



Minoru Yamasaki, Pruitt-Igoe Homes, St. Louis, MO, United States, 1956. Because of deteriorated condition the 33 buildings were demolished between 1972 and 1976. © US Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, c. 1972.

Preservation and public housing in the United States

BY THEODORE PRUDON

Public housing is an important part of the heritage of the 20th century that deserves preservation, but is in danger of being demolished or unrecognizably altered.¹ The United States, which saw the construction of such government sponsored projects, largely between 1930 and 1975, is no exception. In the last four decades government efforts have continued to shift towards financial incentives for private initiatives for design, construction and property management. This housing legacy, if being preserved, still needs to be improved so it can continue to serve as affordable housing in the 21st century.

During the 19th and early 20th century most multi-tenanted housing was constructed by charitable organizations or speculative developers. Government actions were limited to regulating life safety or health issues. That changed with the severe housing crisis caused by the Great Depression in the 1930s. Housing advocates like Catherine Bauer (1905–1964) studied European policies, practices and projects and argued for legislative reforms.² Housing became not only a social concern, but also an opportunity for economic stimulus and employment.³ As part of the New Deal programs the National Housing Act was passed on 27th June 1934 and established the United States Housing Administration (USHA), which was to be renamed the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) in a subsequent Housing Act in 1942. Among other initiatives, the act created various financing measures.⁴ This spurred the creation of local housing authorities, which could receive Federal funds to build clean, decent, modern housing. The many simplified and less ornate masonry apartment houses of small to medium scale also provided employment for the building trades. However, when compared to Europe, this involved only a relatively small number of units.⁵

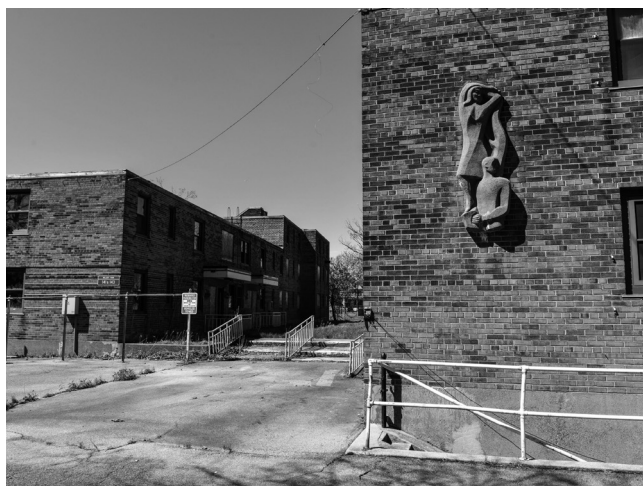
The war years saw the construction of many temporary and substandard housing units to support the war effort, the permanent housing stock expanded very little.⁶ After the war, demand fueled a mostly private suburban construction boom and was made possible by various types of government mortgage guarantees.⁷ The United States (USA) government also continued to build or to provide funds to municipalities to construct low-income – or as it was referred to at the time as limited-income – housing. Because funds were often tied to slum clearance as defined in the Housing Act of 1949, this assistance mostly went to the urban areas. There the limited space available and density requirements necessitated the construction of multi-story apartment buildings throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Tall towers with cruciform or star-shape plans with a central core and narrow slabs with double-loaded corridors or an open-air gallery became customary and economical.⁸

While representing only a part of the housing constructed in the 1950s, the simply detailed high-rise apartment towers grouped on a superblock site came to be seen as synonymous with public housing.⁹ The upheavals caused by the demolition of existing, if blighted, neighborhoods, together with the declining quality of the designs and the inexpensive construction and the lack of (economic) diversity and opportunity changed an initially positive impression of modern housing into a negative one by the end of the 1960s.¹⁰

At the end of the 20th century a report commissioned by the Federal government to assess the condition of Federally funded public housing concluded that a substantial portion of that housing stock was severely deteriorated. Recommendations mandated not only improvements, but also that for every unit demolished a new one had to be constructed.¹¹ That no demolition rule was revoked subsequently in the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998.¹² The new program was titled *Hope VI* and enabled the demolition of older housing projects to make way for low-rise townhouse-like developments that have a distinct anti-modern tinge and found its visual inspiration in the retro-look favored by New Urbanism.¹³

All preservation discussions, however, are still overshadowed by the narrative and perceptions surrounding the Wendell O. Pruitt and William L. Igoe Homes in St. Louis, Missouri (MO). The project with its 33 buildings on 57 acres [23 ha], designed by Minoru Yamasaki (1912–1986) and completed in 1956, was completely demolished between 1972 and 1976.¹⁴

Pruitt-Igoe was part of a larger slum clearance and redevelopment effort in St. Louis that involved also the construction of Busch Stadium and the Gateway Arch National Park with the Arch (1947–1965) designed by Eero Saarinen (1910–1961).¹⁵ The project funded under the terms of the Housing Act of 1949 took place at a time of social change and, while intended to be segregated but racially mixed, was majority African-American from the beginning. Rental income covered maintenance during its peak occupancy in 1957, but almost immediately declined as occupancy dwindled.¹⁶ By



01 Frederick C. Backus, Willert Park Courts, Buffalo, NY, United States, 1939-1944. An architectural sculpture program was included in the design, being shown in the image the sculpture titled "Family by Harold Ambellan". © Buffalo Rising, c. 2019.



02 Frederick C. Backus, Willert Park Courts, Buffalo, NY, United States, 1939-1944. Parts of the project have been demolished, the remain is vacant and boarded up and threatened with demolition; new vaguely traditional houses have been built adjacently. © Buffalo Rising c. 2019.

the mid-1960s, Pruitt-Igoe was considered the most dangerous housing project in the city.¹⁷ A nine month rent strike in 1969 further exacerbated conditions.¹⁸

The discussion around the question whether the failure of the buildings was to be attributed to its planning and design started almost immediately. The original designs and the finished project published respectively in 1951 and 1956 received extensive praise.¹⁹ Less than ten years later, by 1965, that opinion had changed and the project was declared a failure.²⁰ In 1972, when the first demolition took place, Pruitt-Igoe was labeled "the housing failure of the century," and called "a disaster in human, architectural, and now economic terms."²¹ The popular press echoed these verdicts.²²

The discussion continued over time and generally faulted the design or size of the buildings. The demolition as evidence of the failure of modern architecture was most notoriously made by Charles Jencks (1939-2019) in his famous claim that modern architecture "died" in 1972 when the first Pruitt-Igoe buildings were imploded.²³ It is not until more recently that a more critical reexamination of the circumstances surrounding the design, construction and operation of the project takes into account societal and social and public policy issues.²⁴

Against this background, the preservation of public or subsidized housing projects continues to be challenged. The need for affordable housing has not lessened but instead has become even more urgent. Existing housing complexes are under considerable pressure because of dwindling government support, while simultaneously being faced with a need for extensive maintenance and upgrades to new standards. Projects have been demolished or have been privatized and made all or partially market rate, or sections have been demolished to make room for market rate infill development.²⁵

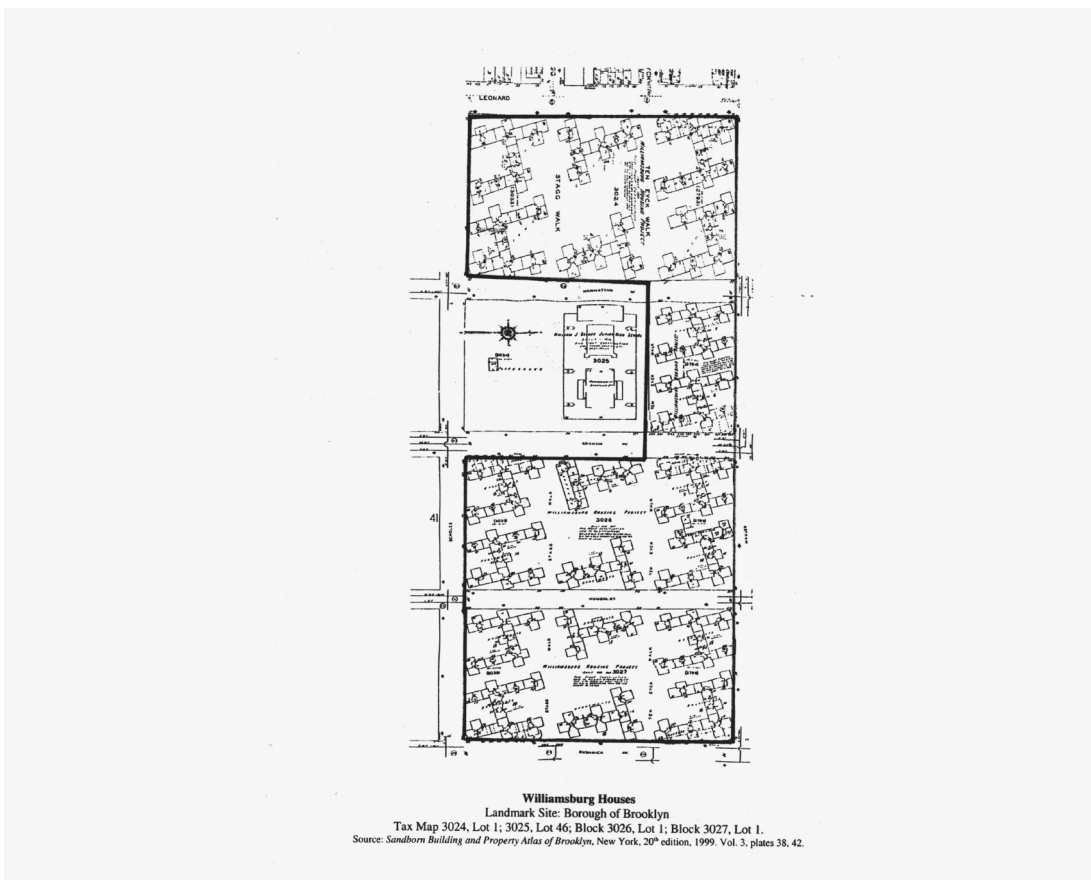
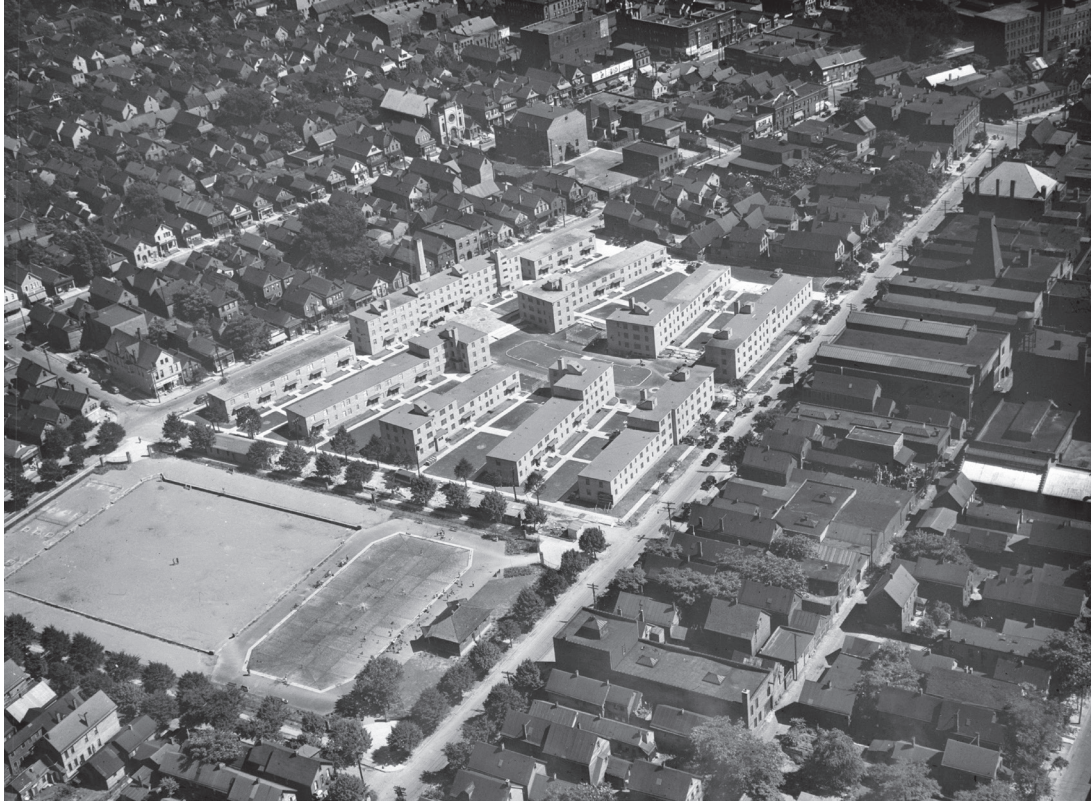
A few examples may help to illustrate the dilemmas. Projects, ownership, conditions, architectural, design and cultural significance vary, as well as actions contemplated

or undertaken to upgrade housing conditions and achieve – in some instances – preservation. Most discussions and considerations continue to take place against a background of continued fiscal austerity and a still evolving public perception of what happened in St. Louis in the 1970s.

The Housing Act of 1937 enabled the design and construction of a number of important small and low-rise housing developments. One example, the Lafitte projects (1940-1941) in New Orleans, Louisiana (LA), designed by Sol Rosenthal, Jack J. H. Kessels, and Ernest W. Jones, has been demolished about a decade ago because of social conditions, neglect and deterioration after hurricane Katrina in 2005. It has made way for a new, architecturally more traditional development of lesser density with detached houses.²⁶ A similar fate may be in store for Willert Park Courts, renamed Alfred D. Price Housing in 1969, in Buffalo, New York (NY). Designed by Frederick C. Backus (1889-1969) and completed in 1939 with additions in 1942 and 1944, for the Buffalo Municipal Housing Authority (BMHA), it was the first housing complex for Afro-Americans in the city. Sculptures by artists Robert Cronbach (1908-2001) and Harold Ambellan (1912-2006) were incorporated in the architecture.²⁷ While determined eligible for listing on the *National Register for Historic Places* because of its significance for architectural, planning, landscape, art and ethnic heritage, the nomination was not moved forward. The remainder of the project is currently scheduled for demolition and is the subject of an on-going preservation battle.²⁸ Sections had been demolished in 2006 and 2009.

Housing authorities, some established after the passing of the 1937 Housing Act, were and continue to be important in providing affordable and public housing. Agencies like the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) and the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) were established to build, own and operate housing.²⁹ Their operations have been affected by the changes in policies and a decrease in funding. The last two decades have seen an increasing turn towards the private market.³⁰

- 03 Frederick C. Backus, Willert Park Courts, Buffalo, NY, United States, 1939-1944. Aerial view, 1939. © us Department of Housing and Urban Development, Center for Urban Planning, State University of New York Buffalo.



- 04 Williamsburg Associated Architects, Williamsburg Houses, Brooklyn, NY, United States, 1936-1938. Landmark Map, 2003; around 20 buildings have been placed on the site at an angle to the street grid. © Landmark Preservation Commission, "Williamsburg Houses Designation Report (LP-2135)", New York, City of New York, 2003.

One of the early housing projects constructed in New York City is Williamsburg Houses built between 1936 and 1938. Originally named Ten Eyck Houses, it was the work of a design team under the direction of Richmond Shreve (1877-1946) of Shreve Lamb & Harmon, the architects of the Empire State Building (1929-1931). William Lescaze (1896-1969), the Swiss-born modernist, is credited as one of the designers. Commissioned initially by the Public Works Administration (WPA), a New Deal agency charged with building housing prior to the passing of the Housing Act of 1937, the project was turned over to NYCHA ownership in 1957.

Around 1622 apartments are located in 20 buildings with H or T-shaped footprints. The individual buildings are placed at a 15-degree angle to the orthogonal street grid. The 25-acre [10 ha] site allowed for generous use of open space and walks and community facilities in the center. Williamsburg Houses was designated a New York City Landmark in 2003 and received a 70-million-dollar upgrade in 1999.³¹

Another example of a project that involved William Lescaze in the early design phase is Queensbridge Houses with its 3149 apartments in 6-story buildings.³² Located in Queens just north of the 59th Street bridge, it is the largest project of its kind in the NYCHA portfolio and was completed in 1940, following the design of the architects William F. R. Ballard (1905-1993), Henry S. Churchill (1893-1962), Frederick G. Frost (1876-1966) and Burnett C. Turner (1902-1999). While the project was also determined eligible to the National Register for Historic Places, no further action was undertaken. Like Williamsburg Houses, the project has a generous amount of open space between Y-shaped buildings that made the plan independent from the city's orthogonal plan. A community center, school and small commercial area have been placed at its center.

Not all NYCHA projects have fared as well and the agency is facing considerable financial shortfalls and substantial backlogs in repairs and maintenance. A 2015 plan named *Next Generation* sought to establish financial stability following the earlier financial crisis and to repair and expand affordable housing. That earlier plan was updated in 2018 with NYCHA 2.0 and sought to raise funds for capital repairs over a ten year period through converting around 62,000 units into private management, the sale of unused development rights and under a component of the plan called "Build to Preserve" mixed use infill development on existing sites.³³ An example of this strategy envisioned replacing two existing buildings with three mixed income ones.³⁴ Turning over some 62,000 units to private developers would follow the example of cities like Chicago and San Francisco.³⁵ No action has yet been taken on any part of the plan, but given the dire need for resources, it is likely to reemerge in some form in the near future.

Roosevelt Island, the last example, is of interest both socially and architecturally. The island was called Welfare Island and home to a number of hospitals before being re-christened Roosevelt Island in 1973.³⁶ That was the year when Louis Kahn (1901-1974) was commissioned to design the memorial for Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR),

the Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park, at the southern tip of the island. In 1969 New York State's Urban Development Corporation (UDC) had commissioned Philip Johnson (1906-2005) and his partner John Burgee (1933-) to create a plan for 5000 apartment units to provide housing for 20,000 people. The project was one of two that benefitted from a Federal program that sought to stimulate large-scale multi-use development projects with mixed income housing adjacent to or in existing cities.³⁷ The first phase of the original plan that was built was "Northtown" and included four buildings: Westview and Eastwood as well as Island House and Rivercross.³⁸

The original buildings are significant not just because of the prominence of the designers, but also for what they sought to achieve. Aligned along a north south axis named Main Street and arranged with open spaces and courtyards in between, the buildings step back from the street towards the water. In addition, Josep Lluís Sert (1928-1979), for instance, attempted to "modify typical American housing patterns by including more communal facilities within them."³⁹ In response to criticism of Pruitt-Igoe, he intentionally created a density of doorways in each corridor to increase the "eyes on street" and avoid empty corridors characteristic of other housing schemes.⁴⁰

Once a unique community with an economic diversity, the island is now changing. No existing housing is being demolished. Of the original subsidized housing some buildings have been privatized, and new market rate residential buildings are being added in the southern part of the island, in the area that in the original masterplan was referred to as "Southtown". Also, on the southern part of the island a new academic campus is being built and on the very tip of the island the Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park has finally been completed in 2012. The success of the island as originally conceived and what is evolving today was and is a subject of much discussion in the popular press.⁴¹

These few examples provide an indication of the complexity around the discussion of the preservation of housing and what challenges are ahead. Affordable housing, be it government built, owned or subsidized in densely populated urban areas, remains in great demand. Throughout the second and third quarter of the 20th century a great number of apartments were built, remaining still today. With perceptions still mixed, changes in social policy, the need for maintenance and upgrade, and diminishing government financial support and subsidies, public owners and housing authorities have turned more and more towards private industry for help and solutions. While this may result in improvements and desperately needed upgrades, it is critical that important parts of the original social and design intent are valued and preserved.

- 05** Williamsburg Associated Architects, Williamsburg Houses, Brooklyn, NY, United States, 1936-1938. View of a typical interior space of the project.
© Theodore Prudon, 2018.



- 06** Williamsburg Associated Architects, Williamsburg Houses, Brooklyn, NY, United States, 1936-1938. View of a typical corner of the four-story buildings.
© Theodore Prudon, 2018.



- 07** Philip Johnson, John Burgee (plan), Roosevelt Island, New York, NY, United States, 1969. View of the Main Street with the Chapel of the Good Shepherd and Eastwood designed by Josep Lluís Sert and completed in 1976.
© Theodore Prudon, 2015.



- 08** Philip Johnson, John Burgee (plan), Roosevelt Island, New York, NY, United States, 1969. View of the Westside of the Island with the buildings Rivercross and Island House designed by John Johansen and Ashok Bhavnavi and completed in 1975.
© John Arbuckle, 2015.



- 09** William F. R. Ballard, Henry S. Churchill, Frederick G. Frost, Burnett C. Turner, Queensbridge Houses, Queens, NY, United States, 1938-1940. Aerial view, 1939, showing buildings in the southeast corner of the site still under construction and in the background is visible the south end of Roosevelt Island. © New York City Housing Authority Collection LaGuardia and Wagner Archives, LaGuardia Community College, City University of New York.

Notes

- 1 The term “affordable” captures housing of many different types of ownership or financial support. It reflects a cost or rental level as determined in a local context. Public housing generally denotes ownership and management by a government agency such as a housing authority. A good overview of the history of affordable housing in New York City may be found in Nicholas Dagen Bloom, Matthew Gordon Lasner (eds.), *Affordable Housing in New York*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2016.
- 2 In *Modern Housing*, Boston, New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, Catherine Bauer, describes not only various European housing policies and projects, but she also recognizes the importance of design as she states on page 213 “Architecture is the Social Art”.
- 3 Much of the focus was on the suburbs. Dolores Hayden states: “The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 had four goals: to increase employment, to improve housing for the poor, to demonstrate to private industry the feasibility of large-scale community planning efforts, and to eradicate and rehabilitate slum areas ‘to check the exodus to the outer limits of cities with consequent costly utility extensions and leaving the centrally located areas unable to pay their way’”, in Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820–2000*, New York, Vintage Books, 2003, 221.
- 4 Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1985, 197. FHA published guidelines for house and neighborhood design to ensure designers and planners consider certain issues, like space planning, orientation, and street layout for projects that would need to receive FHA approval.
- 5 During the interwar period, over a million houses were built by the local authorities in England and Wales, while in the US in the four years before the outbreak of WWII, only 130,000 new units were sponsored. For more information on the New Deal housing programs, see *idem.*, 190–230.
- 6 See Donald Albrecht (ed.), *World War II and the American Dream: How Wartime Building Changed a Nation*, Washington DC, National Building Museum, 1995.
- 7 The policies and ideals leading up to these suburban developments have been the subject of a considerable study. Of note are studies that examine the suburbanization phenomenon in relation to the development of housing from a social history perspective. See Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work and Family Life*, New York, W. W. Norton, 1984; or Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1981. Suburbanization is often tied to discussions about sprawl: Dolores Hayden, *A Field Guide to Sprawl*, New York, W. W. Norton, 2004, details different forms of sprawl; Robert Bruegmann, *Sprawl*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2005, presents a more comprehensive history of both positive and negative aspects. Attempts have been made to develop criteria for listing suburban developments, see David L. Ames, Linda Flint McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, Washington DC, US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2002, National Register Bulletin.
- 8 For a discussion about the evolution of high-rise housing in the US see Eric Mumford, “The ‘tower in the park’ in America: theory and practice, 1920–1960”, *Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Abingdon, Taylor & Francis, 1995, 17–41. He notes the influence of both the European modernists and the already existing American practice of building multistory residential structures. See also Robert A. M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin, Thomas Mellins, *New York 1930*, New York, Rizzoli, 1987, 428–447, for a summary of housing in New York City in the two decades before WWII. Most of the projects noted are multistory structures in cruciform typologies, only the Chrystie-Forsyth Street development proposal by Howe & Lescaze of 1931–1932 shows a modernist design.
- 9 Most public housing was built as two- to four-story structures. See Alexander von Hoffman, “A Study in Contradictions: The Origins and Legacy of the Housing Act of 1949”, *Housing Policy Debate*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Abingdon, Taylor & Francis, 2000, 299–326.
- 10 The issues surrounding the design of modern high-rise housing and their success or lack thereof remain an important subject of discussion and controversy with very divergent points of view. Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996, 208–209, argues that some of it did work and serve well. One of the culprits identified is the so-called “two-tier” housing policy in the US, i.e. public housing versus the middle-class mortgage income tax deduction. That opinion is echoed in J. S. Fuerst, *When Public Housing was Paradise: Building Community in Chicago*, Westport, Praeger, 2003. He comes to a somewhat similar conclusion when discussing the Chicago Housing Authority. For some of the general issues and case studies, see Theodore Prudon, *Preservation of Modern Architecture*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 2008, 239–301. For a general discussion of housing preservation, see by the same author “Modern Housing Redux: the (Un)Loved and the (Un)Learned”, *Historic Environment*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Burwood, Australia ICOMOS, 2013, 12–37.
- 11 National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, “The Final Report of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing: A Report to the Congress and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development”, Washington DC, The Commission, 1992.
- 12 HOPE VI funded the demolition of around 150,000 units between 1993 and 2007 and only 24% of the demolished units had been replaced by 2008. From a high of 1,410,00 public housing units in 1994 the number decreased to 1,002,114 units in 2020. See Jeff Andrews, “Affordable Housing is in Crisis. Is Public Housing the Solution?”, *Curbed*, [online], 13th January 2020. Available at: <https://archive.curbed.com/2020/1/13/21026/public-housing-faircloth-amendment-election-2020>.
- 13 The program was administered by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the approach recommended was based on the actions around the Columbia Point Housing in Boston built in 1954. Here the solution had been to turn the project over to a private development firm, who demolished the housing and built a new complex.
- 14 The firm responsible for the design was Leinweber, Yamasaki & Helmuth.
- 15 Katherine G. Bristol, “The Pruitt-Igoue Myth”, *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 44, No. 3, Abingdon, Taylor & Francis, 1991, 166.
- 16 Robert Fishman, “Rethinking Public Housing [Research & Debate]”, *Places*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Berkeley, University of California, 2004, 29.
- 17 Joseph Heathcott, “Pruitt-Igoue Public Housing Project, St. Louis, Missouri”, in R. Stephen Sennott (ed.), *Encyclopedia of 20th Century Architecture*, New York, Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004, 1066.
- 18 Katherine G. Bristol, *op. cit.*, 166.
- 19 The praise was for “a new kind of apartment.” The buildings had interior “neighborhoods” created by the skip-stop elevator system that stopped only every three floors giving access to broad galleries where children could play safely and that allowed people to meet and enjoy fresh air through operable windows. Also praised as “refreshing” was the considerable amount of open park land with circa 200 feet [61 m] between buildings. The article claimed that this project had “already begun to change the public housing pattern in other cities” and “would save not only people, but money,” see “Slum Surgery in St. Louis”, *Architectural Forum*, Vol. 94, No. 4, New York, Time Inc., April 1951, 128–136. In 1956 the architecture was described as “(...) to achieve that essential smallness of scale within the huge context of the project which alone will preserve conditions in which human beings can live comfortably and restrain all that is possible of the small neighborhood,” in “Four Vast Housing Projects for St. Louis”, *Architectural Record*, Vol. 120, No. 2, New York, August 1956, 182–189.
- 20 James Bailey, “The Case History of a Failure”, *Architectural Forum*, Vol. 123, No. 5, New York, Urban American Inc., December 1965, 22–25. The project was to receive a 7-million-dollar renovation. Referencing the 1951 article, Bailey notes that the original design aspects as extolled in 1951 were never fully realized.
- 21 “St. Louis Blues”, *Architectural Forum*, Vol. 136, No. 4, New York, Urban American Inc., May 1972, 18.
- 22 “Demolition marks ultimate failure of Pruitt-Igoue Project”, *Washington Post*, 27th August 1973, 3; and John Herbers, “The Case History of a Housing Failure”, *New York Times*, 2nd November 1972, 1.
- 23 Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, London, Academy Editions, 1978, 9.
- 24 Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 2000, 239–240, sees Pruitt-Igoue’s failure not as the result of a “planning mistake”

- but of the arrogance of the “Corbusians”, who did not understand what was needed for the population inhabiting the buildings. A point of view to some extent echoed in D. Bradford Hunt, “Public Housing in America: Lost Opportunities”, *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 25, No. 4, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, 637-642, in his review of Radford’s *Modern Housing for America*.
- 25 For instance, in 2009 according to the HUD since 2006 circa 195,000 units of public housing have been demolished and another 230,000 were scheduled for demolition. See Robbie Brown, “Atlanta is making way for new Public Housing”, *New York Times*, 21st June 2009. Here the typical brick structures – dating from 1936 – were being demolished to make way for quasi-colonial low-rise housing dispersed in presumably mixed neighborhoods developed by private developers. The same has been taking place in New Orleans and Newark. For Newark, see Antoinette Martin, “End nears for Unloved Housing”, *New York Times*, 12th October 2008.
- 26 A number of housing projects were damaged by hurricane Katrina. See Susan Saulnay, “5,000 Public Housing Units in New Orleans are to be razed”, *New York Times*, 15th June 2006. For Lafitte, see: Nicolai Ouroussoff, “High Noon in New Orleans, LA the Bulldozers are ready”, *New York Times*, 19th December, 2007, who writes about Lafitte: “Some [public housing] rank among the best early examples of public housing built in the United States, both in design and in quality of construction.”
- 27 About the artists and their art, see “The Artists of Buffalo’s Willert Park Courts Sculptures (aka A.D. Price Courts, 406 Jefferson Avenue)”, *Western New York History* [online]. [Accessed: 24th November 2020] Available at: https://www.wnyhistory.org/portfolios/more/DEPRESSION_ERA_PUBLIC_ART/willert_wpa_art/willert_wpa_art.html.
- 28 A determination of eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places is an interim procedure that can be made before the formal process of listing is undertaken or completed.
- 29 The NYCHA was established in 1934 and is the largest of its kind in the US. The CHA dates from 1937.
- 30 For a summary of the history of the NYCHA, see Luis Ferré-Sadurns, “The Rise and Fall of New York Public Housing”, *New York Times*, 9th July 2018. For a more detailed discussion about NYCHA and the various Federal programs and agencies, see Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1990, 207-227 and 233-245.
- 31 *Idem.*, 214-220: figure 7-11 on page 217 shows a plan of the site as built, as well as a comparison with a more traditional NYCHA layout. For a detailed description, see Landmark Preservation Commission, “Williamsburg Houses Designation Report (LP-2135)”, New York, City of New York, 2003, prepared by staff.
- 32 *Idem.*, 239-240; and Gaia Caramillino, Marella Feltrin-Morris, *Europe Meets America: William Lescaze, Architect of Modern Housing*, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016, 118.
- 33 Arthur Tristea, Max Brueckner-Humphreys, Daniel Rubin, “NYCHA’s Road Ahead: capital and operating budget needs, shortfalls and plans”, *NYU Furman Center* [online], August 2019. [Accessed: 16th November 2020]. Available at: <https://furmancenter.org/research/publication/nychas-road-ahead-capital-and-operating-budget-needs-shortfalls-and-pla>.
- 34 See Luis Ferré-Sadurns, “To Save Public Housing, New York Warily Considers a New Approach”, *New York Times*, 25th April 2019.
- 35 An example of this approach is the Raymond M. Hillard Center in Chicago from a decade earlier. See Theodore Prudon, 2008, *op. cit.*, 292-301.
- 36 See Charles Giraudet, “The New Deal Health Infrastructure of New York: The Hospitals of Isadore Rosenfield”, *docomomo Journal* 62 – “Cure and Care”, Lisboa, *docomomo* International, 2020, 52-59.
- 37 For a history of the development of Roosevelt Island, see Robert A. M. Stern, *New York 1960*, New York, The Monacelli Press, 1995, 641-659. For a discussion of the political issues around the project and the role of Ed Logue, see Lizabeth Cohen, *Saving America’s Cities*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019, 277-293. For a discussion on the development of the project and Sert’s buildings, see Joan Ockman, “1970 Roosevelt Island”, in Josep M. Rovira (ed.), *Sert 1928-1979 Half a Century of Architecture*, Barcelona, Fundacio Joan Miro, n.d., 333-347. One other project developed under this Federal program “New Town in Town” is the Cedar Riverside project (1962-1973) in Minneapolis designed by Ralph Rapson (1914-2008). For a summary of this project, see Jane King Hession, Rip Rapson, Bruce N. Wright, *Ralph Rapson: 60 Years of Modern Design*, Afton, Afton Historical Society Press, 1999, 192-201.
- 38 These buildings were respectively designed by Sert Jackson & Associates and Johansen & Bhavnani. Other architects involved in the design for Roosevelt Island are Kallmann & McKinnell (of Boston City Hall fame), landscape architects Dan Kiley (1912-2004, of Lincoln Center), Zion & Breen (of Paley Park) and Lawrence Halprin (1916-2009). Eastwood has been renamed Roosevelt Landing.
- 39 Eric Paul Mumford, Mohsen Mostafavi, *The Writings of Josep Lluis Sert*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2014, xviii.
- 40 Yonah Freemark, “Roosevelt Island: Exception to a City in Crisis”, *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 2011, 367. Sert’s work reflected the influence of Le Corbusier (1887-1965) in both his architectural philosophy and the design of the actual apartments.
- 41 Mark Lamster, “Rethinking Roosevelt Island”, *Design Observer* [online], 14th January 2012. Available at: <https://designobserver.com/feature/rethinking-roosevelt-island/32188>. Here Mark Lamster describes an architectural critic’s visit before construction of the new campus and reflects on the original design. Much of the discussion centers on the makeup of the original community, its governing structure and the evolving real estate and costs. Bruce Lambert, “In search of Democracy for Roosevelt Island”, *New York Times*, 19th June 1994; and Bruce Lambert, “Living on...Roosevelt Island”, *New York Times*, 4th October 2017, for example.

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