state investment.


18 Barbara Miller Lane, ‘An Introduction to Ellen Key’s “Beauty in the Home” in Modern Swedish Design, pp. 22-23. The author observes that Key was disturbed by the inequalities that she experienced and the housing shortages that she witnessed in Stockholm from which it is possible to gauge that Sweden in the end of the nineteenth century suffered from a crisis of industrialisation like many other countries.
industrial programme as witnessed in the Stockholm Exhibition less than a decade later. Towards this end the exhibition instrumentalised architecture—housing—rather than industrial design, which used to be the traditional principle concern of the SSF.

“The home would take on a real dimension in 1930; no longer a generic space in an exhibition hall that was simply a container for furnishing, but full scale model homes and rental apartments where the functional, social and economic implications for the house would be investigated with a degree of specificity that hitherto was unattempted in Sweden.”

The exhibition helped in advancing two key housing types, thereby underscoring them as immediate concerns—low-income housing and the ‘family hotel’. Additionally, it can be surmised that it loosely braided these concerns together. Both experiments were moderately successful but they helped in furthering discussions and highlighting issues. The low-income apartment blocks inadvertently highlighted the need for better housing policies in the country because it was found that architecture was as dependent on political motivation as it was on design or technology—some of the apartments were equipped with small dark kitchens that was antithetical to the basic tenets of modern architecture and hygiene. However, it was observed that the differences in the design of the low-income apartments compared to other types of housing was becoming less distinguishable—which was a positive sign in regard to societal relations. Furthermore, the ‘family hotel’ was realised as one of the first collective houses in Sweden in 1935, and boasted apartments with access to a restaurant, integrated dumb waiters, a nursery and laundry service, which essentially signalled the removal of old-fashioned ‘home industries’

19 This can be surmised by the two pamphlets written by Paulsson. While the first ‘Better Things for Everyday Life’ written in the early 1920s echoes the ethos of the Deutscher Werkbund advancing industrialisation. To the contrary, acceptera, focused on social reform as a complement of industrialisation.
20 Lucy Creagh, ‘An Introduction to acceptera’ in Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts, p. 131.
(to use Charlotte Gilman Perkins rhetoric), thereby freeing women from domestic chores and giving them the time to engage in public work. Initially, the family hotels were not appreciated.

Despite being a local affair, it can be argued that the exhibition was designed to challenge and contribute to the existing discourse on the international modern movement, albeit did so by arguing for a very specific Swedish form, which posed an inseparability between social and aesthetic reform; between national production and quality of life; and between national identity and an international perspective. The architects Gunnar Asplund, Uno Åhrén, Wolter Gahn, Sven Markelius and Eskil Sundahl all held decisive positions in the organising committees of the exhibition and were co-authors with Paulsson of the manifesto acceptera that was published a year after the exhibition. Asplund was the most experienced of the group—he is considered the father of Swedish functionalism. He was critical of the existing sentiments of modern architecture, which he believed lacked a ‘humanistic’ or in other words, social agenda. As the chief architect of the exhibition he designed the master plan and several buildings on site and with Paulsson enforced a stringent aesthetic experience in the exhibition. Sundahl chaired the working committee on architecture. Since 1925, he was the principal architect for the Kooperativa Förbundet (The Swedish co-operative wholesale society KF), which was responsible for many of the workers’ housing projects built in Sweden. This committee set out the framework for the housing projects showcased in the exhibition. Furthermore,

24 Gregor Paulsson, ‘Foreword’ in Ny Svensk Arkitektur (New Swedish Architecture), (Sweden: Svenska Arkitekters Riksförbund, 1939), pp. 6-8. “There is nothing specifically Swedish about this style, it is simply the result of an international movement. The purpose of this book is to give examples of a Swedish rendering of a current style. What makes the study of the evolution of Swedish architecture worthwhile for the foreigner is perhaps the fact that in this country architects have devoted themselves, all along the line and in greater numbers than their colleagues abroad, to the solving of these problems...At the back of this emergence lay an endeavour, the two guiding principles which were of fundamental importance. An attempt to achieve a new style, wherein purpose and function, construction and materials were rendered evident in the external shape of things, was partly responsible for this; but there was also the social struggle to reach a better standard of housing and to do away with old conventional prejudices in connection with the plan and service equipment of the home.”


26 Creagh, ‘An Introduction to acceptera’ in Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts, pp. 127-129. acceptera was translated into English very recently with the MOMA project.
as will be seen later, the KF was critical in designing the ideal Swede consumer. Gahn was the editor of the architectural journal *Byggmästaren* and acted as a critic and consultant to the exhibition. Markelius—a co-founder of CIAM and later a part of the team commissioned to design the United Nations headquarters in New York—designed a number of the housing types and with Alva Myrdal, the eminent sociologist and politician, forwarded the Swedish version of the ‘family hotel’.27 Lastly, Åhrén—the least experienced of the group—established the guidelines for the housing types that were constructed for the exhibition. He pushed for housing with a recognisable collective expression,28 and played an important role in reconciling standardisation and personality by forwarding the idea of a ‘common personality’—traits that are shared between humans in contradistinction to the accepted idea of personality as an distinguishing characteristic or eccentricity of an individual.29 It can be argued that the exhibition was an ambitious project that aimed to transform the national identity of Stockholm, and internationally showcase an alternative method for nation building. Additionally, it aimed to forge a social agenda for modern architecture as evident in composition of the organising committee and their engagement with issues such as the worker’s question, type, standardisation, social housing, to mention a few.

Taste as a Social Cause

As mentioned earlier, Sweden industrialised late. While this benefitted handicrafts, as mentioned by Paulsson in his essay ‘White Industry’, it was detrimental to industrial design. Moreover, the SSF felt that its products were incomparable to those found in other countries such as Germany. In Germany the Deutscher Werkbund had been successful in creating a synthesis between design and industry. Though the SSF and Paulsson attempted to further a similar programme in Sweden in the 1920s, which was partially successful in encouraging better Swedish design as evidenced in the reviews of the Swedish exhibition at the Decorative arts exhibition in Paris in 1925; nevertheless, the designed household objects were still too individualistic in expression and difficult to manufacture; therefore, making them prohibitively expensive for the working class. Hermann Muthesius’ Typseirung was of immense influence on the SSF and Paulsson. In addition, in 1925, Le Corbusier had discussed the importance of introducing ‘object-type’ as ‘rational alternatives’ to combat the ‘quasi-orgiastic’ and ‘hysteria’ of mass culture and individualism. Adrian Forty observes that one of the main uses of ‘type’ in architecture was as a ‘resistance to mass culture’. I contend that Paulsson developed this argument to further social reform by arguing that “lack of taste has a social cause.”

The working class was an aspirational class and when they were unable to afford these designed objects they made do with poorly manufactured and badly designed facsimiles, thus, allowing the latter to become profitable and proliferate. Therefore, it was apparent to the SSF that if it wanted to propel quality industrial design then along with reconciling art with technology, and beauty with industry they would also have to initiate a programme that reconciled mass production (standardisation and types) with good quality and affordable goods for the new ‘average’ Swede. Besides, this strategy would arguably blur the differences between the producer and the consumer, thereby fostering greater equality in society. It was becoming increasingly evident that success depended

32 Paulsson, ‘White Industry’. 
on a creating a ‘taste’ for a style, which in turn, depended on a homogenised, educated society.\textsuperscript{33}

Towards that end, advertisements and advertising techniques were an important part of the exhibition, which ranged from advertising the exhibition to advertisement in the exhibition complemented by a mass communication strategy.\textsuperscript{34} Paulsson initiated an international advertising campaign in 1928 when he articulated the agenda for the exhibition. Posters were translated and distributed around the world to leading newspapers such as The Times in London. Electric signage complemented typography on buildings displaying a synchronicity between art, technology and a mass-culture evoking a modern life of communication and electricity. In addition, visual and graphic techniques gleaned from advertising and propaganda were used in the Svea Rike exposition (introductory exhibition on entering the site) and in acceptera. These techniques were used both to talk to a diverse audience and equally relevantly, were a reaction against the perceived academicism of the European avant-gardes and the traditionalists in Sweden who believed that mass production was antithetical to fine design. The Stockholm Exhibition celebrated the everyman (the ‘average’ man) and in turn, aimed to construct this new (hu)man through its architecture and design.

The Average [hu]Man

The exhibition aimed to create a new type of person in service of the nation, which was graphically explored in the Svea Rike exposition designed by Ludwig Nördstrom. A similar rhetoric is advanced in the manifesto acceptera that was published after the close of the exhibition. The exhibition took pains to display the connection and continuity of Swedish modernism with qualities that were valued in Swedish history such as the importance of natural light,\textsuperscript{35} and the simplicity of Swedish peasant homes as seen in Carl Larsson’s paintings,\textsuperscript{36} to mention a few. However, it also described Swedish Modernism as a subset of the international modern movement that was transformative, inevitable

\textsuperscript{33} Husz, ‘The Morality of Quality’.
\textsuperscript{34} Allan Pred, Recognising European Modernities, (London: Routledge, 1995).
\textsuperscript{35} Rudberg, ‘Utopia of the Everyday’.
The advertising mast of the Stockholm Exhibition that Allan Pred described as "An erection devoted to the procreation of the new (hu)man." Image source: Rudberg, 'Utopia of the Everyday'
Therefore, it could be surmised that the exposition was suggesting that the Swedish type was formed by forces from both inside and outside the country.

However, unlike other exhibitions that relied on social hygiene and social economics to integrate the working class within a class-structured society, the Stockholm Exhibition was determined to blur class delineations and pursue a homogeneous society in service of the nation to foster a spirit of equality, collectivism and consensus. The importance of the role of the individual in constructing the collective was highlighted by the *Svea Rike* exposition. The exposition argued that it was the duty of every Swede to embrace a modern lifestyle and be part of the change to create the new envisaged society. It showed the relationship between lifestyle, objects, institutions, city planning and the progress

of the country. Determined to foster an inextricability between the individual and the collective, and between the mind and the body, it introduced the Swedes to Medelson— the average Swede—a rosy-cheeked, chubby man who stood on a pedestal that was positioned at a crossroads—either he would continue living a lazy, undisciplined life in which he drank copiously, ate gluttonously, worked erratically and exercised infrequently behaving like his pre-modern predecessors who were portrayed as misshapen clay figurines or he would graduate towards the svelte, healthy, disciplined modern individual in the service of his country described through images of a cross-country skier and runner who flanked the edges of a poster that enumerated all the healthy choices at his disposal. Acceptera incorporated and continued the historiography developed by the Svea Rike exposition by enunciating the complete transformation that progress demanded from the individual. In spite of the focus placed on the individual, the first page of the manifesto clearly articulated the dialectic between the individual and the collective—a coalesced mass of people made up the background of the page from which an indistinguishable Swede stands out as if to indicate that he is the typical person that constitutes the mass.

The Influence of the Exhibition

The message of the Stockholm exhibition was effective—especially in the Nordic architectural context. Kenneth Frampton refers to Jorn Utzon’s memories about his visit as a child. Utzon commented on the gaiety of the experience and the message that it drove home. On their return from the exhibition, their home and equally importantly, their lifestyle was reorganised—their rooms were flooded with sunlight; their diets were altered to include more vegetables and less fats; and their bodies were reconstituted through a regimen of outdoor exercise. In addition, Alvar Aalto who had a close relationship with Asplund and Markelius was conversant with the exhibition before his official visit in 1930 and appreciative of the intentions of the exhibition. It influenced his work and became the inspiration for his design for the exhibition for the City of Turku’s

39 Markland and Stadius, ‘Acceptance and Conformity’.
40 Frampton, ‘The Untimely Timeliness of Swedish Modernism’ in Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts, pp. 15-17.
700th anniversary celebrations. He applauded the social programme of the Stockholm exhibition comparing it to a ‘surgery of the appendix’, an unnecessary organ that he equates with the architecture of ‘special conditions’. The special conditions that he refers to is architecture that is designed for a few who can afford it. He says:

“Here [in the Stockholm Exhibition] we have Mr. Svensson the Average Swede in the firm grip of Intellectual Sweden – but that grip is a sympathetic and understanding one, and seeks to add to his luxury: Mr Suomalainen the Average Finn could do with the same treatment.”

However, the exhibition was not without its critics. Carl Malmsten, a well-known designer who had contributed to the Swedish exhibitions held in Gothenburg and in Paris in the 1920s and was a member of the SSF opposed Paulsson’s programme for the exhibition in the meeting in 1928. He felt that Functionalism was inherently not Swedish. This sentiment was echoed by left-wing radicals, who were dissatisfied by what they perceived as the cleansing of Swedish peasant culture; however, they did reluctantly accept that Functionalism promoted greater social equality.

Recently, it has been criticised for the homogeneity and consumerism that it fostered in society. World’s fairs since 1889 have been notorious for the social programmes that they have furthered in the name of modernisation. However, by the 1930s these programmes escalated—they focused on reconstituting the national make-up of its people in different ways. The Chicago Century of Progress is infamous for its eugenics exposition; its measurement booths that defined ‘the ideal American’; and for its racial blindness.

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45 Markland and Stadius, ‘Acceptance and Conformity’. The authors compare the Chicago Century of Progress Exhibition with the Stockholm Exhibition because they argue that both the exhibitions deployed historiography and social engineering to reconstitute the nation. They say: “…both the Stockholm and the Chicago Exhibitions – as museum exhibitions, industrial expositions and art fairs, more generally – served as display cases of American and Swedish society undergoing great changes. As such, they represent attempts at freezing
Stockholm, it was never clear if the ideal Swede were a racial category or if the exhibition aimed to reshape all Swedes, irrespective of race, into a type. Additionally, the design of Swedish types included the design of the ideal Swedish consumer. Determined to forward Swedish industrial design, the SSF unrelentingly sponsored consumerism. Nevertheless, in a truly Swedish twist, along with fostering a culture of consumerism they also attempted to rein it in by redesigning the consumer. Co-operative shops run by the Kooperativa Förbundet (KF) trained new consumers to be reasonable and restrained. Before long the KF initiated an architectural practice headed by Sundahl to design homes that would match the lifestyle envisaged in the designed consumers and objects that bled out of the shops.

The criticisms of the alien-ness of Functionalism and the consumerism that it furthered notwithstanding, the exhibition was well-received in Britain and the United States but in very different capacities. The Architectural Review dedicated an issue to the exhibition in August 1930 in which it applauded the Swedish version of progress and its interrelationship to social reform and equality. Citing an example of the deplorable working and living conditions of mining industrial workers, it compared the Swedish rendition of progress to the British one, which severely lacked a social agenda for the working class. In the late nineteenth century, Britain was perceived as the more progressive when it came to its policies of productivism and in turn, the taming of the working class. However, by the 1920s Britain lagged behind the efforts made on the continent and was in fact, playing catch-up. A year after the publication of acceptera,

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46 Gunnar Broberg and Mattias Tyden, ‘Eugenics in Sweden: Efficient Care’ in Eugenics and the Welfare State: Sterilisation Policy in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland, ed. by Gunnar Broberg and Nils Roll-Hansen, (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2005). The essay discusses the origins and rise of race biology in Sweden from the late nineteenth century in relation to its industrialisation. Though there is no evidence that the Stockholm Exhibition 1930 was part of that process; however, it could have inadvertently helped in its propagation.

47 Husz, ‘The Morality of Quality’.

An apartment with a mezzanine designed for the exhibition by Erik Chambert. Image source: *Architectural Review*, August 1930. The apartment is used as an example in acceptera in the section dedicated to living rooms. The living room is painted as an everyday space where the individual members of the family come together, separately. The architects argue for the use of a mezzanine as a way of delineating space for different activities in the same room and as a functional device that allows for the construction narrow apartment blocks that welcome sunlight into their core. The large windows connect the inside with the outside and wallpaper the room with the landscape, which is further complemented by indoor plants on a wide interior window sill. In addition, light is metaphorised as lightness, which is exaggerated with the use of diaphanous curtains that shimmer and disappear in the sunlight. Though the room is not sparsely furnished but the furniture hovers above the floor and is often rendered as a series of lines that are silhouetted in the glaring sunshine. The only other decorative additions appear to be a textile wall hanging and a carpet, which echo the handicraft textile industry of the country while fitting into the space seamlessly with their geometric pattern. The two spaces show a room that can be used at the same time for very different moods. The uncluttered desk holds a typewriter and is backed by a slim bookcase and the mezzanine is fitted with a reclining chair where one can imagine reading a book or simply contemplating life. It is a room meant to be used, easy to clean and hygienic - both in the sense that it is easy to keep clean and it frees the mind to think. The latter idea can be traced back to the work of Paul Scheerbart who published in *Der Strum*. The apartments were not only about showcasing objects but painting a new lifestyle.
3 living rooms designed for the exhibition and featured in Architectural Review. Image source: Architectural Review, August 1930. The three living rooms are meant to display similar ideas in different apartment sizes and types. In essence, they are all portraying the living room as a lived in space for daily life for all members of the family and as a continuation of the rest of the home. Earlier living rooms were designed for guests and as showcases and were disconnected from the other spaces of the house. These designs display them as a space of work, conversation, contemplation and entertainment. They all celebrate the individual in equal measures as the family. Equally importantly, though everything is standardised they display the potential of individual taste. The introduction of handicrafts and items like the piano - symbol of tradition and culture - were also incorporated in the design to signal a continuation of a modern aesthetic with tradition. Furthermore, they all provoke a sense of lightness and hygiene where all the furniture is sleek, unornamented, easy to clean and hovers off the floor.

Top: Designed by Sven Markelius
Middle: by K. von Schmalensee and piano designed by Uno Ahlen
Bottom: by Erik Lund
The Architectural Review published an article written by Paulsson titled ‘White Industry’ where he summarised the ambitions of the Stockholm Exhibition and its contribution to the design of progress and equality in Sweden. This article anticipated the Swedish Industrial Arts and Crafts exhibition, which was due to open in London. In the United States, the Stockholm Exhibition was included in the book The International Style and in the Chicago Century of Progress home section. As noted by Joan Ockman, modern architecture and the International Style exhibition was not as impactful in the early 1930s in the United States as it would become later in the decade and again in the 1960s. By then, it could be surmised that the social reformist agenda and the sensibility had long been erased leaving one with an aspirational style associated with ‘millionaires’ and ‘capitalists’.

Gregor Paulsson

In his memoirs, Paulsson traces his social vision for the Stockholm Exhibition to some of his experiences in his youth. He describes the role that growing up in Helsingborg and later, becoming acquainted with the writings of Ellen Key played in gestating his later preoccupation with aesthetic and social reform. In addition, his interpretation of Alois Reigl’s work in his doctoral thesis, gave him the intellectual tools to argue for a Swedish form of modernism that was both connected to the international movement and that was specific to the national context. He grew up in an affluent neighbourhood in Helsingborg, which was the industrial centre of the country. Paulsson observed that in spite of the increasing inequalities, which he saw for himself when he tutored the children in the working-class district, the city officials preferred to spend public funds on creating a showcase townscape that futilely

50 Helena Kåberg, ‘An Introduction to Gregor Paulsson’s Better Things for Everyday Life’ in Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts. Paulsson’s memoirs are untranslated and therefore, Kåberg’s text has provided most of the biographical content that I have used in this part of the text unless otherwise mentioned.
51 I discuss Ellen Key in chapter 3.
wielded architecture as an ornament rather than as an instrument for change. Sensitised thus, it is then hardly surprising that he was attracted to the writings of Ellen Key who was a staunch advocate for a relationship between aesthetic and social reform. He found her book *Folkbildningsarbetet* (Adult Education, 1906) particularly inspirational. In the book, Key categorised beauty as a socio-political matter and an essential human need. Furthermore, she argued for the need for an education in Aesthetics because she believed beauty enlightened people and encouraged them to both improve themselves and contribute to the betterment of society. Paulsson took her suggestions to heart and became a member of a number of clubs and associations including the Nykterhetorganisationen Verandi (The temperance society Verandi) where he ran a study group for the members’ children. Key’s writing inspired him to study Aesthetics, and the History of Literature and the Arts at Lund university. While he was there, he devoted some of his time to the club Den Ynger Gubben (D.Y.G. - The younger old man) which Key had praised for its lecture series, confession-less Sunday school, educational programme for workers and evening events.

In 1912, while still at the university, he moved to Berlin, to take advantage of the libraries and museums and equally importantly, because of the affordable living costs in the city. There he came across the radical and socialist art circle that surrounded Herwarth Walden’s Der Strum. In the library he found the first annual report of the Deutscher Werkbund. In 1915, he completed his doctoral thesis, *Skånes dekorativa kunst* (Decorative Arts in Skånes) where he argued that though the sixteenth and seventeenth century church interiors in Skånes were patterned on international models; however, they should not be considered copies because they had been informed and shaped by local craftsmen guided by a local context with its political and physical materiality. In other words, though they were originally foreign; nonetheless, in their final rendition they were quintessentially Swedish and in turn, furthered a unique Nordic Baroque style. The importance of these years in the work of Paulsson especially in the ambitions of the Stockholm Exhibition cannot be overemphasized. Each of these influences forwarded a direction that finally coalesced into the reformist vision that came to be associated with a

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Swedish international identity after the Stockholm Exhibition.

After completing his doctorate in 1915 he accepted a curatorial position at the National Museum of Fine Arts. However, he did not stay there long and resigned in 1924 to focus on his work at the SSF. He had begun his affiliation with the SSF around 1915 when he had impressed the members with his progressive art and architectural criticism that was published in several Swedish newspapers. In 1916, he published *Den nya arkitekturen* (*The new architecture*) in which he outlined the benefits of standardisation and types for society. It was a direct reference to the lectures of Hermann Muthesius, the co-founder of the *Deutscher Werkbund*, and won him admiration in the SSF. The SSF was founded in 1845 and initially focused on traditional arts and crafts. By the 1910s under the leadership of Erik Wettergren the society had shifted its agenda and introduced industrial design into its remit. To begin this new journey the society had invited Muthesius to an exhibition opening in Stockholm in 1909 and named him an honorary member. The *Werkbund* then had undergone a similar transformation as it turned towards a practice-oriented focus that dwelled on the “relationship of architecture, as an art of design, to mechanical production in all its phases, from the factory work-hall to the advertising of the finished product.” Muthesius and Karl Schmidt, the director of the *Deutscher Werkstätten* in Hellerau, urgently called for the fusion of industry and crafts in aid of the nation’s economy, production and social well-being. Paulsson’s essay ‘Better Things for Everyday Life’ was heavily indebted to the *Werkbund* and the *Werkstätten*—direct references to the organisations pepper the text. However, he never abandoned his admiration for Key. On reading the pamphlet it is evident that he made an effort to reconcile mass production with beautiful design, and in turn, beautiful design with worker development and satisfaction.

In 1917, the SSF, it can be presumed in collaboration with Paulsson organised the *Hemutställningen* (Home exhibition). Key had also designed a home exhibition as

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a representation of her ideas for social reform through design.\textsuperscript{58} Though Paulsson’s exhibition was not very successful;\textsuperscript{59} nevertheless, it spurred a debate in Sweden and brought Paulsson into contact with Åhren and Asplund. It can be surmised that this fortuitous encounter helped in giving form to Paulsson’s till then nascent intentions. By the 1920s, it appears that he was a formidable presence in the SSF \textsuperscript{60}—he was appointed editor of the journal of the SSF. *Svenska Slöjdföreningen Tidskrift* and as commissioner-general of the Swedish exposition at the *Paris Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs* in 1925 and other expositions in New York, Chicago and Detroit, a few years later.

In 1934, Paulsson left the SSF and began teaching at Uppsala University as the chair of the art-history department from 1934-1956.\textsuperscript{61} There he formalised a new field called the ‘art-history field’—where he introduced social sciences, like sociology and psychology, in the study of works of art to display the inseparability of art with society. He continued to write prolifically about the relationship between social and aesthetic reform. In the foreword to the 1939 *Ny Svensk Arkitektur* (*New Swedish Architecture*) exhibition publication he criticised architectural practices that preferred to waste their talent on private commissions and instead, reiterated a social programme for architecture.

The Stockholm Exhibition was unique in its ambitions. It envisioned transforming the societal structure of the nation and contributed to the development of a national identity that soon defined its diplomatic and international personality—the middle way. In addition, it envisaged a social programme for the international modern architecture movement while responding to one of the more critical social issues—the workers’ question—that industrialising nations were facing. Moreover, it interpreted, and contributed to the visions of Ellen Key and Charlotte Perkins Gilman—the importance of the design of the home, especially the kitchen cannot be overemphasised in the re-design of gender relations. During the same period, in the United States, Lillian Gilbreth was

\textsuperscript{58} Barbara Miller Lane, ‘An Introduction to Ellen Key’s ‘Beauty in the Home’ in Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts*, p. 25.


\textsuperscript{61} Kåberg, ‘An Introduction to Gregor Paulsson’s Better Things for Everyday Life’, pp. 60.
forced to redirect her attention to Home Economics and kitchen designs after the death
of her husband to both remain relevant and financially solvent. Nevertheless, through
it she made space in the world of manufacturing and industrial design, designs for the
differently-abled.
Lillian Gilbreth

Reforming Taylorism

Many historians classify the Gilbreths as Taylorists.\(^\text{62}\) Frank Gilbreth met Frederick Winslow Taylor in 1907. The Gilbreths enjoyed an initial boost to their emerging career by affiliating with Taylor, which peaked in 1911 when Taylor asked them to write a series of articles for *American Magazine* on his behalf that later were edited and republished as the Gilbreths’ *Primer of Scientific Management*. However, they grew critical of Taylorism when they observed the negative reaction it received from the unions and the workforce.\(^\text{63}\) Besides, by that time they were recognised in the field and had less need for an alliance with him. I contend that Lillian Gilbreth was especially critical of Taylorism and she attempted reforming it using the principles of science of work. Though Taylorism and the Gilbreths’ method are both founded on a logic of productivism and both claimed that they were interested in changing minds and relations in factories; nevertheless, while Taylor measured time as a gauge of a worker’s efficiency and argued for an increase in wage for increased productivity, he was always on the side of the management. To the contrary, the Gilbreths measured motions and argued that productivity was directly proportional to a reduction in fatigue—physical, mental and psychological. They further stated that managing fatigue was the job of management and that the worker should never pay for it.\(^\text{64}\) Therefore, it can be surmised that they were interested in transforming the relations between management and the worker. Their criticism of Taylorism parallels that of the European science of work. It can be assumed that Lillian Gilbreth was aware of the discussions in Europe and its adoption of psychological tools to manage fatigue,

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\(^{62}\) Joshua B. Freeman in *Behemoth* and Gillian Darley in *Factory* describe the Gilbreths as Taylorists. Freeman does, in his footnotes discern the difference in the Gilbreths’ methods from Taylorism by stating that Lenin preferred the Gilbreth method to that of Taylorism, finding it more in tune with socialism. This opinion is echoed by Jane Lancaster in *Making Time*. Darley, on the other hand, mentions Frank and Lillian Gilbreth as followers of Taylorism.

\(^{63}\) The Gilbreths’ method was not above a similar criticism. Nevertheless, their approach has been acknowledged as more humane. I would argue that though it had many problems, their method definitely shows more kinship to the practices of science of work. Both science of work and the Gilbreth method is definitely slightly misguided in its progressive era belief in the objectivity of science.

\(^{64}\) Frank B. Gilbreth and Lillian Gilbreth, *Fatigue Study: The Elimination of Humanity’s Greatest Unnecessary Waste: A First Step in Motion Study*, (New York: Sturgis and Walton Company, 1916), pp. 38-40. Lillian Gilbreth refers to practices in Europe which makes me believe that she was aware of the European science of work.
construct more equitable relations between management and the workforce, and increase productivity.

Frank had been studying workers’ movements ever since he had apprenticed with a bricklayer. He had observed that one could reduce the amount of energy that was expended and the time that was spent on laying a section of a wall if the work process was well co-ordinated with the human body and its movements. This in short is what he described as motions of a worker. Thus, Frank argued that fatigue could be greatly reduced if the worker planned his motions economically. He was convinced that every job had ‘one best way’ that was least tiring and took less time. Along with his motion-studies he included procedural diagrams and mechanical innovations to ‘simplify work’. For example, to aid a bricklayer he designed a cement mixer, adjustable scaffolding, and a guide to the movements required for the process along with the layout of the ‘workspace’.65 While Frank focused on motion-studies, Lillian Gilbreth, his wife, who had studied psychology and was an equal collaborator in their business, informed his work by introducing psychology and developmental studies into the equation. She introduced programmes such as the reading box movement, work management and delegation training, rudimentary aptitude tests, satisfaction surveys, to mention a few, to transform the relationship between workers and management and to change the attitude of both the management and the worker. Moreover, as mentioned by her biographer Jane Lancaster, she was sceptical of Frank’s ‘one best way’ and was sensitive to differences between people—physically and mentally—which would become a unique characteristic that defined her work in the later years. Though she was the author of their numerous publications and their method depended on her input, she was not recognised for the work that they did together.

65 Brian Price, ‘Frank and Lillian Gilbreth and the Manufacture and the Marketing of Motion Study, 1908-1924’, Business and Economic History, Second Series, Volume 18, (1989), <http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/TheGilbreths.pdf> [accessed 10 April 2019]. Price argues in this paper that the Gilbreths’ motion-studies were not as efficient as they claimed. He even suggests that they tweaked the results to their benefit and were far more skilful at managing their image rather than bettering efficiency. For the sake of my argument, I don’t care about the success of their motion studies. I am more interested in Lillian’s Gilbreth’s progressive ideas about fatigue, women in the work place, design for the differently abled, her criticism of Taylorism, and the manner in which she contributed to the science of work.
New England Butt Company

As mentioned earlier, science of work specialised in studying fatigue but was limited to laboratory conditions. Taylorism, on the other hand, practiced efficiency on the shop floor and was determined by observation and experiments done directly on the workforce. The Gilbreths too implemented their method directly on the shop floor, spending months at a time with a company. In addition, they were well-versed with the experiments performed in Europe and it can be evidenced, included them in their practice and thus, contributed to their development. One of their first commissions was at the New England Butt Company (NEB) of Providence, Rhode Island in 1912.66 John Aldrich, a progressive industrialist and owner of the NEB company, wanted to increase productivity in his factory, but on the condition that it should also foster a satisfying work environment for his employees.67 As an act of goodwill, the Gilbreths began by signing contracts with both the management team and with the workforce. Additionally, the started by reorganising the office spaces. These tactics resonated well with the workers and helped to win their co-operation. Lillian Gilbreth used her education in psychology to re-train the workers, believing that they would be more receptive to the method if they understood its underlying principles. In the ‘betterment room’ the Gilbreths studied the motions of a worker while treating them as part of the investigative team rather than as experimental subjects. As recorded in their book, Fatigue Study, they even designed clothing for workers tailored to their tasks, which were to be made and laundered at company cost to increase the worker’s comfort, and probably to create a habit of hygiene and foster a spirit of pride in the company.

Lillian, like many other psychologists believed that physical fatigue was intimately connected to mental fatigue and that feelings of inadequacy or dissatisfaction were important considerations in any study of fatigue. In addition to their motion-studies and work-organisation plans they introduced tiered promotion plans, ergonomic workstations and chairs, and reorganised the work schedule by proposing well-timed work-breaks and

66 Gilbreths, Fatigue Study.
shorter work hours. They improved the work environment with better artificial lighting and more windows. Finally, they tested their reading-box movement, which was an intervention that aimed to inculcate new habits in the worker. It required both the efforts of the management and the workers in equal measure. A reading-box was installed in the factory where the management, workers and even members of the community could deposit ‘interesting, valuable and educational’ reading material that they no longer required or wanted. This could include newspapers, trade catalogues or magazines. The workers were allowed to take material that piqued their interest and could either return them to the box after they were finished with them or could re-distribute it to other members in their community using the smaller reading-boxes that were installed closer to their homes. As evident, the Gilbreths interest in fatigue and efficiency catered to both the worker and the manager.

Though Lillian’s study of psychology proved to be fortuitous for the couple, it was not her first choice of subject. She was a student of literature and when she was accepted into the woman’s college affiliated with Columbia University, she attempted to enrol in a literature class. However, she was unable to do so because the professor who taught the course refused to teach female students. The gendered biases of the early twentieth century played an important role in paving the career path forged by Lillian. Instead, she turned to a psychology course taught by Edward Thorndike, a genetic psychology professor known for his work in eugenics in the United States. Lillian remained in contact with Thorndike for decades after graduating. Two of the main tenets of her practice were derived from his teaching— “individuals were shaped by their environment and that satisfaction varied from people to people.” This possibly explains her scepticism

68 Gilbreths, Fatigue Study, p. 60.
69 Lancaster, Making Time, pp. 98-99. The Gilbreths were positive eugenicists and raising a large family was a testament to their beliefs. Lancaster says: “They wanted to demonstrate by means of their family system that it was possible to rear and educate many healthy children, and do it economically and efficiently, while leaving time for the mother to be professionally active. Here they diverged from many of their contemporaries, even feminists, many of whom believed that a well-educated woman’s most useful role was in raising superior children, rather than imitating men in their desire to work outside the home. Lillian, however, did not want to be only a mother; she also wanted to work.”
70 Lancaster, Making Time, p. 55.
of Frank’s ‘one best way’. Her contribution included do-it-yourself guides and educating workers so that they studied their own movement patterns and habits and altered them as needed to reduce unnecessary fatigue, which included changing their attitude towards work.  These tenets served her well especially in the mid 1920s and after, when she adapted their method to the domestic space. By the 1920s, Scientific Management was no longer limited to the workplace but had taken over the domestic space merging to some extent with Home Economics.

In the Kitchen

After Frank’s death in 1924, Lillian found herself in a quandary—even though she was one of the founders of the Gilbreths’ method, she now found herself deserted by the companies that she and Frank used to consult for and moreover, she was unable to attract new clients. In addition, she had a dozen children to feed and educate. Finding that she was unwelcome within what was delineated as the man’s space—industrial engineering —she improvised and made space for herself in the acceptable woman’s realm—teaching and Home Economics. Over time, as she gained a reputation in Home Economics with her kitchen designs, she was able to expand its remit by initiating some of the first kitchen designs for those who were differently abled.

The Better Homes for America campaign was initiated in 1922 by ‘concerned individuals’ who were worried that after World War I, the American family was under threat,

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71 Lancaster, Making Time, p. 126.
72 Jill Lepore, ‘Not So Fast’, The New Yorker, October 12, 2009. and Siegfried Giedion, Mechanisation Takes Command: a Contribution to Anonymous History, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 512-527. Giedion traces Home economics to the work of Catherine Beecher in domestic economy (1840s-1860s). The Home Economics movement was initiated by the Women’s Congress at the Chicago exhibition in 1893 which in turn, founded the National Household Economic Association. Women’s clubs and congresses were important organisations that furthered the women’s movements in the United States and Lillian Gilbreth contributed to their work.
which in turn, threatened national security and American values of democracy.\textsuperscript{74} These threats were indexed in the falling rate of home ownership. The war had pushed women forward—they were working in jobs that were traditionally done by men and after the war many were not content to resume their housekeeping duties or return to jobs that were considered ‘suitable’ for their sex. Divorces were increasing and it can be surmised that birth rates were dwindling. Therefore, it was not surprising that home ownership was reducing.\textsuperscript{75} The campaign alleged that the issues could be solved by reinstating domestic traditions by which they meant, forcing women back into houses. The campaign clothed this endeavour with a programme of domestic efficiency where women were ‘promoted’ from housekeepers to house managers, subtly appropriating the rhetoric forwarded by Catherine Beecher but to a diametric end. Marie Melony, the editor of \textit{The Delineator}, a popular woman’s magazine with over a million female readers, was the primary initiator of the campaign, which was housed within the editorial offices of the magazine. She gathered support from both Central and Federal governments and established a National Advisory Council with eminent members from the administration such as Vice President Coolidge, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace\textsuperscript{76} and President of the United States Chamber of Commerce Julius Barnes. The campaign financed a number of model houses that were deemed suitable for the new modern American family type. The houses were proposed on sites that invoked association with American cultural history that glorified the home and childhood. The living room was the centre of the model home. It was panelled in wood and furnished with heavy colonial styled furniture. A grand piano completed the ensemble. The décor probably intentioned to stir up memories or more likely, the fictional desire of family time and its warmth. Moreover, the kitchen and baths were modernised with the latest

\textsuperscript{75} Janet Hutchinson, ‘The Cure for Domestic Neglect.’
\textsuperscript{76} Barbara Penner, ‘The Cornell Kitchen: Housing and Design Research in Postwar America’, \textit{Technology and Culture}, Volume 59, 1, January 2018, pp. 48-94. Access provided by University College London (UCL) (2 May 2018 08:29 GMT) <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/692167>. Penner traces the history of efficiency studies to the rural housing stock since 1900, displaying the importance of the agricultural realm in nation-making policies.
technology to reduce the burdens of the woman in the house. By the end of the 1920s Melony was the director of the New York Herald Tribune Institute—a home making research branch of the Herald Tribune Newspaper—when she hired Lillian to design a ten by twelve feet kitchen, a kitchen laboratory, and a kitchenette for a working couple. These projects were rather progressive of her considering the Better Homes campaign that she had fronted less than a decade earlier. Melony had seen Gilbreth’s Kitchen Practical that was commissioned by the president of the Brooklyn Borough Gas Company Mary Dillon. The Kitchen Practical was exhibited at the Woman’s Exposition of September 1929 and furthered the efficient kitchen circle, the likely predecessor to the kitchen triangle.

In 1933, Lillian Gilbreth unveiled her design for the Gilbreth Management Desk at the Chicago’s Century of Progress World Exhibition. This unassuming piece of kitchen furniture was designed to change women’s role in the home, and it did so by categorising domestic work as work. It was a small step to transforming domestic relations. Besides, it signalled an end of what can be considered a decade long compromise by Lillian where she held her tongue and participated in the design of household objects that were part of campaigns and projects strategized to erase women from the workplace and turn them into household consumers. Lillian’s contribution to the design of kitchens and her Gilbreth Management Desk is not without contention—she has been discussed as an anti-feminist and a pro-consumerist, and to some extent this criticism is well founded. She

78 Graham, "Domesticating Efficiency: Lillian Gilbreth’s Scientific Management of Homemakers, 1924-1930'.  
79 Graham, 'Domesticating Efficiency'. Pp. 633-675. After Frank’s death, when Lillian found herself out of work, for nearly a decade she completely adapted her role to suit what would be acceptable to society. She compromised on her own beliefs about the role of scientific management and fatigue studies in enabling and empowering the working-mother, and changed her tone to suit the 1920s climate, which was extremely backward and wary of women at work. Graham displays the complexity of the feminism that was practiced by Gilbreth and her limitations.  
80 To understand the complexity of Gilbreth’s feminism:  
2. Graham, 'Domesticating Efficiency' — Lillian’s work before Frank’s death and the circumstances and decisions that she made after his death.  
3. Hayden, The Grand Domestic Revolution — the relevance of the kitchens in feminist discourse
was a working mother who had in her employ, domestic help and a cook. She did not use her own kitchen and possibly dusted rarely. She did, however, create a system to manage her home which enlisted the help of her children and Frank. So, when she argued for the efficiency of her designs stating that it would save a woman time so that she could pursue other interests, including a part time job, she was being disingenuous—she was aware of the nature of commitment that was required to keep a job and be a mother. Therefore, for her to suggest that a woman could be a successful working-mother and a good housekeeper was farcical. Her designs and her writing about the kitchens suggested such a feat and moreover, furthered a narrative that housekeeping was solely a woman’s job. However, to simply brand her as a regressive in the feminist movement is harsh—it neither takes into account her research against stereotyping women in the workplace nor does it understand the political climate in the United States in the 1920s and the personal circumstances that dogged Lillian.

Though she could never be categorised as a feminist in the image of others such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman for example, she did initiate tiny steps to destroy the myths about work and women. Lillian Gilbreth was not radical in any way, but she was a progressive era technocrat who believed in the science. In an article that she published in

81 Dolores Hayden in The Grand Domestic Revolution does this. I disagree with Hayden. I believe that while she is willing to excuse Gilman more readily, she does not extend the same generosity to Lillian Gilbreth. Hayden mentions that Gilman neither addressed the class structures that were reinforced by her discourse, nor did she attempt to challenge the stereotype of women and their role in domestic labour. I would argue that L. Gilbreth, to the contrary, using her technocratic and scientific arguments, did challenge gender stereotypes. In addition, Gilman had the benefit of having a willing husband who accepted custody of their only child. Gilbreth on the other hand, was not as fortunate and needed to support her brood of twelve children or move back to her family home, sacrificing all that she had achieved. I would suggest that feminism cannot be disjointed from the political climate and the private circumstances that surround women and while I acknowledge that Lillian was not a material-feminist as categorised by Hayden, I certainly would not categorise her as a regressive force in the feminist movement. I believe that Hayden’s categorisation stems from the knowledge that Lillian Gilbreth was known for being part of Home Economics, which a lot of feminists have, sometimes rightly, assumed to be regressive. Barbara Penner shares her initial distaste towards Home Economics and I must admit that was my initial reaction as well.

1933, she argued against any direct scientific correlation between gender, fatigue and type of work.\textsuperscript{82} She advocated for an equal treatment of women at work and campaigned for studies of fatigue to ‘scientifically’ gauge the interest and ability of women. Importantly, she identified and named domestic work as work. Later on, with the changing times and as she became more famous, she was outspoken about her beliefs—she said that women could only work to their satisfaction if they were married to men who would help out at home. This wasn’t a norm at the time and when she had suggested it earlier in the 1920s at a conference, she was mocked for it.\textsuperscript{83} Beside, where her feminist persona falls short, she makes up for it with her sensitivity to differences between people. The Kitchen Practical was designed to be customised to different body types and unlike other scientific management ‘gurus’ she rarely insisted on a particular schema, product or way, instead, she always tried to explain the reasoning behind her decisions and thus, enabled her clients to choose their own best way. Nowhere is this sensitivity better evidenced than in her courses on design for the handicapped at Purdue university. Additionally, she designed the Heart Kitchen for those who had experienced heart troubles or a stroke that left them physically limited. Her influence and studies set the course for many of the efforts that followed World War II in the design for the differently-abled.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{82} Graham, ‘Domesticating Efficiency’, pp. 633-675.
\textsuperscript{83} Barbara Penner, ‘The Flexible Heart of the Home’.
Devices for the crippled from their book *Motion Study for the Handicapped* (1920). After World War I, Frank and Lillian Gilbreth had published their motion-studies for the handicapped to enable the blind, and war veterans who were wounded or incapacitated to be integrated into workplaces. Their study was elaborate and included apparatus and designed equipment that would allow a disabled or differently abled person to perform some jobs as well or even better than an abled person, thereby, allowing them to reintegrate with society. A digitised copy of the book *Motion-Studies for the Handicapped* can be found at [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:2447644689] [accessed 26 June 2020].
“A Heart Kitchen designed to show homemakers with heart trouble how to cut their work in half, constructed in 1952 at the Madison Vocational and Adult School.” Image source: Barbara Penner. ‘The Flexible Heart of the Home’

“From the booklet “Heart of the Home,” 1948, published by the American Heart Association to help homemakers with heart disease.” Image source: Barbara Penner. ‘The Flexible Heart of the Home’
Home and Work: Lillian Gilbreth

In Cheaper by the Dozen, written by her eldest son and second-eldest daughter, Lillian Gilbreth is painted as a mother who passively acquiesces with the audacious and imaginative schemes proposed by their father, Frank Gilbreth, concerning both the management of their large family of eleven children and their business—motion studies—that the Gilbreth’s were to become infamous for. In the book, ‘mother’ hides behind father’s shadow. It is only in Belles on their Toes, the sequel written about the Gilbreth family life after the death of Frank that one is properly introduced to Lillian Gilbreth. In all probability, her calm, stable, and gentle manner in contrast with her husband’s gregarious and louder persona distracted her children from comprehending the depth of her personality and intelligence.85 Undoubtedly, Lillian Gilbreth is a complex personality to reconcile with in a world of black and white—she was awarded a bachelor and master’s degree in literature from the University of California, Berkeley. After which she pursued a doctorate in 1915 which she began at Berkeley then stopped and restarted, finally completing it at Brown University. Her first dissertation titled ‘Psychology of Management: The Function of the Mind in Determining, Teaching and Installing Methods of Least Waste’86 pioneered the integration of psychology with Scientific Management. She later published her completed dissertation using only her initials to hide her sex. Furthermore, she in partnership with her husband reformed Taylorism and set out to create their own method for Scientific Management for which she authored and edited their numerous joint publications. Besides, she accomplished most of these feats while being frequently pregnant for almost 15 years birthing a baker’s dozen children—two of whom did not survive (one was still-born and the other died young). Later in her life she was awarded many honorary diplomas from national and international universities. This spectrum of roles and accomplishments in a single person is incredulous and has resulted in numerous simplistic observations about her life, which according to

85 I think that they believed that their mother was weaker than their father because that was the social construct of the time. They simply weren’t able to see women in a different role till they did not become much older.

Jane Lancaster, her biographer, she propelled and instrumentalised for her own benefit.\(^{87}\)

One of the more pervasive stories, which was not helped by the books written by her children, is that she ‘became’ Lillian Gilbreth after the death of Frank Gilbreth. In fact, Lillian and Frank had an equal marriage, which in itself was an accomplishment for the time. Frank was attracted to Lillian’s intellect and actively involved her in his work. Nonetheless, she brought her own background in psychology into his more observational field work and contributed both to the method that they would become known for and ensured that they were published far and wide. The division of Lillian as with-Frank and after-Frank does no justice to either of them—their partnership and the projects that they embarked upon together as equal collaborators was mutually fuelled by the other’s intellect and ambition. According to Lancaster, Lillian Gilbreth was a master of self-representation: she stood on the side-lines even though it didn’t please her.\(^{88}\) She navigated the male-dominated world that she was born into with dexterity—not rolling against the tides but surfing them.

In *Belles on their Toes*, her eldest daughter comes to the late realisation that for her mother, work was not a means to an end as much as an end by itself. This realisation explains many of the choices that Lillian made in her life, which enabled her to become the pioneer that she did become. Lillian managed her home in a way that would enable her to work efficiently. She was determined to be a ‘working mother’, which implied that she had to ensure that her household was smoothly run, and she enlisted all the help, tools and strategies that she could towards that end. It was reflected in her sartorial choices for herself and her children which were appropriate, hygienic, efficient and replaceable. Many of the ideas that were implemented in the NEB project had already been in place at their home, for example, the reading-box. The Gilbreth children were organised as a work unit and were encouraged to manage tasks at home depending on their inclinations and skills, which they were encouraged to develop by themselves. She was a terrible cook and had

\(^{87}\) Jane Lancaster, *Making Time*, pp. 3-5.

help. Furthermore, she was not overly invested in babying Frank. Therefore, she shrewdly let her mother-in-law play that role in their family never begrudging her the power and control that it cost her in return.

It is undeniable that she succumbed to the pressures of the gender biases of the time, more so after Frank’s death and inadvertently participated in industries and cultures that slowed-down the progress of women. Nevertheless, Lillian Gilbreth inarguably was a pioneer in her critique of Taylorism in the United States and contributed to the early development of the science of work as an international discipline by infusing it with the language of spatial design and engineering that included progressive ideas about women and the differently abled. Equally importantly, she was one of the leading proponents in the field of Home Economics and helped to expand its remit to include the differently-abled participating in the development of universal design.
Conclusion

Both Gregor Paulsson and Lillian Gilbreth engaged with concerns related to productivity and fatigue—a concern of the nation. While Paulsson addressed it tangentially by reinterpretting the discussion to forward a more equal society where workers were not simply producers but also partook in the progress of the nation; Gilbreth on the other hand, contributed to the discussion by reforming Taylorism. Both Paulsson and Gilbreth furthered the international movement—science of work—that was interested in these questions by deploying architecture and design as essential tools to transform lifestyles, habits and behaviours. Equally importantly, they addressed the idea of working women—at home and in factories—in different ways, thereby interweaving and nuancing the prevalent discourse about the worker’s question and the women’s question. Therefore, I contend that they participated and contributed to the international sensibility of the era especially as they attempted to instrumentalise architecture and design towards changing relations between people.

The Stockholm exhibition in 1930 was an ambitious project that attempted to transform societal relations in the country by constructing a new kind of citizenry using architecture and design. It heralded a Swedish form of modern architecture that was appreciated for its stylistic and social principles. Gregor Paulsson, the curator of the exhibition was well-versed with Ellen Key’s work and it can be argued, predicated the vision of the exhibition on two of Key’s main arguments—the interrelationship between aesthetic and social reform; and taste as a social issue. The exhibition focused on housing design. Furthermore, with the design of the ‘family hotel’ the exhibition displayed the continual relevance of arguments forwarded by Charlotte Perkins Gilman almost three decades before, especially in Sweden where at that time working mothers was not a common occurrence, but neither was Key’s assertion that mothers should be economically supported by the state. The Stockholm Exhibition has been discussed by many historians as the starting point of the welfare system of Sweden. However, Paulsson and his collaborators were not content in only reforming the role of architecture in the country

but were keen to display an alternative way of defining a nation where architecture plays an important social role. Towards that end, Paulsson’s vision displayed an international sensibility not only in the manner in which it addressed the worker’s and women’s question but also in the way that it attempted to reform the international modern architecture movement and engaged with discussions about standardisation, type, and the average person.

In the 1920s, the Better Homes campaign was a state funded project that attempted to lure women back into the home. This project is indicative of a socio-political attitude that enveloped the United States and explains the context that Lillian Gilbreth found herself in when her husband died. Before his death, Lillian was an integral member of the team and the more educated of the two. She had contributed to Frank’s motion studies with her own fatigue studies, and with him, she had designed a series of ‘products’ for workers and managers in factories. However, after his death she found herself unable to continue doing what they had started and instead, began to participate in making home-making more efficient. Though Home Economics appears to be a rather conservative discipline that is associated with the kitchen, nevertheless, kitchen designs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were the battlefield where gender relations were reconstituted. Catherine Beecher contributed to Home Economics and designed a number of ‘efficient’ kitchens as a way to limit the importance of housework in a woman’s life. In Lillian Gilbreth’s world the kitchen was not only about gender relations but also became the space where she forwarded design principles for people with different abilities, limitation or needs, especially after World War II. Furthermore, it wouldn’t be too far-fetched to surmise that Lillian Gilbreth probably understood systemic gender stereotyping because of her experience after the Frank’s death, something that she may have been oblivious.

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90 Siegfried Giedion. *Mechanisation Takes Command: a Contribution to Anonymous History*. Oxford University Press (New York, 1948). Pp. 512-527. Giedion talks about context that grounds Catherine Beecher’s work in domestic economy and its lineage through Christine Frederick to Lillian Gilbreth. It is an interesting moment to understand that the early feminists were not against women doing housework, and many did not actually support universal suffrage. Catherine Beecher for example was all about making house work efficient so that it would be a means to an end. In addition, in Giedion's historiography, it becomes increasingly evident that changing relations is much slower than both mechanisation and reimaging work processes. While the servant question was broached by the Beechers, it only became a design reality with open plan kitchens in the 1940s.
to earlier. Besides, after the war it was far more difficult to assert separate spheres as women had contributed successfully to the public sphere during the war. In the 1930s she challenged gender stereotyping in the workplace to a larger extent contributing to the intersection of worker’s issues with women’s issues.

Though Paulsson and Gilbreth both argued for equality through design they did so in very different ways. Whilst Paulsson pushed for standardisation and commonality. Gilman to the contrary, designed for anomalies and differences. It is unquestionable that their projects simmered in the broth of productivity and advanced consumerism and individualism as a national-international agenda, consequently leading to greater inequality and individualisation in the following decades as nations appropriated their rhetoric and their language.\footnote{The importance of industrial design in the national economies in Scandinavia cannot be overemphasised. When I was in Denmark for three years, the number of second hand shops stocking furniture and household goods; reuse salvage yards; barely used furniture found on the streets; and home shops that I came across indicated that continual home redecoration was a national past time and closely aligned with the idea of \textit{hygge} or the Danish way of life.} The 1930s—as evidenced in the Stockholm exhibition and the Chicago Century of Progress exhibition—was an era where the clamour of eugenics was deafening.\footnote{I talk about eugenics and special relationship with Chicago and neo-natal care in chapter 5} The perfectibility of the human being, the body-beautiful culture and its complicity with race and national identity surely, can be traced back to the early twentieth century when the international health movement advanced the notion of self-improvement.
Introduction

Two parallel streams of thought determined the manner in which the body was deployed as an instrument of control in the nation-making ideology—one pitted the mind against the body and inadvertently, argued for a separation between the two and the other, to the contrary, advanced the inextricability of the two. The former, which has been discussed earlier, fortified disharmony between groups by facing them off each other—men versus women, workers versus the bourgeoisie, immigrants versus nationals, and colonisers versus the colonised—where one set was categorised as more ‘biological’ vis-à-vis the other, who were deemed superior as they were ruled by the mind. This trend of categorising people as either mind or body did not escape the arts and architecture. In performance, it furthered a gendered view dividing the artist and his products—it was common to assume that the male director was the intellect while the performers, especially the women, were qualified as mere bodies. In architecture, Le Corbusier building on Adolf Loos’ narrative used a similar distinction to argue for the superiority of the visual—pertaining to the mind—over touch or sensuality of ornamentation.

1 In chapter 3, I talk about primitive accumulation and the manner in which it was deployed to construct the modern ‘woman’/housewife. This process describes one way of constructing hierarchy by distinguishing some members of society as biological and thus inferior as they are more similar/primitive to animals.

sensuality were all categorised as less thoughtful and inevitably associated with women, working-class, slaves, to mention a few. In contradistinction to the above, for a number of reasons by the end of the nineteenth century the state deemed it prudent to embark on a project of physical culture as a way to strengthen the population, thereby aligning the mind with the body. Some of these reasons appear to be the development of medicine, epidemiology and physiology as disciplines; the advancement in research about fatigue and efficiency grounded in fears of degeneracy of the population; and the unavoidable shift towards the enfranchisement of the working male population. However, the two apparently contradictory streams of thought, it could be argued, were in fact, not as diametric as they appear but conversely, should be considered as self-reinforcing tactics that constructed and maintained relations between people as was seen fit by the nation and its leading authorities to serve their own ends.

The origins of psychophysiology or the interrelationship between the mind and the body paralleled the development of Darwinism, social Darwinism, neo-Lamarckism, and Eugenics amongst other scientific developments. Though science claimed neutrality but in reality, it was equally dictated by ethnocentrism and nationalism. With the categorisation and classification of the animal kingdom a similar system was applied to categorise human types—to further the supremacy of a nation and its people. Continuities were drawn between for example, the Indo-Aryans and the German Aryans, or between Germany and Greek antiquity, to further ‘scientific truths’ of intellectual or physical superiority. Along with these fictions there were a number of other myths that flourished, which served to display a natural backwardness in certain types. Datasets, housing types and city maps were used to display a one-to-one relationship between deviant behaviour, such as criminality, poverty, and degeneration, which was further correlated to physiology through new disciplines such as craniometry and phrenology.

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4 In chapter 4, I have discussed the fears of fatigue that surrounded the second industrial revolution and the development of science of work and efficiency as measures to combat fatigue.


6 Teyssot, ‘Figuring the Invisible’.
and other arguably dubious forms of characterisation such as the beauty map by Francis Galton. Though psychophysiology was initially a form of recording and national story-telling that connected people, their homes and national identity; however, by the early twentieth century, it had shifted to become a kind of disciplining mechanism that attempted to remodel the nation and its people through architecture and design. This is evident in the remit of the _musée social_ as an example and their deployment of architecture and urban planning in the construction of the citizenry.\(^7\) The modern man was to be constructed through his home and the lifestyle furthered by everyday objects as evidenced in Le Corbusier’s Villa Roche, which has been described as a machine of psychophysiology.\(^8\)

In this context, physical culture and the aesthecisation of the body—a strand in the discourse of health and hygiene—played a tangential, but important role in psychophysiology and was closely aligned with the precepts of modern architecture. Hygiene enveloped more than physical cleanliness and included the cleansing of the insides of the people especially their minds and souls. It was inadvertently an argument about ethics and morality, and race and income as much as it was about disease and dirt. Additionally, they were all conflated to further national narratives, and alternative social reform agendas. Physical culture trickled down from the military into the civilian vocabulary as _lebensreform_ (life reform movement) and vitalism amongst others and forwarded a back-to-nature lifestyle to counteract the ill-effects of urbanisation and industrialisation. I contend that it retained its military origins where ‘defence of the nation’ came to mean a civic duty where the nation and the individual together protected the country through the practice of hygieneism. This shift can be linked to the rumour that Germany had won the Franco-Prussian war because of the care administered by the country with its health, hygiene, physical culture and a nation-wide vaccination.

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7 In chapter 2 I have discussed the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1889, the social hygiene exhibit, and the formation of the _musée sociale_. In chapter 3, I talk a bit more about the musée sociale and its focus on puericulture and hominiculture.

programme.\textsuperscript{9} \textit{Lebensreform} and other health practices included tenets of hygiene, diet, epidemiology, physical culture, all of which were equally promoted by physicians and physical culturists as democratic universal principles.\textsuperscript{10} It also supported the discourse of nudism, and by extension, dress reform, which some historians have argued was one of the important principles that guided modern architecture.\textsuperscript{11} Therefore, I argue, that body reform, and in turn, the international health movement was a key part of the international sensibility in the late nineteenth century, which in turn, informed the projects that were part of the International Style exhibition.

The health movement—both national and alternative—was supported by academics who were involved in the revival of Greek antiquity.\textsuperscript{12} Johann Wickelmann’s art-historical pamphlets from the mid-eighteenth century played no small part in displaying the inseparability between physical culture and Greek civilisation and inevitably furthered a belief that it was a model to emulate in the construction of the German identity. However, he did not advocate physical culture as bodily perfection but instead, argued for the relationship between mind and body citing Plato’s dialogues as evidence of the same.\textsuperscript{13} Moreover, he argued for the importance of social institutions such as the gymnasia where these dialogues took place in the construction of the nation. With time, Greek sculpture and later Roman sculpture were seen as ideals for health and bodily perfection, which was aided by physical culturists and educators such as Christian Gotthilf Salzmann who

\textsuperscript{9} Michael Anton Budd, \textit{The Sculpture Machine: Physical Culture and Body Politics in the Age of Empire}, (Hampshire and London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1997), pp. 22-24. Lord Brabazon campaigned for physical culture as a national good - he constructed a relationship between social unrest and immoral practices and argued that physical culture was an apt cure for such degeneracy. He promoted physical culture as part of the pedagogy in, and most importantly, he advanced a myth between national strength and a national welfare programme by citing the victory of the Germans in the Franco Prussian wars and attributing it to amongst other things the Jahn Turnverein exercise system.


\textsuperscript{11} Wigley, \textit{White Walls and Designer Dresses}.


\textsuperscript{13} Saure, ‘Beautiful Bodies, Exercising Warriors and Original Peoples: Sports, Greek Antiquity and National Identity from Winckelmann to ‘Turnvater Jahn’.
infused the discipline with their interest in archaeology and art-history.\textsuperscript{14} It is therefore unsurprising that in the nineteenth century the statue of Venus de Milo was used as a standard to judge women’s beauty—it was referred to by both Charlotte Perkins Gilman and J.P.Muller\textsuperscript{15} as an example of a beautiful modern female form forged through physical strength. Political, cultural and sporting institutions were seen as the foundation of the strength of these ancient societies and were incorporated into what would become known as a social pedagogy programme in the construction of the nation. Furthermore, with the reinstatement of the Olympic games in the 1890s physical culture was pedestaled as an integral part of social upliftment.

Three main exercise regimes dominated the health discourse in the late nineteenth century—the German Jahn \textit{Turnverein} system, the Swedish Ling calisthenics system and the British competitive sports system.\textsuperscript{16} Though these systems displayed characteristics that were specific to their origin countries; nevertheless, they were also advanced as part of an international nation-making ideology and thus, spread internationally.\textsuperscript{17} Initially it was limited to the middle class and aristocracy; however, it was soon advanced as a way to better the stock of the working-class\textsuperscript{18}—health became a criterion that judged the fitness of the working-class to be able to qualify for enfranchisement.\textsuperscript{19} Even though the nation propagated a regime of health, it could be argued that the regime actually flourished as an international movement because of business interests—there were astronomical financial gains in selling publications, exercise regimes and equipment that helped disperse the

\textsuperscript{14} Saure, ‘Beautiful Bodies, Exercising Warriors and Original Peoples: Sports, Greek Antiquity and National Identity from Winckelmann to ‘Turnvater Jahn’.
\textsuperscript{15} Jorgen Peter Muller, ‘The Ideal of Feminine Beauty and the Corset’ in \textit{My System for Ladies}, (London: Ewart Seymour and Co. Ltd, 1911), pp. 70-78.
\textsuperscript{17} Heggie, ‘Bodies, Sports and Science in the Nineteenth-Century’. “Modern sports and modern experimental science are both products of the intellectual and industrial changes that took place in the nineteenth-century Europe. They are both nationally specific products, framed by local social and political institutions, while also participating in an international trade in ideas and ideologies… both were explicitly framed as processes to reform or preserve national bodies, literally as well as figuratively.”
\textsuperscript{18} Budd, \textit{The Sculpture Machine}, pp. 18-21.
\textsuperscript{19} Budd, \textit{The Sculpture Machine}, p. 21.
movement overseas. Therefore, it was inevitable that the gospel of physical culture spread beyond the limits envisioned by the nation and soon developed into an independent subversive and democratic international movement.  

In this background, J.P. Muller and Isadora Duncan founded private institutions that aimed at empowering the individual through body practices that piggy-backed on and contributed to the growing international health movement that was furthered by both the nation and independent commerce. Moreover, either intentionally or unintentionally, they contributed to the development of subversive movements that were grounded in physical culture and body reform. Though the relationship between modern architecture and cleanliness/hygiene is well documented; however, the role of physical culture within the realm of hygiene, and in turn, its relationship to modern architecture and as an international movement is less discussed.  

I argued that Muller and Duncan’s practices were embedded within the prevalent discourse that framed modern architecture, and they should be considered valuable contributors to the sensibility not in the least because of their influence and participation in the milieu of the French avant-garde circles in the early twentieth century. Still, their work was rooted in the neo-Lamarckism beliefs that grounded the discourse at the time and thus, it is undeniable that they contributed to the myths of race, homosexuality and class that still plague the discourse of health today.

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20 Budd, The Sculpture Machine, p. 85. “Sandow’s trip to the Far East also indicated the politically subversive potential of physical culture as well as its inherent malleability. Well before his visit, the currency of bodily empowerment in India had already been specifically tied to nationalist activity by the writings of Sarala Devi in the 1890s. The world-renowned Hindu revivalist and reformer Swami Vivekananda argued that the key to success for independence lay in the ‘three Bs: beef, biceps and Bhagavad-Gita’. Physical exercise was also later incorporated into the nationalist terrorism movement by groups such as the Simla Byayam Samiti, a physical fitness club founded in 1926 by a follower of the Yungantar terrorist group. Such examples were expressions of the recognition that physical discipline and strength could be useful in the struggle of resistance, if assiduously cultivated by politically committed Bengalis, Punjabis and others.”

21 Beatriz Colomina, X-Ray Architecture, (Lars Muller Publishers, 2018). Colomina discusses the role that home exercise plays in the design of architecture.
Jorgen Peter Muller

Muller’s Systems and the Modern Movement

In 1912, J.P.Muller moved from Denmark to London and founded the Muller Institute on 45 Dover Street in Piccadilly to teach *My System*—an exercise regime that he had invented in 1904 ‘for the proper care of the body’. *My System* was originally published in Danish and 30,000 copies were sold within five months. Within the year, 20,000 copies were published in Swedish, 70,000 in German, 25,000 in English and a further 21,000 for the United States. By the 1930s 1.5 million copies had been sold and it had been translated into 26 languages. Between 1925-1929 he had demonstrated his regime all around Europe—a custom that was customary for physical culturists who toured and displayed their feats of strength in performance venues around the world. With his system, Muller had domesticised the gymnasia by creating a fitness regime that could be practiced at home. Historians have commented on the popularity of Muller’s system—it was practiced by the Parisian *avant-gardes* for its modernist vision. Furthermore, in an era of burgeoning fitness regimes, his system required no equipment and could be undertaken in a short time in the privacy of one’s home, thereby arguably making it accessible to all, including women.

Heath magazines, exercise regimes and exercise apparatus had become economically lucrative in the late nineteenth century and many a health ‘celebrity,’ including Eugene Sandow, performed regularly in health shows, advertised products and contributed to fitness literature. Additionally, magazines and equipment were endorsed by physicians—Muller’s books list a directory of doctors who support his method—because

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24 Bonde, ‘Gymnastics between Protestantism and Libertinism’, p. 89 “Finally, Muller’s system was a stimulating exercise in synthesis, whereas most systems of home gymnastics had focused on one or two sources of health. Muller’s system combined gymnastics with a daily bath, fresh air, sunlight and the preservation of the skin through rubbing exercises.”
26 Budd, *The Sculpture Machine*, p. 36.
they believed that physical culture would contribute to the democratisation of health.\(^{27}\) During the period many medical procedures were viewed to be disproportionate for the ailments that they treated thus, there was a growing tendency to engage in alternative practices, which included exercise amongst others. Besides, the economic gains that shadowed the health industry supported its internationality. Though Muller’s practice benefitted from the existing industry because of the endorsements by the royal families of Denmark and England; nevertheless, he was critical of many of the existing practices especially those that he believed focused solely on building muscles. He instead argued that his regimen forwarded a healthier society as it was founded on principles that were focused on improving the way that the body functioned rather than furthering an aesthetic. He believed that bodybuilding was limited in scope because it excluded the aged and women, and it was unsuitable for children though it was being taught at schools.\(^{28}\)

It is my contention that the *My Sun-Bathing and Fresh-Air System*, Muller’s second book written in 1927 which acted as an addendum to his exercise regime, *My System*, should be considered a relevant text of the modern era that connects modern ways of living and architectural design with an international body culture. It takes the design principles of the sanatoria, distils and domesticises them for the benefit of a growing international public. Furthermore, on a closer reading of the text it is apparent that Muller was aware of the discourses that framed the interrelationship between modern architecture, national culture and health, and through his work contributed to them. Scholars have noted that Le Corbusier practiced *My System*, like the other *avant-gardes* before moving on to Eurythmics because of Albert Jeanneret, and probably because it was taught at Hellerau—an important centre of modern thought of the day.\(^{29}\) Le Corbusier was an ardent advocate of exercise—he convinced Mrs. Savoye to accept a flat roof saying that it

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27 Whorton, ‘A Fig for the Doctors’ in *Crusaders for Fitness*.
29 Judi Loach, ‘Architecture, Science and Purity’ in *Being Modern*, Footnote 144. “Prior to Albert’s arrival in Paris at the beginning of the October 1919 … Le Corbusier had been using Müller’s gymnastics …; these were fashionable in avantgarde groups in the early twentieth century, and usually linked with hygienism, [sic] frequent bathing and fresh air.”
would be an advantage as it would give her a place to exercise in the open air and benefit from sunlight with added privacy. Similarly, it is possible to imagine that Muller was aware of the discussions that dominated health including its relationship with national identity and living environments. *My Sun-Bathing...* highlights some of the major concerns of the era—tuberculosis and the fears of the growing degeneracy and weakening of the population with urbanisation and industrialisation; the importance of ventilation and sunlight in modern architecture; the democratisation of fitness and health; Greek antiquity and the socio-political value of health; the naked-cult and back-to-nature movements; the inclusion of physical culture as part of the educational curriculum; exercise and dress reform for women; and lastly, the skin and porosity.

**Open Windows and Porosity**

Muller was an inspector at the Vejleford Sanatorium in Denmark for four years in the late nineteenth century. This experience undoubtedly cemented his belief on the importance of a correct breathing technique for buildings, lungs and for the skin. Muller says that as an inspector of the sanatorium it was apparent to him that the treatment could be used preventatively and therefore, in his books he distils the important principles of the treatment for use at home. Tuberculosis, lung ailments and other health issues related to living in industrial cities was becoming a concern in the early twentieth century. In 1904 the *Congrès Internationaux d’Hygiène et de Démographie* had been founded and was followed by the *Office International d’Hygiène Publique* in Rome in 1907 to address the rise of tuberculosis and other infectious diseases. Therefore, unsurprisingly, sanatoria were one of the more technologically advanced buildings of the early twentieth century. In addition, they were designed for a limited lifespan because there was a fervent belief that tuberculosis would be eradicated, which is a huge testament to the progressive-era’s faith in science. The sanatorium was not meant for treating the disease but was instead meant for aided convalescence. Therefore, it was considered an appropriate model to tweak and use to prevent illness in the first place. Thus, it is not surprising that historians have commented on the role that it played in generating the principles of domestic

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architecture and social housing. Muller’s book, it can be argued, added to the literature that was already in circulation and moreover, displays the relationship between modern design and health practices. In other words, where modern architects attempted to transform the housing stock preventatively and through it the health of people, Muller on the other hand, began from the individual and sought to educate them towards this way of living. Therefore, it would not be incorrect to surmise that he contributed to the appeal of modern architecture.

During the four years that Muller was inspector of the sanatorium, he experienced the benefit of the then novel Neils Finsen’s light therapy on the patients and believed that sunbathing could be used to similar ends. In the sanatorium he oversaw the construction of gendered enclosures for sun-bathing. He also stipulated that the bedroom windows in the sanatorium should be left open—at night and in the winter—to allow the room, the skin and the lungs of the patient to cleanse itself with fresh-air. Though sunshine was already acknowledged to have multiple benefits—bacteria had been discovered and it was a commonplace view that sunshine would destroy its multiplication especially in damp rooms—however, along with sunshine Muller advocated a novel cleansing ritual that he called ‘air bathing’ that required rooms, lungs and the skin to be cleansed through ventilation, correct breathing techniques and an exfoliation ritual respectively. Muller argued that a correct breathing technique along with the necessary architectural interventions such as openable windows and ventilators were a prerequisite in all institutions especially gymnasiums, schools and the home. He recommended exercising outdoors. Thus, he was voicing concerns that were very much part of the early twentieth century discussions especially regarding education of children, seen for example in the open-air schools in France and the partly-outdoor curriculum in kindergartens. Moreover, like Giedion and other modern architects, he loathed closed-in domestic

31 Overy, Light, Air and Openness, p. 30.
32 Muller, My Sun-Bathing and Fresh-Air System.
34 In chapter 6 I talk about the kindergarten and the importance of gardens and outdoor spaces as part of its pedagogy.
Images from Muller’s *My Sun-Bathing and Fresh-Air System* showing the relationship between modern architectural principles and health.
spaces\textsuperscript{35} and heavy drapery as they inhibited the penetration of sunlight and air into the room and collected dust. Moreover, he believed that flat roofs and large span glazing in bedrooms and bathrooms were ideal for sun and air bathing in private in the congested urban realm. Many of the images that accompany this book resonate with an architecture that can be considered pre-modern that display the principles that one would associate with the later architecture of Le Corbusier, for example.

Besides, I would argue that his imagination of the skin and its pores is analogous to the manner in which modern architects imagined the role of windows in buildings especially in sanatoria. In his arguments a cleansed skin with open pores allows the body to filter out toxins. Though much of this ‘scientific’ knowledge about the hygiene of the pores, toxicity and internal cleanliness had already been disproved; nonetheless it displays Muller’s intervention in the cleanliness debates of the time and its relationship to modernity. His focus on the skin and its porosity should be read in relationship to the work of Paul Scheerbart, specifically in \textit{Lesabendio} in which he describes the process by which his other-worldly inhabitants cleanse themselves through their skin\textsuperscript{36} and moreover, metaphorically portrays the pores as pathways that transfer knowledge between inhabitants. Though it is not possible to ascertain that Muller was aware of Scheerbart’s work, it is plausible to imagine that Scheerbart’s modernist fictions were situated in the predominant body of knowledge about the role of skin and clothing in the cleanliness discourse. Scholars have observed that during the period a debate raged on bathing frequency that was not resolved. Whilst in the eighteenth century people washed their clothes, instead of themselves, as part of their daily cleansing ritual, incorrectly believing that the clothes got dirty while protecting the body;\textsuperscript{37} however, by the nineteenth century, this belief was replaced by an understanding that one should bathe frequently. Though that was rarely practiced. Muller’s assertion that the skin is the first layer of clothing of

\textsuperscript{35} Overy, \textit{Light, Air and Openness}. In \textit{Befrietes Wohnen}, Siegfried Gideion discusses liberated living and spatial hygiene which he associates with intellectual openness. Scheerbart’s fictions display the parallels between glass and social openness and equality.


\textsuperscript{37} The reference to the relationship between cleanliness and clothing is best found in the work of Georges Vigarello’s \textit{Concepts of Cleanliness}, which is cited by both Mark Wigley and Hans Bonde.
the body forwards a regime of body cleansing that resonates with the discussions of the period. Nonetheless, he is satisfied for people to exfoliate daily using his skin brushing and polishing technique while curtailing bathing to once a week. It has been pointed out that by incorporating a ‘bath’ technique that did not involve soap or water on a daily basis, his methods were formulated for the benefit of peasants and manual workers who could not afford to bathe daily.\(^{38}\) Moreover, the ideas of the skin as a form of covering echoes comments made recently by historians who have observed the influence of clothing on modern architecture and the manner in which it was interpreted by modern architects—as the whitewashed walls that layer or clothe the structural body of the building—to represent cleanliness and cleanse architecture of its dusty past,\(^{39}\) which undeniably was incorporated as one of the main precepts of the International Style’s re-definition of modern architecture.

Furthermore, Muller can be grouped with other health practitioners such as Phillip Lovell, a self-styled ‘drugless practitioner’, who commissioned R.M. Schindler and Richard Neutra to design his international style ‘health’ houses in the 1920s\(^ {40}\) that embodied health practices. However, while Lovell focused on middle-class suburban houses, Muller to the contrary, agitated against crowded city living and attempted to bring the tenets of fresh air, sunshine and hygiene into the urban realm by endorsing modern architecture’s values for the same.\(^ {41}\) Thus, it would not be incorrect to suggest that Muller contributed in developing modern architecture’s body-oriented spatial practice though he never commissioned a project. Many scholars have observed that modern architects worked with principles propagated by medical practitioners, hygienists and physiologists by incorporating a body and fitness oriented spatial organisation in domestic architecture.\(^ {42}\)

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39 Wigley, White Walls and Designer Dresses.
41 Bonde. ‘From Hygiene to Salvation: I.P. Muller, International Advocate of Gymnastics’.
42 Overy. Light, Air and Openness. P. 30. “Closely linked not only to social and economic reform but also to health and dress reform, modernist architecture and design were energetically and evangelically promoted in terms of hygiene, health, physical fitness and (sometimes) eugenics.”
Images from Muller's skin cleansing massage routine from *The Spirit of Vitalism: Health, Beauty and Strength in Danish Art, 1890-1940*.

T-B Apoxyomenos, J.P. Muller, and Venus of Milo. Images are from *The Spirit of Vitalism*.

Muller models himself on Apoxyomenos. Muller and Apoxyomenos are both modelled cleaning themselves. The statue of Muller reinforces Muller's belief in exfoliating as part of his cleansing ritual.
Body Perfection

The international health movement owed much to business-interests, commerce and mass spectacles for its growth and dispersion. Health and fitness magazines, exercise equipment and exercise routines raked in profits and made the industry financially lucrative. Music halls were filled when the athlete-showmen performed and global tours were not uncommon—in 1905, Sandow the performer-athlete had performed in British India, Dutch Java and Japan. The shows were meant to display the might of the empire—the British deployed athleticism as a way to construct a hierarchy between themselves and their subjects but also between their subjects. Bengali Hindus were described as effeminate and though the musculature of the Punjabis and Jat soldiers was appreciated; nonetheless, it was deemed inferior to that of the British. In spite of the colonial posturing, the branding and marketing strategy deployed by the fitness industry lent itself to a subversive spirit. Physical culturalists absorbed the narrative that suited the fitness industry and furthered the argument that since the human body was universal, exercise was a way of equalising strength and therefore, through the body they believed that they could enact social reform and empower individuals. They were enamoured by the idea that their practice was independent of gender, sex, and race. Furthermore, they all usually forwarded the same origin story—they were all weaklings who were unwell but through the disciplined practice of their exercise regime they had rewritten their genetic destiny. Additionally, many cited the influence that seeing Greek or Roman statues had on them. This furthered the impression that fitness and physical culture was undetermined by race and class and surely, this narrative suited consumerism as it furthered a belief that fitness was an attainable goal for everyone. This belief aided both the nation-making programme and the subversive movements that were founded in

43 Budd, ‘Picturing Physical Culture Consumers’ in The Sculpture Machine, pp. 31-57.
44 Budd, ‘Imperial Mirrors’ in The Sculpture Machine, pp. 81-100.
45 Budd, ‘Imperial Mirrors’ in The Sculpture Machine, pp. 81-100.
46 J.P.Muller, My Sun-Bathing and Fresh Air System, (London: Athletic Publications, 1927), p. 95. “During school time the pupils should not only learn the exercises, but it should be impressed upon them that this little system is an indispensable adjunct to the morning (or evening) toilet, which can be carried out with advantage just as well by the poorest, as by the richest, by weak persons as by athletes, by young and by the old, by girls as well as boys.”
physical culture. Therefore, it soon was adopted by the Hindus, for example, as a way to face their oppressors, and was advanced by the Independence movement, which emerged in Bengal. As another example, the fitness industry veiled homosocial love and allowed it to thrive in secrecy.

Muller too used a similar yarn—his body was not hereditarily determined, he wasn’t genetically blessed with good-health, strength and stamina, and that he was born a ‘weakling’ at a measly three and a half pounds; however, after embarking on his exercise regime he took control of his own health. In between the wars, gymnasiums, which were always considered spaces for men, had begun to take a national undertone, thereby limiting admittance to minorities. It was then that private practices such as Muller’s began to be seen as a way of bypassing the system and used as alternative forms of strengthening. Muller’s method was adopted by the Jewish movement as a way to improve what was believed to be an extremely ‘bookish’, pale and weak Jewish cohort,

48 Budd, ‘Imperial Mirrors’ in The Sculpture Machine, pp. 81-100.
49 Budd, ‘Sculpting the Heroic and the Homoerotic’ in The Sculpture Machine.
thereby becoming closely associated with a secret movement.\textsuperscript{51} Franz Kafka used the system and even urged his lady friend to adopt the same. He often associated the condition of his body with the quality of his writing, and the exercise regime helped him to feel better about both. Besides, he also used it to react against the \textit{bourgeois} sentiments adopted by his parents.\textsuperscript{52} These subversive actions against authority—be they the state, a group or one’s parents—would not have been possible without the complicity between commerce and physical culturists.

The growth of the fitness industry paralleled the growth of the nineteenth century public programme aimed at integrating the working class in civilised society. The increasing ‘spectacularisation’ of the city accompanied the rise in the quality of life of the working class and included promenading, pleasure gardens and parks with their electric lights and mirrors, world’s fairs, to mention a few.\textsuperscript{53} Furthermore, there was a growth in the number of body-building competitions encouraged by the development of photography. Body culture was soon a staple consumer product in the modern city. The spectacle of the human body was not new in the nineteenth century, which more than often inclined towards the grotesque as is evident in the legacy of Bailey and Barnum. By the late nineteenth century, it had of course shifted from pure entertainment and acquired a respectable veneer of ‘scientific’ curiosity as seen in \textit{Le Jardin d’acclimatation} and its display of ‘savages’, which was furthered in quasi-historic representations of lives and styles of ‘others’ in the early decades of the twentieth century. The attraction of observing humans—incubator babies, aberration and mutants—continued well into the mid-twentieth century, feeding off the fears of degeneracy and justifying a eugenics programme that will be discussed in relation to incubator babies in the next chapter. Though physical culture prided itself on being a universal practice; nonetheless, it cannot be viewed separated from its relationship with Eugenics—Francis Galton endorsed

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{51} Anderson, \textit{Kafka’s Clothes}, p. 74.
\item \textsuperscript{52} Anderson, \textit{Kafka’s Clothes}, p. 74
\item \textsuperscript{53} Budd, \textit{The Sculpture Machine}, pp. 31-32.
\end{itemize}
Sandow and exercise towards the construction of ‘ideal’ body types. Muller himself subscribed to the degeneracy theories that were rampant of the age falling prey to ideas of social Darwinism and neo-Lamarckism where he condemned the spread of certain degenerate characteristics from parent to child including homosexuality, criminality, alcoholism, to mention a few. Furthermore, the role of ‘body idealisation’ in the Nazi regime in the 1930s has cast a deep shadow on physical culture movements that began early in the century, for example Nacktkultur.

Physical Culture and Gender

Historians have discussed the relationship between the fitness industry and the emergence of the representation of masculinity—the male body was a product of consumption and display—undoubtedly feeding further consumerism of products of clothing and grooming. Conversely, they argue that the female body was continually suppressed and its display in music halls was frowned upon. However, they have not considered the role that physical culture played in the women’s movement as a way to challenge the roles and weaknesses attributed to women as evident in the propagation of exercise for women by Catherine Beecher, and later by Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Muller too contributed to this discourse when he published an edition of his system for ladies; however, he only published this edition when he learned that women were already using his system hence, he cannot really be considered an advocate for empowering women through a physical

54 Budd, ‘Imperial Mirrors’ in The Sculpture Machine, p. 82.
55 Bonde, ‘From Hygiene to Salvation: I.P. Muller, International Advocate of Gymnastics’, p. 61. I think that Muller should be considered homo-intolerant because Bonde says: “Like so many other Western European people at the time Muller thought that the ‘illnesses’ of the parents, for instance homosexuality, was transmitted to the children.” It is a shame that Bonde has not discussed this in detail or attempted to problematise it in anyway, at least in this text.
56 Teyssot in ‘Figuring the Invisible’ traces the origin of typology in architecture and displays its relationship with a national body culture and its development in to the body-perfection regime practiced by the Nazis in Germany. However, Sarah Schrank and Didem Ekici in ‘Naked Houses’ (Pg. 13) take a position that the German Nacktkultur was incorrectly associated with the Third Reich. They say that the primary difference between the two, was that the former represented the physical culture of a socialist movement while the latter practiced a form of body cultism.
57 Budd, ‘Picturing Physical Culture Consumers’ in The Sculpture Machine, pp. 31-57.
58 J.P. Muller, My System for Ladies.
culture regime—women incepted a movement that was geared towards men and moulded it to their own needs. In fact, Muller’s view on women is rather conservative and in line with separate sphere regime of the late nineteenth century. He observes that there were few places for women to exercise though women needed to take care of their bodies more than men did considering that it was their main currency for situating themselves in society, insinuating that a woman’s position in the world was determined by her beauty, which in turn, was predicated on her ability to marry and bear children. According to him exercise was also part of her duty as a mother both for herself but also for her offspring. His view on women and their bodies was steeped in the misguided views of the late nineteenth century where women were considered purely as biological consorts. In this light, Isadora Duncan’s work becomes even more precious because it challenges these beliefs through body reform practices in the hope of emancipating women and girls.
Isadora Duncan

Revaluing Values

Isadora Duncan’s dance practice embodies and in turn, contributes to the field of modern aesthetics that dwelled on the relationship between the body, social reform and spatial practices and informed numerous distinct but interconnected disciplines such as, dance, literature, drama and architecture to mention a few in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It corresponded with the progressive era belief in science, medicine, evolutionary theories, Lamarckism, Eugenics and of course, psychophysiology, which was then a new discipline that sprouted in German and French academies that attempted to generate a quasi-scientific relationship between aesthetics, the mind and the body.\(^{59}\) In other words, these practices searched for a scientific basis to argue that aesthetics potentially could transform the individual—psychologically and physiologically, thereby giving aesthetics a relevance in the construction of a modern society. Furthermore, they argued that science would render a certain universality to the arts thus, anticipating an internationality for the modern era. New scholarship has observed the influence of psychophysiology and the interrelationship between social reform and the body in the work of Le Corbusier\(^{60}\) and in the education in the Bauhaus;\(^{61}\) thus forcing a revision of the more predominant mechanistic aetiology that underlines the modern movement. While it has been difficult to ascertain a direct connection between Duncan, the French *avant-gardes* and the Bauhaus; nonetheless, it is possible to find parallels in their philosophy and tangential connections between them most obviously through Edward Gordon Craig who was a valued member of the *Symbolistes* and welcome in the French *avant-garde* circles.\(^{62}\) In the 1900s Craig was embroiled in a romantic relationship with Duncan who he met after one of her performances which evidently left a lasting

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62  Loach, ‘Architecture, Science and Purity’ in *Being Modern,* p. 209. Adolphe Appia and Jacques-Dalcroze worked together and organised a performance in 1906. Albert Jenneret, Le Corbusier’s brother was one of the spectators which included (footnote 23) Edward Gordon Craig. Craig was Isadora Duncan’s lover during this same period.
impression on him personally and professionally. Recent scholarship traces the influence of Jacques-Dalcroze’s Eurhythmics and Parallelisme on Le Corbusier especially regarding how he subsequently interpreted the role of mathematics, harmony and rhythm—concerns that underlined Duncan’s work. Besides, the influence of modern dance is well documented in the work of Le Corbusier and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe.

Scholars have compared Duncan’s practice with Walt Whitman’s concerns about the body and its role in constructing a new modern American society. Her work embodied an interpretation of Nietzsche’s philosophy about ‘revaluing values’, and was a way of reconstituting self-identity and re-establishing relations between people in space. Scholars argue that Duncan’s practice challenged the manner in which the body, especially the female body was culturally constructed in Victorian society to advance the prevalent nation-making ideology. She attempted to challenge these cultural and social constructs by generating a vocabulary of movement for women to empower themselves. Therefore, her work should be considered a relevant contribution to the woman’s movement and feminist arguments of the day especially in relation to spatial practices and their role in social reform. Duncan admired Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Gilman in turn, appreciated Duncan’s dance school, which she described as a public service as evident by the poem that she dedicated to Duncan. In addition, it has been observed that Duncan’s views on motherhood, marriage and the family resonated with Key’s visions, which she may have been aware of during her time in Germany—Key was considered a seminal figure in the Mutterschutz movement.

67 Daly, Done into Dance, p. 163.
68 Daly, Done into Dance, p. 164.
Nonetheless, it is undeniable that Duncan did not do herself any favours in her autobiography *My Life*. Though it was reprinted seven times in six months, and was reissued thirteen times, and was translated into thirteen languages, \(^{69}\) I contend that it eclipsed her contribution because it highlighted her personal life rather than her work. \(^{70}\) For a large proportion of the twentieth century her personal life dictated her legacy. Nevertheless, the autobiography made Duncan a household name—the New York Times mourned her death by issuing the following statement:

“…that no other American woman had so impressed the world outside of America – made such a mighty stir, commanded such a following at home, and abroad, left behind her such a legend of personality and such a trail of effects.” \(^{71}\)

Duncan had set herself apart from all the other dancers of the period in three ways—first, in the consideration that she put towards deciding where she would perform; second, in the content that she performed to; and third, in the way that she de-sexualised her body. \(^{72}\) She only performed in salons or concert halls to classical or romantic masterpieces and used light and shadow as a device that both abstracted and de-sexualised her body allowing the form and expression of her movement to be highlighted. She imagined her dance as continuation of the spatial characteristics of the venue, thus, interweaving architecture with her dance practice. \(^{73}\) Moreover, she rarely allowed herself to be filmed

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70 Daly, *Done into Dance*, p. ix. Daly states that people know about Isadora Duncan because of her sensational life and perhaps, because of the film about her, rather than because of her work. I would contend that *My Life*, Duncan's autobiography played a role in sensationalising her life.
71 Vertinsky, ‘Isadora goes to Europe as the ‘Muse of Modernism’.
72 Koritz, *Gendering Bodies/Performing Art*, pp. 45-46.
73 Daly, *Done into Dance*, p. 18 – Irma Duncan, one of the isadorables or students of Duncan’s described one of her performances as: “Adjusting her flowing white shawl, she strode across the court and disappeared into the shadows in the background. . . . Presently, as we peered into the background, we saw her emerge from the deep shadows cast by a peristyle of such massive proportions that it dwarfed her white-clad figure. But as soon as she started to move in and out of the tall lotus columns she seemed to grow in stature. The long shadows cast by the columns on the floor of the court formed a symmetrical pattern. And each time she stepped in her

Duncan’s diaphanous dresses invoke the ethereal images of x-rays the proliferated around the medical and art world in the late nineteenth century.

top - Image from Colomina, _X-Ray Architecture_ displaying the ghostly representation of the body.
though she relented to being photographed—they were heavily staged to render in celluloid a perfect expression that captured both movement and space. Furthermore, she either made up her body by removing all her hair and pancaking it with makeup so that in the bright lights she appeared less like a woman and more like a statue or diametrically, dressed herself in diaphanous dresses, which in the brightness surely, invoked images of x-rays that blurred all sensuality in a scientific rendition of her body. Furthermore, in many ways, the manner in which Duncan concealed or revealed her body is prescient of the manner in which Le Corbusier’s positioned white paint, which has recently been discussed in detail by scholars.

Though she can be criticised for being complicit in advancing the myth that a woman’s body is a sexual object by suggesting that the only way a woman could be taken seriously in art was through desexualisation; nevertheless, her artistic philosophy shifted the perception of her dance from entertainment to art.

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74  Colomina, *X-Ray Architecture*.
75  Wigley, *White Walls and Designer Dresses*, p. 15. Wigley writes: “But the body cannot be completely naked as that would be to return to the realm of the sensual that has been abandoned. There is a need for some kind of a screen that remodels the body as formal proportion rather than sensual animal…” I believe that this echoes the way that Duncan scholars describe Duncan’s diaphanous white Greek dresses and the manner in which she both highlighted the form of the body and desexualised it in some ways.
76  Koritz, *Gendering Bodies/Performing Art*, p. 69. Koritz and other scholars have pointed out Gordon’s misogynistic views and his treatment of Duncan. On one hand he admired her work but on the other hand, he was not happy that the work was done by a woman.
Imploding Gendered Spheres through Dance

“The essence of Duncan’s dancing was what she called ‘the profound rhythm of inner emotion’. Rhythm was the controlling matrix within which time, space, dynamics, gesture, and vocabulary were all embedded. The force of her movement – outward/inward, forward/backward, upward/downward, side to side, tension/release – was an inherently rhythmic wave, which she and the others saw as the fundamental structure of nature.”

Duncan was acquainted with stage director Edward Gordon Craig, sculptor Auguste Rodin, dancer Vaslav Nijinski of the Ballet Russe, writer Gertrude Stein, and Cosima Wagner to mention a few—all seminal figures in the early modern movement. She contributed to their oeuvre and in turn, learned from them and developed her own dance-philosophy, which she wrote about, lectured and published—an accomplishment that was not common among performers of the day. It has been observed that in the early twentieth century there was a gendered division in the arts where the performer, especially the dancer who was mostly female was assumed to be directed by the director-artist who was assumed to be male. In other words, female performers were generally thought of as instruments wielded by the male creative force or as ‘bodies’ choreographed by the superior male ‘mind’. Though it is not evident that Duncan was aware of this gendered artistic division of labour; however, her annoyance when dancers from her school went on to perform on tours with other directors reveals that she may have been. It did not appear that she was jealous of their appointments but instead she was unhappy with their lack of ambition arguing that instead of simply performing they should to the contrary, focus on teaching, directing and advancing the values that underscored the dance philosophy that she initiated.

Isadora Duncan was born in the late nineteenth century, which was a time of change where issues about health, morality, education, women and motherhood were in the forefront and Duncan’s practice weaved these issues together in a hope to ‘revalue values’

77 Daly, Done into Dance, p. 65.
78 Koritz, ‘Introduction’ in Gendering Bodies/Performing Art.
79 Lamothe, Nietzsche’s Dancers, p. 128.
of the female body through dance. Historians have commented on the influence of Nietzsche's writings on her philosophy and how she interpreted his work as a practice. In her interpretation, she argued that religion and Victorian society was repressing women and that through dance, women could be liberated, and equally importantly, they would in turn, reform society and religion. Duncan’s practice straddled the disciplines of physical culture and aestheticization—the former will be discussed later when we talk about her method but here, we will focus on the manner in which she ‘aestheticised’ the modern body, which can be compared to the manner in which modern architecture and the exhibition *Modern Architecture: An International Exhibition* at the Museum of Modern Art in 1932 attempted to transform values of modern society through the revaluing of architecture itself. In her repertoire this translated into creating an expressive body or tools through which the body could be released from societal norms and constraints allowing freedom to percolate from the body into the mind. Instead of the Victorian system where the ideas of civilisation would mould the body, she to the contrary, pursued the ideal that the liberated body would mould modern civilisation.

The main tenets of her dance philosophy are outlined in her manifesto ‘Dancer of the Future’, which was formulated as a lecture in 1903 for the Berlin Press Club. It has been

80 Vertinsky, ‘Isadora goes to Europe as the ‘Muse of Modernism’ and Lamothe, *Nietzsche’s Dancers* articulate different interpretations of the manner in which Duncan forwarded dance as a feminist practice.
82 Wigley, *White Walls and Designer Dresses*, p. 2. Wigley writes: “Architecture is no longer a visual object with certain properties. It is actually involved in the construction of the visual before it is placed in the visual… The white wall is intended to radically transform the status of building by transforming the condition of visuality itself. The seemingly simple idea that modern architecture should be white answers the question “where is architecture” in a way that reconfigures the limits and operations of the architectural discourse.” I believe that this can be extended to explain Duncan’s ‘revaluing values’.
83 Daly, *Done into Dance*, p. 119. “If “expression” today is much maligned, having been relegated to the category of schlock and dilettantism after almost a century of aesthetic and ideological change, it was, nevertheless, a revolutionary ideal in Duncan’s day. It meant the release from Victorian strictures and from European conventions; it meant the birth of modern art and the renewal of American society. It was a way of bridging life and art: expression, as it was preached in social realms ranging from home decoration to recreation to etiquette, was considered as much a way of life as it was a mode of artistic representation.”
84 Francis, ‘From Event to Monument’.
observed that the manifesto can best be understood in its relationship to the writings of Nietzsche, especially The Birth of Tragedy and Thus Spoke Zarathustra, two pieces of work that Duncan read repeatedly.  

“This may seem a question of little importance, a question of differing opinions on the ballet and the new dance. But it is a great question. It is not only a question of true art, it is a question of race, of the development of the female sex to beauty and health, of the return to the original strength and to natural movements of woman’s body. It is a question of the development of perfect mothers and the birth of healthy and beautiful children. The dancing school of the future is to develop and to show the ideal form of woman. It will be, as it were, a museum of the living beauty of the period.”

While at first glance it appears that this statement is situated within the progressive era preoccupation of advancing women based on their biological capability of giving birth and as guardians of children; however, scholars have observed that it displays both Nietzsche’s influence on her work and also her novel interpretation of motherhood. She believed that womanhood was as much a socio-cultural construct as a biological entity. Therefore, through dance—self-expression and movement—she contended that women would discover what it meant to be a woman. This self-realisation would unfold with time rather than being defined for them. Her dance would allow the becoming or birth of the woman as an individually dictated entity. Duncan’s use of motherhood and birthing was not only to signify the biological aspect of women—their ability to give birth—but was in fact, used in the creative sense of designing and producing a piece of work, which included themselves and also art. Thus, it appropriates and deploys a term that was associated with biological work and plants it on the other side—the realm associated with men and intellectual work. Therefore, it could be argued that it tries to dissolve the cultural constructs and the limited boundaries that women were given in society and in the arts.

86 Lamothe, Nietzsche’s Dancers.
87 Isadora Duncan, ‘Dance of the Future’.
88 Koritz, Gendering Bodies/Performing Art. p. 55.
Duncan and Paris in the Early Twentieth Century

I further argue that her manifesto also needs to be read in tandem with some of the more recent literature published about the development of psychophysiology in aesthetic theory and its impact on several Parisian architects and artists, not in the least on Le Corbusier. In other words, I am arguing that Duncan’s manifesto, and by association, her dance practice displays a similar engagement with social reform through spatial practices.

Paris in the early twentieth century was energised by the potential of becoming modern. Artists were buoyed by science\(^{89}\) because they believed that it was universal and unbiased. They assumed that by fusing with it, their work would resonate with the same quality. Sparked by Apollinaire’s turn of the phrase *esprit nouveau*\(^{90}\) there was a huge drive to reposition art, which included architecture, design, drama and dance, to echo the ‘laws of nature.’ They aimed to further an art that was more than a mere representation of nature but to the contrary, was abstracted from nature, mathematics and other scientific postulates, thereby rendering art as a part of a universal scientific system. This was to a large extent supported by the newly formed chairs of aesthetics at Sorbonne amongst other universities. Towards this end, these aestheticians looked at establishing a relationship between physiology and psychology in a hope that they could transform society from the inside out.\(^{91}\)

Isadora Duncan was in Paris in the first decade of the twentieth century. Historians refer to Paris as her ‘spiritual homeland’.\(^{92}\) It is not inconceivable that she was aware of the impulses of the Parisian avant-gardes and was even part of some of those circles.\(^{93}\) Accounts display that she was welcome at Gertrude Stein’s residence, who was a centre in the intellectual circles of Paris at the time. Moreover, on reading her manifesto it can be argued that her thoughts paralleled ideas of psychophysiology, for example, she argues for nature as the primary source of inspiration for movement, which could be related to

\(^{92}\) Daly, *Done into Dance*, p. 185.  
the ideas of natural laws that were being discussed in Paris. Resonating with many of the discussions that are recorded, she, like the *avant-gardes*, did not look to represent the movement of nature but instead aimed to learn from it and allow it to be abstracted into a more universal harmonious form that would resonate with a plural public. Expression for Duncan was not an individual enterprise, but to the contrary, was something that would connect humanity—through it she sought to convert dance from a spectacle to a dialogue and a potential that would move and transform spectators. Furthermore, her study of Greek antiquity mirrors the intellectual thoughts prevalent in the twentieth century, which was looking for classical, timeless values to abstract and incorporate into modern society. The universality that Duncan was seeking was intimately rooted in her belief that dance was not a performance but an instrument for reform. She was keen that it not only transform the dancer but incite within the spectator a similar understanding and longing for this type of movement. This in a way resonates with the later desires of architects such as Le Corbusier who attempted through Villa Roche for example, to use psychophysiology in architecture in a hope of reconstituting the individual, and in turn society, through a modern lifestyle. Where Duncan differs greatly from the known, especially male, modernists of the early twentieth century, is her progressive era deference to a liberal attitude—she is particularly sensitive to the individual and their role as part of the collective. She believes that every performer, and in turn, every spectator expresses differently because every single individual body is unique, even though there would be a collective interpretation. Additionally, she is considerate of different body types including the aging body. Therefore, she refused to teach dance as a form and preferred to teach it as a technique.

95 Lamothe, *Nietzsche's Dancers*, pp. 140-144.
97 Isadora Duncan, ‘Dance of the Future’.
Watercolour of Isadora Duncan dancing by Edward Gordon Craig, which captures the interrelationship between her dance and the stage design (1905). Image source: <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1110867/watercolour-edward-gordon-craig/> [accessed on January 22, 2021].

The stage design displays parallels with the layers, drapery, abstraction of sets, use of shade and light.
Duncan’s Dance Technique

Though Duncan would have everyone believe that she was unschooled in dance and that her dance form was unprecedented; however, she was a trained dancer and it can be assumed that she was aware of the discourse around dance in the modern era.\(^{98}\) She studied dance and gymnastics at the turnverein when she was a child and she studied ballet under some of the more influential teachers of the day. Her older sister Elizabeth taught her waltz and other social dances of the time. Additionally, François Delsarte’s method was extremely influential to her training. It introduced in her repertoire the ‘undulating’ line or flow, which can be assumed to be the quintessential motif that separated Duncan’s dance form from Eurhythmics or the static form of classical ballet that was practiced then. Delsarte’s method claimed a fusion of religion, science and art where he attempted to thwart the ill-effects of modern lifestyle through movement.\(^{99}\) His method incorporated three key compositional elements that can be seen in Duncan’s form.\(^{100}\) First—sequence or Duncan’s wavelike undulations where one movement flowed into the other; second—opposition, which was the Duncanesque elongation of the torso with the square grounding of the feet; and third—correspondence, which true to the times argued for the direct correlation between mind, body and spirit. Though Delsarte himself never institutionalised his method, it was brought to the United States and formalised by a number of practitioners, of whom Genevieve Stebbins was the best known. Over time, the Delsarte’s method fell into disrepute as it become more static by proclaiming a one-to-one correspondence between an emotion and its formal expression resulting in a caricature of statuesque poses. Nevertheless, even in this regard, it can be argued that Duncan’s later study of Greek vases, sculptures and friezes was inspired by these caricatures and helped to expand her vocabulary.

Duncan’s ‘new dance’ was premised on three existing forms: social dance, physical culture and ballet.\(^{101}\) Though she incorporated these forms, she did not view them as a goal

\(^{98}\) Daly, Done into Dance, p. 25.
\(^{99}\) Daly, Done into Dance, p. 11.
\(^{100}\) Daly, Done into Dance, p. 12.
\(^{101}\) Francis, ‘From Event to Monument: Modernism, Feminism and Isadora Duncan’.
but rather as a means of strengthening the body and creating a physiological awareness of the body. From social dance she learned of the relationship between movement and behaviour. Social dance was taught in schools and as observed by Fredrich Froebel, helped to ‘form the character of children’ by ‘emancipating the bound of forces of the body and the soul’. From physical culture she learned of the unity between body and mind and its role in social betterment. She, like many other reformers of the nineteenth century supported gymnastics for women and girls to combat the myth of the frail female body. She regarded ballet with its corsets, tortured form and pointe as antithetical to everything she believed in, and therefore, she used it as a foil to show what her dance was not to be. Rather ironically, she was instrumental in reforming ballet as vouched for by Diaghilev and by her influence on the Ballet Russes. A statue of Isadora Duncan graces the foyer of the Royal Opera House in London.

Dance and A Liberal Education

Duncan was always interested in teaching children—the story runs that as a child, Isadora brought home toddlers from the neighbourhood and sat them down in a line and encouraged them to move. When she grew a little older, she and her sister gave private dance lessons. In 1905, before leaving Berlin for her debut at St. Petersburg she announced her intentions of opening a school for girls:

“Physically and mentally fit, graceful girls under the age of ten, wishing to be educated in the art of Dance... in the selection of pupils, no national or social discrimination will be made. The school is democratic and international. Fatherless and motherless children as well as children from uncertain origin, are also welcome” (notice sent to all the newspapers in Germany).

102 Francis, ‘From Event to Monument: Modernism, Feminism and Isadora Duncan’.
103 Daly, Done into Dance, pp. 160-161.
105 Kurth, Isadora, p. 151.
Duncan believed that children, unlike women, were unburdened by the sensual sensitisation demanded by society, by which she meant that they had not as yet been taught to constrain and repress their bodies and therefore, would be able to absorb her practice easily. It could further be surmised that she was particularly sensitive to illegitimate children—she had mothered two without being married from two different men—which framed her views on motherhood and rights of women against the norms of society. In addition, I would argue that in light of the Victorian mores of the time it would have been easier to attract children from poorer backgrounds rather than the stiffer middle-class backgrounds. The middle class was more prudish than the lower classes and in the late nineteenth century; middle class women had taken a special aversion to sex and sexualised behaviour.\textsuperscript{106} Though Duncan had succeeded in appealing to them as an intellectual equal; nevertheless, in her ‘schools’ – both in the ones that she began and after her death—her pupils were generally from the lower classes. Scholars have observed that Duncan, who was herself from a middle-class background but whose family had fallen into poverty was very aware of class differences and she used the differences to ensure that she was attractive across the classes.\textsuperscript{107} To appeal to the middle class she educated herself, which was not uncommon. Women were rarely educated to the same level as men and many women of that era were auto-didacts who benefitted from libraries and women’s clubs that had sprouted up across the American landscape to fill in the space that authority had neglected.\textsuperscript{108}

Duncan was extremely well learned—she read Wincklemann, Whitman and Haeckel. Her love for Nietzsche has already been commented upon and she had also been introduced to the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau amongst others. In London, she visited the British Museum and in Paris the \textit{Exposition Universelle} in 1900 where she saw the sculptures of Rodin and the dance of Yacco Sado. What she lacked in financial stature she more than made up with her cultural knowledge and in fact, attempted to redefine ‘middle class’ on the back of cultural currency rather than financial status.\textsuperscript{109}

\begin{flushright}
106 Koritz, \textit{Gendering Bodies/Performing Art}, p. 52.
107 Koritz, \textit{Gendering Bodies/Performing Art}, p. 46.
108 Daly, \textit{Done into Dance}, p. 161.
109 Daly, \textit{Done into Dance}, pp. 111-112.
\end{flushright}
While this made her attractive to an intellectual audience it also ensured that her practice became aspirational for the working classes. Moreover, it could be argued that in the schools that she instituted, she forwarded a liberal education for little girls who would have no access to such an education because of their gender, their economic status, or lack of familial lineage. Nonetheless, it is indisputable that while Duncan was attempting to redefine class definitions, she was equally guilty of following existing societal constructs and propagating these class distinctions in the first place. Furthermore, she actively forwarded views that were dominant in the middle class colonial sympathies when she attempted to differentiate her dance from those of the ‘savages’ or the African tribes.

The first school that she instituted was in Germany. It is plausible that she chose Germany for many reasons, not in least of all because at that time in Germany educational reform was raging. In addition, Germany was the forefront of \textit{lebensreform}, physical culture and the \textit{Mutterschutz} movement, all lending to a sympathetic environment for her endeavour. She became a ‘national craze’ in Germany. The site—an unfurnished villa in the Grunewald—was a fortuitous acquisition on the behest of the like-minded composer Engelbert Humperdinck, who had composed children’s operas such as, Hansel and Gretel and Königskinder. Duncan liked the site because of its uncivilised or forest qualities and because it used to house an art colony. It was a spot that was frequented by nature lovers and was well known for the gingerbread train station designed by Karl Cornelius. In addition, Germany and Duncan both shared a love for Greek antiquity. The school was lavishly decorated for the children and Duncan herself auditioned and admitted the first set of pupils of which six, who she later legally adopted, were to become famous and spread her legacy. The curriculum included social dance, Swedish gymnastics and ballet training along with a traditional school curriculum taught by certified teachers. Though Duncan argued that she did not want to teach a particular

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{110} Daly, ‘The Body Politic’ in \textit{Done into Dance}. In this chapter, Daly explains that Duncan’s political views were naïve. It appeared that she never understood many of the contradictions between the ideas that she postulated. Furthermore, I believe that the chapter also shows the general naivety displayed by numerous cultural practitioners in NY in the progressive era.
\item \textsuperscript{111} Daly, \textit{Done into Dance}, p. 112 and Isadora Duncan, ‘Dance of the Future’.
\item \textsuperscript{112} Vertinsky, ‘Isadora goes to Europe as the ‘Muse of Modernism’.
\item \textsuperscript{113} Kurth, \textit{Isadora}, p. 165.
\end{itemize}
dance form but rather wanted to unleash the ‘future dancer’ in her students by making them aware of their body, it has been commented upon that she did not have any teaching instinct. Therefore, Elizabeth who had taught Isadora to dance was the principle teacher at the school. Though these assertions might be well founded, it is undeniable that Duncan’s performances financed the school and therefore, it is conceivable that she was simply unable to be as present as she might have wanted. Besides, she orchestrated the pedagogical method of the school based on her theories—she insisted on gymnastics and other forms of dance exercises, including ballet; she ensured that the school was decorated with beautiful objects that evoked Greek antiquity; and she advocated a method that was about self-realisation and self-determination rather than a forced technique.

Duncan’s schools, inspirations and scholastic learnings surpassed borders. She studied discourses that ranged from scientific theories to aesthetic theories and physical culture, and more importantly, converted these ideas into a practice that was designed to continue beyond her own short lifespan. Despite the internationality of her vision and practice, Duncan was an American who spent a considerable time in Oakland, California, during the progressive era and was a daughter of a single mother, which indisputably influenced her work, her beliefs and her lifestyle.

The Duncans in California

As seen above, Duncan’s ‘new dance’ was not about a form or a technique but instead, was a theoretical practice that reverberated and contributed to the theories of modernism, physical culture and gender relations that were gestating in Europe and North America. Along with the intellectual content that infiltrated her theory, it could be argued that her method was also uniquely governed by the political, social and cultural milieu of the United States, particularly that of California. California was an intellectual centre of the United States, had endorsed numerous physical culture movements and was a site of interpreted Hellenism. Furthermore, the women’s movement was active in California.

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114 Daly, Done into Dance, p. 28.
115 In chapter 6 I talk about the kindergarten movement and its relationship with the women’s movement.
Isadora Duncan was the youngest child with three older siblings. Her mother was a piano teacher and her father a ‘poet, a ladies’ man and a luckless entrepreneur’. Her parents divorced when she was three. In California, if a wife did not owe any debts she would be granted custody of the children. Isadora did not meet her father till she was seven when he unexpectedly turned up at their house. Wary of her husband, her mother did not welcome him into the house. In spite of his shaky reputation, her father was credited with the development of the art culture in San Francisco. Therefore, she had an upbringing that was steeped in arts and culture, and it could be surmised that her easy acceptance into this world was prompted to some extent because of her background. Additionally, her mother, and her grandmother, enveloped the children in music, poetry, and philosophy. The Duncan clan was a tight-knit bunch and the making of Isadora’s ‘new dance’ should be considered a family endeavour—they all contributed to it in some way, intellectually, physically or in-spirit. Her sister Elizabeth, taught Isadora to dance and later helped Isadora run her school. Her brother Raymond, was Isadora’s Greek soul twin and like Isadora imbibed everything Greek, fuelling both her and his fascination with the culture. Though Duncan’s fascination with Greek culture can be linked to her childhood growing up in California; however, it has been observed that it was much later when she visited Europe that she understood the importance of Greek antiquity in modern intellectual discussions and embodied it as part of her practice.

The United States—the young republic—was enraptured with Greek antiquity and equated the culture with purity, cleanliness, virtuosity, seriousness of purpose and devotion to the humanist principles of science, literature, philosophy and art. It was seen as egalitarian and its value on individual liberty was lauded. Not unlike Germany, the United States too looked at Greek antiquity to define its values and identity. The archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann who was credited with a number of noted archaeological discoveries had settled in California. By the 1890s, Greek motifs

117 Daly, *Done into Dance*, p. 13.
118 Isadora Duncan, ‘Myth’ in *My Life*.
119 Daly, *Done into Dance*, pp. 110-111.
120 Sarah Schrank and Didem Ekici (eds), ‘Naked Houses’, p. 12.
bejewelled American architecture, art, and fashion.\textsuperscript{121} With the revitalisation of the Olympic games in 1890s, there was a move to incorporate the mythologised Greek public institutions in the construction of the new nation.\textsuperscript{122} Hellenic cultural infrastructure dotted the landscape of the United States—a Greek theatre was constructed at Berkeley; the World Columbian Exposition in 1893 adopted a neoclassical style; and the institutions of the state readily adopted pediments and soaring columns.

Southern California was also the “national centre for tuberculosis sanitaria, health colonies, and the pursuit of optimal well-being through a wide variety of practices including outdoor sleeping, massage, hydrotherapy, sweat baths, raw foods, fasting and sun exposure.”\textsuperscript{123} These trends indisputably influenced Isadora’s way of thinking.\textsuperscript{124} Though the Duncan clan moved frequently; however, for a large part of her childhood they lived in Oakland, which played an important role in her intellectual development—it was peppered with writers and poets, possibly because of its proximity with the University of Berkeley. Isadora met the poet laureate Ina Coolbrith in Oakland when she was working at the public library. Coolbrith was a mentor to the young Isadora and showered the young girl with reading recommendations. Furthermore, it boasted of a kindergarten that can be directly traced back to the Froebelian Kindergarten pedagogy. Though it is not possible to state with surety that Duncan attended a kindergarten, it has been mentioned that she was aware of the pedagogical method and its incorporation of physical education as part of its pedagogy.

Moreover, historians have observed that Duncan’s expansive movement and monumentality has a Californian ring to it in the sense that it resonates with the vastness of the space and the spirit of its history.\textsuperscript{125} Also, many have commented that the United States for Duncan began and ended in California. Duncan was born towards the end of the nineteenth century, a period when the woman’s movement was gaining momentum,

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{121} Lamothe, \textit{Nietzsche’s Dancers}, p. 113.
\bibitem{122} Daly, \textit{Done into Dance}, p. 103.
\bibitem{123} Sarah Schrank and Didem Ekici (eds), ’Naked Houses’, p. 12.
\bibitem{124} Kurth, \textit{Isadora}.
\bibitem{125} Daly, \textit{Done into Dance}, pp. 10-11.
\end{thebibliography}
not in the least because of their drive of fostering children’s education and nursing as a woman’s vocation. The woman’s movement had also taken to initiating a number of woman’s clubs, which were private enterprises that aimed at creating informal spaces where women could be educated in the issues of the day. Though Isadora herself was never part of these clubs, it was inevitable that being born at a time when women were being encouraged to develop their personality and knowledge and that she benefitted from an environment where women, and many men, were actively seeking to further women’s causes.

Therefore, it is impossible to disconnect Duncan’s practice and concerns from the time and the milieu that she was born in, which included her home, the city and the country, and the transnational trends that connected ideas across the Atlantic. Duncan and her practice were thus both influenced by and equally importantly contributed to the international sensibility that enveloped the progressive era.

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126 Daly, *Done into Dance*, Pg. 161, Women’s clubs proved to be an important place for the women’s movement. They played an important role in the work of Lillian Gilbreth and Charlotte Perkins Gilman. They were also the centre for the kindergarten movement. The clubs were the intellectual centres that forwarded a women-oriented agenda and were politically motivated to participate in world’s fairs to spread their cause.
Muller and Duncan both focused on the body as a site of knowledge, and reform. While Muller concentrated on physical culture, Duncan on the other hand, danced to advance an aesthecsisation of the body by which she meant enhancing expressiveness to challenge Victorian social mores that oppressed and controlled the individual to maintain social status-quo. They both believed that body reform could transform existing societal relations. Both their work was embedded within the existing discourses of the day—the body and its relationship to the nation, gender relations, and architecture and spatial organisation. Furthermore, they both initiated private institutions to combat the limitations of public institutions. Whilst Muller domesticised the gymasia to create equitable health practices, Duncan on the other hand, aimed to reform dance and through it empower women. Both of them challenged existing discourses on health, gender relations, race, and class; nevertheless, they also inadvertently, helped in propagating them by contributing to the culture of body-perfection, beauty myths, race stereotyping, all of which are still in play in society.

I contend that their work should be considered relevant in the historiography of modern architecture. Muller played a role in connecting physical culture with the principles of modern architecture. Mark Wigley has observed that the modern movement obfuscated the white walls, which was rooted in a desire to clean architecture and reconstruct its discourse. Through his argument he displays the role of the white walls as clothing to represent cleanliness, and also to both conceal and reveal the form or structure of an object. Muller’s understanding of porosity and the skin which can be seen as something that was extrapolated from the architecture of sanatoria was not only grounded in debates that modern architects were engaged in, such as purity and hygiene, but also reflects one of the key principles of modern architecture – the relationship of modern architecture to cleanliness and clothing. Furthermore, Duncan’s diaphanous white attire and statuary-like white paint should be read in parallel with the struggles through which modern architects were attempting to re-present the discipline. Therefore, while considering the influence of Muller’s and Duncan’s work on modern architectural thought, it is not so far-fetched to suggest that the book The International Style minimised the role that the body, social reform and the pre-moderns played in the development of the style. I contend that
it did so because if it would problematise the ‘internationality’ of the style because the inherent relationship between body culture, national identity and modern architecture—Georges Teyssot displays the topology that connects the three, which eventually lead to the later Fascist and Nazi preoccupations with the body, lifestyles and nationalism.

Physical culture was endorsed by personalities such as Francis Galton, the father of the term eugenics. Muller functioned within a eugenics framework and could be considered homoerotic-intolerant. Even Duncan who stated that her practice was racially inclusive, took great pains to distinguish her practice from the practices of savages and those less civilised, thereby contributing to the culture of creating the ‘other’, which is a marked characteristic of colonisation and its body politics. The relationship between the body, race, and health, which to a large extent can be traced to the progressive era and some of its ill-informed scientific ideas are still very much part of societal descriptions till date and to a large extent informed modern architecture and its white washing. In addition, body reform in its connections with modern architecture highlights the role that ‘nature’ and rurality plays—two aspects of civilisation that have been the target of all modernisation projects. In spite of these contradictions, it is possible to argue that with the help of commercialisation and capitalism, which is unquestioning rooted in the project of colonisation; nevertheless, physical culture surpassed the national project and cashed in on the universality of the body that it propagated it for its own benefit. Furthermore, the international health movement with its willing and incidental physical culturists aided in fostering subversive movements that helped to empower workers, women, homosexuals and other groups of people who were attempting to rid themselves of oppression, around the world.

Muller’s and Duncan’s work benefitted from and in turn, contributed to the international health movement. Furthermore, they believed that through the body they could actualise social reform, which would be unlimited by national boundaries. They were very much part of the intellectual discussions about social equality, gender relations, to mention a few and therefore, their work can be considered to be part of the international sensibility.
In 1762, John Locke wrote the treatise *Thoughts concerning Education* to advise one of his friends who was unsure about the best way to educate his son. His methods of instruction dwelled on the end process—the transformation of the boy into a particular type of man. The treatise could be considered one of the first parental guidebooks and importantly, reveals predominant tendencies of child rearing in the mid-eighteenth century—the father was the parent in-charge of the upbringing of the child; children were usually treated as small adults; and only boys were educated. Jean Jacques Rousseau challenged these tendencies, to a limited extent. He was not supportive of educating girls other than as consorts. He said:

> “The wisest writers devote themselves to what a man ought to know, without asking what a child is capable of learning. They are always looking for the man in the child without considering what he is before he becomes a man.”

He is often credited with the shift that centred the mother in the upbringing of her children where her method, conversely, catered to the nature of her child and aimed at harnessing their individuality. This manner of thinking about children would be furthered in the Romantic age as seen in works by writers such as William Wordsworth,

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where children were represented as innocent, pure and sensitive—foreshadowing modern ideas of childhood as an individualised and cherished phase of life, different from that of being a youth or an adult.²

Though these discussions continued up to the mid-nineteenth century; nonetheless, improved living conditions for children was not the norm. They were not necessarily entitled to an education and their safety was not a social prerequisite. Whilst these sympathies were increasingly commonplace in the aristocracy and to a certain degree had begun to seep into the middle-class consciousness; however, they were sorely lacking in the treatment of poor or orphaned children.³ Mid-eighteenth century cities were teeming with foundlings—children who were abandoned because they were illegitimate or because their parents were too poor to bring them up. Their mortality was considerably high and a number of philanthropic institutions such as the foundling hospitals were invented to care for these children. The loss of lives of the young was especially distressing at a time when the birth rate was considerably low—there were concerns that there simply would not be enough labour for the future. Many, including Locke, forwarded the idea of working schools that would educate these children, according to their station, and train them to become part of the workforce. However, by the early nineteenth century there were a number of progressive reforms that attempted to restrict or at the least limit child labour, which paralleled a changing perception about cruelty and its effects on society. In 1788, Jeremy Bentham, campaigned against infanticide and hurting animals because he believed that it fostered a cruel society and that did not benefit anybody.⁴ The Royal Society of Cruelty against Animals was founded in 1820 and the National Society of Cruelty against Children was started sixty years later in 1860. By the end of the nineteenth century, new ideas about pain and suffering paralleled the invention of anaesthetics, morphine and aspirin,⁵ which expanded the understanding about cruelty. Anti-cruelty was absorbed into the medical practice to justify the practice of Eugenics.

² Cunningham, ‘The Eighteenth Century’ in The Invention of Childhood, loc. 2320-2361.
⁵ Pernick, The Black Stork, p. 78.
While the French revolution and the revolts of 1848 fomented some changes in the general attitude towards education of the poor and working-class children; however, these ideas gained momentum after the 1870s when nations were emerging, and its destiny was intertwined with its people. Two important things happened during these last few decades of the nineteenth century—first, universal education was deemed necessary especially as it became increasingly evident that all adult men were going to be enfranchised; and second, nations became increasingly absorbed with birth rates, high mortality of infants and, it can be assumed, degenerate and ‘defective’ births. The shaping and moulding of the national race became ever more urgent.

In 1893, Germany reconstructed the Pestalozzi-Froebel Institute at the World’s Columbian Exposition (White City) in Chicago in collaboration with the International Kindergarten Union to display its ‘welfare’ systems. White City was a massive undertaking. It copied many of the exhibits and shows from the Universal Exposition in Paris (1889); however, they were rendered even more magnificent in Chicago. Sicard de Plauzoles ideas about ‘human zootechny’ or social hygiene were lapped up by progressives, socialist and conservatives around the world. Additionally, in the 1880s there was a huge leap in the understanding of genetics and disease—Francis Galton had coined the word eugenics and inadventently made an argument for a relationship between beauty, race and poverty; Auguste Weissman developed a theory on germ plasm; and Gregor Mendel advanced ideas about the recessive genes and the permanence of genetic material. Safeguarding the national ‘race’ against degeneracy became the primary concern. Social reformists lapped up a mish-mashed theory of genetics that included Lamarckian thoughts, social disease and inheritable disease. Over time, it would encompass skin colour, income thresholds, nationality and cultural differences. There was a national drive under the guise of science and medicine, with the complicity of medical practitioners and the people, for the design of the ideal national race. There were three main attitudes...

8 Pernick, The Black Stork, p. 61. “Francis Galton began his scientific career by compiling a ‘beauty map’ of Britain based on the ratio of attractive to plain and ugly women he encountered at various locations.”
towards national genetic betterment: the first was the improvement of the environment to propagate suitable acquired characteristics; the second was the halting of defective genes through institutional segregation or compulsory sterilisation; and finally, the third was the act of withholding treatment or what broadly came to be known as euthanasian eugenics and was practiced by Chicago based Dr. Harry Haiselden, for example. It was not possible to define clear boundaries separating each attitude as they often overlapped. In addition, it was not possible to divide the attitudes simply by political ideology or profession or gender—progressives, Christians, conservatives, socialists, women, nurses, doctors, reformists, feminists, were all embroiled and divided in their beliefs about eugenics. Some of the more vehement critics of eugenics was Jane Addams and Julia Lathorp the founder of the Children’s Bureau. Chicago proved to be the hub of the debates. One of the first explicit exhibitions campaigning for eugenics was seen at the Century of Progress, where eugenics was positioned as a humane course of action. Chicago was also the centre of neonatal care where a number of obstetricians opened private clinics.

It is in this context that Friedrich Froebel and Martin Couney forwarded projects that contributed to childcare that challenged the manner in which it was being advanced at the time. Moreover, through their institutes they furthered the agenda of the women’s movements and therefore, their work should be considered as displaying an international sensibility. Friedrich Froebel started the first Kindergarten in 1840, which was novel for the time—it was non-religious; it furthered an individualised system of education; and it was oblivious to differences in gender, religion and class. Spatial thinking underlined its pedagogy, which was visible in the spatial organisation of the institution. The geometrical and abstract thinking fostered in the institution is recognised as an influence in modern art and architecture

10 Pernick, The Black Stork. The Black Stork is a movie that was made by Dr. Harry Haiselden who had publicly stated that he withholds treatment of defective babies. The movie was made for public consumption to educate the public on the importance of choosing a suitable life partner.
a Froebelian Kindergarten but some, especially those who taught at the Bauhaus, trained as Kindergarteners. However, Froebel was not a natural ambassador for the educational system that he had developed—he was described as obtuse and incomprehensible. It took a number of people to demystify his thoughts and help the Kindergarten to flourish as an international institution. In the 1850s, Kindergartens were deemed too progressive and were shut down for about a decade. This proved to be fortuitous—the Kindergarteners, many of whom were women, left the country to work elsewhere and thus, aided its spread. In addition, the international kindergarten movement owes much to the women’s movements that appropriated childcare as one of their causes. Nursing was another.

Parturient women preferred to give birth in the privacy of their home, except of course, those who could not afford such luxuries. Therefore, maternal wards in hospitals were used primarily by the poor. Additionally, neonatal care was a nascent field at the time and the incubator was not routinely found in hospitals as they were prohibitively expensive. In this background, Couney’s incubator shows were often the last recourse for premature babies. They became popular amongst the poor and were open for all, irrespective of class and race. The incubator show would provide treatment for babies free of charge while spectators paid a fee to see them. Couney is often criticised for monetising human care in a vulgar manner. However, though he was not a doctor, it can be argued that his clinic accelerated the acceptance of incubators in the imagination of the public. In addition, it contributed to the practice of neonatal care by training doctors and nurses in the methods that were prevalent in France where neonatal care was birthed. There was an intricate relationship between the treatment process of premature babies and the spatial design of neonatal shows. His work was furthered by doctors in the United States, some of whom either collaborated with him or learned from him and have since been established as standards of care for neonatology. Furthermore, learning from the fairs, the Children’s Bureau advocated spectatorship as a standard in the design of neonatal wards in hospitals from the mid twentieth century believing to accelerate parental bonding with the infants.

With the kindergarten and neonatal care, the women’s movement appropriated the discourse about the suitability of women for jobs as carers and teachers, especially of children. However, in the drive to push for a greater professionalisation of care, women irreversibly changed established traditions of upbringing and childbirth as evidenced in the reduced role of midwifery, and with it, gave up control of their own bodies and sexuality for better or for worse. Nevertheless, the role of the woman became even more relevant especially with the development in the Lamarckian thought about acquired characteristics, which propagated a resonance between the environment and hereditary. In other words, women rose to become guardians of the race in their role as mothers, which included the design of aesthetically and morally pleasing environments for the upbringing of the younger citizens of the state. Besides, the women’s movement was hardly blameless in its systemic tolerance of eugenics. While it is indisputable that these institutions mediated the relationship between the mother and the child, which was deployed by the state to control its population as read in Jacque Donzelot’s work; however, I contend that Kindergartens and neonatal clinics, in spite of their flaws, are examples of institutions that challenged existing practices that were cruel, and in turn redefined the limits of cruelty that was acceptable in society. It was these institutions that made the world considerably safer for children and women.

13 Pernick, *The Black Stork*, p. 102. “In the early decades of this century obstetricians supplanted midwives, paediatricians professionalised child rearing, and allied professions from psychology to home economics ‘medicalised’ the home from the kitchen to the toilet and the bedroom.”
14 Pernick, *The Black Stork*, p. 32.
Friedrich Froebel

Learning from Pestalozzi

In May 1805, Friedrich Froebel resigned from his position as the private secretary to the President and Privy Councillor von Dewitz of Mecklenburg-Strelitz—he was going to Frankfurt to meet a friend who promised to introduce him to someone who would help him get an apprenticeship with an architect. Froebel had decided to pursue a career in architecture after acquiring the skill and experience in land surveying and drafting as an apprentice with a forester when he was younger. His friend introduced him to Herr Gruner, the headmaster of the Frankfurt Model School, who instead, convinced him to consider teaching as a vocation and offered him a position at his school. Intrigued by the offer, Froebel travelled to the Johann Pestalozzi’s school at the Yverdon castle to observe the then new principles for educational instruction.

Pestalozzi’s method of instruction was sought-after knowledge in the early nineteenth century and his school saw numerous visitors; Robert Owen was one amongst many other reformers who after observing Pestalozzi’s methods started a school for the workers and their children at the Lanark Mills in Scotland. Joseph Neef, another educational reformer brought the principles from Yverdon to the United States to the utopian community New Harmony in Indiana, which soon spread to New England as Normal schools under the guidance of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard by the middle of the century. Pestalozzi was especially keen on the education of the poor. He began

17 Froebel, Autobiography of Friedrich Froebel, p. 52.
18 Froebel, Autobiography of Friedrich Froebel, p. 54. (footnote): “Austria was not the only country alive to the importance of this new teaching. Prussia and Holland also sent commissioners to study Pestalozzi’s system, and so did many smaller states. The Czar (Alexander I) sent for Pestalozzi for a personal interview at Basel.”
19 Daniel Tröhler, Pestalozzi and the Educationalisation of the World, (U.S.A.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). In the abstract Tröhler argues: “Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi is the star of a particular cultural shift that occurred around 1800 and that can be labelled an ‘education turn’. This education turn describes a development that occurred in Northern and Western Europe as well as the United States of America, when variously perceived
experimenting with teaching methods in his estate at Neuhof for the workers’ children and orphans. At Neuhof, education was practical and combined with scientific farming.  

“For Pestalozzi as for the other educators of his time, the aim of education was not upward mobility but rather a more humane version of the existing class system.”

However, Neuhof was financially untenable and he had to shut it down. In the aftermath of the French Revolution, education and politics became inseparable in Pestalozzi’s theories, where he argued that moral principles could not be legislated by a document such as the Declaration of the Rights of Man, but instead had to be ‘internalised from birth’. Along with the pedagogy, he initiated reforms that targeted the method of instruction. He forwarded teaching-with-love, which he described as the manner in which a mother, allegedly, educates her children. The publication of his book How Gertrude Teaches her Children: an attempt to help mothers teach their own children, made him popular, which eventually resulted in the school at Yverdon in a castle gifted to him by the municipality. There he managed to table a suitable financial equation that allowed him to further the education of the poor by complementing the free school with a school for the middle-class with tuition and a training institute for teachers. Pestalozzi was one of the first educators to hire women to teach children. Pestalozzi was a member of the Helvetic Society which was inspired by the writings of the French Enlightenment, especially Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s treatise—Emile or on Education. He adopted many of the principles that came to be interpreted as educational problems. This phenomenon, the educationalization of social problems, became discursively established towards the end of the eighteenth century and then led to the foundation of the modern school in the context of the nation-states during the nineteenth century.”

20 Allen, The Transatlantic Kindergarten, p. 15.
22 Allen, The Transatlantic Kindergarten, p. 16.
23 Pestalozzi was not suggesting that mothers should become educators but that instructors should learn from mothers on how to motivate, excite and pique the curiosity of a child.
25 When Froebel visited Yverdon in 1805, all the professors at the school were men but it has been noted that over time more women began teaching at Yverdon.
26 Dudek, Kindergarten Architecture, p. 42.
enunciated by Rousseau—a child centred education based on *naturphilosophie* and object lessons, and an environment that encouraged their naturalness. His curriculum incorporated many of the subjects that he had gleaned from *Emile* such as singing, physical culture, drawing, object lessons, to mention a few. However, unlike Rousseau he was not interested in private tutorship. He to the contrary was interested in creating a system of education that was for the masses, especially for the poor. Moreover, he wanted a system that was not determined by a renowned scholar but rather one that could be deployed by an average one who, all the same, was a passionate educator. His methods of instruction developed a self-directed approach to learning predicated on observation and reason rather than rote. Pestalozzi’s work laid the foundation for the design of the Froebelian Kindergarten.

Pedagogy and Space

Froebel returned from Yverdon in 1805 and began teaching at the Model School in Frankfurt. His journey from a schoolteacher to the inventor of the kindergarten was not straight forward. He started his first kindergarten in 1840 in Blackenburg and invented the neologism—kindergarten (children’s garden or garden of children)—at that time. In the thirty-five years - from 1805-1840 - Froebel moved from one position to another, oscillating between educating and studying. I would argue that there were three seminal experiences in this period that decisively contributed to his formulation of the kindergarten—first, his teaching position at the Model School which can be seen in the organisation of the kindergarten class room; second, when he was hired as a private tutor and observed the children gardening, which informed the importance of the garden as a pedagogical space in the institution; and third, when he worked as an assistant to Christian Samuel Weiss in Berlin who was a crystallographer whose work provided him with the structural principles that guided the design of the ‘gifts’ and ‘occupations’ of his curriculum. I contend that Froebel’s kindergarten was predicated on a strong relationship

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between pedagogic principles and spatial organisation—ranging from the plan of the school to the design of the furniture.\textsuperscript{28}

In 1805, Froebel began teaching arithmetic, geometry, physical geography and German at the boys’ school along with orthography in the girls’ school, where he put into practice some of what he had seen at Yverdon. However, he believed that though Pestalozzi had stressed on the importance of a self-directed learning based on observation; however, in the classes that he had observed, rote learning appeared to be the norm. He believed that this was the case because different subjects were disconnected from each other. For example, the drawing course and the physical geography course were treated as two separate worlds. In his imagination, one could greatly benefit the other. Similarly, he felt that the arithmetic class and the drawing class could be more interrelated. The teacher who taught physical geography at Yverdon unfortunately, began the course with an account of the bottom of the sea.\textsuperscript{29} He thought that as a first lesson the topic was too distant from the young mind, which could neither comprehend nor was capable of representing something so unfathomable. Thus, in his course he began by teaching his students to represent their own environment.\textsuperscript{30} In this way he brought together representation, drawing and physical geography. Every week he would take the boys out for a walk, after which he would show them how to represent what they had seen. They would then redraw it together on a blackboard laid out horizontally. Finally, they would draw it again by themselves.\textsuperscript{31} This exercise was repeated weekly as new paths were forged on their excursions, till the boys were able to represent a greater part of their own physical environment.

\textsuperscript{28} Zinguer, \textit{Architecture in Play}, p. 20. “Froebel’s progressive education system was distinguished not only by its intrinsic educational methods but also by the physical setting that it required. The dedication of a space apart, which was to house large tables whose slate surfaces were inscribed with a one-inch grid, and the provision of ample room for each child to work were revolutionary during a time when many children still spent their days working shifts in factories alongside adults.”

\textsuperscript{29} Froebel, \textit{Autobiography of Friedrich Froebel}, p. 55.

\textsuperscript{30} Froebel, \textit{Autobiography of Friedrich Froebel}, p. 64.

\textsuperscript{31} It is not clear in the Froebel’s description if when they redrew the map by themselves the students were relying on memory or if they were allowed to invent their own way of representation. However, from what I understand by Froebel’s Gifts, though he was against rote, there was a strong focus on guidance and rigour and a lack of inventiveness. This is what was later criticised by American pedagogues such as John Dewey and Caroline Pratt.
The repetition of the exercise and the stepped progression underlines the manner in which the ‘gifts’ are deployed in the curriculum of the Froebelian Kindergarten where children were taught to master one gift before they could progress to the next one. With every subsequent gift, knowledge was added and the complexity of what was being taught increased. Furthermore, every ‘gift’ was used for three types of courses—forms of knowledge, forms of life, and forms of beauty. Forms of knowledge can be equated to visual arithmetic; forms of life focused on geometrical representation of objects; and in forms of beauty they studied geometry-aesthetics. Therefore, subjects were layered and interconnected. In addition, the course hinged on the communal action when students drew together on the horizontally laid out blackboard. This action was not left to chance but was designed in the plan of the classroom—students sat around communal tables where they could either work in groups or individually. Equally importantly, these tables centred the room—this spatial reconfiguration was a drastic break from any nineteenth century school room that was laid out unidirectionally and the teacher commanded the focus of the room. In a Froebelian kindergarten the teachers behaved more like guides moving between students and helping as needed.

In July 1807, he resigned from the school and took on a position as a private tutor to three boys from the aristocratic Holzhausen family. Though he opposed private tutorship; however, he realised that it was an opportunity to closely observe how a child learns. He accepted the position on the condition that the boys would be educated away from their home and instead, live in the country where he could partake in their waking life. This period was crucial in the development of his programme of the pedagogy of play, which primarily argues for the importance of guided play in the development of a child. Besides, it highlighted the importance of the garden or courtyard to the education in the Kindergarten. A decisive experience towards this end was when the boys’ father gave them a plot of land to develop. Froebel observed the benefits of gardening on the boys—they felt proud of their accomplishments especially when their parents appreciated the little presents that the children gave them from their garden. Besides, in the country, the boys spent a lot of time outdoors in the open air, and Froebel noted the effect playing

32 Brosteman, Inventing Kindergarten and Zinguer, Architecture in Play.
A typical worksheet for one of the gifts where the two-dimensional and three-dimensional is understood on the grid and table and the massing of the kindergarten. Image source: Zinguer, Architecture in Play.

Image from the kindergarten cottage at the World Fair in Philadelphia, the one that Anna Lloyd saw the display of gifts, which she gave her son Frank Lloyd Wright. Study was done around a table rather than in a lecture hall format. Image source: Brosteman, Inventing Kindergarten.
had on their spirit, moral behaviour, and physical and intellectual development. This period helped Froebel design the curriculum of the kindergarten—the role of play, gardening and the ‘gifts’ in the education—which determined the overall planning of the institution.

The importance of the garden in the design of the kindergarten cannot be overstated as evident in its name. While ‘the garden of children’ invokes the nurturing method that Froebel wanted to nurture at the institution the ‘children’s garden’, conversely, highlights the pedagogy where the benefits of nature and gardens are seen to be manifold in the development of the child. Froebel believed that through nature, the child would be able to understand many aspects of their world and themselves—gardening was an object-lesson that was result oriented as a plant thrived with regular care, effort, and time. It was, indisputably, a harsh lesson that inculcated the importance of discipline early in a child. To some extent it also included an act of shaming and praising—every child had their own individual plot of land, which was labelled therefore, it was always easy to spot the diligent child vis-à-vis the negligent one. It has been argued that by using the natural world as the primary subject matter the kindergarten would not only straddle the space of secular education but moreover, would be more accessible to a child, especially for one from a needier background. The study materials would be freely available to them now and later, thereby making education accessible and easy for all to have. An ideal kindergarten would house a classroom, an open and a covered courtyard, and a garden. The garden, in turn, would have two parts—the individual plots of land, preferably one per student and the general agricultural plots where staples would be grown that could be used to feed the needier children at the institution.

Between 1812 and 1814 he was conscripted in the Prussian army, after which he did not immediately return to teaching but instead, he moved to Berlin as the assistant of

35 Murcia & Ruiz-Funes, ‘Froebel and the teaching of botany’.
36 Murcia & Ruiz-Funes, ‘Froebel and the teaching of botany’.
Above - The garden in the first kindergarten in Bad Blankenburg

Right - Drawings by Froebel of the organisation of the garden. The individual plots of land that are centred in the drawing and are surrounded by larger agricultural plots to grow staples to feed the children.

Image source: Murcia & Ruiz-Funes, ‘Froebel and the teaching of botany’.
Christian Samuel Weiss who was the father of modern crystallography. Though it appears arbitrary; nevertheless, it was in his nature to structure the interconnectedness of things. As a young boy he had been seeking a way to reconcile his love for scientific education with his religious upbringing. He had even studied a variety of languages to be able to unearth an invisible structure that connects all of the universe. Weiss had argued that the external symmetry seen in a crystal was indicative of its internal structure. He was influenced by prominent philosophy of his time such as Immanuel Kant’s ‘polar theory’ and Frederick Schelling’s theory of the ‘unity of matter’. Contrary to Huäy and his repulsion theory of understanding crystal architecture, Weiss argued for the understanding of crystals on the basis of axes of symmetry. The importance of Froebel’s assistantship with Weiss cannot be overestimated as evidenced in the design of the gifts. It provided Froebel the underlying argument of his pedagogic principles—the unity between the mineral, animal and human kingdom. Science, crystal geometry and pre-Darwinian scientific ideas envelop his principles both materially and ideologically.

The importance of this assistantship is evident in the design of the gifts, which progressed from a solid to planes, lines and points. Besides, the worktable with its four-inch square gridded surfaces aided the child in developing an understanding of the relationship between two- and three-dimensional space especially in the later gifts when the child

37 Froebel’s father was a pastor. He struggled with accepting scientific ideas. Froebel’s own education was typical of the time: as a child he was sent to study the Bible and listened to his father’s sermons diligently. As he grew up, he understood botany and zoology and was able to discern the similarities between plants, animals and man. This is the fundamental aspect of his education where he argued that in understanding the underlying structures of the composition of the universe, the child in fact was gaining a religious-scientific education. This is why his education was not geared towards one religion and was accepted by Jewish reformers, Catholics and Protestants. However, both Froebel and the Baroness Marenholtz always claimed that it was rooted in Christianity even if it was not apparent. It could be that they were forced to say so especially after 1948, when the Church became exceedingly anti-Kindergartens and was siding with the counterrevolutionaries in closing them.
40 Zinguer, *Architecture in Play*, p. 50. Zinguer makes an interesting observation on the importance of the gridded table in the kindergarten and its relationship to object lessons and observing. He says: “He was the first to introduce, in the Education of Man, drawing on a grid or net drawing, as a pedagogical method. According to him, both horizontal and vertical were key concepts essential to the processes of perception and representation, which is why all gifts were to be handled on the gridded table. But to him the grid had yet another meaning, Froebel suggested that the German word for retina, Netzhaut, meaning literally ‘grid skin’, was
began to play with lines and points.\textsuperscript{40} Moreover, Froebel like many others of his time including G.F.W. Hegel, believed that the ‘goal of evolution was the overcoming of oppositions and the attainment of a higher unity’. However, Froebel believed that the evolutionary drive in human was conscious and universal, and would propel humanity towards divine perfection.\textsuperscript{41} Children were encouraged to develop and unfurl slowly, at their own pace, as their inner natures would comprehend the complexity and unity of their world slowly raising them towards an external unity with the world.

Spread and Change

Though Froebel instituted a Kindergartener programme to help spread his institution, historians have observed that he did not encourage its reinvention or adaptation. The Froebelian kindergarten was heavily prescribed. Logically, this should have hampered its spread; however, though he was prescriptive he was equally ambiguous and surely, that allowed ample room for interpretation. Furthermore, as the institution travelled, it began to absorb local practices, reforms, and political leanings and acquired a transnational form that was related to but differed from the original. In the United States for example, it was further developed by pedagogues such as John Dewey and Caroline Pratt and the non-applicability and non-inventive play of Froebel’s method was soon replaced with practical activities and building blocks.\textsuperscript{42}

“Though often associated with one iconic figure, the German philosopher, Friedrich Froebel, the educational theories on which the kindergarten was based were in fact the product of an international dialogue that continued over several generations. These theories assumed that the potentials, needs, and rights of children were not peculiar to any nation, but universally human. While kindergarten supporters adapted their strategies to the various national environments where they worked, they defined their mission as universal rather than national and legitimated it through international organising.”\textsuperscript{43}

related to the way in which forms were naturally perceived by the eye, an intuition that could be reinforced by drawing on a grid. Although the resemblance between “retina” and “grid” in German was held to be accidental, Froebel’s connecting the two revealed his personal ideology.”

\textsuperscript{41} Allen, \textit{The Transatlantic Kindergarten}, p. 26.


\textsuperscript{43} Allen, \textit{The Transatlantic Kindergarten}, p. 3.
Additionally, Froebel had initially developed the gifts as a way to instruct mothers and governesses to teach their children at home. His book *Mother-Play and Nursery Songs* was translated into many languages.  

However, by 1840 he decided that a child needed an institutional setting that was distinct from the environment of the home, and furthermore, needed to be guided by professional teachers. Thus, he became increasingly critical of unqualified mothers and their traditional methods. His Kindergartner (teacher) training institutes were open to both men and women and the gifts with their pedagogic principles, which included their spatial logic, were packaged to be dispersed. Many of these Kindergarteners founded local kindergartens leading to a network that was slowly organised into regional, national and finally an international union. The women’s movements also seized upon this opportunity for education and employment of women and helped further its cause.

The Mythical ‘Mother’s Love’

Froebel was born in 1782 in Oberweissbach, which is a village in the Thuringian forest and part of Svwarzburg-Rudolstadt, a tiny principality within the Holy Roman Empire. His mother died when he was nine months old. His father, a preoccupied Lutheran pastor remarried not too long after. Froebel felt that his stepmother was particularly antagonistic towards him, which exacerbated the loss that he felt. His father was a strict disciplinarian, and this did not suit the sensitive temperament of the little boy who did not prove to be exceptionally talented and struggled with rote learning. Many scholars have remarked that the absence of a mother is what drove Froebel to strike an alliance with women. Others have attributed his alliances to the Romantic age and its exaltation of the mother and her bond with the child. However, while these are acceptable reasons, I would argue that Frobel, following in the footsteps of Pestalozzi, was...
interested in reforming the method of instruction, and though he was not averse to the role of women in teaching; however, the alliances and the importance of women in the Kindergarten was circumstantial—credit should be shared with the women’s movements that seized the opportunity that educating children gave them.

Froebel focused on the education of younger children up to the age of seven. It was customary during the time for young children to be home-schooled and at the most, they would be sent to church seminaries for religious lessons, which usually involved memorising and then reciting paragraphs from the Bible. Froebel’s education was not dissimilar. School was customarily a stern atmosphere that did not cater to the individuality or development of the child.

The first time Froebel experienced that there were different ways to teach a child was when he was eleven years old. His maternal uncle\(^47\) came over to his house for a visit and seeing the strict stance that was adopted in Froebel’s house and its effect on the boy, asked his father if the boy could live with him for a while. Froebel remembers this time fondly. His uncle, like his father was a pastor but unlike his father, he led with warmth and gentleness. Froebel felt liberated in his uncle’s house where he was allowed to roam freely in the village as long as he returned on time for meals. He began to partake in outdoor games even though he lagged behind the other boys. It was in this environment that he observed that the teachers at the school taught in different ways and it was often the master who taught with gentleness who had more influence over his pupils—morally and educationally—than the ones who taught with fear.\(^48\) Initially, he did not classify teaching as a woman’s role, which was nevertheless, later appropriated as a discourse by women to create a niche for themselves by focusing on young children, especially because teaching (particularly in Germany) was male dominated and there was a push-back against women entering the field.\(^49\)

\(^{47}\) His uncle’s wife was dead, and he lived with his aged mother-in-law.


\(^{49}\) Brosterman, *Inventing Kindergarten*, pp. 93-94. “It was fortunate for the cause that the teaching profession in the United States was, at least where young children were concerned, largely made up of women. Men were so entrenched at Germany’s educators that a convention in 1880 actually passed a resolution opposing the hiring of any female teachers for any grades. By 1900 there were four women to every man teaching kindergarten in America, and almost exactly the reverse proportion in Germany.”
Both Pestalozzi and Froebel found a method of instruction that they believed would be the way that a mother would have used to teach her child. This method was indisputably a figment of their imagination. However, there is little to suggest that they were arguing for a role for women in their practice. The importance and the role of a mother in the life of a child was only just about being recognised in the early nineteenth century:

“The elevation of motherhood to a position of moral and pedagogical authority, however, was not a product of tradition, but of the revolutionary era. Revolutionaries, and particularly the women amongst them, assigned to mothers an important civic function – the education of their children in the virtues of citizenship.”

However, circumstances and the will of the women’s movements both in the early nineteenth century and after the workers’ revolts of 1848, appropriated, and in turn, were affirmed by Froebel’s discourse on the role of women as teachers of young children, creating an inseparability between the women’s movement and the kindergarten movement that held sway well into the early decades of the twentieth century.

The Women’s Movement and the Kindergarten Movement

In fact, Froebel’s opinion about women as educators was ambivalent, to say the least. On one hand he argued for their importance in the development of a child but on the other hand, he was vehemently against the women’s movements and the financial emancipation that they demanded lest it adversely affect the upbringing of the child. True to the period Froebel argued for the education of women for the benefit of men as can be evidenced by this statement from his niece Henriette Breymann who said:

“Froebel does not want to make women just like men, but to train them to be true women and mothers, and if they succeed men will be better off too.”

50 Allen, *The Transatlantic Kindergarten*, p. 11.
Besides, he was critical of the traditional methods that mothers employed in teaching their children at home stating that they threatened the ‘entire future of humanity,’ and therefore, he forced a professionalisation of motherhood that was not necessarily available to all. It is not surprising that most of the early Kindergarteners came from affluent progressive backgrounds and were well educated; thus, it attracted Jewish women who were generally from better economic backgrounds and better educated when compared with the rest of the female population and equally importantly, because they saw the kindergarten as non-sectarian. Some of the Jewish women were also working towards fostering an environment of religious tolerance. Froebel’s opinion on women in the workplace notwithstanding, he was oblivious to religious and class differences, and even welcoming of them. Thus, it was a medley of progressive middle class educated women who helped in the spread of the kindergarten as they had the means to travel, establish kindergartens or at the least had access to an international audience. The Baroness Berthe von Marenholtz Bülow was one such enterprising lady who met Froebel in the spa city of Liebenstan and helped in the spread of the institution in continental Europe. Her importance to the spread of the kindergarten cannot be exaggerated—Froebel was its inventor, but she was its ambassador.

Another equally important, but often debated catalyst of the kindergarten movement was Johanna Goldschmidt, whose group helped in the spread of the kindergarten in the Anglo-American world. Goldschmidt was the daughter of a reform rabbi, a mother of eight children and had spearheaded a number of philanthropic organisations that promoted religious tolerance. She invited Froebel to come to Hamburg to initiate a network of training institutes for kindergarteners in the city. Froebel was initially excited with the opportunity to unite Christian and Jewish women in this endeavour. However, Schmidt was more ambitious and linked a college for women—the first institution for higher education for women to be founded in the German speaking world—with the

52 Allen, *The Transatlantic Kindergarten*, p. 32.
54 Allen, *The Transatlantic Kindergarten*, p. 42. Goldschmidt was the author of Rebekka and Amalie “that focused on the friendship between a Jewish and a Christian girl” and The Joys and Sorrows of Motherhood, which offered advice on motherhood for mothers.
teacher training institutes. The college was supported by the religious reformist Johannes Ronge, and the merchant Heinrich Christian Meyer and his three daughters Bertha Traun (later Bertha Ronge), Amalie Westendarp and Margarethe Meyer. Carl Froebel (Froebel’s nephew) and his wife Johanna Küstner were invited to teach at the college where they furthered their socialist and feminist agenda. Though Froebel resigned from the project once he understood the group’s radical position; nonetheless, his name remained associated with the group which led to the closure of Kindergartens in Germany in the 1850s for a decade. The counterrevolutionaries blamed the institution for the worker’s insurrection in 1848 and the Church accused it of atheism. The kindergarten movement in Germany suffered a huge blow and though the prohibition was rescinded a decade later, kindergartens in Germany became acceptable only after in the 1870s after German unification and its acceptance within the national welfare system.

After Froebel died in 1852, his second wife Luise Froebel continued to train Kindergarteners and her training centre became a magnet for women from around the world interested in learning about Froebel’s methods. In addition, Baroness Bülow continued promoting kindergartens around continental Europe by instructing teachers and gaining supporters. It could be argued that because of the sanctions placed on kindergartens and the attitude in Germany against women as teachers, the women who were involved in the kindergarten movement were forced to cast their nets wide, thereby inadvertently, accelerating the kindergarten into an international institution and movement.

Bertha Ronge\(^55\) began the first kindergarten in London in Hampstead, which Henry Barnard witnessed at the International Exhibits of Educational Systems in 1854. Henry Barnard was the secretary of the boards of education in Connecticut and Rhode Island and he and Horace Mann, the secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, had already in 1847 worked together creating one of the first graded schools

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\(^{55}\) Bertha divorced her first husband and married Johannes Ronge. They left Hamburg and Germany to escape the scandal and settled in London where Betha began the first kindergarten in the U.K. in London in Hampstead. Margarethe, Bertha’s sister married Carl Schurz, and moved to the Wisconsin in the United States and began a kindergarten there.
in Quincy, Massachusetts.\textsuperscript{56} Mann had written numerous papers about education and its interrelationship with the spatial organisation of schools. His sister Mary Mann was an early English translator of Froebel’s and the Baroness’ published work about the kindergarten. Her sister-in-law Elizabeth Peabody, in turn, was a crucial American force in the spread of the institution. She was introduced to the kindergarten by Margarete Meyer-Schurz who moved to Watertown Wisconsin with her husband Carl Schurz and began the first kindergarten in Wisconsin. Peabody\textsuperscript{57} began a kindergarten in Boston and finding that she lacked the required training, travelled to Europe to meet Luise Froebel, Henriette Beyerman, Johanna Goldschmidt and the baroness. On returning she founded the American Froebel Union and implemented a series of reforms to standardise the training of kindergarteners.\textsuperscript{58} She hired Susan Blow who managed and trained teachers in St. Louis and with Ruth Burritt was instrumental in exhibiting the kindergarten for the first time ever in a world exhibition in the Centennial International Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876.\textsuperscript{59} It was later displayed in White City when the International Kindergarten Union, which was founded in 1892, invited its German counterparts to exhibit at the World Columbian Exposition in 1893.\textsuperscript{60} The Reichstag decided to exhibit “German Welfare Institutions” and the Pestalozzi-Froebel house was reconstructed on the exhibition site.

As evident, educational reform was initially a private endeavour supported by a section of society—pedagogues, social reformers, women’s organisations, socialists, religious

\textsuperscript{56} Lange, \textit{The Design of Childhood}, pp. 137-138.
\textsuperscript{57} Allen, \textit{The Transatlantic Kindergarten}, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{58} Allen, \textit{The Transatlantic Kindergarten}, pp. 51-54. After her return from Europe she used her journal Kindergarten Messenger to report on the pedagogical methods, training programmes and record new kindergartens. She was a pragmatic reformer and like many others of the nineteenth century focused on a single institution – the kindergarten - and a specific segment of the population - women teachers - and started a rigorous training programme for the professionalisation and Americanisation of the kindergarten.
\textsuperscript{59} This is the kindergarten cottage that Frank Lloyd Wright refers to when he talks about his mother, Anna Wright, and the Froebel gifts she bought for him. Anna Wright, a unitarian was trained as a kindergartener.
\textsuperscript{60} Allen, \textit{The Transatlantic Kindergarten}, pp. 83. The National Education Association (NEA) created a kindergarten department which was headed by Eudora Hailmann. However, many kindergarteners were dissatisfied with the management of the NEA as it was male dominated. The kindergarten department broke off into an independent organisation called the International Kindergarten Union headed by Sarah Stewart, which connected kindergartens globally through newsletters and regular correspondence.
reformers—who separately advanced the kindergarten as a cornerstone for a modern progressive society. In a time when Europe was still coalescing into nation states, the United States was quicker in realising the importance of educational reform and universal education; nonetheless, by looking at the autobiographies of the American reformists that I have extracted in this thesis, it is apparent that formal education of girls and the children of the poor was still lacking well into the twentieth century. In addition, even in the twentieth century, Charlotte Perkins Gilman was campaigning for the importance of sending children to a kindergarten to be educated rather than schooling them at home. Furthermore, I would argue that the impact of the kindergarten on the progressive era, especially in relationship to this research cannot be overestimated. Educational reform especially for women began in the United States as early as 1823 with the work of Catherine Beecher when she founded the Hartford Seminary for women. It cannot be a coincidence that the organisations for peace that originated in Massachusetts and the rest of New England were exceedingly liberal compared to others and accepted women as members early in the nineteenth century, who were instrumental in forwarding the inseparability of social reform and peace.

Courtyards, Roof tops and Fresh Air.

As kindergartens internationalised, they were tailored to suit different educational and national agendas thus, it was inevitable that some of the original Froebelian design principles were lost. Nevertheless, most designs still retained the indoor-outdoor relationship that guided the original pedagogy. However, the continuity of this design principle owes as much to the fears of disease and degeneracy that raged in cities in the early twentieth century—for example, open-air schools were propagated by the musée social to stem tuberculosis in children and to allow them to escape, at least for a few hours, the unhygienic degenerate living conditions of the working poor. In some cases, children were removed from their homes for a longer time and sent to the countryside to live a life in clean fresh air. It has been argued that through this relocation the state hoped to repopulate the countryside and in turn, rejuvenate its agricultural industry. In

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the 1920s. kindergartens, were programmed in social housing projects—in the courtyard in the Karl Marx Hoff in Vienna, or on the rooftop as seen in the Unite d’Habitation by Le Corbusier—celebrating openness and fresh air. Thus, an inseparability was constructed between architecture and medicine especially in concerns around children and their upbringing, which it could be argued became the focus of the state as they began an active drive towards reconstituting the nation—its identity and its people.

62 Gina Greene, ‘Nature, Architecture, Natural Regeneration.'
Top: The kindergarten in the courtyard of Karl Marx Hof (1927) designed by Karl Ehn which is similar to the composition of blocks that one could easily imagine with some of the gifts.

Middle: Image of the Caryl Peabody nursery (1937), unbuilt, designed by Walter Gropius. The low horizontal glazed form became quite a standard for kindergartens in the mid twentieth century.

Bottom: The kindergarten on the roof top of the Unite D’Habitation in Marseille (1947) by Le Corbusier.

Health and the World’s Fairs

One summer afternoon in 1878, Etienne Stéphane Tarnier walked to the *Jardin d’Acclimatation*. He was oblivious to the crowds heading towards the Universal Exposition because he was preoccupied with a more immediate concern—the birth rate in France had been falling since the 1860s. Tarnier was the head obstetrician at the Paris *Maternité*—he had designed the axis-traction forceps and devised a treatment for postpartum complications like puerperal fevers. However, it was the ‘weaklings’—the premature and underweight babies—that were getting the better of him.\(^63\) The *Jardin d’Acclimatation* was inaugurated in 1861 as a zoo. During the Parisian siege and the Franco-Prussian war, the animals were cooked to feed people. However, by 1877, it was repopulated to its former glory and additionally, became host to another exotic import to benefit the growing discipline of anthropology—native peoples from the colonies were brought in to stage their primitive lifestyles for the pleasure of science and the Parisian public. It was only a matter of time before this spectacle, that had multiplied profits for the zoo, became part of the Universal Exposition of 1889. On that day Tarnier was going to the *jardin* to look at the newly installed machines used to hatch and fatten baby chicks that were designed by the engineer Odile Martin.\(^64\) He believed that a similar device could be used to help his weak charges and towards that end Odile designed the first modern incubator for premature babies. It is a fitting origin story for the modern incubator that was not only birthed in a pleasure garden but was deployed in similar settings—world’s fairs and amusement parks—for nearly four decades before they became commonplace in neonatal ward in hospitals. The training, research, and public relations that underline contemporary neonatology and infant care can trace its roots to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century world’s fairs concessions.

The world’s fairs were instrumental in disseminating knowledge about public health practices and medical science. The social economy and hygiene exposition in Paris in


\(^{64}\) Raffel. *The Strange Case of Dr. Couney*. p. 27.
Buffalo world’s fair 1901. The operating room as part of the exposition display, showing the most technologically innovative equipment and apparatus for the time. However, when the president William McKinley was shot in the fair, he was taken to this operating theatre and it was found that nobody knew how to use some of the equipment and the lighting conditions were unsuitable for the surgery. He died a few days later of gangrene.

A full-scale twelve foot square bathroom that was imported from the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900 for the Buffalo fair in 1901. The image displays the impact of the world’s fairs in transferring knowledge between countries in the early twentieth century, which included information on public health and social hygiene. Image source (both) Brown. *Health and Medicine on Display.*
1889 had become a model that was repeated in all world’s fairs since. It was customary to display new health and welfare institutions for the working people along with medical innovations and technologies. Besides, the construction and the running of the expositions themselves proved to be exercises in public health, especially as the fairs grew larger and problems of crowding, disease, water supply, sewage disposal, accidents, to mention a few, became increasingly urgent. In France and the rest of Europe including Britain, the expositions were considered civic projects and were funded by public money. In the United States however, they were run by private corporations and subsidised with public money. There were three main groups of exhibitors—private commercial exhibitors who displayed new apparatus and equipment; social economy exhibitors and municipal health boards who showcased workers housing and public health initiatives; and lastly, the military medical department. Among the three, the last two were creative in developing a visual language—scaled models and infographics—that would be intelligible and communicable to a diverse audience.

“As early as the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1878, the extensive use of visual graphs and diagrams caused G. Stanley Hall, psychologist and educator, to observe that “the graphic method is fast becoming the international language of science.”

William J. Donavan’s deputy, colonel Atherton Richards, was impressed by the design of the visual work and exposition design in the 1939 world’s fair in New York. He later recommended that information be the visualised by the Office of Strategic Services as a

66 Brown, *Health and Medicine on Display*, pp. 70-73. The 1893 Chicago’s World Columbian Exposition was closely modelled on the 1867 and 1889 Universal Expositions in Paris. Both of these fairs in Paris had exhibits dedicated to public health that was repeated in Chicago. Along with workers housing, a considerably large display was dedicated to nutrition, sanitary cooking, housekeeping, and household goods. There was also a kitchen on site where visitors could buy a meal for 30 cents that was designed by nutritionists who were trying to disseminate healthy eating habits for working people and children in schools. I believed that this idea was furthered in the Stockholm Exhibition in 1930, where the restaurant displayed modern architecture, new ways of cooking and a modern lifestyle.
way to distil content and communicate efficiently between departments.\(^{68}\) Nevertheless, in the mosaic of displays on anatomy, public health, nutrition, disease and hygiene, one would have easily missed the single lone incubator that was on display.

The Incubator Show

Alexandre Lion, an engineer, took it upon himself to redesign Tarnier’s machine and created a model that was technologically superior.\(^{69}\) He wanted an incubator that would function well irrespective of the level of nursing skill that was available\(^{70}\)—this did not stem from arrogance but from the awareness that perinatal nursing was a neglected field in medicine at the time. It can be surmised that he used Tarnier’s medical specifications as a point of departure. Tarnier had been concerned with contagion and had introduced numerous spatial strategies to stem infections—antisepsis, isolation and aeration,\(^{71}\) in the wards and in the design of the incubator. Lion’s incubators were hermetically sealed and functioned as individual units. Each was ventilated through a filtered pipe that sucked in air from the outside. This ensured that the baby was protected from the air in the nursery, thereby reducing infections between incubators. Additionally, each machine was heated with piped warm air that was in turn, heated by a spiral water pipe attached to a boiler. This checked the adverse effects that an inconsistent boiler would have on the incubators—a recurrent problem with the Tarnier machines. As a safeguard, a thermometer was attached to the outside of the machine. Furthermore, the machine was partially glazed to be able to see the baby.\(^{72}\) Scholars have observed that Tarnier’s machine, and by extrapolation all machines that departed from his designs, were more popular than others because of their aesthetics—the glass enclosure was appealing because

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\(^{71}\) Gina Greene, ‘The “Cradle of Glass” Incubators for Infants in the late Nineteenth Century France’.

\(^{72}\) Raffel, \textit{The Strange Case of Dr. Couney}, p. 41.

\(^{73}\) Gina Greene, ‘The “Cradle of Glass” Incubators for Infants in the late Nineteenth Century France’.
it looked clean and hygienic.\textsuperscript{73}

Along with designing the machine, Lion began working on its propaganda and testing. With the help of some local philanthropists and the municipality he opened a storefront incubator show in Nice that displayed his incubators with babies from the charity hospitals. It attracted enough attention that he soon expanded it to Lyon, Bordeaux, Marseille and Paris.\textsuperscript{74} This eventually led to the Berlin Exposition where he and his ‘apprentice’ Martin Couney\textsuperscript{75} introducing live premature babies as part of the exhibit to create a buzz around the machines. After Berlin he sold the rights of the show to Couney who brought it to Earl’s Court in London for Queen Victoria’s jubilee show, which was heralded a huge success and provoked a number of imitators.\textsuperscript{76} Soon after, Couney moved his show to the United States.

\begin{quote}
“Couney had been involved in earlier expositions in Germany, France, and Britain but acquired most of his fame after immigrating to the United States in 1903. His incubator baby show at Coney Island lasted until 1943, becoming the longest lived of all the resort’s attractions before the second World War. He also produced widely published exhibits in the 1933 Chicago Century of Progress Exposition and the 1939 New York World’s Fair, both of which helped build him a reputation as a preeminent, if unconventional, pioneer of American neonatology.”\textsuperscript{77}
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{74} Raffel, \textit{The Strange Case of Dr. Couney}, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{76} Barnum and Bailey opened a show in Olympia, amongst others. The Lancet had profiled Couney while he was in London and wrote positively about the show. Later, it reversed its opinion when the imitators were more about showmanship than infant care. This publicity did not bode well for Couney in Europe and Baker believes that it may the reason that Budin disassociated with Couney. Later, after the world fair in Buffalo in 1901, the success of the show incited a copycat that won the bid for the St. Louis World Fair in 1904. Brown has observed that the St. Louis world fair was far more commercial than the others. The incubator turned into a death trap and led to a number of protests. This did not help the publicity of incubator shows in fairs. On the other hand, Baker argues that to save the show the management hired a Dr. Zahorsky who contributed to a large extent in publishing data, methods etc. that Couney could not do because he was not a licensed doctor.
\textsuperscript{77} Baker, \textit{The Machine in the Nursery}, p. 86.
\end{flushright}
Panels about eugenics from the Chicago Century of Progress, 1934. The panel in the bottom begins to show how the relationship between race and degeneracy was constructed in eugenicism. Image source: Raffel. *The Strange Case of Dr. Couney*
On the Midway

Martin Couney’s life before the United States is a flurry of unsubstantiated facts, many of which contradict each other. Numerous investigative historians and doctors have discovered the inaccuracies in the biographical accounts that Couney narrated to reporters. However, what has been verified is that he was born Michael Cohn in 1869 in a small Prussian town of Krotoschin, which is now in Poland, to a Jewish family. It is assumed that he changed his name to escape the inconveniences of anti-Semitism that invisibly lurked in American society in the early twentieth century. Though he hinted that he was trained as a medical practitioner in either France or Germany; however, he never referred to himself as a doctor in any official document. Besides, there is scant information available on his medical qualifications. Couney never attempted to medically treat the infants in the shows as registered nurses and physicians were hired for all medical issues—he only managed the show.

The medical community has accepted that his qualifications are difficult to ascertain. All the same, renowned medical practitioners such as Dr. William Silverman, Dr. Lawrence Gartner and Dr. Jeffrey P. Baker, all acknowledge his contribution to the development of neonatology. The exact number of babies that Couney saved cannot be stated with any certainty but it is estimated to be between five and six thousand. Couney claimed that he had studied under the renowned obstetrician Dr. Pierre Budin at the Paris Maternité. While there is no concrete evidence that proves this, circumstantial evidence on the other hand, renders it plausible that at the least, he and Budin were acquaintances. Mlle. Louise Recht acted as the head nurse in Couney’s show in Berlin. Later she followed him to London and further afield to the United States. She was qualified at the Maternité, and dictated the treatment of the preemies in the show in accordance with those that she had learned in Paris under Budin, which included the reciprocal relationship between
treatment and the spatial organisation of the clinic. Her methods of gavage and nasal feeding of a baby too weak to suckle was unique to the Maternité. Furthermore, when the Victorian doctors in London refused to provide the exhibition with live babies, it is believed that Budin agreed to send some in the care of Recht.

Couney’s debut at the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition in Omaha, in Nebraska in the United States in 1898 was unspectacular. Sited on the East Midway, his pristine white clinic lacked the flamboyance of the other midway shows. It disappeared amongst the camel rides, Wild West show and the German village. He had brought six incubators with him from London and had the daunting task of warming up the doctors and the mothers to accept the machine. However, because of the lack of options available to parents—neonatal care was non-existent in most of the United States, barring Chicago where doctors such as Bolivar DeLee had invested in private clinics—his incubators were soon filled. Furthermore, during the exposition he made a fortuitous acquaintance with the architect Frederic Thomson who along with E. Dundy later designed the midway in the international fair in Buffalo in 1901 and Luna park on Coney Island, where Couney exhibited his incubator clinic for decades. In the United States, much to his chagrin, Couney found himself immured on the midway banded together with the freak shows, circuses and other raucous entertainment. Many of the doctors, while never refuting the importance of the work done by Couney and even referring patients to his concession were not willing to publicly stand beside him or associate with his work.

78 William A. Silverman, ‘Incubator-Baby Side Shows’, Paediatrics 64(2):127-141, (1979). <http://www.neonatology.org/classics/silverman/silverman1.html> [accessed 6 April 2020]. Budin’s principles of care were: Grouping together the healthy premature infants; Isolating the sick and suspect infants; Separating the wet nurses’ babies from contact with the premature infants; Establishing a milk room where “sterilized” milk could be heated; Keeping the bottles of sterilized milk cool in summer in an ice chamber; Providing a toilet and dressing room for wet nurses where they were to “…wash their hands and face and don an overall” before ministering to their premature infant charges.

79 Raffel, The Strange Case of Dr. Couney, p. 57.
Martin Couney and Julius Hess

Dr. Julius Hess was different. Couney met Hess—a graduate of the Northwestern University Medical School and John Hopkins University—at the White City amusement Park in Chicago in 1914. He was a paediatrician in Chicago’s Michael Reese hospital, and had opened a premature-infant wing in the Sarah Morris Children’s Hospital. He was on his way towards a full professorship at the University of Illinois College of Medicine and would become chief of staff at Cook County Community Hospital. Less than a decade later, Hess wrote *Premature and Congenitally Diseased Infants*, a nationally acclaimed book that did much to further the medical cause of preemies. It had become increasingly urgent to pursue the cause as eugenic practices were becoming increasingly acceptable. In his book Hess acknowledged Couney’s work in infant care. In 1933, Couney and Hess collaborated together in the Century of Progress International Exposition in Chicago. The concession was designed by a Chicago based architectural practice, Schmidt, Garden and Erikson and was “as much a laboratory, educational centre, and research institute.” It expanded Couney’s regular audience to include eminent paediatricians. It was better equipped than any of the earlier ones benefitting from the pooled knowledge and resources of the two men, especially their head nurses – Recht and Evelyn Ludeen. Ludeen managed Hess’ practice and was instrumental in the development of his work including many novel treatment procedures. Hess had designed an incubator basket and ambulance, which was used in the fair.

With Recht’s training under Budin the space of the concession mimicked the treatment procedure of the Paris *Maternité*. Budin’s primary treatment plan involved monitoring the temperature, regular feeding and attempting to control infections within the space. Therefore, the concession was divided into three rooms to accommodate the three main functions and to reduce cross contamination. The first room was further divided

82 Raffel, *The Strange Case of Dr. Couney*, p. 146.
84 Prentice, *Miracle at Coney Island*, loc 734.
85 Claire Prentice has some of better descriptions of the clinics that I have come across, but there is a gap in understanding the architectural evolution of the incubator clinic in detail.

Bottom - The typical arrangement of the spectator hall in the incubator clinics where the babies are separated from the visitors by a railing. The typical arrangement would include nurses, lectures and maybe a physician.
into two spaces—one for the nurses and wet nurses and the other for the physicians to rest, wash and change. This led into the incubator room, which was open to the public and centred the plan. Here hermetically sealed incubators lined the edge of room and spectators were separated at an optimum viewing distance from the incubators by a railing. Babies were admitted into the clinic free of charge while spectators were charged, which paid for the care of the infants. The third room—the nursery—was meant for nursing, weighing and changing babies. In some concessions there was a window through which the visitors could look into the nursery. It can be surmised that in the smaller concessions sick babies were isolated in the nursery. As the concessions got bigger and were split between two levels, the upper levels housed the feeding spaces for the wet nurses and private living quarters for Nurse Recht and the Couney family, which consisted of his wife Maye and daughter Hildegard both of whom were registered nurses. This plan appears to have been the standard in all of Couney’s concessions till Chicago, where he then used the touches introduced by Hess and Ludeen.

Ludeen added her own treatment plan to Recht’s and in turn, transformed the spatial layout of the clinic to include her process. She had discovered that jaundiced babies usually recovered better with light therapy and therefore, a ‘sunroom’ was introduced in the nursery. More importantly, she advanced a treatment protocol before a healthy baby was released to their mother, which required an outdoor nursery. After a baby was sufficiently fattened up, they were slowly introduced to fresh air for a few minutes a day, which gradually increased up to a few hours. Additionally, before allowing the infant to be discharged in the mother’s care she would insist that the mother spend some time bonding with her baby in the outdoor nursery where she would be taught to care and feed for the infant. Moreover, a social worker was sent to the baby’s home to check on the living conditions before discharge and would ever so often check in with the parents even after the baby was discharged. It can be assumed that Ludeen, like many others, believed that the incubator clinics had a pedagogical role to perform—they needed to train the mothers how to care for their sickly children. Along with training, it appears that

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87 Gina Greene, ”The “Cradle of Glass” Incubators for Infants in the late Nineteenth Century France’. 
Ludeen believed in increased state intervention in family life especially child care.

Scholars have argued that the institutionalisation of maternity care transformed the relationship women had with reproduction as a process and in turn, with their own bodies. In addition, it exacerbated the ‘policing’ of the home. In the late nineteenth century, with the declining birth rates and increasing mortality of infants, women were often blamed for not taking adequate care of themselves or their infants. Gina Greene argues that the high mortality of infants was not an issue until the nation articulated it as a crisis, which in turn led to the institutionalisation of maternal and neonatal care. It allowed male doctors to gain access into the private space of the family and drastically altered the boundaries of a woman’s domain and her circle of influence. Additionally, I believe that it permitted gruesome practices like euthanasian eugenics to flourish under the guise of care where male physicians advocated withholding treatment if they felt that the child was handicapped or incapacitated and would prove to be a burden on society. However, I contend that personalities like Martin Couney and many Chicago obstetricians like Dr. Julius Hess, who invested personal wealth to found lying-in hospitals and develop processes of neonatal care that give babies a fighting chance have made the lives of women and children much safer. Besides, it was only fair that public maternity services, which were primarily used by poorer families, provided training to new mothers who did not have the luxury of private midwives and wet-nurses to teach them.

Later, in 1939, at the world’s fair in New York designed by Skidmore Ownings, Couney incorporated all the new techniques that he had learned from Hess—the outdoor nursery would become a central part of the U-shaped building. 88

Jeffrey Baker does not believe that Couney helped with the transfer of technology between France and the United States. It is inevitable that doctors such as Hess who were invested

88 Skidmore Ownings were the architects for the planning of the fair and designed six known buildings in the fair. Though numerous records highlight that they designed the incubator concession, there is no mention of it on their website. It is possible that even though Couney was being accepted by the medical profession, even as late as 1939, he was never really thought of more than a midway man. In addition, as late as 1939, neonatology was not a visible medical practice in New York.
in caring for premature infants and had travelled to Europe to learn from the Germans and the French would eventually bring back the technology. Baker instead argues that Couney’s relevance was in the propaganda that he generated for incubators on behalf on preemies. Though that makes sense, I believe that Couney did more than advertise incubators. I would argue that in addition to accelerating the acceptance of incubators he also contributed to the practical training of nurses and physicians and to best-practices in paediatrics and perinatology. Neonatology was a nascent field in the beginning of the twentieth century and it took forty years of the concession running for it to be accepted in hospitals and by doctors in the United States—and every year the concessions were filled with babies who could not be treated elsewhere. Furthermore, the organisation of the clinics and the manner in which they advocated the treatment of neonatology became the blueprint for hospital wards. The spectacle of the concessions became a standard medical practice and can still be seen in the way that the neonatology ward is separated from the corridors in hospitals with glass. The Children’s Bureau especially insisted on this standard arguing for its importance in the relationship that it entails between the parents and the child, especially the father, who, till recently, was not part of the birthing process and did not meet the baby till it did not go home. I argue that this small detail is extremely crucial as it is one of the few times that modern institution design has taken the role of the father into consideration in the upbringing of the child, which has been discussed in chapter 3.

More importantly, Couney like many others, was fighting against a eugenicist mindset that was prevalent in the United States in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Doctors such as Harry J. Haiselden, refused treatment and even convinced parents to refuse treatment when he was faced with deformed or ‘defective’ babies. It was an attitude that was embraced by doctors, parents, and social reformers.

Conclusion

Friedrich Froebel and Martin Couney forwarded institutions for the care and development of children. While Froebel focused on the education of children, Couney on the other hand, helped in the development of neonatal care. Both the kindergarten and the incubator clinics should be considered transnational institutions that benefitted from mechanisms of internationalisation including world’s fairs and the women’s movement. Therefore, I consider the work of Froebel and Couney to be part of the international sensibility.

They were extremely progressive and forwarded ideas that educational establishments and medical practitioners were slower to adopt. Nevertheless, their practices were soon absorbed by the state and used towards forwarding the state’s agenda in its narrow vision of disciplining and reconstituting the national population as evidenced in open-air schools in France and maternity wards and their role in euthanasian eugenics. Moreover, the care of children is aligned with both the national agenda with the women’s movement. Historians have argued that the institutionalisation of childcare especially perinatal and postnatal care have transformed the sanctity of the female space and the power that they had over their own bodies and over their children. In many ways the women’s movement should be considered complicit with the institutionalisation of childcare for the empowerment of women in the public domain. It could be argued that they sacrificed some practices for the greater good of womenkind and also inadvertently, created a number of other problems that still need to be addressed, some of which I have discussed in earlier chapters. However, in spite of some of the adverse transformation that were enabled though their institutions, I argue that their institutions kept many children and women safe around the world. Though social reformers, especially those interested in internationalism were vocal in their advocacy for education and reduced labour for children, it can be observed that many, though not all, were silent about the treatment of disabled, defectives, immigrants, to mention a few, in their quest for remaking society. This could be considered the greatest failure of the progressive era, and on the women’s movement.
International Law and a Shared Language
Dan Kiley and Rafael Lemkin

Introduction

Sovereignty is a child of modernity—a specific organisation of law and politics intimately connected to the conception of the nation, the state or a territory that can be traced to the sixteenth and seventeenth century, anchored to the treaty of Westphalia. In the nineteenth century this form of jurisdiction and authority coalesced into a form that is familiar to us.¹ Though the modern conception of an international order is rooted in the nation; however, it is also considered to have a contentious relationship with sovereignty.

“What characterises modernity is the predominance of the national scale over all others. In contemporary idioms of national and international law a sovereign is said to exercise jurisdiction over a territory. Modern jurisprudence addresses jurisdiction through the topics of government and population.”²

In 1803, Tsar Alexander I suggested that the states of Europe should unite with a treaty that would ensure that the horrors of the Napoleonic wars wouldn’t be repeated in Europe, at least not without a recourse to reconciliation through mediation.³ This emerged as the subtext of the Concert of Europe, which was one of the first modern

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alliances between states. Even then, Britain struggled with the interventionist stance that the other states—Prussia, Russia and Austria—adopted to restore order in Europe. Nearly a century later in August 1898, a month after the death of Bismarck, Tsar Nicholas II, following in the footsteps of Alexander I, sent out a rescript urging (primarily European) nations to come together to find a solution to the armament race that was bleeding resources that may otherwise have been used for social progress. The rescript was viewed with considerable scepticism—Nicholas II was considered a despot and Russia had one of the more powerful armies in Europe. However, in 1899, the countries came together in The Hague in the Netherlands in what would come to be known as the first international peace conference in times of peace. The main agenda of the conference can be assuaged by its three commissions—a solution to the armament race and the need to humanise weapons; a further discussion on the ethics and practices during times of war and towards prisoners of war; and lastly, the constitution of an institution for mediation or arbitration between nations. Many critics labelled the conference a failure because they believed that the only solution towards world peace hinged on a strategy of disarmament, which was not forthcoming. However, many others saw the conference as partially successful because progress was made on the second and the third commissions—the second commission forwarded the amendment of the Geneva Convention, while the third, in spite of reluctance by the German delegation, led to the formation of the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA).

The first Hague Conference in 1899, was mainly a European affair with the inclusion of Japan, China, Siam, the United States, Mexico and Persia. The second one in 1907, which was championed by Elihu Root, the U.S. Secretary of State, to the contrary, invited representation from Latin America and other parts the world. Additionally, the foundation stone for the permanent premises of the PCA—the Peace Palace—was laid during this conference. In 1904 an international architectural competition was announced for the building, which was to be partially financed by Andrew Carnegie. The winning entry by Louis Cordonnier—which was a mongrel of the High Dutch

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4 I have discussed the Concert of Europe in chapter 2.
6 Eyffinger, The Peace Palace, pp. 24-34.
Renaissance and a Northern French Chateau style—was not appreciated by many in the architectural community. Some architects believed that the style did not do justice to an unprecedented institution of such calibre; nevertheless, the jurists accepted the proposal arguing that it seamlessly meshed to the Dutch context, which signalled to the world that it identified with its host’s qualities—The Netherlands was respected as a worldly and neutral country. The competition brief had prescribed that the language of the building should not reflect any one single country and thus, it is plausible that the jurists chose it because it was a hybrid. In addition, they argued against creating a new alien language for the institution because that would oppose the view that internationalism is not universalism but instead, is a collaboration of individual and distinct countries. To reinforce the commitment of its members to the organisation and probably, also to represent the different nations, every nation was required to send ornamentation, building material or art work that was interwoven with the interior design of the building.

“\textit{The traditional formulations of international law are both conceptually and institutionally organised around the forms of the sovereign territorial state. The conceptual ordering of international law around sovereign states forms the basis of membership into the United Nations… Global commerce, the rise of entities such as the European Union, claims to universal jurisdiction over torture or genocide, humanitarian intervention in Somalia and the breakup of territorial states, such as the former Yugoslavia, are all characterised as breeches in the bulwark of territorial sovereignty.}”

I contend that a century later the struggle to define an architectural language for international institutions has not been resolved; however, now it is determinedly slotted with the category of generic office towers as evident in all the buildings built in the last thirty years from the European Court of Human Rights to the International Criminal Court. Therefore, it can be appreciated that inventing a language for an international law court is quite a feat especially considering the interrelationship between the process

9 Dorsett and Mcveigh, \textit{Jurisdiction}, pp. 40-41.}
and procedures of law and the spatial organisation of the law court. In spite of growing international cooperation and an increasing number of intergovernmental organisations an international order or ‘law’ was always limited to the members who had ratified the treaty or recognised the institution’s jurisdiction in their territory. Furthermore, law has always been closely associated with an authority that was recognised as such. Therefore, the legitimacy of the Nuremberg trials was at stake and till date this matter has not been successfully resolved. There are many who describe the trials as victor’s justice and many, me included, who would argue that because of the horrific events witnessed by the world in Nazi Germany, it would be obvious to initiate unprecedented legal remedies such that these events would not be repeated by heads of state in the name of sovereignty, at least not without impunity. Though the inviolability of sovereignty underlines the premise of international law, and international law is predicated on nations willing to create relations between themselves; however, it is also commonly accepted that nations would forge alliances to deter any one nation becoming so powerful that they could upset the balance of the world order. This logic to some extent underlined the formation of the Concert of Europe.\textsuperscript{10} It is indisputable that the Nuremberg trials was not about stemming the uncontrolled growth of a nation, which had already been achieved by the war to some extent, but it should be read as a preventative act with the creation of legal mechanisms to limit the unchallenged power of sovereignty in the future. It is through the space and mechanisms of the Nuremberg trials that Daniel Kiley and Rafael Lemkin contributed to constructing a shared legal language for the sake of humanity.

In June 1945, Daniel Kiley, the Chief of Design of the presentation branch for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) was commissioned to design the court premises for the International Military Tribunal (IMT) in Nuremberg. Kiley’s design brief stressed on both the monumentality of the event as a global spectacle and for the future of international criminal adjudication. I will display that he organised the international

\textsuperscript{10} Mazower, \textit{Governing the World}, pp. 3-11. Furthermore, Carl Schmitt, \textit{Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of Jus Publicum Europaeum} (U.S.: Telos Press, 2003), says that European international law was formulated to maintain relations between European countries and also to a large extent ensure that no one nation becomes too powerful at the cost of the others. As I have mentioned earlier, I will not be using Carl Schmitt as a reference in this thesis though I am aware of his work. I believe that the recent scholarship on the topic suffices.
courtroom by hybridising existing legal formats—the inquisitorial and the adversarial—and, thereby generated a spatial language that could not be associated with any one nation. He did so by deploying modern architectural devices such as interpenetrating space and shifting axes. This was grounded on an understanding of the relationship between legal process and the positioning of bodies within space, which is the underlying logic seen universally in trial spaces around the world irrespective of the difference in legal processes and their corresponding order. Courtroom 600 in the Nuremberg Palace was unique in its spatial organisation suitable for an unprecedented international trial prosecuting a horrific moment in human history.

On May 28, 1945, approximately a month before Kiley was tasked with the design of the courtroom, Raphael Lemkin was hired to work at the War Crimes Office as part of Justice Robert Jackson’s prosecution team for the Nuremberg trials. Justice Jackson had decided that he would use documents and other recorded information as primary evidence during the trial, which echoed the methodology that Lemkin had used in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* to prove the existence of a plan to exterminate the Jews, by the Nazi regime in their aim to transform the demographic profile of Europe. Lemkin’s book was published a year before the trial and introduced the neologism—genocide—to describe the crime that he had identified. He articulated the three-fold strategy—physical, biological and cultural—that was used to destroy a group in its entirety which included erasure of its history, to prohibit its resurgence. After the trial he began to campaign for a Genocide Convention at the United Nations, which was ratified in 1951. Nevertheless, he was only partially successful as The Genocide Convention does not include vandalism

11 The positioning of people in the courtroom and the furniture that is used has been discussed in great detail by scholars and writers writing about courtroom. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, (Tantor Media Inc, 2011), describes the design of the court in great detail. Linda Mulcahy, *Legal Architecture: Justice, Due Process and the Place of Law*, (Routledge, 2010,) talks about the positioning of the different protagonists and the importance of the design of the furniture. Milner S. Ball, ‘The Play is the Thing: An Unscientific Reflections on Courts under the Rubric of Theatre’, *Stanford Law Review*, Vol 28, No. , (1975), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1228228?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents> [accessed 20 May 2021], says: “A court must appear to be a court architecturally and that this appearance may be instructively described as a setting for a certain kind of stage.” and lastly, when I visited the International Criminal Court, the judge pointed out that he was confused on who was the presiding prosecutor during the trial because he was not sitting as was expected.
or as it is known—cultural genocide—that Lemkin believed was an inextricable part of the crime, which hampered the development and progress of all of humanity and thus, deserved universal jurisdiction.

They both contributed to creating an international language—Kiley through his spatial reorganisation of the courtroom, and Lemkin through his identification of a universal crime. In their language every culture could find a reflection of themselves, though no one nation was dominant in its rendition. Furthermore, both Kiley and Lemkin attempted to challenge the limits of the inviolability of sovereignty or the nation, and to a large extent deemed what were the ethical relations that existed between a nation and its population. By creating a space and a people for international adjudication, Kiley contributed to the discussion about the legitimacy of the practice of international law and the nature of its forum, while Lemkin transformed international law from an agreement between nations to one that oversees, to some extent, the actions of nations. Furthermore, both were formed by and in turn, contributed to the formation of an international modern society through the institutions and ideas that they furthered. Therefore, I categorise their work as part of the international sensibility. Besides, with the end of World War II and the initiation of the United Nations, I contend that internationalism moved from a sensibility that was rooted in lifestyles, habits and the everyday to a more systemised form of institutional relations, thereby alienating the common person. Furthermore, I would argue that the Nuremberg trials, to a large extent, cast social hygiene and its efforts to constitute a national type in a negative light that led to its demise as a national practice, at least publicly.
Some historians suggest that the Central American Court of Justice was the earliest modern example of an international law court; however it was in session for only a decade from 1907-1917 and I would argue that the PCA came into being after the Hague Conference in 1899 though its permanent headquarters was ready to be occupied by 1913.

Daniel Urban Kiley

International Law Courts

The International Military Tribunal (IMT) was in session from November 1945 to October 1946 in courtroom 600 at the restored Palace of Justice in Nuremberg in Germany. It was the first tribunal that outlawed ‘aggressive war’ and recognised Crimes against Humanity and Genocide as an international crime. It was also the first to prosecute members of state for crimes during war. The tribunal was faced with a daunting task—its legitimacy and consequently, the formation of a new era of international law was at stake. International law courts have historically been designed by nations with clipped wings. The first international law court was the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA), followed by the Permanent International Court of Justice (PCIJ) under the auspices of the League of Nation. The PCA was born out of the Hague conference in 1899, as a voluntary institution to deter armed conflict. The PCIJ or the world court had a general jurisdiction, but in reality, was at the mercy of the good-will of member states, for example the United States was not a member of the court and did not recognise its jurisdiction. Furthermore, The International Criminal Court technically can initiate legal proceedings against any country if so recommended by the Security Council of the United Nations; however, many of the countries that do not recognise the authority of the court are permanent members of the council and therefore, it isn’t an exaggeration to state that the court is handicapped.

The IMT was one of the first tribunals where a nation or in other words, the leaders of a nation were being tried for criminal proceedings during war. Robert H. Jackson, the chief prosecutor for the Nuremberg trails was concerned about the perception of the fairness of the trial and therefore, he decided to use documents such as decrees, letters and other correspondence between the Nazi regime as primary evidence to display intent. Many of these were rendered by the presentation branch of the Office of Strategic Services

12 Some historians suggest that the Central American Court of Justice was the earliest modern example of an international law court; however it was in session for only a decade from 1907-1917 and I would argue that the PCA came into being after the Hague Conference in 1899 though its permanent headquarters was ready to be occupied by 1913.
(OSS) into more comprehensible formats such as maps, films and models that unveiled the hidden intentions of the regime. Witness testimonials were kept at a minimum. In addition, the trial was recorded and broadcasted as a global ‘spectacle’. Numerous scholars have observed the part played by the camera in transforming both the legal process and the courtroom as a space. For example, Thomas Keenan and Eyal Weizman in *Mengele’s Skull* discuss the reciprocal and dynamic relationship between legal process, evidence and the spatial arrangement of the courtroom. Paul Ricoeur amongst others, has observed that by bringing the trial into the homes of people, both the profile of the arbitrators and the temporality of the trial has been irreversibly altered, thereby transforming both the legal and the historiographical process of the trial. Unfortunately, historians of the IMT have focused on the changes in the evidentiary content introduced in the trial and its impact on legal processes and operations. Film and other technology, such as translation, has been studied and commented upon in great detail. However, there is little material that looks into the spatial organisation of the courtroom and its relationship to legal processes and operations. Therefore, I am going to focus on the role that the spatial reorganisation of the courtroom played in contributing to the legal process, and equally importantly, in constituting an international community that would legitimise the authority of the court.


14 Thomas Keenan and Eyal Weizman, *Mengele’s Skull: The advent of a Forensic Aesthetics*, (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012), pp. 29-30 where they talk about the forum of law and the Forensics as a practice. “The forum provides the technology with which such claims and counterclaims on behalf of objects can be presented and contested. It includes the arena, the protocols of appearance and evaluation, and the experts. The forum is not a given space but is produced through a series of entangled performances.” They further say: “And when these forums already exist, the matters or issues that come before them can and sometimes do affect their very constitution, as they reorganize themselves in order to accommodate new orders of testimony or evidence.”


16 Mark Somos and Moragan Gostwyck-Lewis, ‘A New Architecture of Justice: Dan Kiley’s Design for the Nuremberg Trial’s Courtroom’, *Journal of the History of International Law*, (2019). The authors have a detailed historical description of conventional courtrooms and the deviations seen in Courtroom 600 at the Nuremberg Palace of Justice. My analysis differs from theirs because I change my perspective by visualising it from the public gallery as a member of the public.
The spatial organisation of the IMT was radically different to the conventional layouts of courtrooms seen in any of the allied countries. It is indisputable that changes in legal procedure and technology contributed to changes in the spatial organisation of the courtroom; however, its rearrangement also displays another desire—to construct a spatial language for law that was international and not beholden to any one nation. The trial was not only a global 'spectacle'; but more importantly, it was relying on the judgement of an international public that it had to constitute, to defend its legitimacy. Public opinion had contributed greatly to the evolution of the peace movement, and Justice Jackson was particularly sensitive to it. The brief for the design of the courtroom was grounded in these sensitivities and articulates that the forum should be perceived to be fair; should resonate with a global audience; and should leave no room for doubt on the crimes of the defendant.

The Spatial Organisation of the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg

Through drawings and a textual description I will display that Dan Kiley, who was the architect of the courtroom used a number of modern spatial devices such as, interpenetrating spaces; axes that slipped past each other; proximity; and a multi-levelled sectioning of the courtroom floor to fulfil the rather complex and inherently contradictory brief. Kiley had succeeded Eero Saarinen as the Chief of Design at the presentation branch of the OSS and he reported to Hugh Barton. Barton had been in-charge of the design of the United Nations founding conference in San Francisco in April 1945. The

17 Delage, *Caught on Camera*. Delage talks about the incorporation of film into the courtroom in the United States before the IMT. However, though its changes legal processes, it does not lead to a complete overhaul of the spatial arrangement of the courtroom.

18 Mazower, *Governing the World*, p. 31 “…the pacifists constituted a distinctive new voice in politics. They were one of the earlies instances of what contemporaries termed "association mania" – that spirit that Tocqueville had found in America and had attributed to the nature of democratic society – and they brought with them an acute appreciation of the new power of public opinion.”

19 Kiley was hired by the OSS and later when it dissolved, he was moved to the Office of Counsel, sited in Nuremberg, where he was designing the law court. It is not impossible to conceive that though Justice Jackson wanted a fair trial, he was also keen that the guilt of the defendants should be undoubted. It is also likely that Kiley like many others did not look favourably at the Nazis.

Redrawing of Dan Kiley’s drawing of the Palace of Justice as a study of what it would have been before it was bombed. The drawings show a traditional format of a courtroom, which is centered on the judges. Dan Kiley’s drawings of the Nuremberg courtroom are available on GSD online archives.
conference greatly contributed to the maturing of the 114 artistic personalities, which included architects, editors, industrial designers, graphic designers and writers, who learned hands-on about the tensions between spatial positioning and diplomatic relations, and the staging of historical events.\textsuperscript{21} Kiley was not part of the team that designed the conference, but it wouldn’t be a great leap to assume that the lessons from San Francisco made it back to the office, and Kiley learned from them because Barton liked to make sure everyone in the office was at least informed about all projects, if not involved in them.\textsuperscript{22} Kiley’s absence from San Francisco bothered Barton and arguably to make it up to him, as a ‘consolation’ prize, he offered Kiley the task of designing the courtroom for the IMT and sent him to London. Kiley describes his role as:

\begin{quote}
\textit{The thing about the whole trial – this whole experience – was that I really didn’t have to report to anybody except Colonel Gill, I was just on my own. I made all my own decisions for the whole damn thing, all the way through.}\textsuperscript{23}
\end{quote}

The courtroom was designed for the public, which included those who would attend the proceedings and those who would watch or read about them, remotely. Besides, most of the evidence was to be projected on the screen, which was therefore, placed centrally in the courtroom. The images of the models of the courtroom focus on either the screen or on the public gallery that faces the screen. Therefore, it makes sense to view the courtroom from this perspective rather than from a more customary view of the judge’s bench, which is usually positioned at the end of the principal axis of the courtroom.

The screen was placed at the front end of the courtroom and defined the major axis of the room. The translators were seated to its right on a podium and the witness box was placed in front of it. When viewing the screen, one would see the defendants in profile in front
Two views of the model of the courtroom along the primary axis. The one on the left is from Delage. *Caught on Camera*. It shows the relationship between the public and the screen. The one on the right is from Cohen. *Architecture in Uniform* and shows the courtroom as a theatre.
One of the more famous views of the courtroom taken from the camera booth adjacent to the public gallery. The viewing angle of the camera suggests that one is watching the proceedings as if one is present in the courtroom. Image source: Delage. *Caught on Camera.*
of the translators’ dock. The defendants and translators were separated by a glass screen. This proximity was especially poignant when the translators had to translate some horrific detail and their expressions would betray their composure to the public. The public sat on two levels of tiered seating separated from the rest of the room with a glass wall, facing the screen, the translators’ dock and the witness box. The public gallery was equipped with amplified sound. This relationship staged along the primary axis deviated from any known courtroom. It reinforced the role of the public as seminal arbiters of justice, and of the court. It is customary for judges to head the primary axis as they were meant to be the only protagonists who had a complete overview of the whole room. However, in the IMT the judges were moved to the side and they sat across the defendants along an axis that was perpendicular to the primary axis such that their profile was visible to the public. During the screening of the films that displayed the concentration camps, lights that were installed above the defendants were turned on so that that their reactions, as they were confronted by their crimes, was clearly visible to the public in the otherwise darkened courtroom.

Charles Dickens in *Great Expectations* describes the courtroom with a mirror placed such that the defendant’s expressions could be visible even in the rear seats of the public gallery. Moreover, Linda Mulcahy, author of *Legal Architecture: Justice, Due Process and the Law*,

24  Delage, *Caught on Camera*, Fig. 28 “In the Nuremberg courtroom on November 28, 1945, the day before the in-court projection of these film documents, John Ford’s team decided to install a row of neon lights above the defendants so that the latter’s facial expressions would be visible during the screening.”

25  Alan Read, *Theatre and Law*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), kindle edition. Read argues that law is a performative practice much like theatre is and traces the similarities and differences between the two.

26  Mulcahy, *Legal Architecture: Justice, Due Process and the Place of Law*. The relationship between the prosecution team and the public was underlined by placing them along the same axis. The prosecution team were seated in front of the public gallery. However, their tables were rotated at ninety degrees to what would be the expected orientation—instead of facing the screen like the public did—they were instead seated perpendicular to the screen. Thus, the prosecution team was oriented in a similar
manner as the defence, thereby ensuring that they appear to be treated equally in the
design. Nonetheless, by placing the prosecution team on the same axis as the public,
their dual role as both officers of the court and representatives of the people was stressed.
Images of the prosecution team shows each of them rotated at different angles—some
are facing their desk while others are facing the screen. This in turn, creates a dynamic
angular view of the team for the cameras, which surely, attracted the attention of those
watching. The defence team, conversely, was left isolated along the minor axis of the
courtroom with no public behind them. Furthermore, this staging—the relationship
between the prosecution and the defence, and the relationship between the people and the
prosecution—is reiterated in the position of the chief-prosecutor.

The chief prosecutor marks the edge of the main well of the courtroom. This well is
designed such that it hybridises the spatial organisation of both the English common law
system and the European civil law system. While the former was adversarial, where the
judge faced both the prosecutor and the defence, who stood side-by-side, in the latter,
as exemplified in the Palais de Justice in Paris, the judge and the prosecutor together,
as representatives of the state faced the defence.27 In the IMT, the judges faced the
defendants marking the secondary axis of the courtroom. The prosecutor was oriented
perpendicular to both of them while directly facing the witness box and the screen behind
it. The chief prosecutor’s table abutted the judges’ table but was on the same floor level
as that of the defence. While the adjacency of the furniture between the chief prosecutor
and the judges evoked the inquisitorial system, the level difference between the judges,
and the defence and prosecutor evoked the adversarial system. In addition, the chief-
prosecutor had the same viewpoint as the public and spoke on their behalf. It is here that
it becomes apparent that the primary axis of the courtroom is not central but is skewed
towards the judges’ and prosecutor’s table.

The furniture is rarely centred along these different axes—there appears to be a deliberate
misalignment arguably, to tone-down the perception of confrontation. For example,
the witness box is moved to the right of the chief-prosecutor’s table. Kiley was also

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responsible for designing the furniture and the furnishing in the space. It was a stark space with minimal insignia. The furniture was angular, bare and veneered with walnut. Historians have noted that most cultures trace their origin of justice back to natural locales, usually below a tree, astride a rock, or an opening in the forest.\textsuperscript{28} The use of a ‘natural’ colour palette of wood and a grey-green could be understood as a way to relate to this mythical shared origin. However, in a sudden break from the neutral palette, Kiley installed some plush crimson chairs in the public gallery that he had salvaged from an old theatre in Germany.\textsuperscript{29} The crimson chairs were a stark contrast to the un-upholstered benches for the defendants. In fact, Kiley wanted to design these benches without a back but in consideration of the timeframe of the trial, and most possibly in light of the fact that it would be perceived as extremely unfair, he was discouraged to pursue this end. If it had been designed so, it can be assumed that it would have been so uncomfortable that they defendants would be seen to be squirming in their seats, which surely, would have made it look like they were uncomfortable with the evidence or testimonials. The axes, viewing directions, lighting effects and details on the furniture were especially staged to portray the fairness of the trial while subliminally suggesting the indisputable guilt of the defendants.

Along with the courtroom, Kiley restored and designed the rest of the Palace of Justice to include 650 offices for counsels of the allied countries, restaurants, army stores, clinics, the holding cells and the press rooms. He did all this with a minimal staff that initially consisted of draftsmen from the Army Corps of Engineers and a single trained architect, Jim Johnson, from MIT.\textsuperscript{30}

The IMT can be understood to be a successful conception of an international courtroom. It envisaged a new relationship between the international and the national order, where the international was conceived as being a check against the inviolability of sovereignty. Moreover, the spatial language adopted in the design of the courtroom was imagined as a hybrid of multiple legal forums that were blended so as not to highlight one particular

\textsuperscript{28} Mulcahy, \textit{Legal Architecture: Justice, Due Process and the Place of Law}.
\textsuperscript{29} Kiley, “The Courtroom’s Architect” in \textit{Witnesses to Nuremberg}, p. 17.
legal format. This was achieved through a pared down understanding of the most fundamental aspects of a legal forum—the relationship between legal process and the positioning of different protagonists in space. The logic behind the hybridisation invokes visionary projects for the need to create a shared language to enable an international world, for example, in the documentation project undertaken by Otlet; the design of Esperanto by Ludovik Zamenhoff; Neurath’s infographics or the visual standards pursued by CIAM; however, all of them, similar to the courtroom were only partially successful. The language suggested by courtroom 600 was never recreated in any of the international tribunals that came into being in the latter part of the twentieth century; nevertheless, the Nuremberg trials was an important step in the design of the International Criminal Court.

In the recently completed law court of the International Criminal Court, the courtrooms are designed with two axes. The primary axis connects the bench of judges with the witness and the people who are seated in the public gallery on the mezzanine level. The prosecution faces the defence along the secondary axis. This design displays an adversarial layout as seen in the United States as the defendant is seated with his team and is indisputably on par with the prosecutors. In many other judiciary systems, the defendant would be segregated in a dock which Mulcahy argues is yet another form of bias against the defendant. Additionally, in this courtroom the public gallery is divided into three bays—one that corresponds with the prosecution’s bay, the other that corresponds with the defendant’s bay and the central one to correspond with the bench. It is obvious that the International Criminal Court, at least spatially, aims to invoke a sense of neutrality, which was not the case in the Nuremberg trials. Courtroom 600 of the IMT was unapologetically designed to display the guilt of the Nazi leaders, forward new legal precedents and constitute an international audience for international criminal law.

31 I have talked about Esperanto in the Introduction.
32 Mark Crinson, Rebuilding Babel.
Dan Kiley at Harvard

Dan Kiley was born in 1912 in Roxbury Highlands of Boston. His family was not affluent. His father was the head of a construction business and a recreational boxer who taught his son how to ‘dance, move and dodge’. From his father he “learned that the body is fluid and balanced,” and “balance, counterpoint, intuitive tension and release” are attributes that underline all movement, be it on a dance floor, ski slope, golf course or in a good design. He experienced movement as he ran around the tight alleyways and labyrinthine fenced off yards around his neighbourhood. It can be surmised that this dense urban neighbourhood taught him about tensions embedded in space and his time at his grandmother’s upland pasture home in the White Mountains of New Hampshire inculcated in him a love for nature and geometry experienced in the fields and woods that he played in. On his walk back from school in Jamaica Plains he often took a short cut through the Arnold Arboretum, learning about the plants that grew there. The interweaving of the two experiences—the dense urban and the expansive pastures—came together in an intuitive understanding about space, the body, geometry and nature that is visible in his design for the IMT, though it would be far-fetched to claim that this learning was linear or even deliberate.

On finishing high school, in 1930, he knew that he couldn’t afford to attend college so instead, he looked for an apprenticeship at a local landscape practice. He found one with Warren Manning who was an associate of Frederick Law Olmstead Sr. His ‘technical’ skills as a landscapist grew during his stint with Manning. He learned about plants—their growth cycles, hardiness, and what could be expected from them visually. After five years of being an apprentice, he was promoted to the position of an associate. He then enrolled as a special student at Harvard.

“What is design? It is not something that sits on a shelf, waiting to be taken down. Neither is nature. Both are ever-present manifestations of a greater unity. Design is the same, basically, in all fields, although the tools and language are different. Whether it is music, writing, architecture or dance, the most important aspect is the energy of life itself. The thing that’s important is not something called design; it’s how you live, it’s life itself. Design really comes from that. You cannot separate what you do from your life.”

While it can be argued that he learned the relationship between the body and design, and between nature and geometry intuitively as a child, it was at Harvard that he was introduced to a vocabulary that allowed him to translate these ideas into a spatial composition. He was fascinated by Japanese houses because of “their composition of planes and shifting, ephemeral spatial order…” It was at Harvard that he met Garrett Eckbo and Jim Rose. Eckbo was the more knowledgeable of the three about the modern movement and together they attempted to stir the “conservative” curriculum of the school. The modern movement energised them because of its social aspirations with new cities and the multi-cultural society that they could envisage. Garret, Rose and he were greatly enthused by Mies van der Rohe’s Barcelona Pavilion and Fletcher Steele’s capacity of infusing his designs with international ideas and thus, attempted to develop a new language and contemporary material palette for their work. After his studies at Harvard, Steele had apprenticed with Manning and it is possible that Kiley was introduced to his work there. However, they were unable to convince neither Bremer Pond, the chairman of the landscape department, nor Walter Gropius, chairman of the architecture department about the “currency of fluid spatial dialogue between building and land.” Kiley never graduated from Harvard. When Manning died in 1938, he left the practice and dropped out of the school.

34 Dan Kiley and Jane Amidon, ‘Philosophy, Inspiration and Process’ in Dan Kiley in his own words: America’s Master Landscape Architect, (Hong Kong: Thames and Hudson, 1999).
35 Kiley and Jane Amidon, ‘Philosophy, Inspiration and Process’ in Dan Kiley in his own words.
Meeting Saarinen and Kahn

Between 1938 and 1942, he worked with the Public Housing Authority and then for the United States Housing Authority where he met Louis Kahn and Eero Saarinen. He had his own office at the time and was designing some private houses. Strapped for cash, he enlisted in the armed forces to “live off the post.” By this point he was married to Anne Sturges and the couple were moonlighting as part-time ski instructors. Sometime during this time Kahn called him inviting him to work on “some war housing projects in Detroit”, which was later followed by a call from Saarinen, offering him his job as Chief of Design for the Presentation Division for the Office of Strategic Services headed by William Donovan. Saarinen was planning to leave the armed services and resume his life as a civilian. Kiley took the job and a few months later, unable to work on the United Nations conference in San Francisco, he was instead offered the opportunity to work on the trial at Nuremberg.

Kiley says very little about the years while he was in the service for the United States, and in fact his interview for Witnesses to Nuremberg, is one of the rare publications is which he discusses his role in the design of the courtroom. In his monographs and other writings, he generally breezes past the episode. Besides, as he mentions in his interview, while working at the OSS he was also involved in designing armaments, which he may not have wanted to be associated with later in his life. His interview betrays the urgency and responsibility that he felt in getting the job done with a boxer like agility as he dodged hierarchical chains of command and improvised because of the lack of infrastructure and resources. It is a story told by a soldier cognisant of his place within the system rather than a designer of a prestigious once-in-a-lifetime project. The court was designed and realised in four months in a war-torn country that hosted diplomats, lawyers, journalists and armies from at least, four different countries. As apparent in the reading of the

36 Dan Kiley shares very few details about his life between the time that he left Harvard and finished his time with the armed forces, after the start of the trial. The oral history, Witnesses of Nuremberg, is one of the few publications where he talks about his role in the war efforts. In his monographs and other architectural publications he breezes over that part of his life.
interview, even decades later, Kiley could only describe the four months as a stream of consciousness in a staccato tone betraying the dreamlike shifting ephemeral urgency of the period.

Shared Language

Mark Crinson in *Rebuilding Babel* argues that internationalism was an integral part of the history of modern architecture, albeit not one that had been recognised or acknowledged. He focuses on one of the ways that internationalism was understood by modern architects—the need to bridge the divide of languages. He critically enumerates a series of modern projects that explore language in different ways that ranged from Esperanto to alternative world structures as read in Scheerbart’s fictions; the competition entries and designs for the buildings of the numerous international organisations; and the International Style exhibition/book that displayed buildings like laboratory specimens devoid of context, geography and social intent. However, Crinson did not include the numerous institutions that were forwarded by visionaries as part of the modern social project and arguably, the IMT at Nuremberg is a mature, successful example of modern architecture’s role in creating an international spatial language through social institutions.

The courtroom dapples with the idea of an international language in multiple ways—in the spatial organisation of the courtroom and its relationship with an international legal process to construct a recognisable legal entity; in the relationships it constructs between the national and international order; and in the visual language used to make the evidence legible and comprehensible, the broadcasting of the trial and the importance of translation within the proceedings to further the constitution of an international community.

“It is the first court ever to undertake the difficult task of overcoming the confusion of many tongues and the conflicting concepts of just procedure amongst diverse systems of law to reach a common judgement.” (John Dos Passos reporting for Life Magazine)38

The spatial organisation of the courtroom needed to salute the diverse legal systems to be recognisable as a legitimate space of justice. The reorganisation was enabled by bodily devices such as proximity, alignments, misalignments, changing levels and orientation, which are universally comprehensible. The legitimacy of the courtroom is inextricably linked to the constitution of an international community, which is manifested in the central positioning of the public and the press in the courtroom, the vantage points given to the cameramen and the superior technical equipment installed to enable international broadcasting of the proceedings. In addition, Kiley talks about the role of the OSS’ Presentation Branch in designing charts and other visual material as evidence in the trial and in the production of public relations material that was given to the journalists for publication. Lastly and importantly, the inclusion of the translators as a visible part of the proceedings, seated on the podium, just beyond the defendants’ dock separated by a glass wall, was required to stress upon the fairness of the proceedings and the international-ness of the law and the court.  

John Dos Passos in his report of the trial describes the effect of the translation on the defendants:

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40 Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. Arendt mentions the incompetent German translation in the trial even though the defendant speaks only German and the country has a large majority of German speaking Jews. She wonders about the fairness of trial.
“They give strange starts and shudders when they hear their own words, their own secret diaries quoted against them, taking the evidence out of their own mouths, their own written orders, their own secret diaries quoted against them. When the prosecutor reaches the crimes against the Jews they freeze into an agony of attention. The voice of the German translator follows the prosecutor’s voice like a shrill echo of vengeance. Through the glass partition besides the prisoners’ box you can see the taut face between gleaming earphones of the dark-haired woman who is making the translation. There is a look of horror on her face. Sometimes her throat seems to stiffen so that she can hardly speak the terrible words.” (John Dos Passos reporting for Life Magazine)  

Kiley in his rendition of the plans of the courtroom not only accomplished the dictates of the brief but irreversibly transformed the legal forum by designing a spatial configuration that complemented the changing nature of evidence and technology to enable a trial that reinvented international law and constituted an international community. Moreover, he successfully developed an international spatial language for nothing less than an institution that was customarily only associated with the logic of a nation.

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42 Though scholars like Michel Feher argue about the inefficacy of the international community, and they are not wrong. I would to the contrary argue that these debates are a testament to the fact that the international community does exist and every once in a while, it is effective and thus, brings about a hope for an increase in its power.
Rafael Lemkin

Via Sweden

Lemkin was practicing law in Warsaw when it was bombed. Comprehending the severity of the situation he fled from Poland to his parents’ house in Wolkowysk Olbast in Belarus. Unfortunately, he was unable to convince them to come with him and travelled alone through Eastern Europe. While fleeing, he contacted a number of his international associates hoping to find refuge in Norway or Belgium. The political climate was equally tense in both countries and instead, it was recommended that he go to the United States of America via Sweden. Thus, he reached out to Malcolm McDermott, whom he had known since 1926 when he had assisted him on his visit to Poland on a trip to survey the administration of justice across Europe. McDermott offered to get him a position at Duke University in the United States, where he himself was a professor.\(^{43}\) With Karl Schlyter’s help he was granted temporary asylum in Sweden—Schlyter was a prominent lawyer and politician in Sweden. While Lemkin was in Stockholm, he taught some law courses which have not been officially recorded, and his work was published in the magazine that was edited by Schlyter—*Svensk Juristtidning*. Though Sweden was a neutral territory, it had begun its restrictive immigration policies as far back as 1927, which were hardened after *Kristallnacht*. Schlyter, like other social democrats, had reversed their positive views on Germany in the 1940s;\(^{44}\) however, they were not a majority. Germanophilia and anti-Semitism was rampant in Sweden especially in the universities. Sweden officially reversed its political views on Nazi Germany in 1942 and was willing to accept Jews from Europe.

Nevertheless, because of its neutrality, Sweden managed to function more or less ‘normally’ during the war that ravaged the rest of the continent. More importantly, it became an important channel for the movement of information between the Government of the Republic of Poland that was in exile in London and the resistance movement in


Poland aided by Swedish businessmen who remained in Warsaw. While he was waiting for an opportunity to continue his journey, Lemkin began to collect ordinances, decrees and other documents that he believed would prove his theory that the Nazis had a plan to change the demographic profile of Europe, which included the extermination of the Jews. He tapped into his network of businessmen, many of whom he had worked with when he was a private lawyer in Warsaw. He also approached Swedish embassies across the Occupied territories, Red Cross delegations, and sourced information from the German occupation radio and official gazettes in the Swedish libraries. He continued working on the project with help from John Vance in the Library of Congress after he got to the United States.

Genocide

Lemkin met Colonel Archibald King who was the head of the War Plans Division in the US army’s office of the Justice Advocate General in 1941 on a trip to Washington with Malcolm McDermott. In this meeting he explained the situation in Europe articulating his belief that Hitler was annihilating groups of people in Europe and confessed that he had been collecting ordinances, decrees and other written documents to prove this theory. King promised to look into the matter. As news about his ‘collection’ spread, he was appointed as a chief consultant to the board of Economic Warfare. In 1943 he published this collection as a seven-hundred-page manuscript titled *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, where the neologism, ‘genocide’ appeared for the first time. Lemkin, in a conversation with students, explained the etymological significance of the word. He argued that genos, or a social unit, existed in all ancient languages. It is indisputable that the book was

45 Klambert, ‘Raphaël Lemkin in Stockholm’.
46 Klambert, ‘Raphaël Lemkin in Stockholm’. Klambert is unsure if Lemkin collected all the documents when he was in Stockholm and took them to the United States or if he collected them in the States. Nevertheless, he argues that Sweden’s neutrality during WWII meant that more information was readily available in Sweden than in other countries during the time.
47 Raphael Lemkin, *Totally Unofficial: The Autobiography of Raphael Lemkin*, ed. by Donna-Lee Frieze. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 181. “We even discussed word formation. I explained the importance of the term “genocide,” which conveys the idea of the basic social unit (the genos) through which man grew and developed in his social and cultural dimensions. The Roman “genos,” the Greek “genos,” and the Sanskrit “genos” are basically the same social unit, originally conceived as an enlarged family unit having the conscience of a common ancestor – first real and later imagined.”
important for its content and equally or more so, for the method that it used to prove criminal intention. It is possible to surmise that the book was influential in the decision made by Justice Jackson to use official documents along with visual representation as primary evidence in the trials at Nuremberg. Jackson had access to the book, which was borrowed from the Supreme Court Library by his office, and Lemkin worked with Jackson’s team and the OSS, resolutely pushing ‘genocide’ forward as a crime to be introduced in the trial.

Though genocide was recognised as a crime during the trial; however, it was limited to ‘crimes against humanity’ in times of war. To the contrary, Lemkin argued that the crime of genocide was independent of war and in fact, could be found across the world, throughout history. Though his book the *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* had focused on the Nazi regime of terror, after the trial Lemkin began working on another book about the history of genocide, which was never completed. He knew that if genocide was to be recognised as a crime it could not be seen as a one off occurrence and instead, had to be recognised as a crime that was more widespread than what was commonly accepted.

This was especially important as he had begun to campaign for a Genocide Convention at the United Nations, which was successfully passed in Paris in 1948. The convention was ratified in 1951.

Lemkin fought relentlessly for the convention. A mild mannered but resolute man, he won over allies with his perseverance through late-night telephone calls, intrusions during breakfast and lunch, and mingling over cocktails at evening galas though he himself was not very comfortable at large social events. This was the same doggedness that had annoyed the Office of Strategic Services and Jackson’s justice team, who side-lined him as much as they were able to, relegating him to an academic office position. However, at the United Nations, he was accepted with lot more grace and patience, especially from the ambassadors and delegates of smaller and newly independent countries who were happy to

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be part of a world event. In addition, France, amongst the large countries, was crucial in passing the Convention. Lemkin relentlessly activated all of his network that included his colleagues in universities and justice departments to aid him till it was ratified.

Through the endeavour he was helped by many of his associates who believed in the cause, for example, while he was in Paris in 1948, he stopped by the Pédone Publishing house, which was then run by mother and daughter. It was started by Père Pédone as the publishing house used by the League of Nations. It was one of the more influential enterprises for literature on international law during the period, and had a strong network of authors, jurists and professors. In addition, it acted as a sort of clearinghouse between the wars keeping its network connected with each other professionally and personally. The publishing house was personally dear to Lemkin. While he was on the run from Warsaw, he wrote to them about a manuscript that he had sent them of his 1933 pamphlet about ‘barbarity and vandalism’. Understanding his precarity, they immediately set out to publish it, and sent copies to his colleagues and to potential universities where he was seeking refuge. In 1948 they stepped up to help him again and activated the people around them securing him interviews with important newspapers such as Le Monde, and a speaking engagement at the Centre of Foreign Affairs. In fact, the 1933 pamphlet that they had published for him was Lemkin’s first attempt at broaching the issue of genocide, though he hadn’t named "the crime with no name" as yet.

53 Winston Churchill in a radio broadcast about the meeting with President Roosevelt in August 24, 1941 described the barbarity of Nazi Germany as: “We are in the presence of a crime without a name.” The address can be found at <https://www.ibiblio.org/pha/policy/1941/410824a.html> [accessed 19 January 2020].
Barbarity and Vandalism

In 1921, an Armenian, Soghomon Tehlirian, was acquitted of shooting Talaat Pasha to avenge the death of his mother. Pasha had been the Minister of Interiors for Turkey and was one of the principal figures associated with the massacre of the Armenians. The trial took place in Berlin and Lemkin discussed it with his professors at law school. A few years later, in 1926 he became aware of another trial where Shalom Schwarzbard, a Jewish tailor avenged the death of his parents by shooting the Ukrainian minister of war, Symon Petliura, who was said to be the architect of the pogroms in Ukraine in 1918. Both men were acquitted for psychological reasons—in effect the trials refused to hold them guilty but also refused to pass a judgement on the massacres. These trials bothered Lemkin, as the ‘victims’ of these crimes had escaped their own crimes with impunity, killing hundreds while hiding behind the inviolability of sovereignty.

From 1927 – 1937 he worked as a public prosecutor and in the committee of codification of the laws of the Polish Republic. As a public prosecutor he submitted a paper for the Fifth International Conference for the Unification of Penal Law hosted by the League of Nations in Madrid in 1933, which he could not attend. His paper was titled ‘Acts Constituting a General (Transnational) Danger Considered as Offenses Against the Law of Nations’, in which he articulated the concept of barbarism and vandalism. Barbarism was defined as the destruction of individuals for the purpose of decimating a

54 Steven Leonard Jacobs, “The Complicated Cases of Soghomon Tehlirian and Sholem Schwartzbard and Their Influences on Raphaël Lemkin’s Thinking About Genocide,” Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal Vol. 13: Iss. 1: 33-41. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5038/1911-9933.13.1.1594 [accessed 9 November 2019]. Jacobs believes that Lemkin was only partially aware of the facts and the cases of the Armenian Genocide. Nevertheless, he, does not disagree with other historians such as, Peter Balkain and Phillipe Sands about how consequential the Armenian Genocide and the trial of Soghomon Tehlirian was for the professional and academic career of Lemkin.

55 Sands, ‘Lemkin’ in East West Street, pp. 137-189. On research, Sands found out that though Lemkin had submitted a paper for the conference, he himself had not been able to present the paper. However, when Lemkin was describing the reception of the paper in a talk in the United States, he embellished the facts stating that paper was presented by him during the conference and some Germans who were part of the conference walked out. Sands and some other historians have remarked that in his autobiography Lemkin tends towards distorting the sequence of events and embellishes details.

social, national, racial or religious group and included physical violence of members of the groups and included all means that attempted to hinder the biological continuity of the group. Vandalism, on the other hand, was defined as the act of destroying a group by destroying works of culture that contributed to the identity, memory, symbolical cohesion and historical continuity of the group. Both barbarism and vandalism were inextricably intertwined in Lemkin’s definition of genocide. He argued that vandalism was an integral component that often accompanied physical and biological destruction as he had witnessed in the atrocities meted out by the Nazis and had observed in the actions of the Armenian genocide.57

“…an attack targeting a collectivity can, also take the form of systematic and organised destruction of the art and cultural heritage in which the unique genius and achievement of a collectivity are revealed in fields of science, arts and literature. The contribution of any particular collectivity to world culture as a whole forms the wealth of all of humanity, even while exhibiting unique characteristics.”58

Moreover, for Lemkin, the act of genocide was an assault committed on all of humankind and therefore, was a universal crime. He argued that the progress of humanity is a universal endeavour, where in different periods, different cultures have contributed to the collective growth of humankind. Thus, the killing of a group destroyed the potential of human progress. Lemkin was aware of Vespasian Pella’s work on universal jurisdiction or universal repression, as it was then called. He argued that as genocide was a crime against the law of nations, any country could prosecute the perpetrators of genocide in the name of humanity.59 Though the Genocide Convention accepted the tenets of physical and

57 Balkain, ‘Raphael Lemkin, Cultural Destruction, and the Armenian Genocide’. “Lemkin was so cognizant of the ramifications of the destruction of houses of worship that he noted that the “mass destruction of the synagogues by Hitler in 1939 in advance of the extermination action of 1942 and the mass destruction of the Christian Armenian Churches by the Turks prior to the extermination of a million Armenians” were not mere prologues to genocide, but full manifestations of it”
biological genocide they did not include vandalism or as it is now commonly known—
cultural genocide—in their definition. It wouldn’t be incorrect to surmise that the broad
definition of cultural genocide, which included the destruction of cultural and historical
property, and the extermination of influential cultural producers, was far more prevalent
and commonly practiced by all nations than they were willing to admit. In recent years
both the International Criminal Court and UNESCO have focused on cases of cultural
genocide or cultural cleansing, which are still not recognised as legal terms. Lemkin’s
manner of seeing the differences and originality in every culture while arguing for its
universal value can be traced back to his upbringing and childhood.

Manmade borders and the Vastness of Nature

“The farm supplied the basic ingredients of my personality and made me
a combined product of the life energies of my parents and the elements of
nature in whose command I was released in the world.”

Lemkin was born in 1900 in a farm in Ozerisko, which is a tiny oblast fourteen miles
from Wolkowysk in White Russia or Belarus. He was the middle child with an older and
younger brother. He spent the first decade of his life in this farm before his family moved
to another one in nearby Wolkowysk so that their sons could benefit from a formal public
education. At eighteen, he moved to Lemberg, which was in Ukraine, to study at the
university. Hersch Lauterpacht who defined Crimes against Humanity for the IMT, and
Louis Sohn, the ‘architect’ of the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations, both
were students at the same university and faculty. The family was not wealthy, and with
two other families worked as tenant farmers, which according to the Tsarist decree of the
time was illegal, as Jews were not allowed to either live on or own farmlands. His parents
dodged this formality by bribing a Tsarist official with shiny high boots who paid the

family a visit at least thrice a year on a beautiful horse.\textsuperscript{62} Though this put a strain on their resources, the children appeared content in the farm, which as described by Lemkin in his autobiography was an idyllic place for a child to grow up in—surrounded by fruit trees, animals, a pristine lake and magical forests, which was the heart of the farm supplying them berries, mushrooms, nuts, game and firewood to keep them fed and warm through the seasons. Though Lemkin enjoyed his solitude in the forest, he was rarely short of companions—his brothers, the children of the other farmers and of the farmhands were always close by. When he was six years old he became aware of the differences in living conditions between himself and the children of the farmhands. Knowing that they often went without lunch, he, along with the other children made sandwiches to share with them. They also enjoyed the squeals of delight when the poorer children appreciated some of the more ‘luxurious’ objects worn by them, for example, a pair of new shoes.\textsuperscript{63}

The children loved to climb the cherry tree in their yard enjoying the view of the continuity of the land with its everchanging textures—forests bleeding into a yellow flower carpet that turned into potato fields. From that vantage point fences and roads—manmade divisions on the land—appeared as fissures in the otherwise seamless terrain. Unable to comprehend the concept of private property because of its dissonance of their understanding of nature—the oneness of the earth, skies, and movement of their animals—they often found themselves in trouble for stealing plums and cherries from their landlord’s gardens.

“The prohibition we felt was against nature. We simply could not look indifferently through the fence at the fruit, and we succumbed to our temptation.”\textsuperscript{64}

\textsuperscript{62} Lemkin, \textit{Totally Unofficial}, pp. 12-13. Lemkin’s description of the Tsarist official is described under the sub-title ‘Buying the Right to Live’. It is a short account, but it is written with the innocence of how a child would remember the incident, which makes it even more potent.

\textsuperscript{63} Lemkin, \textit{Totally Unofficial}, p. 12. This memory is written from the point of view of an adult who has seen bad times himself and, in a way, feels guilty about his child-like behaviour towards someone else.

\textsuperscript{64} Lemkin, \textit{Totally Unofficial}, p. 10.
In Lemkin’s understanding the landlord had deliberately divided the land in such a way that his parcel had two gardens full of fruit trees, while the farmers’ lands had but a sparse scattering. As children, they believed that the prohibition was against nature. It could be assumed that seen from the eye of a child, it was simply an unfair distribution and was incongruent with the world view that they gleaned from the tops of the trees. His childlike view of justice and fairness was both created and validated by study of the Bible and the stories, poems and songs that he learned from his mother.

His mother, Bella Lemkin, was a voracious reader and a polyglot, possibly benefitting from the generosity of the Skirmunts, a noble Belarusian family with a renowned collection of French and Polish books. This interest filtered through to her son who was not only well versed in a number of languages but had an acute sense of cultural sensitivity, even during the hardest times when he was fleeing Poland. Bella composed the poems written by Semyon Nadson into simple songs for her boys. To Rafael they articulated hope in a brutal blood-stained world. She told them stories by Ivan Krylov, a Russian writer who was inspired by Aesop’s fables and taught the young Lemkins that crime does not pay.

“Our mother read these fables to us. We recited them later, almost by heart. They provided the much-needed complement to Nadson’s naïve idealism. Equity, justice, and fairness are basic elements of reason. The unjust person is made a fool because he destroys the reasonable basis of life. To us, the lesson of these fables was plain; the unjust are basically fools.”

The power of these writers was strong in the child’s mind and he began enacting his understanding of a just fair world in his behaviour with his playmates, birds, dogs and horses of his little world. When he was ten years old, while reading Tolstoy, he learned that if he truly believed in an idea, he must be willing to live it. He consequently became a vegetarian, which lasted for three months. This nearly perfect childhood soon came

65 Sands, ‘Lemkin’ in East West Street, p. 141.
66 This is gleaned from his description of different places and languages as he moves through Eastern Europe to reach America. He attempts to learn different languages and soaks the history and cultural specificity of the lands that he is traveling through.
to an end. When they moved to Wolkowysk, there were rumours about how a Jew had killed a Christian child and used his blood for Jewish Easter. In spite of the rumours being proved wrong, he experienced condemnation and tensions at school and in the town.

Lemkin’s version of his childhood is similar to that experienced by many other children but they neither grew up believing in justice as strongly as he did, nor did they attempt to transform international law by spending their life defining a crime. When Lemkin recounts these incidents in his autobiography, it appears to be a self-consciousness to his autobiography as if he is attempting to, retrospectively, understand for himself, as much as to explain to others, the origin of his intolerance and distrust for the inviolability of sovereignty and other man-made structural divisions. It is indisputable that the tensions in Europe against the Jews played no small part in his decisions. Historians have observed that in the early twentieth century, Jews increasingly identified as cosmopolitans\footnote{Cathy S. Gelbin and Sander L. Gilman, *Cosmopolitanisms and the Jews*, University of Michigan Press, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvndv9qv.4?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents> [accessed 19 May 2021].} to counteract the growing antisemitism of the 1920s, which portrayed Jews as rootless and therefore, incapable of harbouring national feelings.\footnote{Gelbin and Gilman, ‘Jewish Cosmopolitanism and the European Idea 1918-1933’ in *Cosmopolitanisms and the Jews*.} The antisemitism founded on the narrative of rootlessness of Jews surely, also worked in favour for the Zionists who after World War II ostracised Jews who considered themselves people of the world or cosmopolitan. The drive to identify Jews with cosmopolitanism arose in intellectual circles in the early twentieth century, especially writers such as Stephen Zweig, who used ideas perpetuated by Kant on cosmopolitanism to argue for Jews as European citizens to paint the nature of the diaspora in a beneficent light. Additionally, the definition of cosmopolitanism and the Jew as an archetype of this ethos paralleled the growth of feelings of nationalism. Nevertheless, as evident in the spread of the Kindergarten, and the reasoning behind the invention of the international language—Esperanto—though the Jews shared strong ties of kinship that were unlimited by national borders, more importantly, they were invested in developing institutions that were not limited by the nation or religion for the betterment of mankind.
Conclusion

The quest for an international language, or a language that would bridge across cultural differences was one of the many ways that internationalism was interpreted by the moderns. In this chapter we read about two projects that were partly successful in formulating a shared agenda between nations. This is especially crucial when it comes to addressing issues that are embedded in what is usually limited to the purview of a nation, for example, law and language. Both Kiley and Lemkin did so by deploying a historical process that involved stripping precedents down to their bare minimum and reconstituting a language through the structural similarities that they observed in the different precedents. Kiley in his study of legal precedents understood the relationship between legal processes and the relative positioning of protagonists in the courtroom. He, therefore, reorganised the space to hybridise these processes and to construct a new protagonist for international law—an international community. Lemkin, through the study of historical events that he had categorised as genocide from antiquity to the modern time acknowledged the uniqueness and horror of each incident, while displaying a recurring method common to all—the physical, biological and cultural decimation of groups of people. Nevertheless, little has been done after the Nuremberg trials to further this process of building a common language between nations, even though international cooperation has intensified. One of the ways that a common language has been articulated is through the Declaration of Human Rights, but this is embroiled in many different controversies. One of the more humane recent examples is when Iceland in 2005 deemed female child mutilation unlawful. However, in 2018, the progressive party proposed a bill that would deem genital mutilation of all children to be unlawful, arguing that it was against the United States Convention of Rights of a Child. The Muslim and Jewish communities rightly reacted against this bill seeing it as a ban against their traditions. Internationalism is inherently a conflict between cultural differences and a singular idea of a humane society. Moreover, the Nuremberg trials displayed the negative aspects that lay behind social hygiene, if it was not checked. Furthermore, the end of World War II gave rise to a new era of internationalism.

With the institution of the United Nations, the structure of intergovernmental organisations was forever altered. There are three key moments of evolution of
international law and relations.\textsuperscript{70} The first is The Hague Peace Conference and includes the formation of the League of Nations (1898-1945). During this period internationalism can best be described as a voluntary interstate relationship. The second key moment was the end of World War II and the origin of the United Nations and its court and international tribunals (1945-1989)—a period during which the inviolability of sovereignty was challenged. The constitution of the UN birthed numerous regional and local participants such as specialised agencies and nongovernmental organisations. The third moment was the end of the cold war, where the international order is seeking greater autonomy from the national order as local, regional, supranational and global institutions are increasing. However, it could be argued that because of the growing power of monumental institutions at the global scale and the formalisation of international actors, internationalism moved from being a sensibility associated with everyday practice and its people and became institutionalised. Mazower attempts to find a replacement in the twenty-first century for the nineteenth century visionaries who propelled the idea of internationalism forward. He is not sure if NGOs, charities or philanthropists can fill the gap considering the immense bureaucratic nature of intergovernmental organisations after World War II and their close affiliation with First world economic and political policies, especially that of the United States saying that:

\textit{“Before the First World war, scientists, engineers, doctors and bibliographers all embraced internationalism for this reason: it gave them a grand mission and appealed to their sense of the nobility of their calling...If other forces are needed to reinject a degree of popular participation in what remains a closed world suited chiefly to bureaucrats and lobbyists and to rescue the old internationalist dream, where might these forces be found?”}\textsuperscript{71}

\textsuperscript{70} Karen J. Alter, ‘World History and the Evolving International Judiciary’ in \textit{The New Terrain of International Law: Courts, Politics Rights}. (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 112 – 116. She argues that international courts are more powerful than ever before and she attributes this power to a multi-scalar ecology of international law courts from the local, regional, supranational and global; a greater complicity between national and international adjudication; and because of a growth in the number of independent agents such as nongovernmental organisations and legal practitioners advocating for international law.

\textsuperscript{71} Mazower. \textit{Governing the World}, p. 416.
In Conclusion

Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852) came to Frankfurt hoping to pursue a career in architecture; however, a chance encounter veered him off this course and four decades later he invented the Kindergarten—a novel institution geared towards young children that forwarded a curriculum structured around exercise, play, nature and geometry. Froebel, like Pestalozzi, advocated an instructional method that was modelled on the way a mother, hypothetically, teaches her child—with love and in respect to their individuality. The women’s movement was quick to absorb this rhetoric to further their agenda forging an alliance with the kindergarten movement. However, Froebel was not keen that uneducated or untrained mothers should teach children, therefore in parallel he trained Kindergarteners (teachers) to teach his method, which in turn, helped the transnational spread of the institution.1 Many of the kindergarteners were women, and more specifically, Jewish women, who set up institutions in different parts of the world. The impact of the Kindergarten on the Bauhaulers, or by extrapolation, on modern art and architecture cannot be overstated2—many were educated in Froebelian Kindergartens and some trained as Kindergarteners. Moreover, its impact on modern life cannot be overemphasised—it not only transformed the pedagogy and the subject matter taught in schools but more importantly, it contributed to changing relations in society. It helped in

establishing both childhood and parenthood as a distinct phase of life fostering changed relations between parents and children. Furthermore, it challenged the insularity of the home and contributed to the educationalizing turn of society.\(^3\)

Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935) in *The Home, Its Work and Influence* argued that it was to the benefit of both mother and child if the child studied at a kindergarten. Gilman observed the inextricability between kindergartens, kitchen-less houses, and calisthenics in emancipating women from domestic drudgery and strengthening them from inside out. She dusted the home of its kitchen, laundry, and schooling programme hoping that the removal of these old-fashioned industries would construct a new relationship between the home and the public realm and with it, transform relations between sexes at home and outside. Gilman’s work identified the systemic violence in-built across Victorian society. Her work was crucial in the development of the work of the early modernists and was revived in the 1960s by the material feminists.\(^4\) Gilman was the grandniece of the Beecher sisters and she continued their work, especially the work of Catherine Beecher.

Catherine Beecher had begun one of the first seminaries for higher education of women at Hartford. Additionally, it could be surmised that she was influential in the work of one of the forerunners in transforming the remit of science of work and Home Economics in the early twentieth century in the United States—Lillian Gilbreth (1878-1972). At the Chicago Century of Progress, Gilbreth displayed her design for a desk for the ‘home manager’ echoing Beecher’s views of reimagining the role of the women in relationship to housework. Through this design and title, Gilbreth aimed to categorise housework, as work and change the attitude women had towards housework. Though some historians\(^5\) do not classify Gilbreth as a contributor to the women’s movement; nevertheless, I contend that on a more careful reading of the political situation in the United States in the 1920s and the private circumstances that Gilbreth had to endure, it is evident that being as

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5 I have discussed this in chapter 3.
radical as Gilman was not always possible or prudent. Gilbreth contributed to the science of work movement by focusing on fatigue—one of the major fears of every nation. She used her technocratic expertise to dispel myths about women in the workplace and designed kitchens that furthered the cause for the differently abled. I argue that through her work, she like Gregor Paulsson for example, interwove the worker’s question and the women’s question—many historians have argued that in the early twentieth century women were not really considered in discussions about worker’s issues. Besides, she also expanded the remit of science of work and the women’s movement to include the differently abled.

Duncan also attacked the prevalent separate spheres narrative of the late nineteenth century. Her dance practice was revolutionary because it absorbed the prevalent discourses of modern architecture and in turn, contributed to them in a manner that paralleled artists such as Edward Gordon Craig and other important choreographers and set designers of the period—a predominantly male sphere. Her work engaged with issues about re-presenting the body, the body as a tool for self-determination, and the relationship between body and space. These were questions that would later be addressed by architects such as Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius—all of whom were celebrated by the International Style exhibition—to different intents. Gilman and she shared mutual admiration for each other, and though it is unascertained, it is likely that she was aware of Ellen Key’s (1849-1926) contribution to the mutterschutz movement in Germany. Duncan bore two children without being married and advocated for free love and the right for women to have children without the traditional binding of marriage or family, echoing Key’s views on motherhood. Moreover, she appropriated the discourse on motherhood and birthing and utilised it to describe creative creation therefore, challenging gendered roles in the design fields.

Key views differed greatly from her feminist counterparts, especially Gilman who she disagreed with publicly. She believed that their arguments were tailored for professional women and middle-class women and neglected to take into consideration the social situation of working-class women. She to the contrary, believed that women had different biological urges than men did and therefore, her feminism was rooted in supporting all women across the different classes who wanted to have children such that they could bring up their children equally. Towards that end, she advocated for social reform intertwined with aesthetic reform, free love and societal support for mothers. Mamah Brothwick translated her work for an American audience and wrote to her acknowledging the importance of her ideas on Frank Lloyd Wright’s work, which was admired by Gilman, plausibly for its feminism.

Gregor Paulsson (1889-1977) was influenced by Ellen Key’s ideas, which he translated into his curatorial direction for the Stockholm Exhibition in 1930, which departed from, and equally importantly, challenged the modern architecture that were being touted in Europe in the 1920s. The exhibition reinterpreted the worker’s question to advance a new scope for modern architecture in a duet with social reform and towards that end, focused on housing, interior design, furniture design, lifestyles and modern institutions to bridge the chasm between the different social classes and bolster productivity through a regime of equality. Model apartment hotels addressed the concerns of the women’s movement in relation to domestic work and can be traced back to the writings of Charlotte Gilman Perkins. In this manner, similar to Gilbreth, Paulsson too forged an alliance between the worker’s question and the women’s question. The Stockholm Exhibition in its vision for social reform in relationship with architectural reform became associated with a Scandinavian interpretation of an international modern architecture. Sunlight, outdoor living and exercise were important ideas forwarded as part of the design in the Stockholm Exhibition and its accompanying manifesto acceptera.

J.P. Muller (1866-1938) was an inspector of a sanatorium in Denmark before he became a self-designed physical culturist who campaigned for health, fresh air and sunlight as part of

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7 I have talked about this in chapter 2 and 3.
an urban lifestyle through his exercise and lifestyle regime. He founded an institution that distilled and domesticated the principles of treatment of tuberculosis and a home exercise regime for strengthening the body. Le Corbusier practiced Muller’s system for a while when it was a rage in the Parisian avant-garde circles—it was a preferred system because it holistically bound together exercise, diet and hygiene. Moreover, Muller’s system was adopted by some subversive movements to challenge authority, which was also seen in the case of other exercise routines, for example, Sandow’s regiment which was adopted by the nationalist group in British India. Many physical culturists such as Eugen Sandow, Pehr Henrik Ling, Bernarr Macfadden, J.P. Muller and Mary Bagot Stack contributed to the international health movement believing that they were contributing to making society more equal at least, in regard to having access to good health. Similarly, women had begun practicing Muller’s system and soon he formulated a regimen tailored for women. Exercise was an important part of the women’s movement that can be traced back to Catherine Beecher via Gilman and Duncan, who believed that they could alter the socially constituted feminisation of women through body strengthening activities like calisthenics and through dress reform.

The influence of health and hygiene on the modern movement cannot be overemphasised. Tuberculosis was rampant in the early twentieth century and health should be considered one of the first international movements that motivated nations. With industrialisation and urbanisation there was a fear that the population was becoming increasingly weak and degenerate. Hygiene and social hygiene dominated discussions in world’s fairs where one could see displays on medical technology, nutrition, lifestyle changes including exercise to mention a few. Of course, this soon gave way to a growing unproven discourse that connected health, race, and degeneracy. While social hygiene in the late nineteenth century aimed towards moulding society; however, by the 1930s it manifested as a programme for the design of society. In the Chicago Century of Progress exposition in 1939, the practice of eugenics was discussed as a positive way to stem degeneracy in the population. This exposition is particularly infamous because of the manner in which it

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treated visitors of non-white races—they were not admitted into the exposition – and because of the shows on display—freak shows and deformed foetuses.

Nevertheless, at the very same world fair Julius Hess, a well-known paediatrician collaborated with Martin Couney (1869-1950)—a showman who had been running incubator clinics for at least three decades in world’s fairs and amusement parks and was instrumental in the development of neonatal care. Lying-in hospitals and maternity wards not only changed the roles that women played in reproductive processes as midwives for example, but also created a space for male physicians, as hands of the state, in the relationship between a child and a mother. The women’s movement was complicit, to some extent, in professionalising reproductive care to the detriment of traditional practices by absorbing nursing as one of its causes as seen in Jane Addams Hull house and its associations. In spite of the changes that institutional neonatal care invoked, I contend that like kindergartens it too created a space that was safer for mothers and children. Besides, the incubator spectacles are still forwarded in contemporary neonatal wards and allow for a greater bonding between parents, especially fathers and the new-born. To some extent, the nation and the women’s movement has side lined the father in the upbringing of the child.

The Nuremberg trials highlighted the impact of social hygiene, racism and eugenics and its role played in the creation of the nation and its identity. Admittedly the Nazi regime took it to a scale that was horrific and never seen before. When Rafael Lemkin (1900-1959) was young, he questioned the manner in which landlords divvyed up land – he felt that it was unfair that they kept the more fertile parts of the land for themselves while leaving their tenants with less produce. It appears that he could not fathom why man could draw boundaries that would determine the fate of another. His later encounter with the trials about the revenge killings associated with the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish pogroms in Ukraine made him to question the logic of the inviolability of sovereignty. This in turn,

enabled him to invent a new international crime called Genocide, which he argued was a universal crime. Lemkin proved that the Nazi regime was rewriting the demographic profile of Europe, by exterminating the Jews amongst other groups of people, through a collection of decrees and other official documents—it is possible that in isolation the actions of the Nazi regime that was spread out in many territories and appeared independent of each other, did not reveal the systemic violence of the regime or its end intent.

Lemkin’s work was indisputably, an important point of departure for Justice Robert Jackson who decided to use similar documents along with other forms of visualisation as primary evidence in the Nuremberg trials. Daniel Urban Kiley (1912-2004) was one of the modern architects hired by the OSS and was responsible for the design of the courtroom for the Nuremberg trials. Kiley was formally untrained—he had begun a degree in landscape architecture at Harvard University but left because he felt that the school was too conservative in its education of modern architecture—it can be assumed that by the mid 1930s in the United States, modern architecture had lost its social programme and was simply projected as stylistic rules. He designed the courtroom as a hybrid of both the inquisitorial and adversarial systems of justice by deploying modern spatial tactics such as interpenetrating spaces, shifting axes and deploying multiple levels to create a space of law that would be considered legitimate in all the participating countries and therefore, help in constituting an international audience for international criminal law. It is indisputable that Kiley understood the power of the architecture and intended it to aid in displaying the guilt of the defendants.

This constellation articulates the inextricability of international movements, national preoccupations, science, social reform, modern institutions, and design and architecture. It displays that the international sensibility was not only a series of utopian projects that argued for a world government but was also, a series of reforms grounded in everyday life that were integral moments in the development of nations. These reforms particularly addressed those and was forwarded by those who were marginalised and though it cannot

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be denied that the women’s movement was a force in disseminating the sensibility, it in turn owes a lot to its alliances with other movements. The international sensibility paralleled the conception of a nation. Additionally, it burned brightest when the nation was being usurped by ultra-nationalists who were destroying the core of what it meant to be a nation, which is best evidenced in the work achieved through the international health movement. It particularly displays the resonance between national agendas and international movements, showing that an enlightened sense of nationalism is founded on international cooperation and sympathy—especially in relation to world peace and health—two extremely current issues in the (post-)Covid era. It displays that internationalism is not only about large bureaucratic organisation and relations between nations but to the contrary, it begins at home and is equally about relations between people.

History Often Rhymes

When I began this research in 2016, internationalism was unfashionable—the United Kingdom had recently voted to leave the European Union, Donald Trump was building a wall, and the recently completed headquarters of the International Criminal Court went mostly unnoticed, even by architects. At that time, I was limited in my understanding about internationalism—I understood the international as something that was quite distinct from the national. Besides, I was torn, sometimes the international was this white space of ideals and goodness and at other times, it was this bureaucratic machinery wielded by neo-imperialists. However, now I don’t see the two as such distinct realms. I now understand the international, not as something external that was placed on top of the nation-making project but something that was born through it and which, in turn, shaped it and was shaped by it. Additionally, in the last fourteen months, the constellation that I was trying to see was far denser than I had envisaged and more problematic, not in the least because of the social inequalities that were highlighted by the pandemic and their

12 Sluga and Clavin, Internationalisms: A Twentieth Century History. Sluga and Clavin talk the international as a balance to the nation making project and talk about its inseparability. And Mark Crinson, Rebuilding Babel: Modern Architecture and Internationalism, (London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 2017). Crinson talks about the international as a complement to the nation. I believe that they still think about it as a separate sphere though they do believe that they are inseparable. I think that the international and the national are artificially differentiated in the similar manner one talks about the body and the mind.
relationship to many of the issues that were touched upon in the thesis.

In the Covid-era it has become apparent that the international and the national are not two separate spheres. Vaccine monopolisation, vaccine nationalism and vaccine slander have proved to be useless. Furthermore, bad governance has been unable to hide behind a usually successful divide-and-rule policy in a situation where the vaccine does not differentiate between people. The virus has shown us something that was understood by pacifists in the progressive era—if social inequality rages anywhere in the world it will eventually wash up on the shores of all the other countries and wreak havoc. The virus is the same—a raging, mutating virus in any part of the world will eventually make the vaccines less effective all over the world. The late nineteenth century was mobilised with its own health concerns and understood that it was only by equalising lifestyles, education, and other social issues it would prevail against the crises. A number of progressive era visionaries deployed architecture towards transforming relations between people to advance greater social equality. They focused on private problems and propelled their ideas through international movements forwarding institutions for the betterment of mankind. They forwarded institutions and educational departments that attempted to dampen the isolation of private homes forcing a modern life that was quite public. Most importantly, they connected social reform to aesthetic reform. Their solutions were not perfect and in fact, many of the issues that we face today can be traced back to their work. Nevertheless, their work was needed to progress from the Victorian to the modern era.

On 11th March 2020 the World Health Organisation declared an outbreak of the Covid pandemic. In the last fifteen months we have seen a rise in hate crimes against Asians, marked by the Atlanta spa massacres. “I can’t breathe” resonates from the United States to India becoming the slogan for state corruption, negligence and brutality. ‘Follow the Science’ is the new mantra and yet again it is increasingly clear that science is not insulated from politics. Police powers have been disproportionately increased to combat the virus. New health security agencies have sprouted. Our streets have become less safe for women, and surely, for all people who are weaker, smaller and less likely to fight back, including men. We have learned that domestic violence is on the rise—and we have seen that in spite of statistics that indicate otherwise, violence and abuse are still forwarded as gender issues, thereby discriminating against men who are abused. We have observed that women
contribute asymmetrically in taking care of the home and are more likely to lose their jobs because of this. Moreover, we have learned that our homes are not equal—not everyone has adequate space so that they can work or study from home. Technology, which was touted as the cure for inequality is not equally available to everyone. Most importantly, we are aware that if we have been able to ‘stay at home’ the last fifteen months and managed to continue working and living in the new normal, then we are the blessed few. There is a fear of an obesity pandemic and mental health problems are on the rise.

In March 2020 as many countries went into national lockdowns, our institutions—public, educational and social—were closed, and our worlds grew much smaller. It was like watching a movie with the rewind button pressed on—the issues that I was talking about—fatigue, health, exercise, open air education, domestic violence, gender inequality, social inequality, racial bias and prejudice—were slowly rising up through the gaps. The social reformers that I discussed harnessed the power of architecture to further institutions that ended the isolation of the home and, conversely increased its sanctity, while reducing its power to determine the individual. We have come a full circle, we have seen an increase in isolation of our homes and contradictorily, mediated by the screen, we now experience a drastic reduction in its sanctity and a proportionate increase in its role in determining the future of the person. As we approach a new normal, what is the role of architecture in transforming social relations?
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