LOS ANGELES CITYWIDE HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT
Theme: Late Modern, 1966-1990

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PREFACE

This theme is a component of Los Angeles’ citywide historic context statement and provides guidance to field surveyors in identifying and evaluating potential historic resources relating to Late Modern architecture. Refer to www.HistoricPlacesLA.org for information on designated resources associated with this theme as well as those identified through SurveyLA and other surveys.

CONTRIBUTOR

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THEME INTRODUCTION

This historic context provides an overview of Late Modern architecture, its character-defining features, and selected subtypes. Though select residential examples are identified and Late Modernism’s general features could apply to all property types, the focus of the narrative is on large-scale commercial and institutional buildings, primarily designed by notable large, multi-service architectural firms working for highly visible clientele. Architectural historian Charles Jencks in 1977 first codified the term “Late-Modern” through a specific set of architectural design ideas and elements. However, the term still gets applied to any variety of postwar works, while others have questioned the existence of Late Modern as a standalone design movement. Though this context adopts this relatively young style term, insofar as it helps to provide an understanding of what Late Modernism may or not be, some of the nomenclature matters will be addressed. This context has a certain focus on subtypes, including the all-over reflecting glass skin: Los Angeles’ primary contribution to Late Modernism.

1 Although coined as “Late-Modern” by Jencks, for the purposes of the Los Angeles Citywide Historic Context Statement, the terms Late Modern and Late Modernism do not include a hyphen, in-line with common parlance today.
According to Jencks, “There are many ways to characterize Late-Modern architecture and most of them can be reduced to the single notion of exaggeration. Late-Modernism takes Modern architecture to an extreme in order to overcome its monotony and the public’s boredom with it.”

Examples, among many, of exaggerated aspects of Modernism present in Late Modernism include: the modernist curtain wall becoming an all-over, hermetic and smooth-gridded glass enclosure; undeviating monochrome and wrapping of a single cladding material; open plans becoming “extreme isotropic space” (Isotropic: having the same properties in all directions); the machine references of Modernism becoming future-forward “High Tech,” and scale – Late Modern buildings are often large scale, imply large scale even if they are not, or are scale-less. Related to exaggeration is a quality frequently seen of extreme repetition, and paradox, wherein for example, a building of all glass enclosure has no operable windows.

Generally speaking, Late Modern works are differentiated designs intended to stand out.

The Late Modern tendency toward exaggerated Modern design elements is coupled with – to borrow a word used by Los Angeles Late Modern architect Anthony Lumsden – “mutation” to Modernism, as opposed to the clearer break from Modernism seen in Postmodern architecture. This mutation includes that of form – Late Modern buildings, particularly towers, are often sculpturally handled and box-breaking. Minoru Yamasaki’s triangular Century Plaza Towers (1972-1975, 2029 and 2049 Century Park East) are an example of this, as are Lumsden’s own Marina City Club condominium complex (1971-1975, 4333 Admiralty Way, Marina Del Rey): a boldly composed cluster of 17-story semicircles. Where the box is retained, it is handled like Minimalist sculpture; art world references abound in Late Modernism. Though still Modern in its formal character, features, and materials, this “Late” movement of Modernism is akin to, according to Jencks, “Late-Baroque” or “Late-Gothic” works that “extend an already existing set of styles and values.”

Late Modern work is mannered work. Late Modernism was not only a U.S. phenomenon, but was present in countries across the Western and developed world, including Japan, which to Jencks was a primary location for Late Modern architecture.

In 1986, Jencks revisited his “Late-Modernism” definition with the understanding that other writers, including the cultural theorist Frederic Jameson who in a widely read work analyzed the Bonaventure Hotel, were consistently referring to Late Modern work as Postmodern. Jencks articulated his original definition, stating that “Late-Modernism is mostly “late” because it is still committed to the tradition of the new,” and unlike Postmodernism, “does not have a complex relation to the past, or pluralism, or the transformation of Western culture – a concern with meaning, continuity, and symbolism.” Ultimately, according to Jencks, “Late-Modernism” is “pragmatic and technocratic in its social ideology and from about 1960 takes many of the stylistic ideas and values of modernism to an extreme in order to

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resuscitate a dull (or clichéd) language.”

**HISTORIC CONTEXT**

**Orthodox Modernism**

Late Modernism begins as a reaction against twentieth century Orthodox Modernism. In the early twentieth century, a heroic agenda of large-scale societal improvement was a primary intention of the Modern design system. Modernism in its interwar prime would become known as the International Style by the early 1930s, when a show of that same name at the New York Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) featured multiple U.S. and European projects. Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, the curators of the MOMA show, codified the International Style as a volumetric, anti-massive, unornamented, and asymmetrical design system informed by the machine age. Though its proponents were hesitant to refer to it as an aesthetic, International Style Modernism can be perceived as the aesthetic flowering of the industrial revolution itself, which began 170 or so years before 1930.

After World War II, International Style Modernism became more formalized, corporate, and uniform as it literally became an international style. Mies van der Rohe, an International Style master architect from Germany who moved to Chicago in 1937, codified this later work through high-rise buildings like the 1951 Lake Shore Drive Apartments in Chicago and the 1958 Seagram Building in Manhattan, the latter designed with Philip Johnson. Others asserting this reductive but larger-scale and corporate version of the International Style include Pietro Belluschi (Equitable Building, Portland, 1948) and Skidmore Owings and Merrill, through their 1952 Lever House headquarters in Manhattan, with its thin curtain wall asymmetrically set upon a plinth. Both Equitable and Lever House, not to mention Lakeshore Drive and Seagram, all have pronounced flat and vertical rectangular massing against which Late Modernism would react. As this new version of corporate modernism was increasingly copied by others, Mies’ sensitivity to proportion, along with smaller-scale or expensive elements such as the impeccable detailing and exquisite materials Mies demanded, were often compromised, and by the postwar era derivative versions increasingly devolved into a later version of Modernist “functionalism.”

8 Jencks, “Postmodern vs. Late-Modern,” 15.
enterprise and its powerful economy. Increasingly by the early 1960s, this version of a generic, Miesian corporate Modernism became an excuse to build cheap, banal, and generically.

Late-Modernism is a reaction against the above trends. But well prior to its advent, architects by the late 1950s would influence and inform what would later be coded as Late Modern architecture. Among these were James Stirling, who practiced out of London with his partner James Gowan, and the Finnish-American Eero Saarinen. Completed between 1959 and 1968, Stirling and Gowan’s “Red Trilogy” – Leicester Engineering Building (1959), Cambridge History Department (1963), and Foley House, Oxford (1968) – was particularly influential upon a group of Los Angeles Late Modern architects who in the mid-1970s would briefly identify as the “Silvers.” Through a generous use of paradox and what Jencks calls “dynamic dissonance,” the Red Trilogy formally and conceptually turned Modernism inside out, resulting, through shedding the Orthodox uniform, in hyper-Modern designs.10

Years before the term “Late-Modern” was ever conceived, the Stirling and Gowan works apply paradox in the following influential manners:

- Muscular and sculptural box-breaking forms that are rational if not diagrammatic in how their new massing is based off articulated functions and circulation patterns, and therefore hyper-Modern. Stirling’s dissonant, sculptural, and muscular forms moved away from the flat and transparent Modernism of the Bauhaus, and toward early 20th century Italian Futurist architecture, in addition to Russian constructivist architecture of the 1920s, of its own dynamic combination of machine imagery and abstraction.

10 Jencks, Late-Modern Architecture, 82.
Glass as a hermetic and plastically handled, form-giving enclosure; the 1959–1963 Leicester building workshop wing presents an early use of patent glazing to create an all-over shaped and hermetic membrane of the kind seen in Late Modernism.

Red brick used as a shiny, all-over skin-like cladding consistently applied across most of the building in a manner that reiterates the buildings distinctive sculptural forms.

Machine and high technology imagery – the Red Trilogy integrates the imagery of high technology equipment and industry into the building design.\textsuperscript{11}

In the most general sense, Stirling’s work was Modernism of extreme thoughtfulness – the antithesis of blindly copying Orthodox Modernism.

Contemporaneous to Stirling and Gowan, though passing away fairly young in 1961, Eero Saarinen was a highly regarded Modern architect with experience designing for the largest of U.S. corporations, but also known for and open to formal variety in his projects relative to the client and need, rather than a prescriptive approach.

Saarinen’s designs changed greatly, though not arbitrarily, with each new project. Among his better-known works are the TWA Flight Center (1955–1962) at New York’s (JFK) Airport, built of poured-in-place concrete and metaphorically referencing a bird in flight; the Kresge Chapel at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) (1950–1955), which is circular, brick, and windowless, with only a rooftop oculus for light; the General Motors Technical Facility in Detroit (1953–1955), for which silicone curtain wall gaskets were first invented, inspired by rubber gaskets around car windshields; and Bell Labs in Holmdel, New Jersey (1957-1962, 1967, 1982) – a horizontally composed laboratory complex within in designed landscape, that featured a vertical mullioned glass curtain wall in the manner of post-World War II Orthodox Modernism, except that all exterior glass was mirrored.

Transition through the 1960s and early 1970s

Across the U.S. the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s was a time of substantial transition that was not, on the whole, easy. The country’s postwar sense of national optimism and abundant possibility would gradually erode through incidents such as the assassination of President John F. Kennedy (1963), the Vietnam War (1965-1975) and its accompanying protests, race-related uprisings in Los Angeles (1965) and Detroit (1968), and the assassinations of Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., both in 1968. In part as a result of the above, the 1960s also saw a rethinking of the self and its place in society as reflected through self-exploration, and counter-cultural movements and groupings, many of which were based in California. Hippies, free-love, drug experimentation, and psychological self-help movements such as those led by the Esalen Institute (1962) and Erhard Seminars Training (est. 1970), both established in the Bay area, emerged during this time.

With the above were harsh economic downturns that also indicated the end of expansive U.S. postwar growth. The first of these recessions happened from December 1969 to November 1970 and was largely due to President Johnson’s Vietnam War and Great Society program spending, followed by a second, more severe recession, which at the time was the worst since the Great Depression and lasted from 1973 to 1975. This latter economic downturn was due to a combination of factors that included President Nixon moving the U.S. off the Gold Standard in 1971, high unemployment coupled with inflation – “stagflation,” – the Arab oil embargo of 1973, and the competition from and a demand for materials, such as steel, by newly modernized countries. Fostered by some of President Nixon’s policies including the opening of trade to China, it is in this early 1970s period that economic globalization begins, and Late Modern architecture, particularly its mirror glass version, will become an early vernacular of it.

Late Modernism is a shifted and mutated Modernism borne from a shifted and mutated society. By the early 1970s, Modern-era transparency is replaced by hermetically sealed and opaque reflecting glass buildings, the exterior box is being chamfered and cut apart, and Modernism’s machine age metaphors are brought to the exterior, if not the surface itself, as artistically handled “High Tech” expressions. With regard to high technology, the 1960s era did, however, possess notable achievements, and among these was the implementation of aerospace and high technology to place a man on the moon, which occurred on July 20, 1969. Thusly, Late Modernism, including the glass skin variant developed in Los Angeles, frequently expresses high technology aesthetics: a *zeitgeist* of the times, and of industries for which Los Angeles during the 1960s and 1970s was a center of global significance.

1960s Los Angeles and DMJM

Los Angeles, a relatively young metropolis in the 1960s, would prove an ideal place to develop and explore new reactions against an increasingly conformist Modernism. Regional components of the freeway system developed, feeding an abundance of new suburbs and outlying areas. As this occurred, postwar Los Angeles became geographically expansive, increasingly decentered, and Los Angeles County
would grow in population from 2.8 million in 1940 to over 6 million people by 1960. However, the region was horizontal and open not just geographically, but sociologically. Because of its newness and horizontality, lack of density, and gigantic population surge of largely new immigrants from both US points east and other countries, aside from an underlying and benign presence (still present) of various Spanish and Mission vernacular designs, old cultural hierarchies or cultural codes seen in more established cities such as New York or San Francisco did not exist in 1960s Los Angeles. Although Los Angeles long possessed internationally regarded examples of local residential designs, Los Angeles architecture was largely ignored by the rest of the architectural world, or in certain instances seen more as successful, regionally informed experiments than architectural traditions.

Due to the need to build quickly in the immediate postwar era, postwar Los Angeles featured a multitude of large, multi-service architectural firms that had more experience in developing infrastructure along with the city’s institutional architecture, and less of an emphasis on high design. That the city only had one architectural school, the University of Southern California (USC), until 1966, may have inadvertently reinforced a culture that allowed for the large, multi-service architectural firm. During the postwar era, John Entenza’s Arts & Architecture magazine and the seminal architectural writer Esther McCoy both made important contributions to understanding the region’s newer work. But architectural discourse was not a cultural component of Los Angeles until later. The city did not have its first full-time architectural critic – John Pastier of the Los Angeles Times – until 1969. In addition to USC, By 1972 in addition to USC, other architectural schools in the region included Cal Poly Pomona, UCLA, and SCI-Arc architecture schools lending a more robust architectural dialogue to the region.

Originally founded in 1946 as a civil engineering firm focused on military and educational facilities, Los Angeles based Daniel, Mann, Johnson, and Mendenhall (DMJM) was one of these previously mentioned large, multi-service corporations. Architectural design was but one of 22 separate divisions in the DMJM office by the late-1960s.

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By 1957, DMJM, in terms of construction revenue, was the largest architectural firms in the United States.\textsuperscript{13} However, it was not until 1959 that the firm had hired its first design director, Steve Oppenheim, whose projects included the American Cement Building (1960, 2404 Wilshire Blvd) and Ambassador College in Pasadena (1963).\textsuperscript{14} Oppenheim, who was an awkward fit in DMJM’s large corporate culture, had a short-lived tenure, and in 1964 DMJM hired architect Cesar Pelli as its new Design Director. Seeing the massive backlog, Pelli immediately hired architect Anthony Lumsden as his assistant. Perhaps it was no accident that both architects were hired from the office of Architect Eero Saarinen, which was known for its design diversity, was experienced in working for large corporations, and implemented an open, team approach that become highly influential upon later, large-scale architectural firms.

Late Modern Sub-Types

The Glass Skin

While serving as design manager on the Saarinen office Bell Labs project during the late 1950s, Anthony Lumsden had proposed reversing all “mullions,” the vertical members between lights of glass, on the building so that they would protrude inward rather than outward, creating a smooth-gridded mirror skin across the entirety of the Bell Labs exterior.\textsuperscript{15} To Lumsden, since mirror already obscured the spandrel and vision glass for a consistent exterior form, the logical next step was to treat the vertical and horizontal mullions the same, to lend even more all-over design consistency to the surface, which would

\textsuperscript{13} Daniel, Mann, Johnson, & Mendenhall, “1956-1965: Daniel, Mann, Johnson, & Mendenhall” (Los Angeles: Daniel, Mann, Johnson, & Mendenhall, c.1995), Brochure.

\textsuperscript{14} Aaron Cayer, \textit{Design and Profit: Architectural Practice in the Age of Accumulation} (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2018), 143.

then be emphasized. Lumsden saw that mirror glass afforded the possibility of “windows appearing as part of a surface of the building rather than as holes,” thereby placing them where they are best suited regardless of compositional arrangements. Architect Kevin Roche, who served as design director on the Bell Labs project, rejected Lumsden’s reversed mullion proposal. In Roche’s view, this would have rendered the building a large unadorned box having no shadow play whatsoever, which protruding vertical mullions would provide to an elevation.

The opportunity for Lumsden to implement his idea would occur in Los Angeles at the beginning of his DMJM employment. In 1965, the US General Services Administration (GSA) hired DMJM to design the Federal Aviation Administration Western-Pacific Region headquarters building (“FAA Building”), in Hawthorne near Los Angeles Airport (LAX). Though not completed until 1973, the FAA building, designed in 1966 by Pelli, Lumsden, and fellow DMJM architect Philo Jacobsen, is the first building designed to attempt an all-over mirror glass skin of the kind Lumsden wanted to employ upon Bell Labs. It would later become ubiquitous – done to varying degrees of quality – on corporate architecture across U.S. cities and suburbs, and much of the late capitalist Western World.

The FAA building’s taut, mirror skin, rounded corners clad in aluminum, horizontality rather than verticality, and its recessed base collectively make the building more floating and atmospheric, and less monumental – a foil to a certain pretentious monumentality seen in corporate Orthodox Modernism. The hermetically enclosed glass skin references encased high technology and aerospace industry objects such as the smooth skin of 747 jets or electronic equipment. The original design intent also included mirror glass at rounded corners.

The FAA Pacific Region Building is one of the first mirror glass skins designed. In terms of expressing a smooth reflecting glass skin, the 1965 design of the Expo ‘67 Quebec Pavilion, by Louis Papineau (Papineau Gérin-Lajoie Le Blanc (PLG)) with Luc Durand and engineer René Cayer) predates the FAA building. The intent was to reflect the sky and surroundings toward Pavilion visitors and does so with four tilted elevations that are suspended over a water feature. After installing the mirror glass upon the building: an early use of PPG Solargray reflecting glass, Papineau decided not to install the aluminum capping that covered the neoprene flanges, thereby creating a skin; Louis Papineau, interview with Dr. Louis Martin, Ile-des-Soeurs, Montreal, Quebec, September 27, 2019. Pelli and Lumsden’s FAA building appears to be the first attempt at an all-over mirror glass skin design, but it is not the first completed. The temporary Expo 70 Canadian Pavilion by Arthur Erickson, the first all-over mirror glass skin building completed of any kind, appears to have had a similar intention. The Canadian contribution to the mirror glass skin, admittedly, needs a more thorough investigation than is afforded within this Los Angeles-focused document.
corners, but the technology was not present to create tightly curved architectural glass, and aluminum cladding was instead used at certain edges.

Aerospace and high technology as practiced in Los Angeles included the development of missiles, satellites, aircraft, medical devices, and electronics assembly. In 1964, the year that DMJM hired Cesar Pelli and Anthony Lumsden, Los Angeles County had 1,321 high technology establishments employing 315,919 people. As previously mentioned, throughout the post-World War II era and well beyond, Los Angeles was a globally significant center for aerospace and high technology industry. Among other things, Pelli and Lumsden perceived the reflecting glass skin as a localized expression of High Tech aesthetics, substantially different from the better known, same-named Late Modern subtype concurrently developing in England, and discussed later as a subtype within this context statement. Pelli also referred to the design as “future looking.” Lumsden referred to the FAA’s design as “non-gravitational, non-directional,” and this moniker comes from the membrane’s lightweight if not atmospheric quality, coupled with the fact that the horizontal and vertical mullions now covered the building and even rounding corners, in an all-over manner. The FAA Pacific Region building was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2015.

The same year DMJM received the FAA commission (1965), the firm received a commission, in conjunction with its in-house property development wing, to create a 250,000 square foot multi-story office tower in Century City. Designed in 1966 and completed in 1969, predating FAA’s completion by four years, the Century City Medical Plaza (2070-2080 S Century Park East) appears to be the earliest building anywhere to be entirely clad in a smooth, isotropic grid of low mullions and solar performance glass, which would become a ubiquitous Late Modern design element. Cesar Pelli served as the design director on the Century City Medical Plaza project, and took as his primary

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design inspiration the “Glass Tower Complex” by Bohumir Čermák for the 1928 Exhibition of Contemporary Culture in Brno, Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic). Akin to this early work, the skin on Century City Medical Plaza is taut, wraparound, and with a similarly proportioned upright rectangular mullioned grid. Pelli worked with Soule Glass & Glazing Co. to develop this curtain wall. Based off available information, its smooth mullioned framing system does not appear to have been a prior-available architectural product. Applied consistently across the building’s exterior, the Medical Plaza’s glass skin undid the traditional stacking and delineation of base, shaft, capital – a hallmark of high-rise design first conceived by Louis Sullivan, a 19th century Chicago architect who is considered the father of high-rise aesthetics. The extruded standardization of components across the entirety of the Medical Plaza made construction less expensive. Despite the experimentalism, the Century City Medical Plaza is ultimately rooted in a rationality that is an exaggeration of postwar Mies van der Rohe, whom Pelli ardently admired. The grid of the Miesian curtain wall was now wrapped across the building’s entirety, in a smooth, all-over manner. Its reversed mullions, now only protruding 3/8”, were cost efficient because they used less metal for the mullions and a further economy was provided by the standardized extrusion of same parts across the entirety of the building. The T-beam that Mies applied to vertical columns of the Seagram Building in New York was ultimately decorative. Pelli had written often not only of designing buildings for the present moment – the ever changing reflections upon the skin were to reference this – but also of his desire to make an architecture that was anti-monumental, and the denial of an implied base speaks to this intention.


Additionally, Pelli was very interested in the art world, and was connected to the local Los Angeles art scene in particular. Though it may not be readily obvious, Century City Medical Plaza is informed by a variety of 1960s art trends. The denial of a base or plinth also corresponds to trends seen in 1960s era minimalist sculpture, wherein works were placed directly upon the ground in a deliberate effort to democratize the work. Intended to be wholly monochromatic, Century City Medical Plaza is clad in a smooth, all-over grid of dark solar performance glass and dark mullions, unvarying in design from bottom to top. In so doing, the tower – still an upright rectangle – takes on the quality of a Platonic Minimalist sculpture placed directly upon the ground.

Additionally, the all-over smooth cladding design, now severed from the base-shaft-capital arrangement that semantically associated it with tall building architecture, is akin to the “three dimensional work” that minimalist sculptor Donald Judd writes of in the 1960s. Just as Pelli was trying to break away from a previous architectural approach, so too was Judd disassociating three-dimensional work from “art” in the traditional sense, and therefore its implied commodification.

Pelli and Lumsden’s previously discussed FAA building also incorporated artistic references popular in another 1960s Los Angeles-based art movement – “Light and Space.” Though its work had been done since the 1960s, the movement is named after the 1971 UCLA art show, “Transparency, Reflection, Light, Space: Four Artists,” which featured the work of local artists Peter Alexander, Larry Bell, Robert Irwin, and Craig Kaufman. Light and Space works deferred to and activated space and atmosphere, often using new materials, including the vacuum coated glass also seen upon Pelli and Lumsden’s buildings, along with other materials such as resins and plastics developed and used by the local aerospace and high technology industries. Light is used to affect perception of the viewer, just as it was with reflecting glass, and the regional atmosphere is credited with informing this movement. According to the artist James Turrell, in a metaphor apt to Pelli and Lumsden’s 1960s era Los Angeles work, “we eat light and drink it in through our skins.” Additionally, Pelli and Lumsden’s glass skin designs of this era dematerialize their surfaces and the dematerialization emphasis was yet another 1960s art trend, one that in particular influenced conceptual art of the era, as another approach to avoid commodification.

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26 Bruce Watson, Light: A Radiant History from Creation to the Quantum Age (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2016), xi.
To the art writer Lucy Lippard, in a statement that could also reference Pelli and Lumsden’s designs, “conceptual art, for me, means works in which the idea is paramount and the material form is secondary, lightweight, ephemeral, cheap, unpretentious, and/or dematerialized” (author italics).\(^{27}\)

Cesar Pelli left DMJM in 1968 to become the director of Design at the Los Angeles-based office of Victor Gruen Associates and went on to design significant and well documented works in Southern California, including San Bernardino City Hall (1969-1972) and the Pacific Design Center Blue Building in West Hollywood (1971-1975). Pelli moved to New Haven, Connecticut, in 1976 to become Dean of the Yale Architecture Department and start his own highly regarded international practice.\(^{28}\) San Bernardino City Hall and Pacific Design Center Blue Building were covered in laudatory *Progressive Architecture* articles written by Esther McCoy.\(^{29}\) Both intentionally referenced separate Southern California art movements,

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\(^{28}\) After relocating to New Haven and starting his own practice, Cesar Pelli would later return to the Pacific Design Center campus to complete the Green (1989) and Red Buildings (2013). The Pacific Design Center was originally intended to consist of the Blue Building only.

and San Bernardino City Hall was one of Postmodern architect Charles Moore’s favorite Southern California buildings. He called it, “probably the most endearing major building of the 1970s in Southern California, as well as the one that points most clearly to the future.”30

The ground floor of San Bernardino City Hall is an homage to Venice-based Light and Space artist Larry Bell, with whom Pelli was friends, and well expresses his stated interest in “perceptual transparency,” wherein the skin is reaffirmed rather than denied, unlike in earlier Modernism where the skin was wholly transparent.31 The ground floor glass skin carries multiple layers of perception within its glazing. In looking at its glass, one sees one’s own reflection, the background, the glass itself, and then through the glass into the ground floor – all intended and in equal measure. Larry Bell’s vacuum-coated glass cubes similarly shoulder multiple layers of perception and transparency upon their surfaces, making viewers aware of their volume and surroundings, and incorporating space and light.

At the Pacific Design Center Blue Building, Pelli references yet another late 1960s Southern California art movement, that of “Finish Fetish,” whose primary practitioners include the artists Craig Kauffmann, Peter Alexander, and John McCracken. Often done as either low relief wall sculptures or three dimensional works, finish fetish works incorporate – as Light and Space works did – the new materials, certain resins and plastics, of the local aerospace and high technology industries to generate hyper-smooth, hyper-sensual, ultra-glossy surfaces of bright, saturated color informed by glossy smooth surfboards, or “Kustom Kulture” paint jobs upon hot rods borne out of the region’s deep and embedded postwar connection to the automobile. The Pacific Design Center Blue Building has a similarly bright monochrome surface saturated in high gloss. Nearly 50 stories sideways, its high and long bank of reflecting glass that faces Melrose Avenue is intended to be a blue atmosphere in and of itself, a direct and intentional reference to the Light and Space movement.

Pelli’s buildings of this era, in his own words, celebrate “the joy of [their] skin.” Pelli asserts that the building’s glass skin has the right to its own presence and character, and need not solely exist for transparency’s sake, where it’s made invisible at the service of Modernism, or to solely imply volume. As a body of work, Cesar Pelli’s Late Modern glass skin works of this era, those designed with Tony Lumsden and his own as above mentioned, have, in multiple different manners, an atmospheric quality unlike anything else in Los Angeles or arguably, the U.S. The bold and direct use of monochromatics, put to forms either unique or sculpturally handled were, to Pelli, a response to the automobile – seeing such works from within the car, from the distance of the road. Dually at the pedestrian level, their glass is often much more nuanced, with the multi-layered play of perceptual and physical transparency seen upon contemporaneous artworks, including those, previously mentioned, of Larry Bell.

Anthony Lumsden would become the new Design Director at DMJM upon Pelli’s 1968 departure, remaining at DMJM until 1993. Perhaps more than any other U.S. architect during this era, it was Lumsden who explored and contemplated the limits, concepts, metaphors, and potentials of glass skin architecture. Lumsden seems to have approached glass skin with an articulated economic leanness and pragmatism that served him well working at a large corporate multi-service firm like DMJM.

Lumsden frequently spoke, in true late capitalist fashion, of his buildings being shaped by economic forces. To Lumsden, he had limited range with what he was able to control in terms of design, which only included the building’s shape, the flatness or depth of the mullion, and the opacity versus translucency of the glass. Additionally, and again in part related to economic forces, Lumsden consistently adopted extrusion as a key design concept.\(^\text{36}\) He began with a unique but considered plan or section, one that typically would break apart the box, but not arbitrarily. Rather, a plan or section is mutated in shape based on the most economic approach to the building’s interior functions, the economic possibilities relative to the lot lines, the maximization of usable space, and the external articulation of interior uses. Once the mutated plan or section is generated, Lumsden extruded it, using the same materials and grid from left to right or top to bottom. And because the materials and construction process are identical and consistent, a cost efficiency is created in the design, thereby remedying any cost reservations DMJM or the client may have had. Lumsden allowed himself some play in a building’s design and was interested in the dynamics of reflection off shaped forms, but only if this didn’t inhibit exceptionally tight economic constraints.

Like Cesar Pelli, Lumsden had interests in art. If not in concept, Lumsden seems to have at least been aware of the imagery of architect-based European design collectives of the 1960s such as Archigram, Archizoom, and Superstudio, that developed conceptual megastructure projects presenting a mixed bag commentary on high technology. They were ironic, if not dark-edged, utopias of a built environment that, particularly in the “Continuous Monuments” of Superstudio or the similarly isometric “No City” schemes of Archizoom, often transcended architectural commodification. With this said, any influence of these groups upon Lumsden appears to have been more stylistic than theoretical. Lumsden and Pelli seemed to have independently arrived at similar design language – of enclosure,

\(^\text{36}\) This article is the best early overview of Pelli and Lumsden’s glass skin works and the ideas behind them: Michael Franklin Ross, “The Development of an Aesthetic System at DMJM,” *Architectural Record* 5 (1975): 111.
surface, lightweight-ness, reflectivity, and grid patterns, independent of these well-published European art and architectural collectives.

Coupled to a high-tech aesthetic, Lumsden consistently applied a range of biological metaphors to the glass skin. Lumsden admired the 1964 Archigram megastructure project Walking City as a biomorphic but futuristic object not containing windows or other openings in the traditional sense. One can see in Pelli and Lumsden’s FAA design a vague similarity to “Walking City”: the horizontal massing, and the lack of obvious windows and doors which Lumsden admired of the Archigram project.37

Often in lectures, Lumsden showed an Audubon-like illustration of a multitude of different birds, highlighting their different coloring and size.38 In discussing their variety, their “mutation,” Lumsden notes that they share the same basic interior structure, despite their exterior differences. It is this philosophy of the “survival of the fit” rather than the fittest which is Lumsden’s justification for the form variety incorporated into his glass skin buildings. Esther McCoy wrote about Lumsden’s buildings having an “inner energy dynamic” akin to entities contorting and mutating from the inside – yet another metaphor to the biological in Lumsden’s glass skin works. 39

38 Anthony J. Lumsden, FAIA, (lecture, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, CA, February 23, 2003).
As examples, from 1969 to 1974 Anthony Lumsden designed three internationally published glass skin high-rises along Wilshire Boulevard: the first two in Los Angeles and the third in Beverly Hills that applied the above-mentioned concepts, and broke apart the box in successively greater degrees. One Park Plaza at 3250 Wilshire Blvd (1969-1971) was built as DMJM headquarters, it featured popped out corners that allowed for 270 degree office views; Century Bank Plaza at 6420 Wilshire Blvd (1969-1972) had extended shapes intended to take advantage of views of the Santa Monica Mountains; its curtain wall was completed for $5.00 a square foot in 1976 (equivalent to $34.93/square foot in 2020); and Manufacturer’s Bank at 9701 Wilshire Blvd (also known as Roxbury Plaza, 1971-1974) in Beverly Hills has a rolling, curved skin and a plan that maximizes the oddly shaped triangular lot on which it is built. Despite the novel shapes of these buildings, in each instance the building was designed for maximum efficiency of economics or building lot, allowing design play with the skin and shape only after the cost components were resolved. Of Manufacturer’s Bank Lumsden has said, “It is the most efficient and economical structure you can put on that site...there’s nothing you can investigate at Roxbury that could make the building work better...there is nothing that I know of.”

Anthony Lumsden’s “bird slide” illustrating that variety exists in nature, and therefore form following function is not one narrow path. The slide also illustrates the concept of “mutation” in nature. (Anthony Lumsden Papers)

The mutation of Lumsden’s three Wilshire Boulevard towers increasingly broke apart the vertical box until it became a rolling form. Roxbury Plaza underwent recladding in 2019, which unfortunately removed its monochromatic quality, intended to reiterate the all-over surface and defer to the building’s unique form - a key part of Lumsden’s early work.

**The Silvers**

For certain local architects, the relative autonomy provided by the vastness of Los Angeles encouraged new ideas and experimentation, but also fostered a sense of isolation. By the 1970s, many Los Angeles architects longed to engage in a type of discourse and exchange of ideas more common in other parts of the country, where architectural communities and traditions were already established. It was the idea of architect Tim Vreeland, who was then overseeing the UCLA School of Architecture and Urban Planning graduate program, to host a conference at UCLA where East Coast architects could come and engage in a dialogue with those based in Los Angeles.

This 1974 conference at UCLA was called “Four Days in May,” and at it were two groups of New York based architects: The “Whites” and the “Grays.” The “Whites,” also called the “New York Five,” consisted of Peter Eisenman, Richard Meier, Michael Graves, John Hejduk, and Charles Gwathmey. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, all five showed a strong penchant for early Modernist work, particularly that of Le Corbusier.41 The “Grays,” another east coast group, consisted of Robert A.M. Stern, Charles Moore, Alan Greenberg, Ronaldo Gurgiola, and Jaquelin T. Robertson, who developed in response to the Whites with interests falling more in line with Postmodernism, developed and practiced by Robert Venturi and others.

Vreeland and the six other host L.A. architects, all practicing Late Modern work, named themselves the “Silvers.” Along with Tim Vreeland, the Silvers consisted of architects Cesar Pelli, Anthony Lumsden, Eugene Kupper, Paul Kennon, and Frank Dimster.42 The loose set of characteristics that united the Los Angeles Silvers codified the primary features of 1970s Los Angeles Late-Modern architecture. Among their shared qualities, the Los Angeles-based Silvers were identified by global, large-scale commissions; pragmatism; extrusion; the use of “circulation spines” – pedestrian circulation corridors that connect interior spaces, such as shopping mall architecture for which Pelli is a significant figure; high-tech aesthetics; and the cladding of buildings in a smooth, shiny skin, hence the name of the group.

41 See footnote 57 and 58.
42 Eugene Kupper’s work is discussed in some detail in the SurveyLA “Postmodernism” historic context.
A second Silver conference was held at UCLA in April of 1976 and featured architect James Stirling as a special guest participant. In summarizing the Silvers’ works, Stirling described them as “chic packaging,” having Streamline styling, and a pragmatic and economical attitude based on the building type. At the same conference, California architectural historian David Gebhard, saw common threads in Silver works as “good taste as fashion, not seriousness,” “architecture as fantasy,” “1930s packaging that leaves out complexities,” and stated that “such work could be built anywhere.” To Gebhard, it was sheer coincidence that Pelli and Lumsden developed their glass skin work in Los Angeles. Gebhard’s latter point is highly disputable. The aesthetic influences— from local high technology, the non-directional, non-gravitational nature of the design, and even its anonymity itself, all have multiple parallels with the open and horizontal 1960s Los Angeles from which the design system developed.

Historically seen as a minor event if known at all, at the time, the Silvers conferences were published in national publications with articles by Charles Jencks, Cesar Pelli, and others. The Silvers conferences represented the first instance of Los Angeles architects forming one cohesive group under a shared banner, which perhaps foretelling of its destiny as a design motif of global anonymity, did not last long. Some of the Silvers lamented how their clients really did not care about architecture, but pragmatic matters alone. Yet this same detachment and ambivalence on the part of local clients, unfolding within 1960s and 1970s Los Angeles, might be seen as enabling such experimentation and newness in the first place.

“Silver” architecture, particularly its glass skin variant would become, coincidentally enough, a widely adopted corporate expression just as the U.S. economy was taken off the gold standard in 1971. It was at this time that economic globalism was ushered in, and with it a grouping of related sociological concepts that taken together the hermitically sealed “Silver” styled mirrored skin buildings, as first developed in Los Angeles, would come to represent.

Glass Skin: Other Local Practitioners

Even before Pelli and Lumsden’s first designs were completed, local and national architects adopted their version of the glass skin design system. Most of the large Los Angeles offices designed at least one such project, while some firms, such as Langdon & Wilson, designed many. After some years of working for noted early twentieth century Los Angeles architect Claude Beelman, in 1951 former USC architecture students Bob Langdon and Ernie Wilson Jr. began their namesake firm. Initially completing a series of designs along Wilshire Boulevard, their mantra over time became one of integration of their buildings within their immediate environment and natural landscapes. It is a concept that may have been asserted by the firm’s silent third partner: Emmet Wemple, FSLA. A landscape architect who taught at USC from 1951 to 1988, including the teaching of first year classes to some Langdon & Wilson architects, Wemple was briefly dean of the USC School of Architecture and undertook numerous landscape designs in conjunction with Langdon and Wilson projects during the Late Modern era. The firm’s best-known work is arguably the Getty Villa, (1971-1974, Malibu).

The project is a conceptual recreation referencing archeologically ascribed details of a Roman Villa in Herculaneum buried by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius. Completed in consultation with the art historian Norman Neuerburg and first Getty Museum Director Stephen Garrett, Langdon & Wilson seem to have worked in a quasi-executive architect capacity. Among Langdon and Wilson’s early signature projects is the CNA Park Place Tower (CNA Building, now the Los Angeles Superior Court Tower), located at 600 South Commonwealth Avenue, overlooking Lafayette Park in the Westlake area of Los Angeles. The CNA Building, dedicated in August of 1971, appears to be one of the first mirror glass skin buildings completed in the United States. Project designer Hans Mumper stated that the building’s façade “simply wanted to be that way” that the design was “easy to comprehend, to like or dislike.”

The CNA building, 600 S Commonwealth Avenue, 1971
(Wayne Thom Photography Collection, USC Libraries)


46 Hans Mumper, telephone interview with Author, spring 2014.
SurveyLA Citywide Historic Context Statement
Architecture and Engineering/ LA Modernism/ Late Modern, 1966-1990

Building was one of the first to use Pittsburgh Plate Glass (PPG) Solarban 480 Twindow – a silver tinted reflecting glass unit that was combined with double glazing to allow for better insulation. Initially marketed in 1964, Twindow and similar glazing units by other companies would become the de rigeur mirrored glazing upon corporate office architecture through the 1970s and beyond. Whether the building really disappears is questionable; its sculpturally treated block is readily visible from a distance.47 The building reflects Lafayette Park below and is canted on its lot so that the buildings narrow width reflects the 1932 First Congregational Church of Los Angeles by Allison and Allison at 540 South Commonwealth Avenue (Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 706) immediately across the street. Langdon and Wilson would go on to design innumerous Late Modern buildings in Los Angeles and beyond, including a 122-acre complex of low-rise mirror glass office parks in Orange County for the developer Don Koll (Koll Center Newport, 1973-1983, Newport Beach and Irvine, California).

Despite coverage in business journals for their corporate work, firms like Langdon and Wilson – Getty Villa aside – received relatively little academic or popular press. It might be noted however, that the CNA building is prominently featured in the highest-profile exhibit yet to have featured Late Modern architecture: Arthur Drexler’s “Transformations in Modern Architecture,” held at the New York Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in 1979. A full-page color image of the CNA Building is the exhibit catalog’s front flap, and one of only eight, full-page color images of the catalog’s 360 pictures.48

Aside from Charles Jencks, another writer who theorized Late Modern architecture was Frederic Jameson, who referred to it as “Modernism to the second power,” or more often and generally as simply “Postmodernism.”49 But Jameson makes it clear that the design system’s specific name is not of primary importance to him. A Marxist political theorist, Jameson has written extensively on late capitalism, and in its “peculiar and specialized abstractions” and mutated spatial dynamics, he sees

47 At the time this theme was authored, the glass on the building appeared to be damaged, likely due to chemical treatments used in the window washing process. The potential replacement and recladding of the building’s glass could greatly compromise its design integrity.


multiple parallels to the subject architecture, and Postmodernism itself.\textsuperscript{50}

In particular, Jameson elucidates two prominent Late Modern design features first articulated by Jencks, who Jameson openly acknowledges. The features of interest to Jameson are Late Modernism’s extreme isotropic space: Jameson calls it “isometric” space, and the “enclosed skin volumes” seen on any variety of office and commercial architecture. Isometric spaces are spaces of vast and extreme openness, often within shed-like or containerized enclosures designed into Late Modern architecture quite often beginning in the late 1960s. Jencks saw such spaces as exaggerations of the Modernist open plan, itself a binary opposite to earlier, static spaces such as an enclosed office. But to Jameson, whereas the Modernist free plan “posited an older space to be cancelled,” ...“the infinite new isometric kind cancels nothing, but simply develops under its own momentum like a new dimension.”\textsuperscript{51}

In discussing Late Modern architecture of enclosed skin volumes, Jameson references Lumsden’s unbuilt 35 story 1976 Bumi Daya Bank for Jakarta, Indonesia, observing that its skin “dematerializes without signifying in any traditional way spirituality.”\textsuperscript{52} Glass architecture, transparency and dematerialization had quasi-spiritualist aspects in early Modernism. Yet in this later work, according to Jameson, “weight or embodiment [...] with its progressive attenuation no longer posits the non-body or the spirit as an opposite.”\textsuperscript{53} The abstract dimensions of isometric space and the “materialist sublimation” of enclosed skin volumes, both have, to Jameson, formal overtones to late-finance capitalism, itself possessing “something of the same semi-autonomy as cyberspace.”\textsuperscript{54}

One of Jameson’s best-known excerpts is his 1991 analysis of the Westin Bonaventure Hotel (“Bonaventure”) located at 444 South Figueroa Street, from his collected works, \textit{Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism}. To Jameson, the Bonaventure atrium is a fortified “total space, a complete world, a kind of miniature city” capable of

\textsuperscript{50} Jameson, \textit{The Brick and the Balloon}, 26.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid, 44.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid.
replacing the real city, that is repelled and distorted by the building’s mirror glass skin. But perhaps even more important than this concept of a city within a city, Jameson once again invokes mutation, in this instance to the Bonaventure’s interior spaces. Specifically, Jameson focuses on the hotel’s six-story atrium, an ever-expanding fugue of circles within circles. To Jameson, the mutation represented by the Bonaventure atrium is significant as an example of a new kind of Postmodern hyperspace, decentered and disorienting to human beings, that he sees reference to in the mutated space of the new postmodern, late capitalist world.

In Jameson’s words, the volumes of its isometric space may be “impossible to seize.” This highly disorienting space is substantially different from traditional Western spaces, such as those designed by the Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio, that could place man at the center of an open rotunda, symbolic of the universe, allowing him to be the measure of all things in order to gauge and observe his surroundings. For one, rising the entirety of the Bonaventure’s atrium is a substantial and unavoidable exposed concrete core. Its contents are a central mystery; and one will never gaze about from the center of this particular interior.

In Jameson’s analysis of the Bonaventure, and its atrium:

I am proposing the notion that we are here in the presence of something like a mutation in built space itself. My implication is that we ourselves, the human subjects who happen into this new space, have not kept pace with that evolution; there has been a mutation in the object unaccompanied as yet by any equivalent mutation in the subject. We do not yet possess the perceptual equipment to match this new hyperspace. [...] “It may now be suggested that this alarming disjunction point between the body and its built environment – which is to the initial bewilderment of the older Modernism as the

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55 Frederic Jameson, Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism (Duke University Press, 1991), 39. If the building appears to be fortified from the surrounding streets today, note that the Flower Street entrance was not added until 1986.

56 Jameson, Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism, 42.
velocities of spacecraft to those of the automobile – can itself stand as the symbol and analogon of that even sharper dilemma which is the incapacity of our minds, at least at present, to map the great global multinational and decentered communicational network in which we find ourselves caught as individual subjects.\footnote{Jameson, \textit{Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism}, 37, 43. Jameson is careful not to have the Bonaventure atrium overly sensationalized, and he concludes his analysis of it by comparing its space to the [postmodern] disorientation of both conceptualizations and ground conditions of the Vietnam War, and the linguistics used by author Michael Herr to describe it.\footnotemark{2} Jameson, \textit{Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism}, 44.\footnotemark{3} Another prominent sub-type of Late-Modernism might be referred to as “Corbusian Revival,” which is associated with a small group of East Coast architects referred to, during the 1970s, as the “Whites,” for the color of cardboard with which their models were often made. White architecture may be seen as a revival, if not exaggeration, of 1920s-era high modernism, and was frequently done upon single family residences. Because Los Angeles does not possess that many of these buildings, this subtype is not herein contextualized. For more information on White architecture, see the MOMA catalog: \textit{Five Architects: Eisenman, Graves, Gwathmey, Hedjuk, Meier} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), and “Five on Five,” \textit{Architectural Forum} 137 (1973): 46-57.}

For Jameson, in the Bonaventure, “a new machine, which does not, like the older modernist machinery of the locomotive or the airplane, represent motion, but which can only be represented in motion, something of the mystery of the new Postmodernist space is concentrated.”\footnote{Frederic Jameson, \textit{Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism}, 44.} Theoretical critique aside, developer-architect John Portman was among the very first to embrace the mirror glass skin upon a variety of towers and hotel projects across the U.S. His Los Angeles Bonaventure Hotel is probably the most iconic 1970s-decade building within city limits. Its design remains intact, despite periodic cosmetic alterations over the last 40 years.

Akin to the idea of a building completed by an architect who served as his own developer such as John Portman, Late Modernism, particularly its glass skin variant, is frequently of corporate buildings by corporate firms. This includes work by a certain type of large-scale multi-service firms historically associated with postwar Los Angeles: DMJM, Gruen Associates, Welton Becket Associates, William Pereira, the Charles Luckman Partnership, and A.C. Martin Partners. Yet other firms with a body of glass skin work emerged in the Late Modern era; post-industrial firms designing buildings or post-industrial clients. These lesser-known firms include Langdon & Wilson, Nadel Architects, Inc., and Ware & Malcolmmb Architects, Inc., among others. Their buildings: value engineered designs done under extreme budget and time constraints, are likely found in business journals before architectural or academic publications. Taken together, any the above-named firms-especially the better-known earlier firms-may have produced locally significant designs and even masterworks. Nonetheless, the design significance of their buildings must be considered on a case-by-case basis.

For present purposes, in addition to the glass skin, Los Angeles Late-Modernism has two other identifiable subtypes: Brutalism and High Tech.\footnote{Another prominent sub-type of Late-Modernism might be referred to as “Corbusian Revival,” which is associated with a small group of East Coast architects referred to, during the 1970s, as the “Whites,” for the color of cardboard with which their models were often made. White architecture may be seen as a revival, if not exaggeration, of 1920s-era high modernism, and was frequently done upon single family residences. Because Los Angeles does not possess that many of these buildings, this subtype is not herein contextualized. For more information on White architecture, see the MOMA catalog: \textit{Five Architects: Eisenman, Graves, Gwathmey, Hedjuk, Meier} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), and “Five on Five,” \textit{Architectural Forum} 137 (1973): 46-57.} It should be noted that Brutalism is often simply approached as its own standalone design system. Additionally, these subtypes often combine upon a given Late-Modern design or get used as adjectives to describe Late-Modernism in general.
Brutalism

Brutalism initially began in early 1950s England by young architects disenchanted with that country’s “Establishment” architects, which after World War II advocated for a softened, even picturesque Modernism for the masses, as seen in London’s 1951 “Festival of Britain” exhibition. The younger practitioners retained some admiration for Modern masters such as Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier themselves, yet there was a desire on their part of these “New Brutalists” to make architecture in terms more honest and direct and therefore “ethical,” in architectural historian Reyner Banham’s use of the term, akin to the rawness of Art Brut paintings by Jean Dubuffet, or the raw intensity of a Jackson Pollock painting.

The earliest examples of Brutalist architecture were produced by husband and wife architects Alison and Peter Smithson in England during the early 1950s. In their 1954 Hunstanton School project (Hunstanton, England, 1951-1954), materials and elements such as glass, steel, smooth brickwork, flat roofs, and right angles are all employed in a manner that from a distance may superficially resemble Mies’ Illinois Institute of Technology campus (Chicago, 1941-1957).

However, exposed welds, open pipe ducts, and other evidence of both the buildings’ construction process and functionality are clearly revealed rather than denied. By exposing evidence of the construction process, Brutalism accepts that any architecture is ultimately assembled by human beings, and buildings are not machines after all, no matter how much earlier Modernists idealized a machine architecture. Brutalist buildings were intended to be brutally honest buildings. According to Banham, who was the first to describe the Brutalist approach:

> What has caused hesitation to lodge in the public’s gullet is the fact that it is almost unique among modern building in being made of what it appears to be made of. Whatever has been said about honest use of materials, most modern buildings appear to be made of whitewash or patent glazing, even when they are made of concrete and steel. Hunstanton appears to be made of glass, brick, steel, and concrete, and is in fact made of glass, brick, steel, and concrete.

In short order, concrete would become Brutalism’s primary building material. In rebuilding and recovering postwar Europe, concrete was more affordable than the glass and steel preferred by the

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International Style. The metaphors for how Brutalists treated concrete – worn, rough, unforgiving, honest, and real – were metaphors to postwar Europe itself.63

The later work of Le Corbusier, who had training under concrete master Auguste Perret, was highly influential. Corbusier’s first large-scaled projects, Unité d’habitation (Marseille, France (1947-1952) and Notre Dame du Haut Chapel (Ronchamp, France, 1950-1955) both featured concrete in a prominent manner and veered toward an expressive sculptural handling of form that would frequently appear in later Brutalism. Corbusier handled the billowed Ronchamp roof in unfinished concrete, wherein the grain of wood plank used to set the concrete was left in place, and architects would later apply this “béton brut” (“raw concrete”) treatment to many Brutalist buildings. At the Unite d’Habitation, Corbusier recessed window wells into their concrete-boxed bays to make a brise-soleil, or “sun blocker,” a design allowing light into the building, but not direct sunlight. Brise-soleil was but one version of the three dimensional façades often seen on later Brutalist buildings, including Corbusier’s own Palace of the Assembly in Chandigarh India from 1963.64

Banham also mentions Louis Kahn as a Brutalist architect, though Kahn did not design as a Brutalist, per-se.65 Nonetheless, Kahn’s cosmically referential Jonas Salk Institute for Biological Studies (La Jolla, California, 1965) externally articulates separate functions – another key aspect of early Brutalism – is sculpturally handled, and prominently features unfinished concrete. Reyner Banham originally wrote of Brutalism as an architectural ethic, rather than an architectural aesthetic or style alone that ultimately must entail: 1) a memorable image; 2) exposed structure; and 3) the incorporation of as-found materials.66 However, as Brutalism headed stateside, it seems to have become another style, of or reacting to Orthodox Modernism. Recently, the term has been resurrected to refer, in an even more loose handling, to any buildings from the 1960s and 1970s, including glass skins, that seem cold, massive, hard edged, and/or hard to appreciate, and this use of the term is overly simplistic.67

64 Charles Jencks, Late-Modern Architecture and Other Essays (New York: Rizzoli, 1980), 42.
65 Banham, Brutalism, 62.
In its most basic application, stylistic Brutalism often applied one material, usually exposed concrete, across the entirety of a given building of bold, oversized, angular shapes that either broke apart the typical rectangle form, or handled form-rectangular or otherwise, in a sculptural manner. The massing of these shapes, combined with the hyperbolic use of the single material, read as heavy and solid, which is the antithesis of the lightweight quality sought after by many International Style Modernists. Although examples of Brutalism are present in Los Angeles and across the greater Southern California region, the style is not native to Los Angeles the way it is to Europe and is seen more often in colder weather climates across Canada, or in New England cities such as Boston, where it is highly common.

In Los Angeles, Brutalism tends to appear in institutional and commercial properties, and less so in residential or industrial architecture. Examples in Los Angeles include the: Japanese American Cultural and Community Center (244-252 S San Pedro Street), Citibank (1180 S Beverly Boulevard), UCLA Extension Building (10997 W Le Conte Avenue), Braille Institute (776 N New Hampshire Avenue), and Sunkist Headquarters Building (14130 W Riverside Drive).
High Tech

Stylistically, High Tech, sometimes referred to as “Structural Expressionism,” is a version of Late Modernism that reveals – if not exaggerates – a building’s various structural, infrastructural, and other operating systems, often with dematerialized and lightweight imagery. High Tech frequently articulates and emphasizes prefabricated, or off-the-shelf industrial design elements. Among the early buildings to hint at what would become the High Tech approach was Joseph Paxton’s 1851 Crystal Palace – a greenhouse of all factory-produced, structurally exposed cast iron and glass.68

Other influences included the work of the American structural engineer/philosopher Buckminster Fuller, the work of the previously mentioned experimental British collaborative Archigram, and even the 1948 Charles and Ray Eames House in Pacific Palisades, a demonstration work intended as a type of mass produced housing which was never produced, with its off the shelf, factory-made parts originally intended for industrial architecture.69

Among the first buildings to apply the design system as it is presently conceived were the now-demolished Reliance Controls Factory (1965-1966, Swindon, U.K.) by Team 4, which consisted of the architects Richard Rogers, Su Rogers, Norman Foster, and Wendy Foster. Foster had briefly worked in San Francisco during the 1960s for Anshen and Allen – designers of first Eichler house tracts. Rogers and Foster met Craig Ellwood while at Yale, and importantly they seem to have been highly inspired by John Entenza’s Case Study House Program. According to Reyner Banham, “The appeal of the Case Study Houses […] lay in the way they reinforced the dogmas of honesty, clarity, and unity, the exposure of structure, the use of certifiably modern materials, and the absence of ornament.”70 Additionally, to Banham the Case Study House program displayed “open-minded, experimental, hands-on, improvisatory, quirky” characteristics […] a much needed antidote to the cut-and-dried recipes of routine Modernism being taught in the schools.”71

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69 Todd Gannon, Reyner Banham and the Paradoxes of High Tech (Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Research Institute, 2018), 64-65, 122-123.
71 Banham, “Klarheit,” 185-186, as quoted in Gannon, Reyner Banham, 123.
Resultantly, Team 4’s Reliance Controls project was a lightweight, open-plan shed of plastic-coated corrugated steel and exposed structural joists, presented in contrasting shades of white and grey, with a resemblance to both Craig Ellwood’s 60s-era commercial work, not to mention Eichler homes that Anshen and Allen designed. Banham referred to its design as “Appropriate Tech,” i.e. having a right amount and expression of technology within its design.

Richard Rogers and Norman Foster would go on to become the preeminent practitioners of High Tech Late Modernism: Foster’s Hong Kong Shanghai Bank, 1986, and Rogers’ Lloyds Bank London, 1988, are peak examples of the High Tech design system.

Aside from Reliance Controls, the other early High Tech/Structural Expressionist work of note, now also demolished, was the six-level service tower for Anglican International Student’s Club hostel (“Student Hostel Service Tower,” Farrell Grimshaw Partnership London, 1967). Basically a multi-level shaft of portable toilets added onto a Victorian-era tenement, its design featured an upright cylinder with helical floor and 30 glass reinforced plastic (GRP) custom designed pie-shaped bathroom pods. The tower was a ‘clip-on’-like addition to a pre-existing Victorian student housing complex. Grimshaw’s work, and that of his contemporary Warren Chalk of the Archigram group (Capsule Homes Tower, unbuilt, 1964), are largely informed by Fuller’s 1928 4-D tower project, and shares the same basic imagery of a cylindrical central shaft, exposed at its lower portion, around which emanate circular floor spaces.

Fuller—a structural engineer—was not a trained architect, and certainly his work did not follow the conventions of Orthodox Modernism, International Style Modernism, or any stylistic Modernism for that matter. Hence his influence, particularly in Britain, over a new wave of young architects disenfranchised with what Modernism had become. The architectural historian Colin Davies, who completed a book on the subject of High Tech architecture in 1988, defines High Tech as having: 1) a use of synthetic materials, 2) an almost moralistic code of honesty of expression with no sham structures of false facades, 3) a preference for prefabricated elements, 4) a tendency to ignore functional versus social distinctions, and 5) the combining of different human activities in large, flexible spaces. Similarly, Reyner Banham’s definition of High Tech — developed later in his career — would come to include

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exposed structure, exposed services, and bold colors. Banham sees High Tech as an appropriate resolution between pure technology, and architecture-as aesthetic image making regardless of its necessary technology. As the above may indicate, Reyner Banham is not only the primary architectural historian to articulate Brutalism, but began contemplating High-Tech, long before it was even named, then revisiting the movement much later in his life, just before his passing. As the architectural historian Todd Gannon has articulated, ultimately Brutalism and High Tech both answered to the Banham’s—as and perhaps the architecture world’s—desire for alternatives to Modernism: une architecture autre, inspired by Art Brut in the case of Brutalism, and more simply an “other” [Modern] architecture in the Case of High Tech, that involved “clarity and frugality in resolving functional problems within the canons of architecture.” Just as he did with early Brutalism, Banham saw High Tech as more than a style—a “bloodyminded” consistency and functional attitude to building that was, in the case of High Tech, attentive to social relations and functional performance. Not just exposed structure designs, but the early 1970s-era Norman Foster works of sophisticated, wholly smooth, glass skins set in neoprene, would also fall into Banham’s High Tech category. Presumably Pelli and Lumsden’s glass skin work, had Banham written about it, might also meet his definition of High Tech. Interest in the High Tech design system waned by the late 1980s, as technology increasingly became a part of everyday life and in the case of CAD-everyday architectural practice. Additionally, in time high technology showed itself to be imperfect; architectural historian Colin Davies citing the explosion of the Space Shuttle Challenger on January 28, 1986, due to a faulty neoprene gasket, as such an example.

Though its buildings had been around for just over a decade by then, the term “High Tech” for the subject style was first popularized in 1978 by Joan Kron and Suzanne Slesin in their book High Tech: The Industrial Style and Sourcebook for the Home. Owing much to the imagery of Archigram’s plug-in city, perhaps the best-known example of High Tech Late Modernism is the Centre Georges Pompidou (Renz Piano and Richard Rogers, 1971-1977) in Paris. High Tech exaggerates the notion of Modernism’s machine references to where the building takes on

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77 Gannon, Reyner Banham, 154.
80 Gannon, Reyner Banham, 2, 119.
82 Kron and Slesin, High-Tech: The Industrial Style and Source Book for the Home.
the specific imagery of a machine itself. At the Pompidou, the Modernist notion of transparency is exaggerated to where the building’s water, electrical, and transport systems, indicated by different colors, are brought to the outside, making the Pompidou look like a refinery – the literal example of building as machine. In the process, the building is wholly dematerialized; an exaggerated approach to the lightweight, anti-monumental quality sought by International Style Modernists.

Two local examples of High Tech architecture are the 1977 Helmut Schulitz residence (9356 Lloydcrest Drive, Beverly Hills) and Peter De Bretteville’s own 1976 Los Angeles residence in Laurel Canyon (8067 W Willow Glen Road). Both use a lightweight aesthetic of exposed, factory made parts, open metal joists, lightweight paneling, corrugated metal, and open trusses. Anthony Lumsden’s Sepulveda water reclamation facility (a.k.a. Donald C. Tillman Water Reclamation Facility at 6100 Woodley Avenue) designed in 1974 but not completed until 1982, features a structurally exposed, sectionally extruded glass covered circulation area, machine references in its imagery, sculptural cog-like concrete water fountains, and a general futuristic character. The building is part of an infrastructural complex to treat sewage, which one can watch being processed from a series of elevated concrete walkaways emanating from the main building. The Japanese Gardens present in front of the building are designed by UCLA professor Koichi Kawana. Lumsden also designed multiple buildings within the Hyperion Water Waste Treatment Facility (12000 Vista Del Mar) – a sister property to the Sepulveda Basin facility that serves the same function. Designed and completed between 1985 and 1997, the Hyperion buildings are of a similar, Lumsden-specific High Tech aesthetic of diagonal, curve and knob-like sectional extrusions. Primary materials include exposed concrete and various buildings, metal panels of saturated color.
Although not indicative of the Structural Expressionism with which European High Tech is associated, Pelli and Lumsden both referred to the previously-discussed smooth glass skins they developed as a High Tech aesthetic, and the writer Esther McCoy titled a *Progressive Architecture* article about the glass-skinned San Bernardino City Hall “Hi-Tech Images.” As previously mentioned, Pelli and Lumsden’s High Tech was one that referenced encasement – of 747 jets, electronics, machines, and early computers of the aerospace of Southern California 1960s era high technology milieu. For comparison as alternate versions of High Tech, the Pompidou Centre and the Pacific Design Center Blue Building are, in many ways, sister buildings. Both were designed in 1971; both are large, horizontal buildings radically out of scale with their immediate built environment settings; both expressing the lightweight in different manners; and both are nearly the same dimensions (Pompidou: 545’ x 197, seven levels, PDC Blue Building: 533’ x 219’, six levels). But both express High Tech in two different ways – the Pompidou’s High Tech as Structural Expressionism, and Blue Building as smooth, hermetic encasement. Glass skin aside, the Structural Expressionist version of High Tech, within Los Angeles, is most common in residential architecture. Had it been built, what might have been the region’s quintessential High Tech megastructure would have been the 1965-1966 Sunset Mountain Park, a high density, mixed-use planned community that terraced down the Santa Monica Mountains hillside. Designed by Pelli and Lumsden with contributions from fellow DMJM architect Philo Jacobsen, Sunset Mountain Park was a 3,550-acre parcel containing 1,550 dwelling units and an urban center that included a library, school, chapel, post office, and bus station, among other design elements. Inclined elevators and pneumatic tubes for object delivery were also part of the proposed

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design. Its otherworldly, “future-looking” imagery if not evocative of a space station or mothership, at the very least references the region’s dominant 1960s-era industries – aerospace and high technology.  

Though informed by early computer programs and even as it referenced the local high tech industry, Late Modernism is one of the last architectural design systems that in its character, is analog. The widespread use of CAD (computer-aided design) in the 1980s would fundamentally change architectural practice, and architectural design itself. The CAD-informed Neo-Expressionist and Deconstructivist works which developed out of that decade would have a substantially different design presence.

Late Modernism, with its various subtypes, alludes to critical questions for, and changes to, Western society and its Modernism. Resultantly, Late Modernism bore telling “Transformations in Modern Architecture,” to borrow the name of the 1979 MOMA exhibit about it, that through recent-past time have gained distinction and meaning. The City possesses significant examples of Late Modern architecture. With this, many of the contexts that inform local and even globally important works, were Los Angeles-specific.

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84 Pastier, Cesar Pelli, 24-25.
85 Cesar Pelli, in-person interview with author, New Haven, CT, April, 2014.
ELIGIBILITY STANDARDS FOR LATE MODERN ARCHITECTURE

Eligibility Standards for Glass Skin

Summary Statement of Significance: Resources evaluated under this sub-theme are significant in the area of Architecture as excellent examples of Late Modernism and exhibit quality of design through distinctive features. Applying the qualities of exaggeration, mutation, and paradox to Modernist architectural language, Late Modernism is a distinct and historically significant twentieth century reaction against Orthodox Modernism. Late Modernism expresses the conditions and new developments of Western society between 1965 and 1990, including the advent of late capitalist and post-industrial culture, to which Late Modern architecture is internationally associated.

In the 1960s, Los Angeles’ open and benevolent physical and social climate encouraged experimentation well suited to Late Modern architecture and its reactions against Modernism. The region’s dominant high-technology industry and notable art scene further encouraged this local experimentation. Resultant designs included the all-over reflecting glass skin, a regionally developed motif that became ubiquitous in corporate and office architecture across the Western World.

Period of Significance: 1966-1990

Period of Significance Justification: The earliest regionally developed Late Modern designs are designed in 1966. Late Modern architecture remains ubiquitous through the 1980s, when Postmodern and CAD-informed designs more frequently appear.

Geographic Location: Citywide with concentrations of commercial examples may be found in Downtown Los Angeles, Wilshire Corridor, Century City, the western San Fernando Valley; concentrations of industrial examples may be found near LAX or Van Nuys Airport.

Area(s) of Significance: Architecture

Criteria: NR: C CR: 3 Local: 3
SurveyLA Citywide Historic Context Statement
Architecture and Engineering/ LA Modernism/ Late Modern, 1966-1990

**Associated Property Types:**
- Commercial
- Industrial

**Property Type Description:**
The Late Modern glass skin was typically applied to large-scale commercial and industrial buildings that frequently used sculpturally handled chamfers, cuts, punch-outs, sloping, sharp angles, and curves to break apart the rectangular form.

**Property Type Significance:**
See Summary Statement of Significance above.

**Eligibility Standards:**
- Was constructed during the period of significance
- Is an excellent example of Late Modern glass skin architecture
- Exhibits quality of design through distinctive features, including designs that are sculptural in character

**Character-Defining/Associative Features:**
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- Typically displays bold, sculptural forms, often with chamfers or cut-outs
- May have sharply articulated angles and distinctive geometric forms
- Smooth, continuous surfaces over the primary massing or entirety of the building
- Usually rendered in a single monochromatic palette or material
- Glass skin encloses building in an all-over manner, or in certain instances set upon a base or plinth of a different material
- Glass skins are typically of reflecting or mirrored glass paired to smooth grids mullions and muntins
- Later glass skins may exhibit seamless neoprene glazing with no aluminum mullions or muntins visible.
- Window or door articulation may be subsumed into distinctive cladding or distinctive shape
- For the National Register, a property must possess exceptional importance if less than 50 years of age

**Integrity Considerations:**
- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Materials, Workmanship
- Retains sufficient integrity to convey significance
- Removal of exterior light fixtures or original signage acceptable
- Original landscaping may have been altered or removed
- Original use may have changed
- Skins replaced with incompatibly colored glass, transparent glass in place of reflecting glass, or of glazing having variegated color and transparency may compromise historic integrity.
- Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses)
Eligibility Standards for Brutalism

Summary Statement of Significance: Resources evaluated under this sub-theme are significant in the area of Architecture as excellent examples of Late Modernism and exhibit quality of design through distinctive features. Late Modernism is a distinct and historically significant twentieth century reaction against Orthodox Modernism. Late Modernism expresses the conditions and new developments of Western society between 1965 and 1990, including the advent of late capitalist and post-industrial culture, to which Late Modern architecture is internationally associated.

One expression of Late Modern is the Brutalist style. Brutalist Late Modern designs liberated architecture from Orthodox Modernism. Brutalist buildings were typically rendered in a single monochromatic material, usually exposed concrete, and read as sculptural, heavy, and solid. Bold oversized angular shapes break apart the typical rectangular form. Exteriors reveal the construction process, such as keeping welds or the imprint of wood used in the setting of the concrete. This style was frequently used in institutional architecture, such as civic and educational buildings, through the 1980s.

Period of Significance: 1966-1990 (Brutalist examples may predate 1966 though examples in Los Angeles are not common)

Period of Significance Justification: The earliest regionally developed Late Modern designs are designed in 1966. Late Modern architecture remains ubiquitous through the 1980s, when Postmodern and CAD-informed designs more frequently appear.

Geographic Location: Citywide

Area(s) of Significance: Architecture

Criteria: NR: C CR: 3 Local: 3
SurveyLA Citywide Historic Context Statement
Architecture and Engineering/ LA Modernism/ Late Modern, 1966-1990

Associated Property Types: Commercial
Institutional

Property Type Description: The Brutalist architectural style was typically applied to civic and educational buildings that used bold oversized angular shapes to break apart the rectangular form.

Property Type Significance: See Summary Statement of Significance above.

Eligibility Standards:
- Was constructed during the period of significance
- Is an excellent example of Brutalist architecture
- Exhibits quality of design through distinctive features

Character-Defining/Associative Features:
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- Typically displays bold oversized angular shapes with sculptural and distinctive geometric forms to break apart the rectangular form
- Unpainted exposed concrete, raked or smooth, dominating visible elevations
- For the National Register, a property must possess exceptional importance if less than 50 years of age.

Integrity Considerations:
- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Materials, Workmanship
- Retains sufficient integrity to convey significance
- Original landscaping may have been altered or removed
- Original use may have changed
- Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses)
Eligibility Standards for High Tech

**Summary Statement of Significance:**
Resources evaluated under this sub-theme are significant in the area of Architecture as excellent examples of Late Modernism and exhibit quality of design through distinctive features. Applying the qualities of exaggeration, mutation, and paradox to Modernist architectural language, Late Modernism is a distinct and historically significant twentieth century reaction against Orthodox Modernism. Late Modernism expresses the conditions and new developments of Western society between 1965 and 1990, including the advent of late capitalist and post-industrial culture, to which Late Modern architecture is internationally associated.

One expression of Late Modernism is the High Tech style, which exaggerates Modernism’s emphasis on function and transparency by openly revealing structural and infrastructural components such as escalators, elevators, air ducts, and structural systems, which would normally be enclosed or hidden. Lightweight in character, designs typically employ metal and glass with an exterior color palette of white, black or grey, often with exposed components painted in bright colors.

**Period of Significance:**
1966-1990

**Period of Significance Justification:**
The earliest regionally developed Late Modern designs are designed in 1966. Late Modern architecture remains ubiquitous through the 1980s, when Postmodern and CAD-informed designs more frequently appear.

**Geographic Location:**
Citywide

**Area(s) of Significance:**
Architecture

**Criteria:**
NR: C    CR: 3    Local: 3
**Survey LA Citywide Historic Context Statement**  
*Architecture and Engineering/ LA Modernism/ Late Modern, 1966-1990*

Associated Property Types:  
- Commercial  
- Institutional  
- Industrial  
- Residential: Single Family and Multi-Family

**Property Type Description:**  
The High Tech architectural style was typically applied to commercial buildings, but can also be found in industrial, institutional, and particularly for Los Angeles- residential buildings. High Tech exaggerates Modernism’s emphasis on function and transparency by openly revealing structural and infrastructural components.

**Property Type Significance:**  
See Summary Statement of Significance above.

**Eligibility Standards:**
- Constructed during period of significance  
- Is an excellent example of the Late Modern High Tech subtype  
- Exhibits quality of design through distinctive feature

**Character-Defining/Associative Features:**
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance  
- Metal and glass exterior with a limited color palette of white, black, or grey  
- Artistically treated, deliberately exposed structural and infrastructural components (escalators, elevators, air ducts, structural systems) which may be painted in bright colors  
- For the National Register, a property must possess exceptional importance if less than 50 years of age.

**Integrity Considerations:**
- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Materials, Workmanship  
- Retains sufficient integrity to convey significance  
- Original landscaping may have been altered or removed  
- Original use may have changed  
- Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses)
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


**SurveyLA Citywide Historic Context Statement**

*Architecture and Engineering/ LA Modernism/ Late Modern, 1966-1990*

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