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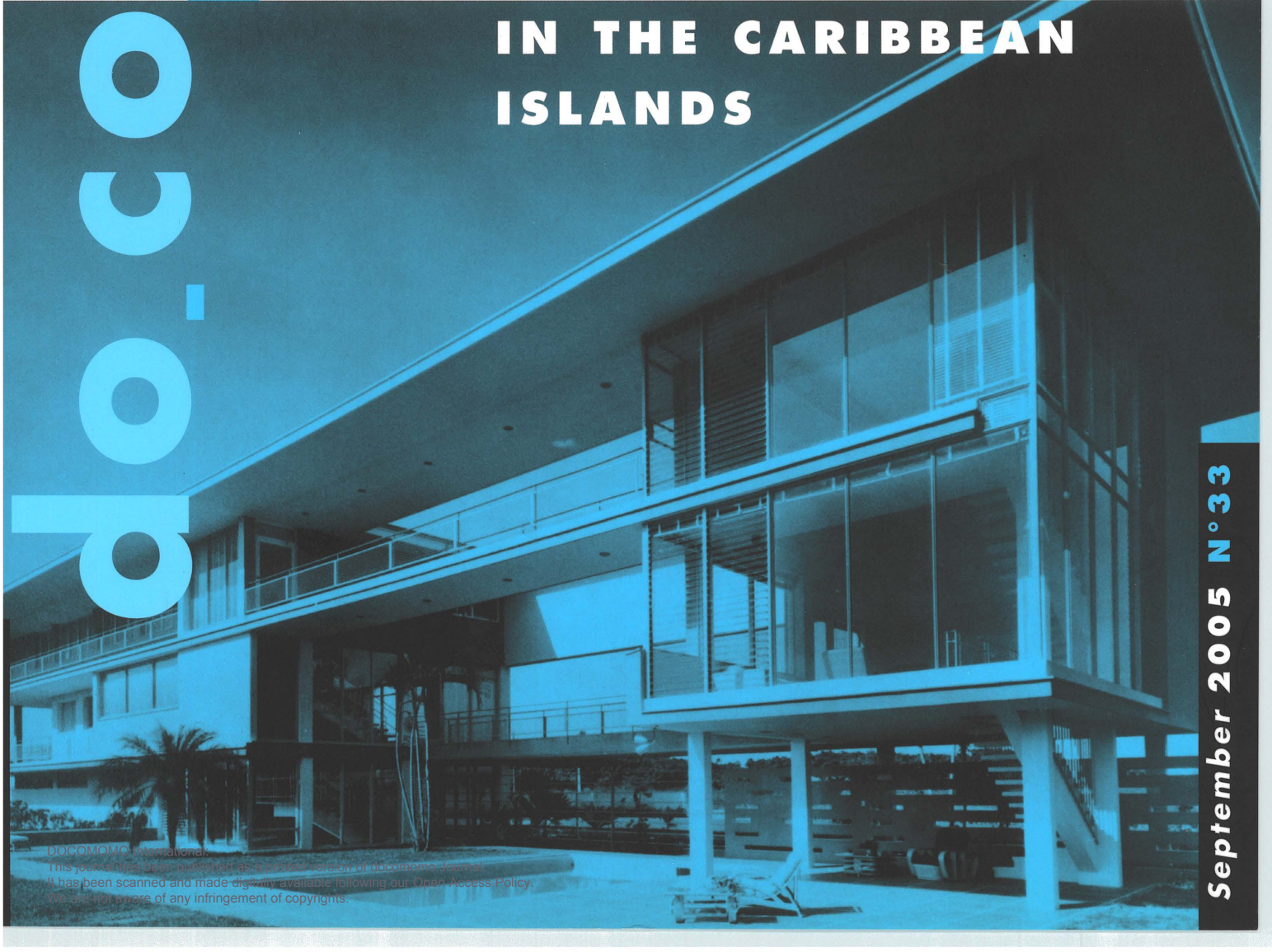
THE MODERN MOVEMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN ISLANDS



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Cover: **Mario Romañach,** *Noval Cueto House,* Havana, 1948-1949. See article on page 10

THE MODERN MOVEMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN ISLANDS

GUEST EDITORS

Eduardo Luis Rodríguez
Gustavo Luis Moré

The Regional Service of Cultural Affairs (Direction régionale des affaires culturelles, DRAC) of Guadeloupe is proud and happy of its partnership with Docomomo for this publication which pays tribute to modern architecture in the Caribbean.

Architect Ali Tur lastingly marked Guadeloupe's landscape by rebuilding a large number of public facilities during the 1930s. The French Minister of Culture and Communication recognizes his work's significance and protects five of his realizations listed as historical monuments. Other architects or contractors, trained or inspired by Ali Tur, also deserve to have some of their buildings protected: it is in fact one of the DRAC's projects for the future.

For six years, the DRAC has carried out registration actions that have allowed it to gather a unique stock of documents, entirely digitalized, on the local heritage. These studies have led to several publications on the Côte-sous-le-vent and of the Gourbeyre town among others. A book on the city of Basse-Terre will also be published in the near future.

Another vast project is already underway: the implementation of a PNR, national center of resources (pôle national de ressources), on architecture, whose theme is "Living in one's territory." This structure is under the double administrative supervision of the Ministries of Culture and of Education, and its partners are the Maison de l'architecture and the Institut universitaire de formation des maîtres. This PNR's operator is the Regional Center of Educational Documentation (Centre régional de documentation pédagogique) located in the Abymes town. Its mission is to organize events, implement educational tools and establish a documentation stock.

Studying the production of 'modern' architects must allow us to fuel the debate on what the architecture in the Caribbean should be today, given this contrasting territory's specific features. Docomomo's publication is for us an encouragement to participate in these exchanges that I hope will be profitable to the future of our regions.

LAURENT HEULOT, *Regional Director of Cultural Affairs of Guadeloupe*

editorial

The publication of this special issue of *Docomomo Journal* entirely dedicated to modern architecture in the Caribbean islands rewards the efforts of several of our network's members. In fact, it is the first time that the journal is published simultaneously in three languages: English, French and Spanish.

The decision to explore this topic came to us quite naturally.
A matchless testing ground for architectural and urban experiments, a field of analysis as yet hardly investigated as a whole, a set of complex relationships with the European and American continents, a sustained reflection on the themes of local adaptation and modern regionalism, the Caribbean islands also present the characteristic feature of embracing three linguistic areas within a single geographic region. For Docomomo International, it was therefore the perfect opportunity to lead this first trilingual publishing experiment.

The determination and persistence of a great number of Docomomo members was crucial to carry out this vast editorial endeavor, complex in terms of implementation, translation and publication. In the first place, let us acknowledge our guest editors, Eduardo Luis Rodríguez (Docomomo Cuba) and Gustavo Luis Moré (Docomomo Dominican Republic) who devoted an unlimited amount of time to the preparation and editing of this issue. Furthermore, their work would not have been possible without the effective collaboration of all the Spanish language Docomomo countries—Argentina, Chile, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Panama and Spain—that took an active part in the Spanish version's realization.

This issue also owes a great deal to the enthusiasm and support of our cultural partners from continental and overseas France, the Department of Architecture and Heritage, the Institut français d'architecture, the Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine, the regional cultural Services of Martinique and Guadeloupe, as well the Groupe Bernard Hayot. The French version was published thanks to their contribution.

This threefold publication, which at some point may have seemed hazardous, turned out to be a surprising catalyst of energies, exchanges and cohesion. This highly stimulating human and intellectual experience provides evidence of the Docomomo network's efficiency and vitality.

Further initiatives are now eagerly expected.

MARISTELLA CASCIATO
Chair

ÉMILIE D'ORGEIX
Secretary General

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THE **SINUOUS PATH** OF THE **MODERN MOVEMENT** IN THE **CARIBBEAN ISLANDS**

EDUARDO LUIS **RODRÍGUEZ** AND GUSTAVO LUIS **MORÉ**, guest editors

ON A GENTLE SLOPE west of Havana is one of the most singular buildings in the Caribbean: the National School of Music designed and built by Vittorio Garatti between 1961 and 1965 *(fig. 6, p. 23)*. Only about half of the initial project was realized. It is a long building that extends along 330 meters and follows the undulations of the land until it bifurcates. One section ends abruptly while the other extends to the bank of a small stream where it breaks up into successive big, semi-circular planters that evoke successive spasmodic movements, death rattles that seem to announce a precipitous end.

NO OTHER WORK is more appropriate to symbolize—and even to cover, if only in theoretical terms—the path taken and to be taken by the modern movement in the islands of the Caribbean, the subject of the present issue of *Docomomo Journal*. The trajectory of modern architecture and urbanism in the Antilles, which, like the School of Music in Havana, is long and uneven, is richly detailed and complexly nuanced. After lackluster, obscure periods, others, dazzling with light, follow and ascend before sinking back into darkness only to rise up once again. In this way, between successes and mistakes, a serpentine route was traced that shaped a significant architecture whose contribution, like that of the school of music, is unique and not simply confined to being an example of the diffusion and assimilation of the international style vocabulary in regions distinct and distant from its origin.

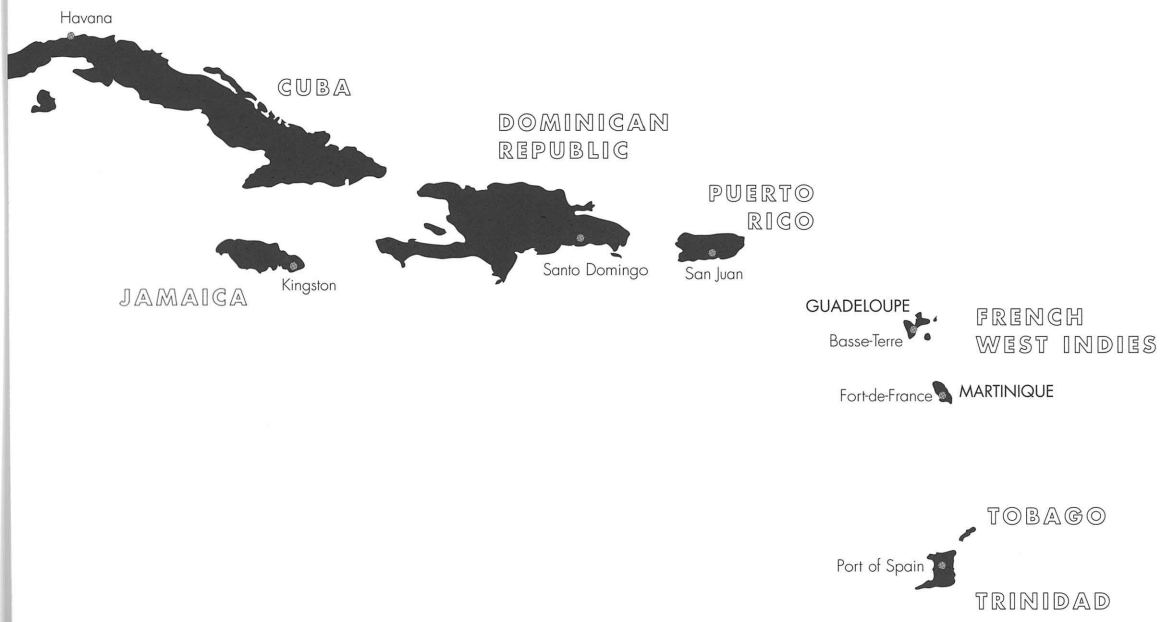
THE BEST WORKS of the Caribbean modern movement are of more than anecdotal value; they are significant contributions not only on the local level but also relative to the most remarkable international production of the period between approximately 1930 and 1970. Many of these achievements—including, among others, the buildings for the

Fair of Peace and Confraternity of the Free World, celebrated in 1955, in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic; those designed by Henry Klumb for the University of Rio Peidras in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and in Havana, the Noval Cueto House by Mario Romañach (1949), the Nautical Club by Max Borges Recio (1953), the Medical Insurance Building by Antonio Quintana (1958) and the National Schools of Art by Ricardo Porro, Roberto Gottardi and Vittorio Garatti—could easily take their place in some proud history of modern architecture throughout the world, a work whose pages would be enriched by the presence of such examples. This could have been the case if the so-called classic historians of modern architecture had been more inquisitive, more inclusive, more truthful and less biased and manipulative. With few exceptions, the historiography of the modern movement has consistently ignored the vast majority of the works realized in the Caribbean islands. Although more attention has been paid to the achievements of Latin America over the last two decades, the islands of the Caribbean remain a terra incognita due to the lack of in-depth research. The book *Arquitectura antillana del siglo XX* by Roberto Segre (Havana: Arte y Literatura, 2003) is a praiseworthy but woefully isolated example of comprehensive approach to a subject that should be deepened by meticulous country-specific studies undertaken by local authors who can offer a complete and precise vision of all the contributions made and all the works built in the region by the architects of that period.

UPON READING ARTICLES published here, one can recognize specific issues that are considered relevant by the authors but whose criteria do not always coincide with those of the guest editors. Indeed, the editors themselves do not always share the same interpretations of specific aspects or events. In particular, it is evident that a more profound analysis of which period could be selected as the 'first modernity' in the Caribbean islands is advisable. This period is sometimes chronologically situated at the end of the nineteenth century, in accordance with the general history of the region, but is also occasionally dated to the 1930s when art deco and the first signs of the influence of European rationalism make their appearance. This disagreement is part of a diversity of criteria that reflects, in turn, the variety of achievements in a region that, although it can be treated as one entity on the basis of shared geographical and climatic criteria, can equally be split into smaller areas on the basis of cultural identities and particular histories.

THIS PUBLICATION does not aspire to present or embrace all the important issues related to the modern movement in the Caribbean islands. Many questions remain unanswered; many have not yet been posed. The articles published here emphasize recurrent issues such as factors in the appearance of a new architectural vocabulary, received influences, and the early developments and subsequent contributions of important works by distinguished professionals most of whom are virtually unknown at the international level. This is true, for instance, of Wilson Chong, the designer of the national stadium in Kingston, Jamaica, and of Marcel Salasc, the architect of the Richler building and of the Maison des Syndicats in Martinique. Other texts examine aspects of great significance such as the appearance of a modern regionalism that creatively integrates the universal language with local traditions and fosters the creation of avant garde works perfectly adapted to the physical and cultural conditions of the region. The œuvre of architects Colin Laird and Anthony Lewis in Trinidad is representative of this adaptation of the formal vocabulary of modernism to a local context. Finally, the work of important foreign architects like Richard Neutra, Antonin Nechodoma, Ali Tur, the architect of more than 100 buildings in Guadeloupe after the cyclone of September 1928, or Henry Klumb, creator of a remarkable œuvre in Puerto Rico, is also highlighted. Although care was taken to choose a local author for each article, out of the conviction that an insider's interpretation is always preferable to the view from outside, the journal ends with a text by a Spanish author. More than any other of the former home countries, Spain represents the greatest cultural influence in the region and it is to Spain that the architecture of the Greater Antilles owes the most. For this reason, we thought it useful to conclude this group of articles with an analysis by a Spanish specialist of the modern movement, something that might bring a fresh and dispassionate view to the controversial issues presented here. This publication is not an attempt to close off debate or eliminate doubts but rather a contribution, at the international level, to a greater knowledge of Caribbean modern architecture.

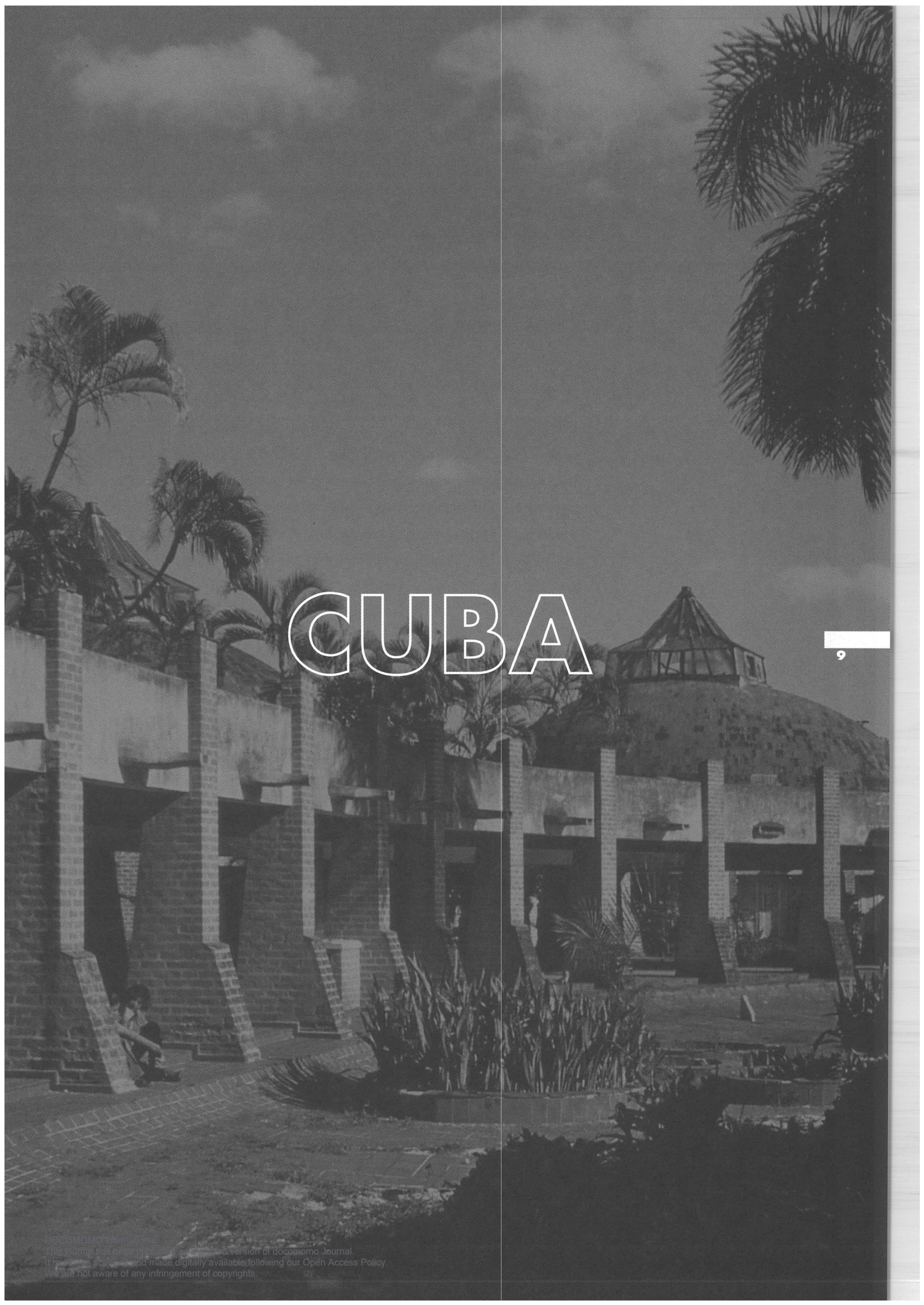
THE CONSTRUCTION of the National School of Music in Havana was interrupted in 1965 for objective reasons—economic problems—and subjective reasons related to the extreme political and ideological meanings attached to architecture by the new government after it took power in 1959. Similarly, the history of the architecture of the modern



movement in the Caribbean islands remains equally incomplete and marked by many vicissitudes: recurring hurricanes, implacable tyrants, and inevitable economic crises of great magnitude. Many of the suggested promises of the beginnings of the movement were never fullfilled or were distorted. Some of the foreseen trajectories were interrupted or branched off, and different courses that often remained inaccessible utopias were attempted. As for the task of undertaking specialized, in-depth studies that reveal fully and in detail the formal and conceptual richness of Caribbean architecture, this has always been deferred.

NEVERTHELESS, the surprising decisions taken by the Cuban government to restore and complete the five Art Schools in Havana and by the municipal gouvernment of Santo Domingo to launch an international competition for a master plan's project for the former Fair of Peace (today Centro de los Héroes) designed by Guillermo González in 1955, open a new chapter in the history of modern Caribbean architecture and could be seen as symbolic of a desire for continuity with the distinctive quality of past architectural experiments. It is a chapter full of hope that bespeaks a better understanding of the cultural significance of the modern movement and of the need to preserve its contributions, a chapter that makes explicit the need to reveal the roots and essentials in order to project them into the present and to extract the lessons that will promote a better design for the immediate future.

The guest editors thank Maristella Casciato and Émilie d'Orgeix, president and secretary general respectively of Docomomo International, for their interest in Caribbean architecture and for initiating the idea for this issue of the Docomomo Journal. Their understanding of this subject's significance set into motion the effort to bring this publication to light. We would also like to thank all those who collaborated on this issue, particularly Anne-Laure Guillet and Isabelle Kite, as well as the authors and translators of the articles.



Theory and **practice** of **modern regionalism** in Cuba

EDUARDO LUIS **RODRÍGUEZ**

Adapting works to the local physical and cultural context was a major concern for Cuban architects from the mid-1930s to the mid-1960s. This preoccupation was not a new topic in the national architectural landscape, but incorporating these efforts to the modern movement's theoretical and formal framework was. And it is in particular during the 1950s that a most wanted symbiosis between the specifically local and the internationally avant-garde developed with creativity.

MODERNITY IN CUBA

THE PATH that led to the 1950s' creative explosion in Cuba was long, extremely rich and varied, both in formal and conceptual terms. At the turn of the twentieth century, after four hundred years of Spanish dominion, the process of assimilating modernity significantly accelerated.[1] Since the nineteenth century, especially the 1850s, Cuban society had shown a keen interest in being up to date in all fields, including architecture and urbanism.[2] Neoclassicism quickly spread and many changes were introduced in the images of cities. But it is at the beginning of the twentieth century that a combination of different factors allowed the country to fully open up to modernity. Among others, the Spanish government's

Fig. 1. **Eugenio Batista**, *Falla Bonet House*, Havana, 1937–1939.
An early example of modern regionalism, the building, simple and essential, is structured around several portico-facing patios

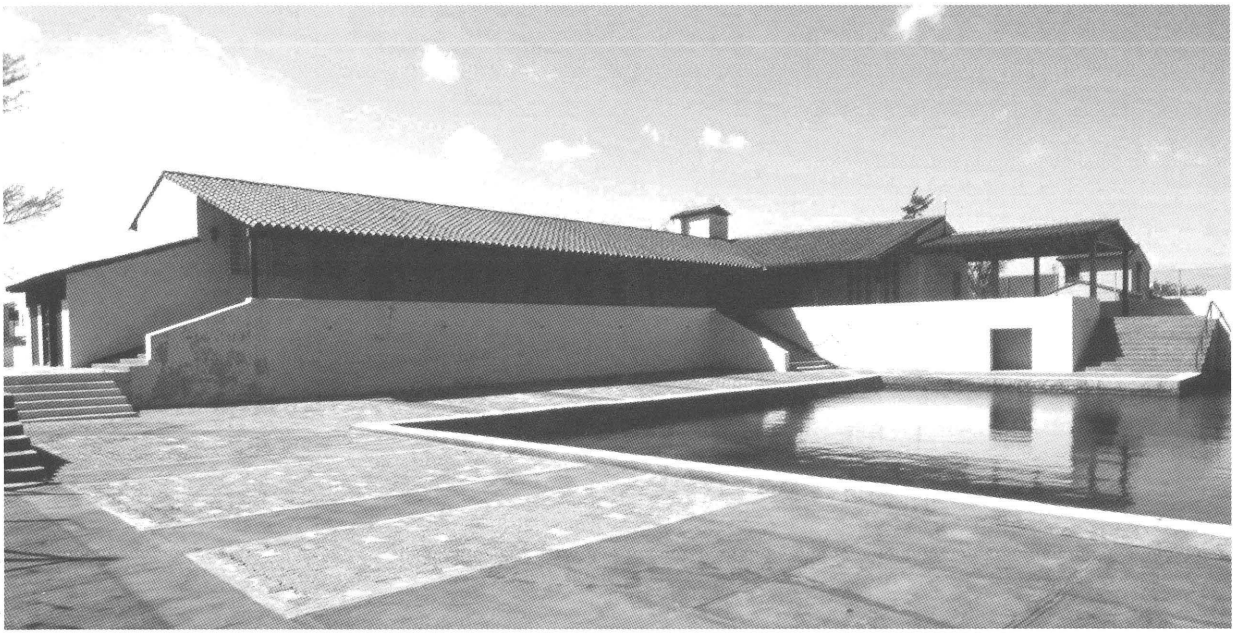


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Fig. 2. **Mario Romañach**, *Noval Cueto House*, Havana, 1948–1949. The shape, related to the international avant-garde, acquires a dramatic dimension with its wide awnings and the traditional patio re-interpreted in a modern way

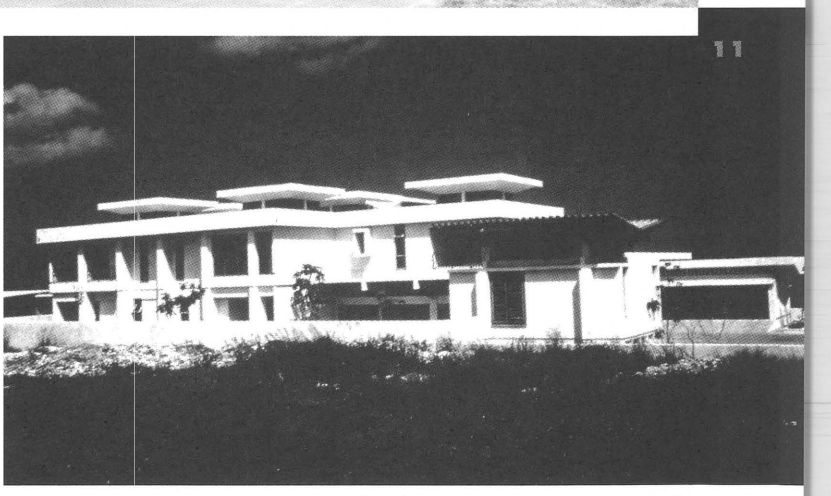

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Fig. 3. **Mario Romañach**, *Alvarez House*, Havana, 1956–1957. The house's lateral facade shows the desire to provide improved conditions of ventilation and protection against the sun, thanks to awnings, porticos, louvers and the raising of significant parts of the roof to allow for the hot air's exit and cross-ventilation

withdrawal, the introduction of many administrative and urban improvements by the North American intervention government between 1899 and 1902 and, that same year, the Republic's founding, were events that contributed to the creation of a collective state of mind very favorable to the rapid introduction of radical changes. These were part of the attempt to lessen the differences between the small and still recently colonized island and other developed countries that served as role models, mainly France and the United States.

DURING the first three decades of the century, the pace and intensity of the sequence of arrivals of new architectural styles and trends, hitherto unknown in the local context, were a consequence of the diversification of choices and alternatives, made easier by the exchanges with abroad and the improvements and development of communications, but also and mainly owing to the general wish for change and progress, and to a rejection of the past and assimilation of 'the modern.' The idea was in fact to erase the stigma of having been a colony for too long—significantly longer than most Latin American countries[3]—by continually renewing all of society's components. Thus, modernization came to mean national salvation.

THE ASPECT OF CITIES changed at an amazing speed. Streets were paved, hydro-sanitary systems were renovated, the construction of Havana's Malecón (a long seafront avenue) determinedly grew to the West, buildings steadily increased in height, as well as in quality of materials and construction techniques. Reinforced concrete for dwellings and steel structures for public buildings completely replaced the obsolete construction techniques fashionable during the colonial period. A large number of residential districts was built

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Fig. 4. **Pedro Pablo Mantilla** and **María Teresa Fernández**, *Córdova House*, Havana, 1953.
The large windows protected by overhangs and the long, open terrace, are solutions that provide permanent and intimate contact with the surrounding landscape. All main rooms have adequate cross-ventilation

surrounding the traditional urban centers. From a stylistic point of view, the nineteenth century's neoclassicism definitely yielded to the neo-gothic and neo-baroque styles of the turn of the century, followed by all the 'revivals' possible, stemming from the eclectic beaux-arts style that became the most widely used formal language. Nevertheless, this style coexisted for fifteen years with art nouveau, before being gradually replaced by the end of the 1920s by art deco, whose apparent absence of historical references and geometrically pure conception were frequently connected to the advent of modernity. In fact modernity had been coming in waves for decades. But there is no doubt that art deco, despite its short life—barely a decade—was a significant step towards avant-garde concepts, and considerably reduced the chronological space between local and universal art.

In formal and functional terms, Cuba raised itself up to the level of developed countries thanks to the modern movement whose ideas started spreading during the second half of the 1920s and whose first significant works were built at the beginning of the 1930s.[4] New shapes, belonging first to the rationalist orthodoxy and subsequently following local variations that unquestionably provided more appropriate architectural solutions, appeared at that time. These new ways asserted themselves during the 1940s and reached their climax in the 1950s, a period of surprising brilliance for Cuban architecture.

THUS, EACH STAGE of Cuban architectural modernity follows the former with haste but without jolts or omissions. This modernity—despite certain flaws, such as having overlooked the social content inherent to the beginnings of the international modern movement, or insufficiently respecting the environment's preexisting values—was a great and brilliant part of the country's urban and architectural reality, and became an essential component of its cultural heritage, on a par with its colonial architecture.

MODERNITY AND TRADITION, THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Initially, the introduction of contents and shapes specific to the modern movement occurred together with a lively debate between those who advocated the rallying to the historical styles and those who championed the need to renew the architectural language to adapt it to this period of changes. The resounding triumph of the latter allowed the complete assimilation of the international style in the 1930s. And this is precisely when another concern, relevant on the cultural level, became more pressing: the issue of 'Cubanity,' and, in particular, the Cuban house.

ONCE THE MODERN MOVEMENT'S renewing ideas were accepted, the question of how to incorporate a rationalist vocabulary coming from countries with different geographic, climatic and cultural characteristics to a local context became increasingly frequent and profound. To a certain extent, these considerations were the consequence of similar debates that had taken place since the mid 1920s in other artistic fields—mainly painting, music and literature. But essentially they embodied an immediate reaction to the construction of a

large quantity of buildings, mostly residential, which, although ostensibly attractive and innovative—dynamic and asymmetrical compositions of large prismatic volumes, interspersed with cylindrical shapes, sometimes on pilotis and with strips of windows running across the façade—often demonstrated the author's main concern, that is, of belonging to an avant-garde artistic movement, but at the same time forgetting the physical and geographic context wherein his works were erected, widely different from the countries where the new language was born. However, these works, among which many are very successful examples of the international style, were undeniably an important preliminary stage for the modern movement in Cuba, without which it would have been later impossible to give shape to some major realizations.[5] Moreover, the lesser cost and easier construction of these works were consistent with the country's economic situation in the 1930s, that echoed the 1929 crisis in the United States.

STARTING FROM THE MID 1920s, some significant realizations show that the rejection of anything having to do with Spain, the former colonizer, had made way to a soothing reflection on the local cultural tradition inherited from the protracted Spanish presence in the island. The end of the century's iconoclasm towards anything Spanish, that came with independence and prompted the substitution of old colonial models by European and North American ones, ultimately disappeared after nearly thirty years of experiments based on foreign vocabularies eventually adopted during the inevitable appropriation and adjustment process, which was not always successful. Such a change in attitudes was favorable to the appearance of a component of the fashionable eclectic style: neo-colonial historicism, one of the local architects' favorite trends. Many of the more remarkable neo-colonial works, such as Countess of Buenavista's house (1928), are by the period's most prominent architect, Leonardo Morales,[6] who, starting in 1910, designed and built a great number of excellent projects that give legitimacy and support to his stance.

MORALES'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH at the National Academy of Arts and Letters in 1934[7] is as significant as his works—among which the most notable employ an eclectic language—in the sense that it clearly shows that the modern movement was already an accepted fact in Cuba. Morales points out, not without a certain nostalgia, the inescapable character of the process and defines the elements of 'Cubanity' that should be incorporated to the modern works, owing not to any kind of commitment to tradition, but rather to the strict necessity of allowing for the physical context. Thanks to its author's professional prominence, the pioneer and eloquent speech would have huge repercussions and a great influence on the developments of Cuban architecture hereafter.

IN THE SPEECH called "the Ideal Cuban House," Morales states: "In our city of Havana, buildings that conform to the modern ideas of architects from France and Northern Europe have already been built. But in our architecture do we need to follow the creations of foreigners or use the fundamental principles that guided them? They solved their problems from the point of view of their climatic, economic and social conditions . . . We should not use as a basis for ourselves what they created for Germany and Scandinavia . . . We should not plagiarize, but create something appropriate to our conditions . . . The solution should owe more to the requirements of the Tropic of Cancer and our social Latin American context than to those of the temperate zone, of which we have already wrongly adopted prototypes valid for their climate and for their characteristics—so different from ours—but not for us."[8]

HE THEN PROCEEDS to list and explain the architectural elements and solutions that, according to him, should be incorporated to the modern Cuban house: he mentions climatic adjustments as a crucial component—mainly the protection against the heat and glare produced by the powerful tropical sun—that should be realized with large eaves for roofs and wide porticos leaning against exterior façades; an appropriate orientation to capture the main breezes; and cross ventilation—that is, with a separate admission and outlet of air—in all of the main rooms, enabled by the interior patio and louvers of mobile laths controlling the outside view and the amount of light entering the dwelling's depths. On that subject, he notices that: "we have utterly lost sight of what the appropriate atmosphere for the ideal house of the tropics should be . . . Our problem is to modulate light, lessen its glare, soften its brightness. Hence the old louvers [persianas], the awnings, the porticos . . . The portico and patio are the two pillars on which all our architecture was built for four centuries."[9]

A FEW YEARS PRIOR, between 1927 and 1929, Morales had designed and built the Pollack house, an

Fig. 5. **Frank Martínez**, *Wax House*, Havana, 1958–1959.
The limits between indoors and outdoors are almost totally suppressed

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© courtesy Erick and Paul **del Junco**

Fig. 6. **Emilio del Junco**, *architect's house, 1956–1957.* The vast porticos function as large open living spaces usually connected to the patio's plants

extraordinary dwelling that combined the formal classicist repertoire with elements of the local architectural tradition. These were not merely decorative—as was usually the case with neo-colonial historicism—but were also functional solutions: thus, the large central patio was crucial to all the rooms' ventilation. However, the weight of a classic academic training and of an already long professional career during which he had used the beaux-arts language prevented Morales from giving shape to his new thoughts in modern works of the same value as his eclectic buildings, which was a limit to the potential impact of his theoretical discourse. However, a few years later, one of his disciples, Eugenio Batista, succeeded in realizing projects that elegantly combined a regionalist conceptualization and a thoroughly modern understanding of architecture.

TWO TRENDS EXISTED—one, radical and exclusive, that required emptying modern architecture's body of any reference to local tradition or national identity; the other, open and inclusive, that advocated adjusting the modern postulations to specific conditions—which divided Cuban architects in a theoretical debate that gradually increased while concurrently becoming clearer. On this subject, the famous writer Alejo Carpentier observed: "Thus, one had to be nationalist, but also strive to belong to the avant-garde . . . [It was] a difficult target, given that nationalism always rests on the cult of tradition and that the avant-garde, de facto, meant a break with tradition."[10]

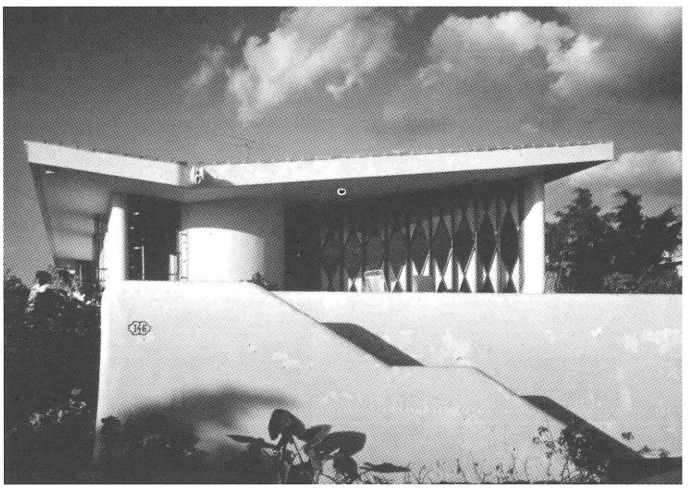
THIS THEME was so important that the controversy reached beyond the professional circles, and spread to the general public in 1936, through the publication of an issue of the influential journal *Social*, entirely devoted to the Cuban house, where one could read: "When a society undergoes a period of transition, it must make a survey of all its values . . . [to] establish the basis for a new ideology allowing the preservation or rebirth of what is genuinely Cuban."[11]

A survey, carried out by *Social*, the aforementioned journal, on a group of eminent architects, concerned the colonial Cuban house's values and those of its counterpart of the future: ultimately, the major part of the professionnals consulted was in favor of incorporating some traditions to the new constructions. A majority also agreed on the factor crucial in promoting 'Cubanness:' the adjustment to climate. Although some opinions differed, a common objective was clearly emerging: searching for modernity through identity.

THE FOLLOWING YEAR, in an article published by the journal *Arquitectura* and called "How to orient a house for coolness,"[12] Morales emphasized the need to adjust architecture to local climatic conditions. In 1939, a contextualized and regionalist approach was widely accepted during the First National Congress of Art when it was asserted that: "We need to establish a definition of a typical Cuban architecture born of the specific conditions prevailing in our country, always subjected to the new means of architectonic expression . . . As much in shape as in spirit, it will need to preserve the environmental character of the building's place and region, if the surrounding buildings are permanent constructions and of some traditional value."[13]

NEARLY A DECADE LATER, Manuel de Tapia Ruano ended his report for the First National Congress of Architecture by a call for the development of "a specific architecture, characteristic of our country."[14] Shortly after, two prestigious foreign architects visiting Cuba underlined this requirement in separate interviews with the journal *Espacio*. In 1953, Catalan Josep Lluís Sert

Fig. 7. **Ricardo Porro**, *Abad House*, Havana, 1954. Besides recreating traditional solutions for climatic adaptation, the Abad house also refers to the overt sensuality frequently associated with the tropics



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asserted: "Architecture in Cuba is the architecture of the Caribbean, of the tropics; it answers a climate and is adjusted to specific materials. Architecture cannot be defined as being international or national, but as being regional, and within its region, I find most remarkable examples in Cuba."[15] In 1955, Milanese Franco Albini claimed that the most important issue for architecture was: "the search for an authentic cultural environment in which to insert the architectural works, while also connecting it with tradition . . . By 'tradition,' I mean historical continuity associated with a cultural environment, a tradition of life and customs . . . This tradition of culture must be used with as much liberty of action as possible, by using elements of the past still valid today, but always in agreement with the modern spirit the present time's architect should have. It is not possible to be international . . . Modern architecture must find shapes for different environments, different peoples, different regions. But also be mindful of cultural nationalisms."[16]

Until the end of the decade, three of the most remarkable modern Cuban architects—Ricardo Porro, Emilio del Junco and Eugenio Batista—persistently insisted on the theme. Porro claimed: "Today, architecture has two aims. The first is to have a consistent social content . . . The second is to have an architecture less international, more rooted in the local tradition . . . Tradition does not stand for a faithful copy of the past . . . It is the result of a people's way of life, with specific customs and habits . . . It is the perceptible incarnation of their frame of mind. Art must express the particular culture of a given people that lives in a given place. It is the expression of the mutual action between man and the environment in which he develops his life . . ., the expression of the spiritual characteristics common to a people."[17]

AS FOR DEL JUNCO, on his return from an extended stay in Sweden, he pointed out: "From Scandinavia, I have seen Cuba more distinctly than if I had stayed here and this has allowed me to perceive the rich heritage of the 'criollo'* architectural style. Yet, we should not copy it, but rather preserve and restore in a responsible way what is artistic and valuable in it, and create a work of continuation . . . We should prevent Havana from becoming an architectural annex of Miami."[18]

The sequence of fundamental reflections around the incorporation of tradition and modernity, from the 1930s

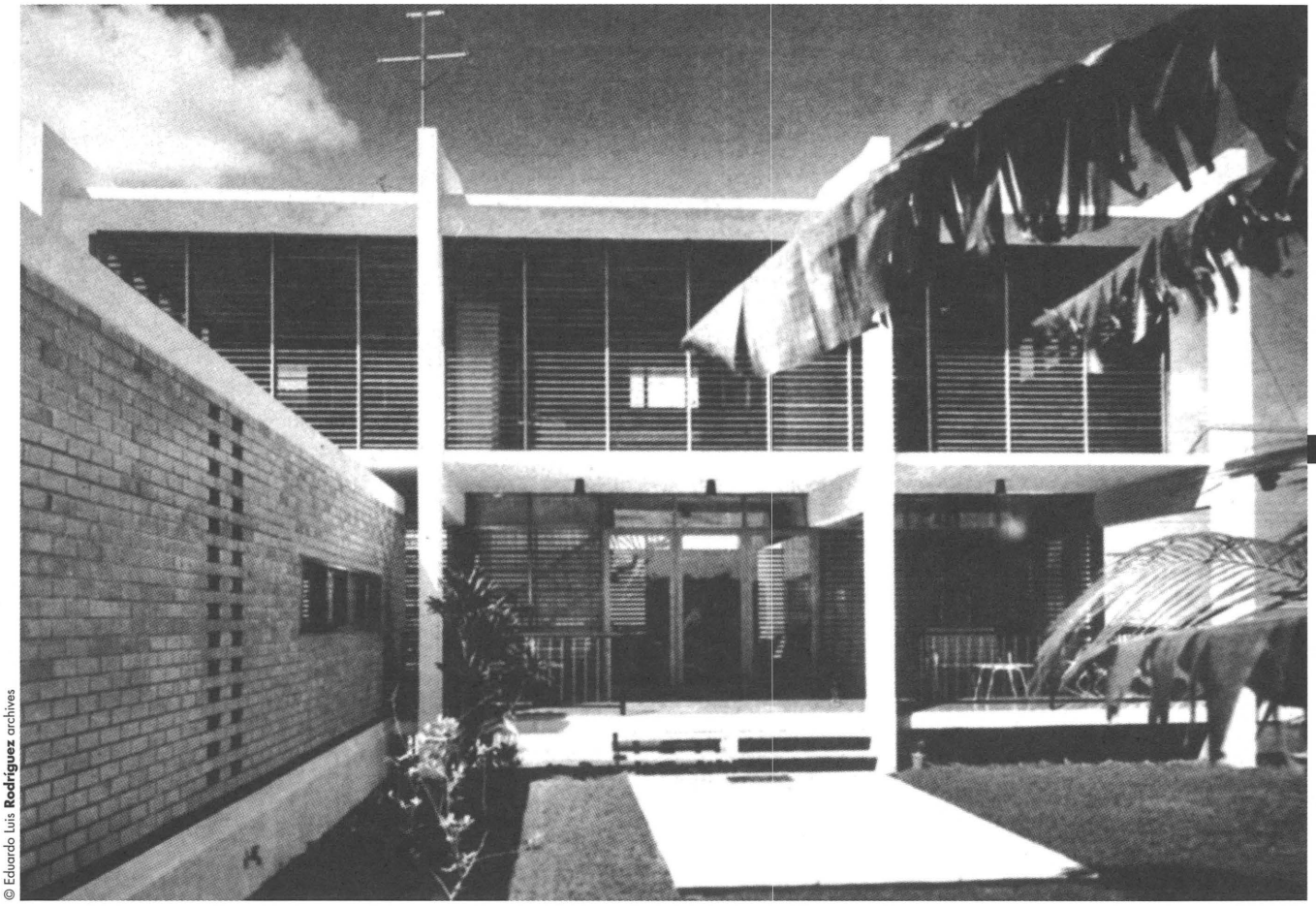

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Fig. 8. **Manuel Gutiérrez**, *Ingelmo House*, Havana, 1953–1954.
A subtle and elegant evocation of nineteenth century colonial neo-classicism, it has vast arcades and large louvers that ensure excellent ventilation

* Literally, Indian-Spanish mulatto, today, generally used in Spanish-speaking America to describe anything native, indigenous, national, as opposed to what is foreign. —TRANS.

to the 1960s, began with Leonardo Morales's statement, but it was Eugenio Batista who brought it to an end when he wrote: "By making their houses their defense against the torrid sun of our tropic, our ancestors discovered three splendid answers and we would be quite careless not to use this heritage: patios, porticos and persianas, which, being three Ps [the P of 'persianas' standing for 'louvers'] are the ABC of our tropical architecture . . . but we should not make the mistake of thinking that by copying our colonial houses we will solve today's problems . . . Although the natural environment has remained the same, the social environment, however, is different. Climate and landscape are the same, but that is not the case for our customs."[19]

THUS, twenty-six years after Leonardo Morales set down the principles of 'the ideal Cuban house,' and nearly at the end of the movement's period of splendor, Eugenio Batista—who was head of design at Morales's office, had traveled through Europe with him for six months between 1924 and 1925, and had, among others, collaborated to the Pollack house project—considers that it is necessary to continue fueling Cuban architecture's regionalism, the country being located in a geographic area with powerful natural and cultural characteristics. Batista resumes the essence of Morales's message, reframes and updates it and, in doing so, illustrates the message with a sum of works, designed by himself or other architects,[20] that are extraordinary examples of the symbiosis between modern and traditional, local and international. More than a decade later, by way of taking stock of his career and ideas, Batista would express the following: "My years of residence in humid tropics and in temperate zones have made me realize that the geographic characteristics of the climate—hot or cold—and of the atmosphere—clear or foggy—shape aesthetic leanings in quite a definite way . . . Understanding this led me to a new and deeper perception of the cultural and stylistic developments of the history of architecture."[21]

THE PRAXIS AND ITS RESULTS

The first valid results of the modern regionalist thought that developed for over twenty years were erected at the end of the 1930s; the trend grew slowly during the 1940s, saw many of its best models realized in the 1950s and reached its apex with the five National Art Schools of Cubanacán in Havana (1961–1965), by

Fig. 9. **Nicolás Quintana**, *Currán House*, Varadero, 1957.
The house's main construction material is a kind of stone typical of the region that is left apparent. The central patio is complemented by a raised terrace where the three loggias typical of colonial houses framing urban plazas are re-interpreted in the modern language

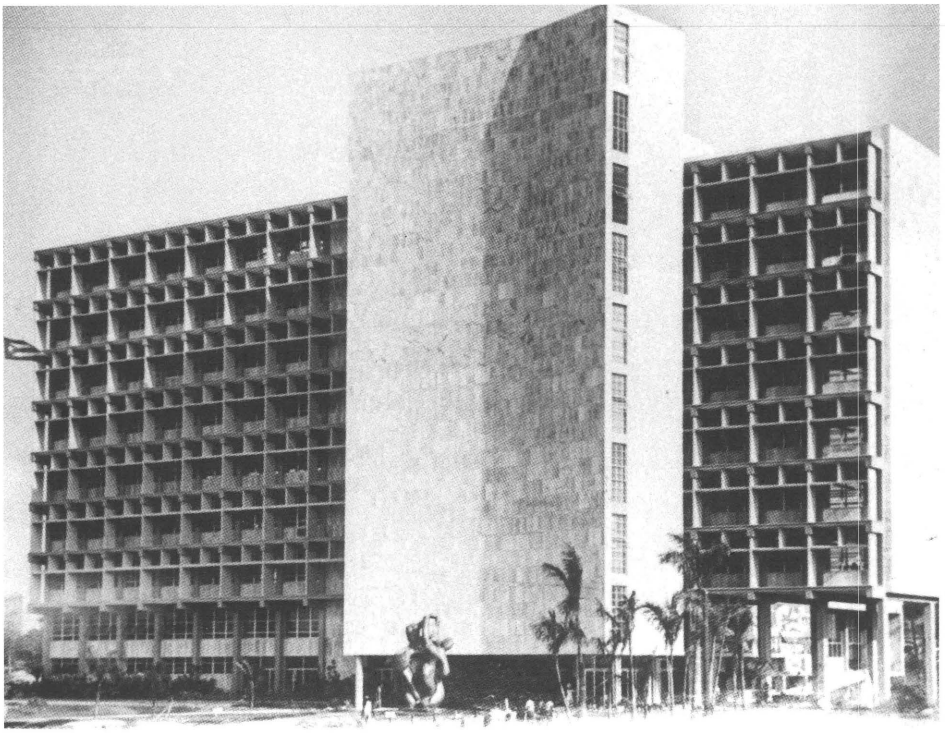

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Fig. 10. **Aquiles Capablanca**, *Office of the Comptroller*, Havana, 1952–1953. The composition is balanced thanks to the contrast between the smooth and windowless surface of the elevators' tower and the horizontal block of offices entirely covered with brise-soleils. Both are clad with a a local material, Jaimanitas stone

architects Ricardo Porro, Vittorio Garatti and Roberto Gottardi.[22] In addition to Eugenio Batista's example and the reaction against the initial non-critical assimilation of the international style, many more factors had an impact on the trend's entire development. Among others, the following are noteworthy: the economic prosperity that followed World War II and triggered an extended construction boom and allowed builders to experiment new materials, shapes and techniques; the re-appraisal of colonial architecture on the basis of studies and publications by Joaquín Weiss, María Teresa de Rojas, Lydia Cabrera, Francisco Prat Puig, Aquiles Maza and others; the frequent exchanges, in Cuba and abroad, with prominent foreign practitioners such as Sert, Albini, Richard Neutra[23] and Roberto Burle Marx, further enhanced by the disclosure and reception of significant works published or exposed; and the positive influence of other foreign architects such as Erik Gunnar Asplund, Erik Bryggman and Alvar Aalto, and of similar movements in other countries, such as the Scandinavian 'new empiricism.' Brazilian architecture was also influential, but somewhat after the initial shaping of the local regionalist thought in the 1930s. Therefore, this influence was more perceptible in certain details, shapes and architectural solutions in the 1950s than in the movement's initial conceptualization.

STRETCHING OUT on a ten year period contemporary of the movement, Joaquín Weiss, Cuban architecture's most important historian, voiced three assertions that summarize the praxis's developments. In 1947 he wrote: "Our architects are winning the struggle to acclimatize to our tropical country the new architectonic trends, born on foreign grounds and for a large part in Northern climates . . . They are simultaneously developing a new perception of space . . . by projecting the house towards the outdoors and by introducing something from the exterior environment into the house." Shortly after, in 1951, he declared: "We have left behind us the negative phase of contemporary architecture that wavered between the imitation of foreign solutions, and an arid and inexpressive functionalism, to create with originality and flexibility, in harmony with our needs and natural, geographic and human environment." Finally, in 1957 he claimed that: "The natural and human environment was advantageously employed to acclimatize the procedures laid out by international architecture . . . Awnings were established as the protection against the violence of rain and sun; louvers reappeared, after having been replaced by glazed openings, inappropriate for the country's climate; terraces and balconies proliferated . . . and it is from this skillful synthesis between what is foreign and what is national that Cuban architecture's specificity comes. Considering to what extent the modern movement has progressed in Cuba in the past decade, it is possible to claim that Cuban architecture is on the verge of reaching the first rank alongside its Latin American colleagues."[24]

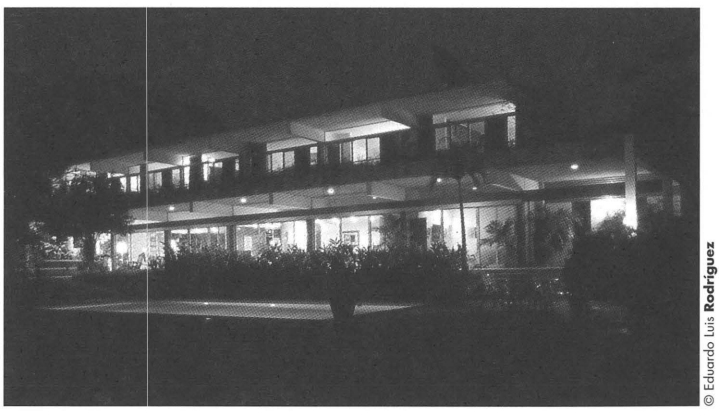

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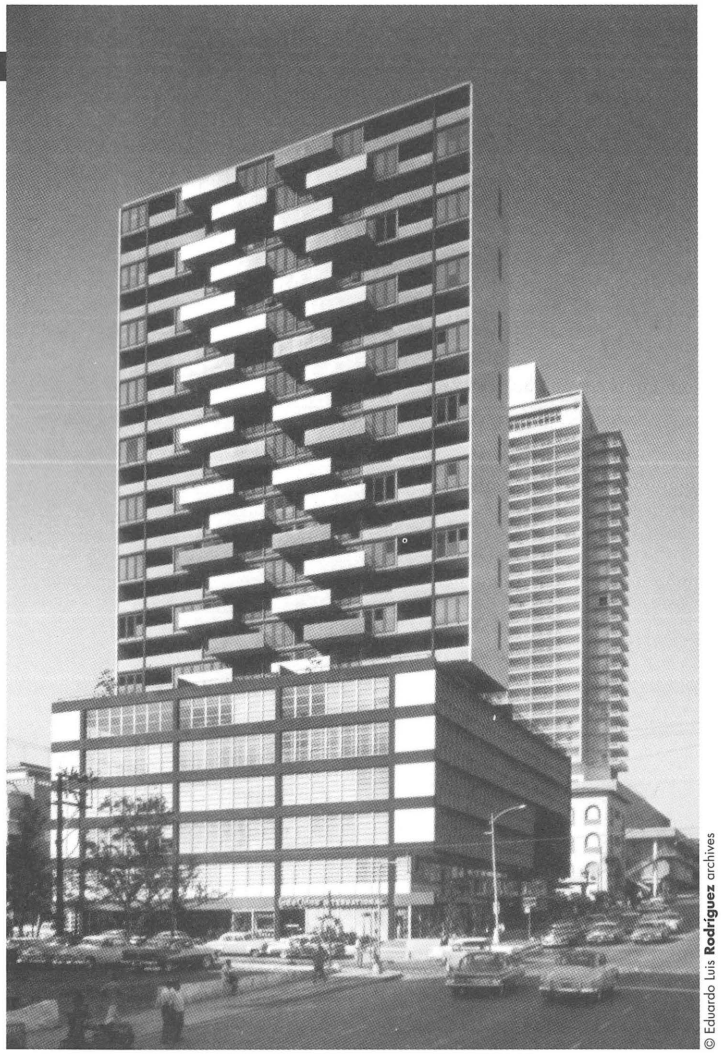
Fig. 11. **Richard Neutra**, *De Schulthess House*, Havana, 1956. The transparency of the garden facade suggests a total integration of the building with the tropical garden designed by Brazilian Roberto Burle Marx

THUS, during a period of nearly thirty years, certain elements and solutions prevailed in Cuban architecture, such as interior patios and porticos, balconies, terraces and bay windows to capture winds at best; the balanced incorporation of indoors and outdoors; vertically proportioned windows with adjustable louvers , protected by wide eaves; brise-soleils; jalousies

in various materials, often wood or ceramics; the use of geometrical and abstract patterns in vividly colored glass to soften light; sloping roofs to ease the draining of rain water, with raised parts for the hot air's exit and cross-ventilation; the use of furniture inspired by colonial heritage, such as wicker armchairs, that allowed for the air's circulation; similarly, folding screens and panels creating virtual and mobile divisions to ventilate living rooms; murals of 'criollos' themes. The exuberant sensuality generally associated with the tropics was also present, created by the dense vegetation of patios and gardens, the intense colors and rough textures of walls, and the bold and sinuous curves of slabs, planters, balconies, swimming pools and other elements. Echoing what the movement's main theoreticians had voiced, most realizations were equal to the most advanced works at international level, creatively combining collective memory and local tradition on the one hand, and modern requirements and the international avant-garde on the other, in a totally cultural perspective, and without being markedly chauvinist.

Fig. 12. **Antonio Quintana**, *Medical Insurance building*, Havana, 1956–1958. The offices in the lower portion of the building are protected against the sun by brise-soleils on the Western façade, and the tower block of apartments conveys a potent sense of chromatism, of reds and purples, and a certain dynamism due to the balconies' composition



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THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT that came to power in 1959 established new policies that marked the 1960s and completely reframed both architectural practice and thinking. Nearly all of the modern movement's most famous Cuban figures left the country. However, some significant regionalist works were erected in an isolated way when occasionally creativity was heavily encouraged, as was the case with the National Arts Schools previously mentioned or with the National Agriculture Headquarters, designed by Roberto Gottardi (1967–1971). But the gradual politicization of all the components of Cuban society caused extreme nationalism and populism, which ultimately led to denying whatever had been achieved previously, as shown by a document, approved in 1967, which ignored the excellence of Latin American regionalist achievements by categorically stating: "the North American penetration in Latin American architectonic expressions can be observed in . . . the loss of the colonial tradition, because it crushes the potential development of a sense of continuity of the traditional character."

IN ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE, a trend had already appeared which, in place of the colonial tradition formed and rooted in four centuries of Spanish presence on the island, claimed to recover a so-called pre-Columbian native culture that in reality had left no noticeable traces in the country's architecture, but was felt to be initially 'uncontaminated' by the colonizers. This form of trite and ostentatious 'indigenism' reinstated the use of 'guano' roof constructions—of dried palm leaves—typical of basic native dwellings but outlawed centuries earlier due to the fire hazard caused by the highly inflammable material. Some works, essentially meant for tourism, were built in compliance with the 'neo-taíno'* aesthetics. But the new circumstances—in particular the radical change in national priorities and the gradual introduction of heavy prefabricated systems, closed and rigid, imported from Eastern Europe—left no room for a modern and profound regionalist thought and therefore definitely put an end to that specific architectural genre.

THE HIGH QUALITY and outstanding cultural significance of the realizations of the thirty years during which the modern regionalist ideas developed in Cuba make that movement one of the most brilliant moments of Cuban architecture. With their works, Cuban architects substantiated Ernesto Rogers's statement: "Modernity does not contradict tradition, it is actually the most developed instance of tradition itself."[25]
And, pushing the point further still, they proved that tradition can be the most developed instance of modernity.

* The 'taínos' were native populations that lived on the island when Christopher Columbus landed in 1492. —TRANS.

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(Havana, 1959) is an architect, historian, critic and curator, who regularly gives lectures in academic and cultural institutions in Cuba and abroad. A specialist and active advocate of twentieth century architecture, he is the author of several books on the subject, and is a member of the Icomos International Committee of Specialists for that period. He is also the Arquitectura Cuba *journal's editor in chief and regularly contributes to other international publications. As vice-president of Docomomo Cuba, he is in charge of the National Register of modern works of heritage value. He was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1996 and the Price to the editor at the Venice Biennal in 2000.*

Translated by ***Isabelle Kite***

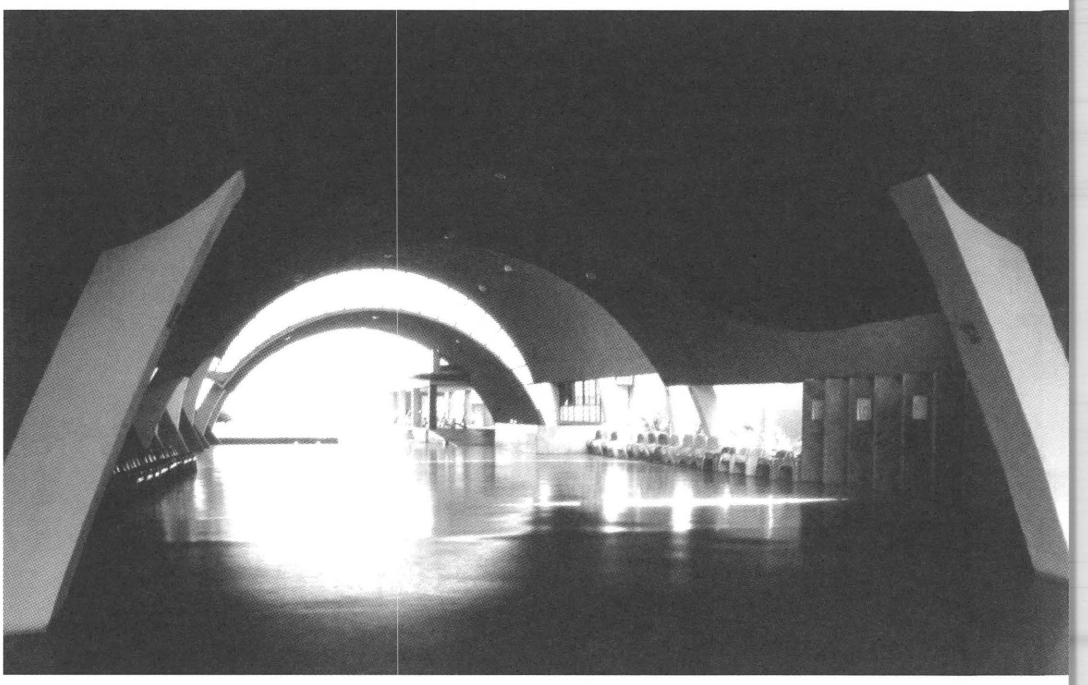

Fig. 13. **Max Borges Recio**, *Nautical Club*, Havana, 1953. As sensuous as the Tropicana Cabaret by the same architect (see *Docomomo Journal* 31: 12) the Club also holds references to the sea, adjacent to the building and the omnipresent protagonist of the local landscape culture

NOTES

1 For a more detailed analysis of the different aspects related to the assimilation of modernity in Cuba and of the different stylistic vocabularies that followed each other during the first decade of the twentieth century, see Eduardo Luis Rodríguez, *La Habana. Arquitectura del Siglo XX* (Barcelona: Blume, 1998).

2 Some significant examples of this twentieth century thirst for modernity are the introduction of the train in 1837, of the typewriter around 1880, of the telephone in 1881, of the public electrical lighting service in 1889, of cinema in 1897—just over a year after the first exhibition by the Lumière brothers—and of the automobile in 1898. In architecture, two major transformations were the introduction of neo-classicism and steel structures.

3 Cuba's War of Independence ended in 1898 after the short war between Spain and the United States on the Cuban territory. It led to the resounding victory of the latter, who then established an intervention government on the island, active until May 20, 1902, when the Republic was proclaimed. Other Latin American liberation processes had started and come to an end several decades earlier.

4 One of the first works to use precisely the modern movement's formal vocabulary with interesting results was completed in 1931. It was a building block of apartments designed by Pedro Martínez Inclán and built in the central district of El Vedado.

5 Some outstanding architects of the modern movement's rationalist stage were Sergio Martínez, Mario Colli, Max Borges (father) and especially Rafael de Cárdenas, who very early on built several absolutely modern houses that also introduced, albeit shyly, some elements of climatic adjustment. Their works can be found in Eduardo Luis Rodríguez, *The Havana Guide, Modern Architecture, 1925–1965* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2000).

6 Leonardo Morales (1887–1965) graduated in architecture from the University of Columbia, New York, in 1909 and, when he returned to Cuba, became the country's most important practitioner. On that subject, see chapter "La renovación clasicista de Leonardo Morales" in Rodríguez, *La Habana. Arquitectura del Siglo XX.*

7 Leonardo Morales, *La casa cubana ideal. Discurso de recepción leído por el Sr. Leonardo Morales, miembro electo de la Sección de Arquitectura, en la sesión celebrada el día 25 de noviembre de 1934. Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras* (Havana: Imprenta Molina y Cía., 1934).

8 Ibid., 5–6.

9 Ibid., 10–11.

10 Alejo Carpentier, *Prologó a Ecue Yamba O* (Havana: Editorial Arte y Literatura, 1977), 11.

11 *Social* (Havana: April 1936).

12 Leonardo Morales, "Como debemos orientar una casa para hacerla fresca," *Arquitectura* (Havana: December 1937): 24–26.

13 "El Primer Congreso Nacional de Arte," *Arquitectura* (Havana: February 1939): 66.

14 Manuel de Tapia Ruano, "Tendencia de la Arquitectura Contemporánea en Cuba," *Arquitectura* (Havana, November 1948): 286.

15 Reynaldo Estévez and Samuel Biniakonski, "Habla José L. Sert," *Espacio* (Havana: July/October 1953): 18–24. The *Espacio* journal was edited by the architecture students of the University of Havana.

16 "Franco Albini opina...," *Espacio* (Havana: May/August 1955): 10–11.

17 Ricardo Porro, "El sentido de la tradición," *Nuestro Tiempo* 16 (Havana: 1957).

18 Armando Maribona, "No debe convertirse La Habana en sucursal arquitectónica de Miami. Lo que opina el arquitecto Emilio del Junco," *Arquitectura* (Havana: September 1956): 404–06.

19 Eugenio Batista, "La casa cubana," *Artes Plásticas* 2 (Havana: 1960): 4–7.

20 Besides Batista, the other architects outstanding for their search for a regionalist and modern architecture—albeit in different ways and with different results—were Mario Romañach, Frank Martínez, Ricardo Porro, Manuel Gutiérrez, Nicolás Quintana, Antonio Quintana, Emilio del Junco, Max Borges Recio, Henry Griffin, Alberto Beale, and the firms Cristófol and Hernández Dupuy, Guerra and Mendoza, Arroyo and Menéndez, Cañas Abril and Nepomechie, and Gómez Sampera and Díaz.

21 Letter by Eugenio Batista to his daughter Matilde—an architecture student at the time—, dated March 9, 1976.

22 On the history and vicissitudes of the National Art Schools, see John Loomis, *Revolution of Forms. Cuba's forgotten Arts Schools* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), as well as the present issue's article on the subject.

23 In 1945, Richard Neutra visited Havana for the first time and gave a lecture called "Life styles." In 1956 in the same city's suburbs, the house of Alfred de Schullthess was completed, which is a masterpiece of modern regionalism designed by the Austro-American architect.

24 The three quotations of Joaquín Weiss can be found respectively in his books *Arquitectura cubana contemporánea* (Havana: Cultural S.A., 1947), 11; *Medio siglo de arquitectura cubana* (Havana: Imprenta Universitaria, 1951), 39; *La arquitectura de las grandes culturas* (Havana: Editions Minerva, 1957), 411–12.

25 Ernesto Rogers, *Esperienza dell'architettura* (Milan: Giulio Eunaudi Editore, 1958), 105.

The National Art Schools of Havana

RESTORATION OF AN ARCHITECTURAL LANDMARK

MARÍA ELENA **MARTÍN ZEQUEIRA**

*Supported by the arts, the Earth is saved.**

The National Art Schools of Cubanacán, Havana, feature among Cuba's most important academic and cultural institutions. They are also outstanding on the international level, thanks to the innovative concept of organic architecture incorporating buildings, city and landscape altogether in one unique ensemble. Moreover, these schools represent the masterly culmination of the efforts developed in the country during decades to merge tradition and modernity in a creative way.

THIS REALIZATION, the most publicized on the island after the 'Revolution's triumph,' was part of the romantic effort undertaken by the new government after it came to power in 1959. Afterwards, the general lack of upkeep, the site's natural conditions and the absence of protection against vandalism, among others, caused the buildings' gradual deterioration. In 2000, in parallel with the intellectual community's reprobation, which underlined the unaccountable degradation of such an invaluable architectural ensemble, the World Monuments Fund program, also known as the World Monument Watch,

* José Martí, *Obras completas* (Havana: Editorial Trópico, 1950), tome 20, 43.

Fig. 1. **Ricardo Porro**, *National Plastic Arts School*, Havana, 1961–1965

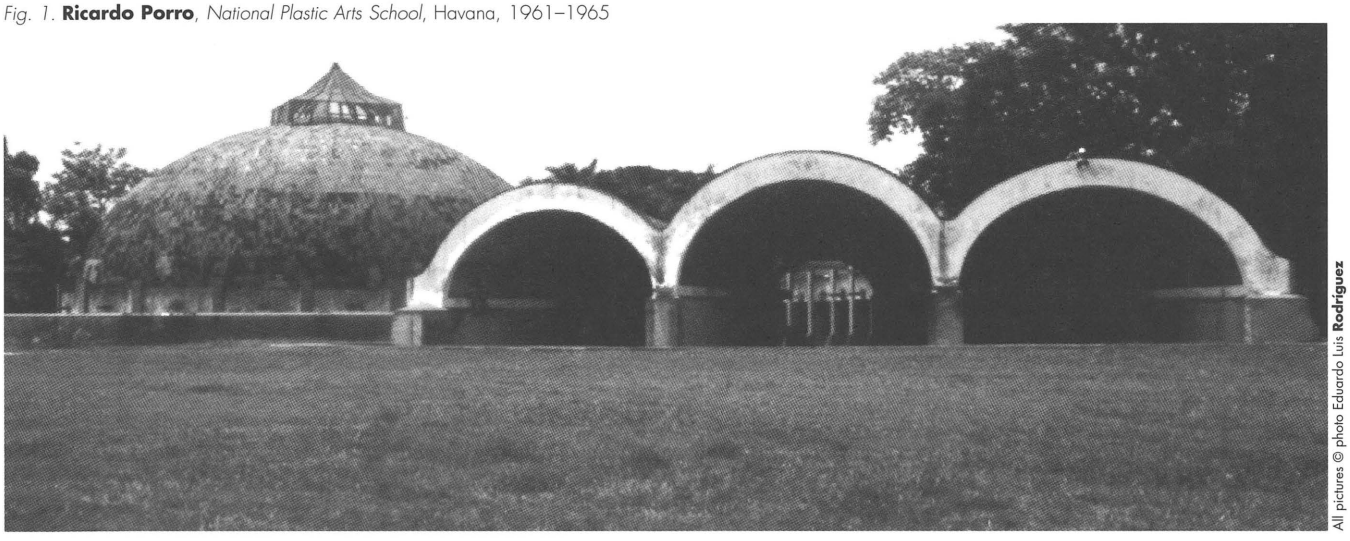

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Fig. 2. **Ricardo Porro**, *National Plastic Arts School*, Havana, 1961–1965

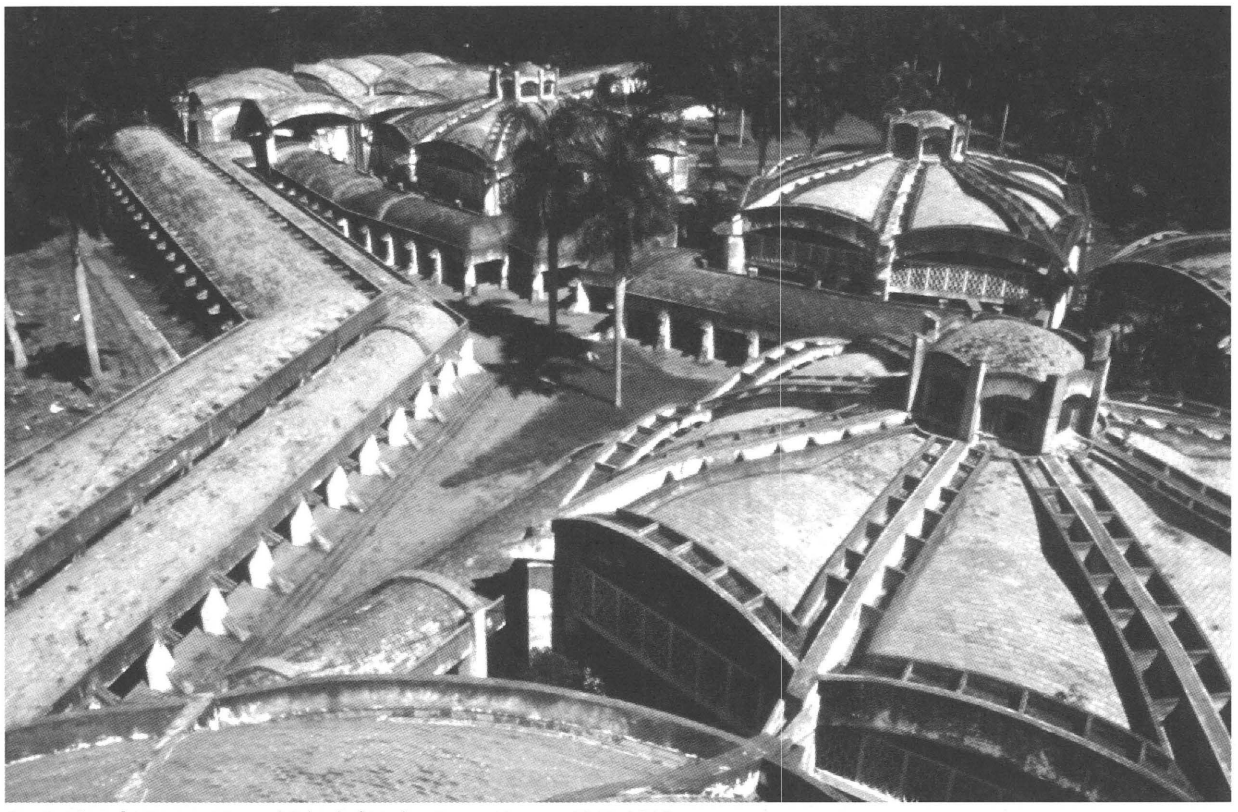


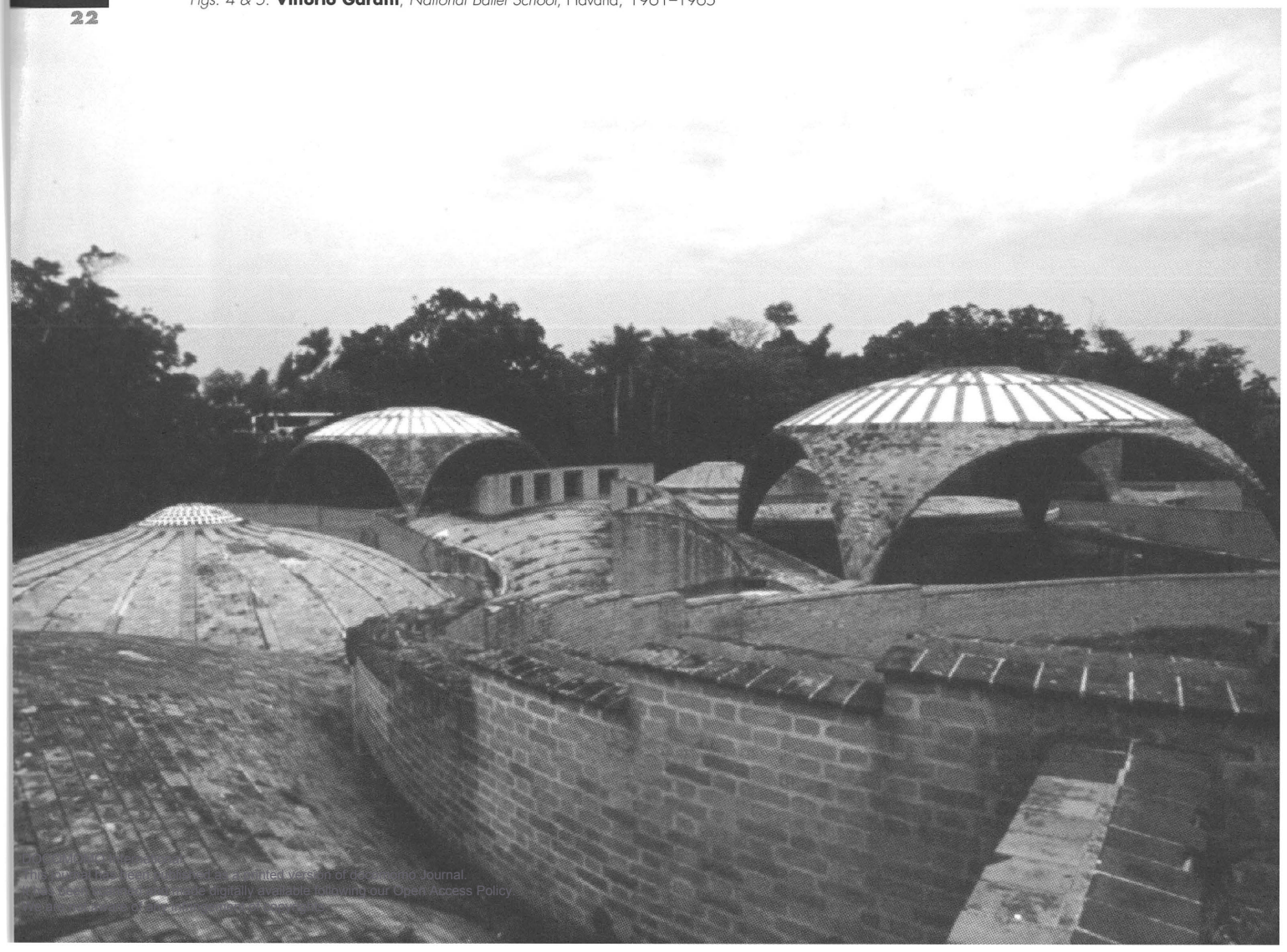
Fig. 3. **Ricardo Porro**, *National School of Modern Dance*, Havana, 1961–1965

endorsed its listing on the biannual register of the world's 100 most threatened monuments. In 2002, the World Monuments Fund program also granted a 'Certificate of exceptional accomplishment' for the first restoration works undertaken on the schools. The previous year, during a meeting between the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba and the country's foremost authorities, the schools' critical situation had been the subject of analysis and debates, which led the Cuban state to adopt a plan of action to curb the architectural ensemble's deterioration.

THE ARCHITECTURAL ENSEMBLE

The schools are located on 66-hectare grounds, formerly used as a golf course by the Havana Country Club, and surrounded by an exclusive housing development, a great favorite of the capital's upper class before the Revolution. The initial brief required the construction of five schools intended for the teaching of plastic arts, modern dance, ballet dancing, music and dramatic arts. The schools were exclusively meant for students from Cuba and other developing countries. In the first place, Cuban architect Ricardo Porro was chosen to design the

Figs. 4 & 5. **Vittorio Garatti**, *National Ballet School*, Havana, 1961–1965



schools; he then proceeded to invite two Italian colleagues living in Venezuela, Roberto Gottardi and Vittorio Garatti, to take part in the project.

THE TEAM SET DOWN the common premises for the schools' conception, but each architect was free to independently develop the project he was assigned. Porro was entrusted with the plastic arts and modern dance projects, Garatti with projects for the Ballet and Music Schools, and Gottardi took on the dramatic arts project. One of the project's major premises was to alter the former golf's beautiful landscape as little as possible, by scattering the schools on the course's perimeter, whilst also having the buildings communicate with nature as if they emerged from it. Another major rule consisted in using low-cost—and, in these difficult times, easily supplied—building materials, such as brick and red ceramic tiles. More costly materials, such as steel and concrete, were used only when absolutely necessary. Each school was designed not as a self-enclosing edifice but as a city fragment. Classrooms and workshops were interwoven with galleries and articulated by interior courtyards, making the progress between various spaces very appealing.

THE CONDITIONS shaping the project, together with the professional value and artistic sense of its authors, yielded an exceptional work where architecture and nature are equally present.
The schools were officially inaugurated in 1965, although two of these only—plastic arts and modern dance—were actually finished. The other institutions' construction was interrupted that same year; three schools therefore have stayed unfinished and are used in that state. The Plastic Arts, Modern Dance, Dramatic Arts and Music Schools currently remain devoted to the activities initially planned, although only half of the construction works for the two latter was ever completed. The building designed for the Ballet School was never used as such, but for a time accommodated the National School of Circus Arts, a development that entailed drastic alterations due to the incompatibility between its new requirements and the magnificent architecture. Later and without explanation the building was totally forsaken. The complex's administration and direction were housed in the former clubhouse, placed at the center of the grounds. For several years, students were lodged in the plush houses located around the complex, which became state property following the political change and the ensuing mass exodus of the former owners towards other countries. In 1979, owing to the celebration at Havana of the 6th Summit of the Non Aligned Countries, the houses were refitted to serve as residences for the presidential guests and students were consequently transferred to a rigid prefabricated building block erected right in the middle of the campus grounds. This dreadfully injured the landscape that the project's three authors had so well treated a few years earlier.

THE RESTORATION

Following the Cuban authorities' decision to preserve and complete the National Art Schools, a project team was created and its technical direction entrusted to Universo García, a 1988 architecture school graduate from the University of Alma Ata (Kazakhstan, former USSR). Universo's team, which frequently communicates with the three initial architects, realizes the constructional drawings and leads the construction works for the five schools and the clubhouse that is also in a terrible state. Likewise, works are also carried out in the areas outside the complex, on various buildings administratively linked to the campus.

Fig. 6. **Vittorio Garatti**, *National Music School*, Havana, 1961–1965

THE RESTORATION PROJECT, which seeks to preserve the architectural value of the complex, must also contend with the country's current economic capacities. The plan is to preserve the buildings' architectural image; to restore or rebuild, depending on their state, the damaged parts, using materials and construction techniques similar to those originally used; to fit out the buildings' interiors to current needs; to complete the unfinished construction if possible and to enlarge the complex in order to fulfill new requirements.

FROM 1999 UNTIL NOW, exchanges with the architects of the initial project have kept up; only Roberto Gottardi still lives at Havana, while Garatti and Porro reside respectively in Milan and Paris. Based on these exchanges, solutions to the various problems are found, although distance makes frequent and fluid communications difficult.
A crucial stage was the minute exploration of the jobsite, providing measured drawings of the buildings' architectural features, structure and implementation, whose purpose was to know exactly what had been

carried out originally. During the first years, the schools were built in such a frenzy that construction occurred without always taking much heed of the project's specific plans: detailed plans were actually realized during the construction, and even then not necessarily respected.
As of today, some work has already been done on the five schools, administration building and outdoor spaces. Plants that had grown out of control, sometimes even on rooftops, were removed because they were a hindrance to the full appreciation of the buildings' state and also a hazard to the buildings. Concrete paths, pedestrian and automobile bridges were built to connect the complex's different functions; to monitor access to the campus, an enclosing hedge/wall was implemented, incorporating a keeper's hut at every school entry. A project for the extensive lighting of the exterior areas was also carried out. The Quibú, a low-flow river that cuts through the grounds and represents a real danger of contamination and flooding during the rainy season, will soon be the subject of a development plan implementing safety and security measures.

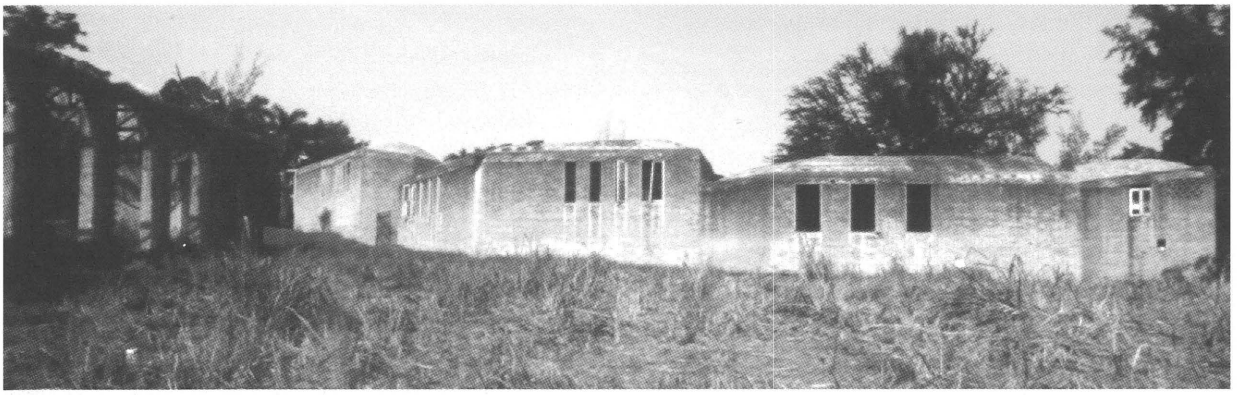
THE CONSTRUCTION WORKS realized for the Plastic Arts and Modern Dance Schools were executed in agreement with Ricardo Porro, the original project's architect. Due to the poor quality of materials used and to the humidity drained by capillarity, several elements of the Plastic Arts building were in a dire state. In the long circulation galleries, there were no expansion joints, which, combined to the moisture accumulated in the roofing vaults by lack of upkeep, was the source of progressive deterioration. In addition to the cleaning up and removal of fungus and of other agents damaging the building materials, the general repair jobs included rebuilding damaged water sprouts and joints between bricks or pavements, and replacing terra cotta floor and roof tiles. Special products were used to treat the terra cotta, allowing the tiles to recover their initial characteristics while also protecting them. Expansion joints were implemented on the buildings' roofs and in the vaulted galleries. All the roof structures, originally timber frames, were replaced with aluminum frames, also built according to the initial design.

IN THE MODERN DANCE SCHOOL, whose state is critical, damaged materials are currently being replaced with other similar materials, and, as in the plastic arts building, identically designed steel frames replace the original timber frame. The library will be converted into a student cafeteria, and the theater's acoustics, which had not been realized during its construction, are currently being implemented. The four large rehearsal rooms are carefully restored and the result is already highly satisfactory.

AS FOR THE MUSIC SCHOOL's built part, designed by Garatti and known as the 'worm' owing to its 330-meter length and sinuous shape, it has also been affected by the moisture due to the river Quibú. The project's conception, based on exposed materials and on a vaulted roofing, makes the acoustic treatment of rehearsal rooms difficult. Today, the current requirements for music studies make the two theaters initially planned, respectively for symphonic and chamber music, redundant. Therefore, and despite the awesome beauty of the school's architectural design, some specialists insist on the fact that it is impossible to use the building as primarily intended. Nowadays, the prevailing stance of the rehabilitation team's Cuban part is to restore only the covering vaults, greatly damaged in several places, and to adjust the building's layout to the requirements (classrooms and dormitories) of the National Center of Advanced Artistic Studies (Centro Nacional de Superación de la Enseñanza Artística). According to this proposition, the prefabricated block erected in the 1960s to accommodate students would be permanently transformed and turned into a music school, and a new residence housing between 200 and 300 students should be built.

THE BALLET SCHOOL, also designed by Garatti and almost completely finished, was left vacant for a long time, no alternative use having been assigned to the building. The total lack of maintenance and the absence of supervision that facilitated vandalism and the loss of nearly all the carpentry and of most of the other materials, harmed the building to such an extent that it had become a real ruin, overcome by the exuberant vegetation that surrounded it. The plants were removed to avoid further damage on the remaining structural elements, joinery and other materials; the missing parts will be replaced; and studies will be led to determine a new proposition for its future function as a top level modern dance school.

THE INITIAL PROJECT for the Dramatic Arts School, used as planned since 1965, but only half constructed, allowed for a big central theater that was never built, around which classrooms should have gathered. During forty years there remained in its place fragments of cement, columns and other construction materials, silent evidence of the original project. Gottardi, the former jobsite's leader, is currently drawing the school's new layout with concepts and ideas that differ from his first project. According to him, given that many years have elapsed since the original concept, and that circumstances and requirements have changed, the project is necessarily different. Although complicated, a new brief was developed, but some disagreement remained between the designer and the building sponsors concerning the theater's size and nature, the budget needed to appropriately fulfill the brief's requirements, and the solutions and materials suggested



Figs. 7 & 8. **Roberto Gottardi**, *National Dramatic Arts School*, Havana, 1961–1965

by Gottardi in his new project. An agreement was nevertheless found, and hopefully, providing another forty years don't go by, the project will soon be carried out and the works to complete the school will commence. A multimillion budget and a period of ten years are planned to finish the restoration and re-fitting of the five schools.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The economic efforts carried out for the project's realization are remarkable. Another very positive aspect is that the initial project's architects are involved in the process of finding solutions adjusted to the national reality. Also praiseworthy are the patient search for skilled workers, of their special training to replicate a craftsmanship that had nearly disappeared from the country, and the efforts made to manufacture materials similar to those initially used. Moreover, the professionalism of the team led by Universo García, whose work is not confined to research and documentation, provides on a daily basis the elements required to solve the problems linked to the different stages of the jobsite.

HOWEVER, some aspects of the project's conception seem to differ from the complex's initial character and quality. This is for instance the case for the timber frame replaced by new structures, similar in sizing, but differing in material, namely aluminum, which conveys an atmosphere less congenial, and is not well suited to the warmth of the initial concept's organic architecture. What is one supposed to do when having to contend with, on the one hand, the wish to respect the initial plan, and on the other, the situation of a country that does not have the means required to find a suitable solution?
The landscape, on which the five schools are peripherally scattered, is cluttered with essentially functional elements such as lighting fixtures, automobile roads, huts and bridges, all of which are necessary but very conspicuous in such a well-balanced natural setting that it would deserve subtle and transparent, quasi invisible solutions to connect the complex's different areas and their monitored accesses.

IT ALSO SEEMS rather inappropriate to transform the ungainly and ill-placed prefabricated block that served as student housing into the new music school. When the required resources are available, it would be preferable to demolish the block, and to build a new student residence in areas located closer to the schools, which should also restore the spoiled landscape.
The new function suggested for the building originally designed as the music school does not seem very appropriate either. In this case, what is to be done with the building considering that the initial function is unsustainable with the project carried out?
Some questions remain, and many answers are still possible. But the project carried out for this masterpiece emblematic of modern Cuban architecture is doubtless highly positive because it prevents its deterioration, even though some of its aspects and results are questionable. Perhaps several options should be considered, in case more significant resources should be made available. This would make a more detailed and accurate restoration possible, that would fully restore the initial value of such a momentous ensemble and, thus supported by the arts, save architecture.

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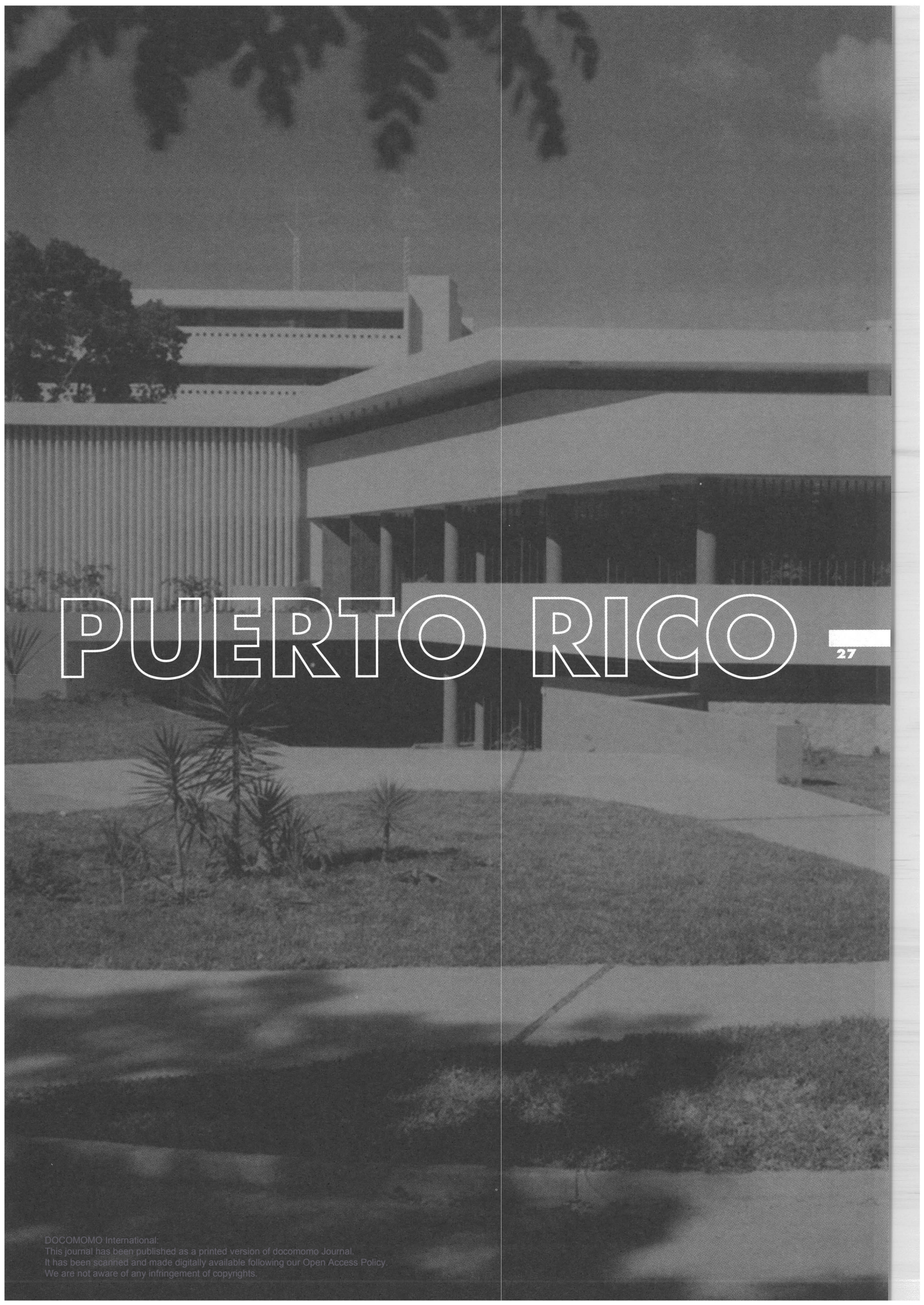
Translated by ***Isabelle Kite***



PUERTO RICO

Modern Puerto Rico and **Henry Klumb**

ENRIQUE **VIVONI-FARAGE**

The winds of war in Europe and the State's modernization contributed to the death of the Spanish revival style in Puerto Rican architecture. Until the war years, Puerto Rican architects, in both public and private practice, designed in one historical style or another. Most of them preferred the Spanish renaissance style, but in recent years had inclined toward 'modern' art deco.

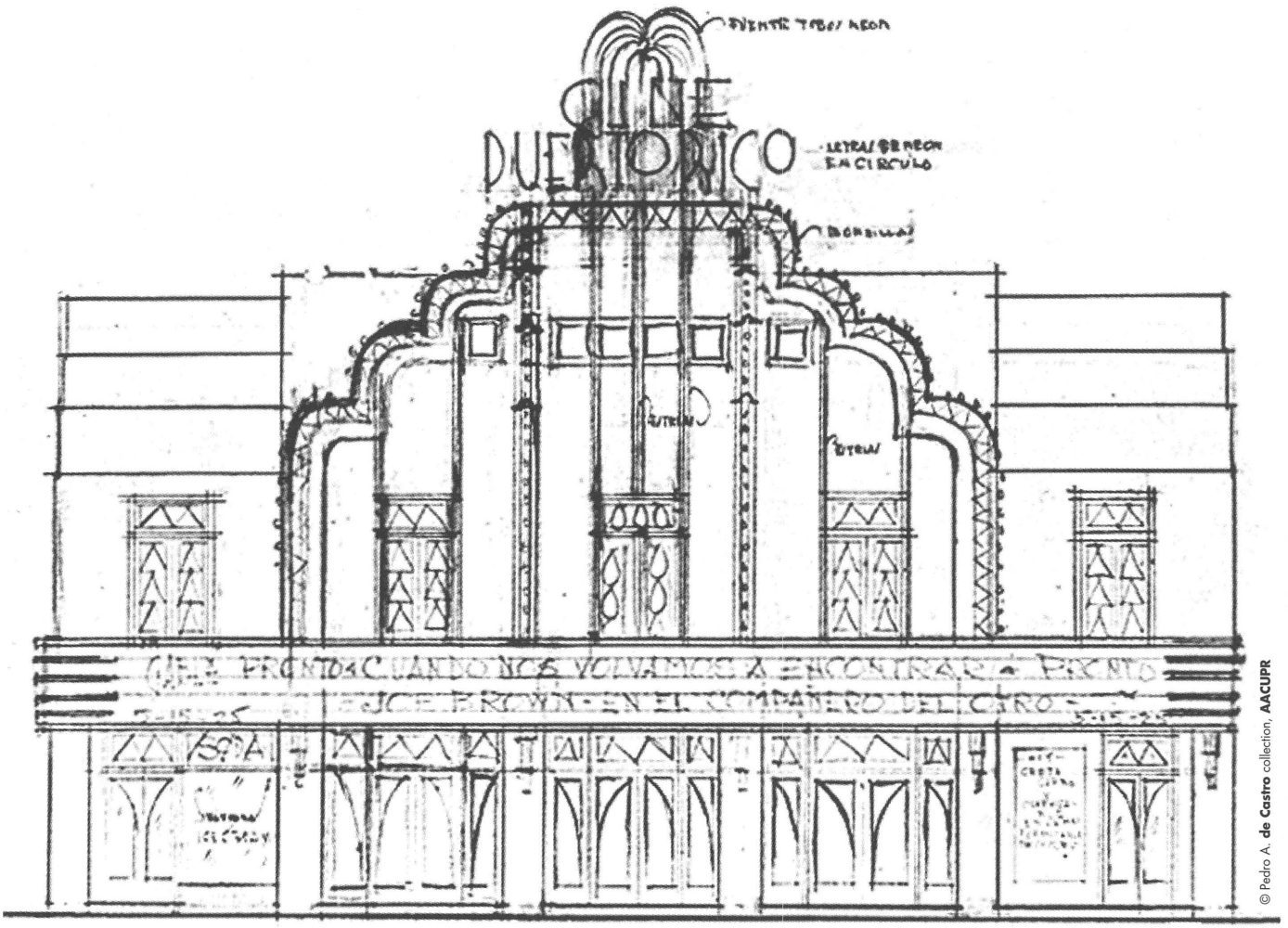
THE VISUAL METAPHOR created by the use of Hispanophile styles in governmental works undertaken during the years from 1900 to 1935 was governed by the belief in an apparently contradictory postulate: that Spanish tradition in architecture facilitated the Americanization of the Puerto Ricans.[1] On the other hand, in the years prior to World War II, the use of art deco in public works conveyed a reference to the functional, the futuristic and the leisurely life, characteristics that were associated with the lifestyles of Miami and Hollywood.

If the 1920s in Puerto Rico had favored a more ostentatious and ornamented public architecture, the 1930s presented Puerto Ricans with grave problems of economic solvency, hunger and poverty, and accelerated population growth that were the result of the exhaustion of the colonial model and the effects of the Great Depression. If the intellectuals and political nationalists had argued for strengthening ties with Puerto Rico's Spanish past and heritage in order to curb Anglo Saxon domination, and if they had dreamed of the Spain of the Conquest—the civilizing, evangelizing, distant Mother Land had brought European culture to the New World—, the architectural tradition tried to renew itself by introducing a bold, new style: art deco. From France, where the style arose in *haute couture*, jewelry and interior decoration, art deco was introduced to the world at the International Exposition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts held in Paris in 1925. Art deco was characterized generally by an aura of modernity: its lines—sensual, exotic and luxurious, rich in color and texture—created spaces for leisure and good life. All this pointed to a break with the past, and a need not only for what was modern but also for progress.

THE FIRST INDICATIONS of the use that art deco would find in Puerto Rico occurred as early as 1925. The first was a project for a school by the architect Fidel Sevillano *(fig. 2)*, it is not known whether the school was ever built, and the second was the design for the Puerto Rico Cinema in Santurce by architect Pedro Adolfo de Castro *(fig. 1)*. It was not until the 1930s that the style reached its peak under the auspices of architects Pedro Adolfo de Castro, Pedro Méndez, Rafael Hernández Romero and Jorge Ramírez de Arellano.

IN THE JOURNALISTIC chronicle of the period, the art deco style was treated as "modern and functional, efficient, hygienic and economical."[2] In Puerto Rico, due to the taste for Spanish revival style, art deco assumed certain Spanish characteristics at the hands of these Puerto Rican architects. Pedro Méndez utilized the salmantine arch in the design of several residences, an example of this being the Axtmayer residence in Villa Caparra *(fig. 3)*. For the Miami Building, Méndez used compositions of symmetry and verticality, characteristic of his designs in Spanish revival style. On the other hand, De Castro introduced the use of tropical flora illuminated with multicolor neon lighting as an ornamental element in various of his designs for theaters, such as the Las Flores in Barrio Obrero and the Puerto Rico in Santurce.

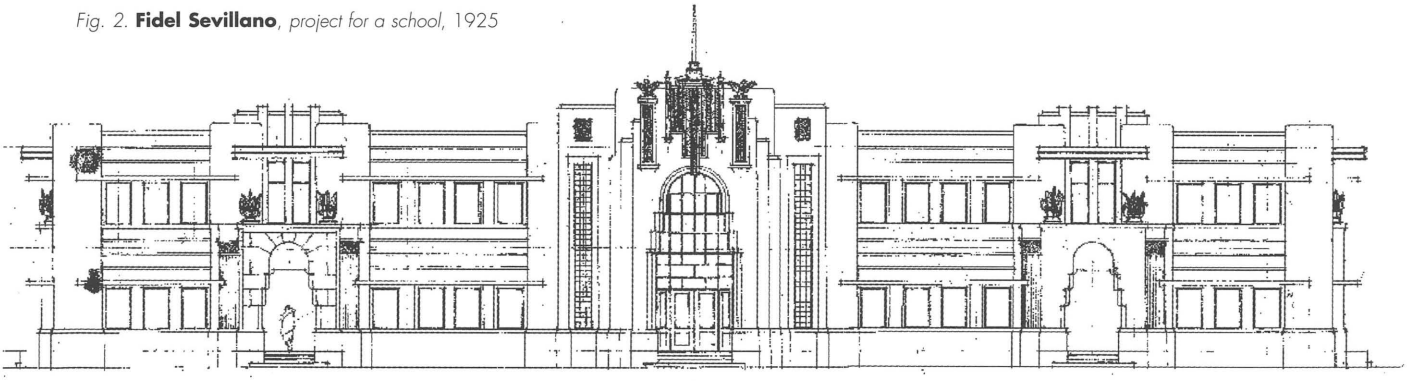
DURING THE 1930s, this modern style was used mainly in the design of private constructions, particularly housing: it was a metaphor to associate the building with cleanliness, luxury, efficiency and the future. At the end of the decade, official architecture had also incorporated the use of art deco in various designs. Government offices, such as the Division of Public Buildings of the



© Pedro A. **de Castro** collection, **AACUPR**

Fig. 1. **Pedro A. de Castro**, *project for the Teatro Puerto Rico*, Santurce, 1925

Fig. 2. **Fidel Sevillano**, *project for a school*, 1925



© Fidel **Sevillano** collection, Archivo de Arquitectura y Construcción de la Universidad de Puerto Rico (**AACUPR**)

Department of the Interior, under the direction of architect Pedro Méndez (1941–1942), produced art deco designs. An example of this is the building for the Planning Board itself, which was finished in 1944 *(fig. 4)*.

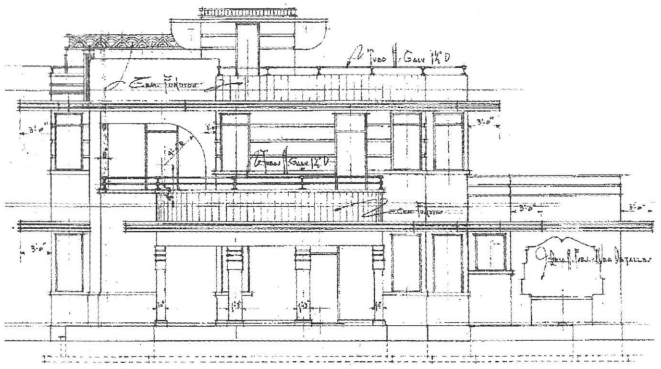
On occasions, both the Spanish revival and art deco were considered by the same agency.

For example, the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration (PRRA) finished its designs for the University of Puerto Rico (1935–1939), a monumental example of the Spanish Renaissance style, during the period when it designed El Falansterio (1936–1938), the first collective attempt to alleviate the discomforts of squatter settlements, in art deco style *(fig. 5)*.

THE PROBLEM of Puerto Rican identity, which had inspired our architects to look to Spain, ceased to be a priority for the official architecture of the new government established in 1940. The transformation of the colonial model—begun by Rexford G. Tugwell and Luis Munoz Marin—required another kind of architecture to represent

the break with the chains of the past. Neither the historical styles nor art deco met this need. However, the Puerto Ricans active in the construction field, who had sufficient experience, had been educated in schools of architecture which maintained the primacy of historical tradition. Recent graduates, such as Miguel Ferrer (Cornell, 1938), though educated in a 'modern style,' showed an affinity for art deco or federal style. Both groups, the professionals and the recent graduates, needed 'teachers' to introduce them to the forms of an absolutely modern architecture which would serve as the architectural language of the new Puerto Rico.

TUGWELL AND HIS POLITICAL TEAM created the Committee on the Design of Public Works in 1943 that introduced the modern style in public buildings. A new architecture would both reflect and impress the new social order on Puerto Rico. The architectural production of this committee revolutionized public architecture and ensured the inclusion of the modern movement in the practice of architecture in Puerto Rico *(fig. 6)*.



© **Méndez** collection, **AACUPR**

Fig. 3. **Pedro Méndez**, *Carlos Axtmayer residence*, Caparra, 1941

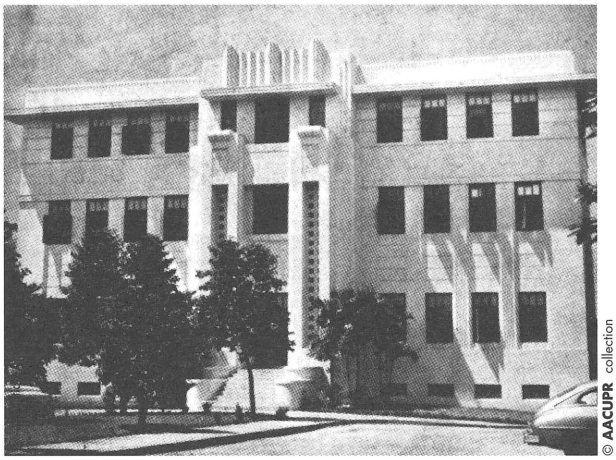


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Fig. 4. Attributed to **Pedro Méndez**, *Building for the Planning Board*, Santurce, 1942

FOR THOSE ARCHITECTS who were already established in Puerto Rico, the effect of the committee was explosive. Almost all, some against their will, adopted the modern movement. Pedro Méndez, who had been a member of the committee for less than a year, resigned from that position because, in his opinion, what the architects produced there was not architecture, but engineering.[4] Others, such as the architect Rafael Carmoega, the first Puerto Rican to occupy the post of State Architect, from 1921 to 1935, adjusted to this transition, as the design of the new casino of Puerto Rico attests *(fig. 7)*.

IN 1942, the United States Army expropriated the magnificent building which was the original casino. Three years later, in 1945, the casino acquired land from the old Borinquen Park in the Condado and requested that Carmoega design their new facilities. In June 1945, the newspaper *El Mundo* published a perspective drawing of the new building. Its architectural composition was reminiscent of the first casino: it had a large awning at the front, which served as a terrace on the second level, and it had a façade constructed with pilasters that marked the location of the grand ballroom. The most significant change was stylistic, since it used the Spanish revival style. However, two months later, *El Mundo* published another picture of the Casino, this time of a building in a modern style, with dynamic lines and with the elements called for by the modern movement: cylindrical columns or pilotis, strips of windows, and the emphasis on horizontal lines. The office of the director, the article pointed out, wanted a building that represented modernity in Puerto Rico. The final design, built in 1946, became a symbol of high society in Puerto Rico, touched by the new modernizing paradigms of the postwar years.

LIKEWISE, IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR, plans for the modernization of Puerto Rico assigned tourism a major role. The industrialization of the most prized natural resources of Puerto Rico—its people, its climate, its beaches—was for the Puerto Rico Industrial Development Corporation (PRIDCO) a major tool towards the development of the country. The postwar perspective obliged the country to reexamine existing tourist facilities and to modernize the industry. Tourism meant, for PRIDCO, "an industry without factories, without assembly lines, without machinery."[5] San Juan had its hotels, among them the Capitol and the Palace, Puerta de Tierra had the Normandie, and the Condado prided itself on the Condado Vanderbilt, in the Spanish tradition. However, the intention of PRIDCO, under the administration of Teodoro Moscoso, was to expand these facilities considerably and to promote the image of Puerto Rico as the "Isle of Enchantment," to corner "at least 16% of the tourism of the Caribbean."[6]

HOW, then, to accomplish this? How to begin the task of constructing the first hotel in twenty five years?[7] In letters to seven United States hoteliers, Teodoro Moscoso raised the issue as follows: "How would you like to have a modern hotel of the first quality, constructed according to your instructions, to rent at a very low cost with an option to buy for the term of the rental? Where can you get a deal like this? In Puerto Rico, a possession of the United States whose government wishes to stimulate new sources of income, among them the tourist industry."[8] Only one of the hotel chains replied: the Hilton Hotel Corporation.[9]

IN 1946, the government opened a competition for the design of the new and important Hilton hotel in San Juan. The only requirements as to the design were that the hotel should have 300 rooms, air conditioning and auxiliary facilities, to be located in an area adjacent to Fort San Geronimo in El Escambron. Three firms of architects in Puerto Rico were invited to bid: Schimmelpfennig, Ruiz y González, the office of Henry Klumb, and Toro, Ferrer y Torregrosa. Two Florida-based United States firms also took part: Frederick G. Seelmann of Palm Beach, and B. Robert Swartburg of Miami Beach *(fig. 8)*. These last two firms submitted designs inspired by the Spanish revival, while the three Puerto Rican firms submitted proposals for a modern building in the international style. The proposal selected was that of the firm Toro, Ferrer y Torregrosa *(fig. 10)* which provided for three hundred rooms with a view of the sea.[10] The design, at the time controversial, was based on the most radical principles of European architecture, and lived up to what Teodoro Moscoso had in mind: "a hotel which would emphasize the 'good old USA' aspects of the Puerto Rican situation—what was modern and efficient—rather than what was surprising and picturesque."[11] The Caribe Hilton was considered "the most monumental work carried out by Puerto Rican architects."[12] With this, the government put an end to the Spanish revival as a way of expressing Puerto Rican identity.

THOUGH GOVERNMENTAL OFFICIALS thought that the design of the Caribe Hilton was representative of the new Puerto Rico, there were negative reactions from the profession and the public. Some architects classified it as a work of engineering and not of architecture,[13] and the Nationalist party fustigated the government for investing $8,000,000.00 in the construction of a hotel rather than in feeding Puerto Ricans who were poor and hungry.[14] The press referred to the hotel as "Moscoso's folly" and "a white elephant," and it compared the brise-soleils to a Coca Cola crate standing on its side. But the government was successful in attracting rich tourists from the United States. The press said that the inaugural ball at the hotel seemed like "an evening in a great city . . . which sometimes made Puerto Ricans think that they were away from the island. The atmosphere was one of magnates, film stars, theater people, millionaires, society ladies in furs and precious jewelry using long cigarette holders and sending spirals of smoke up into the air."[15]

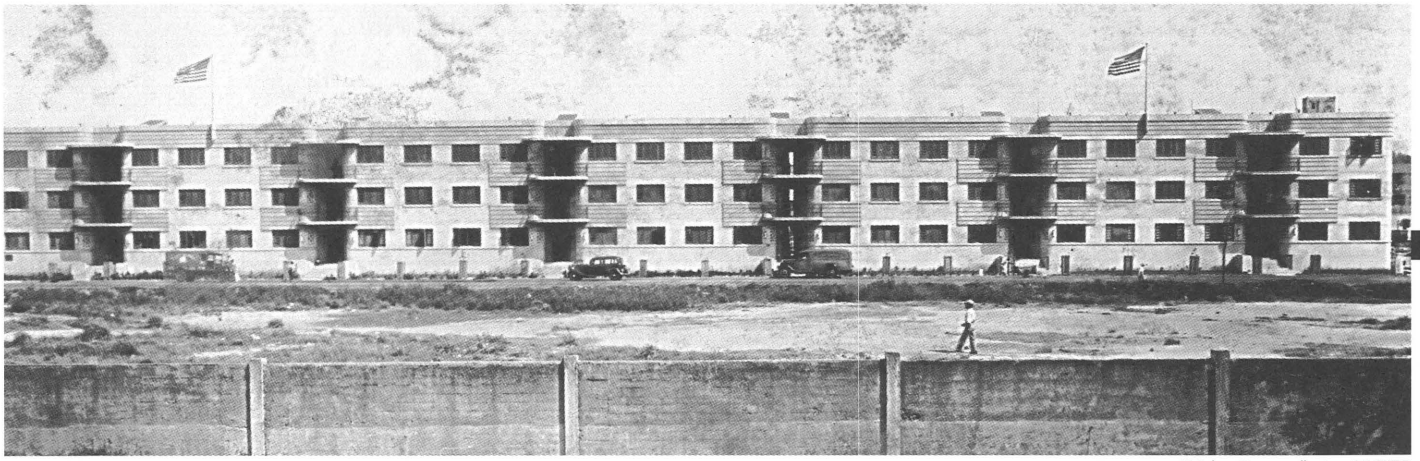


Fig. 5. **Jorge Ramírez de Arellano**, *El Falansterio*, low-cost housing project, Puerta de Tierra, 1938

FROM 1948 ON, after Puerto Ricans were allowed to elect their own governor, the role of the island as a 'bridge between the Americas' was transformed into that of the 'showcase of America'—the catchword which represented the dramatic and progressive effect of Puerto Rico's new political status. In harmony with this new political identity, architecture in Puerto Rico adopted, in an overwhelming way, the principles of the international style, and explicitly rejected the role of history in the process of architectural design. Henry Klumb expressed this feeling in superb fashion: "There is no real architecture of the tropics in Puerto Rico. Everything is bastard Spanish, which was never the heritage of more than 10% of the Puerto Ricans anyway. And the Spanish enclosed everything behind thick walls and grilles. Their women weren't to be seen; everything was protected. Then you superimpose the Anglo-Saxon traditions on top of that, and you get the most wretched architectural results imaginable."[16]

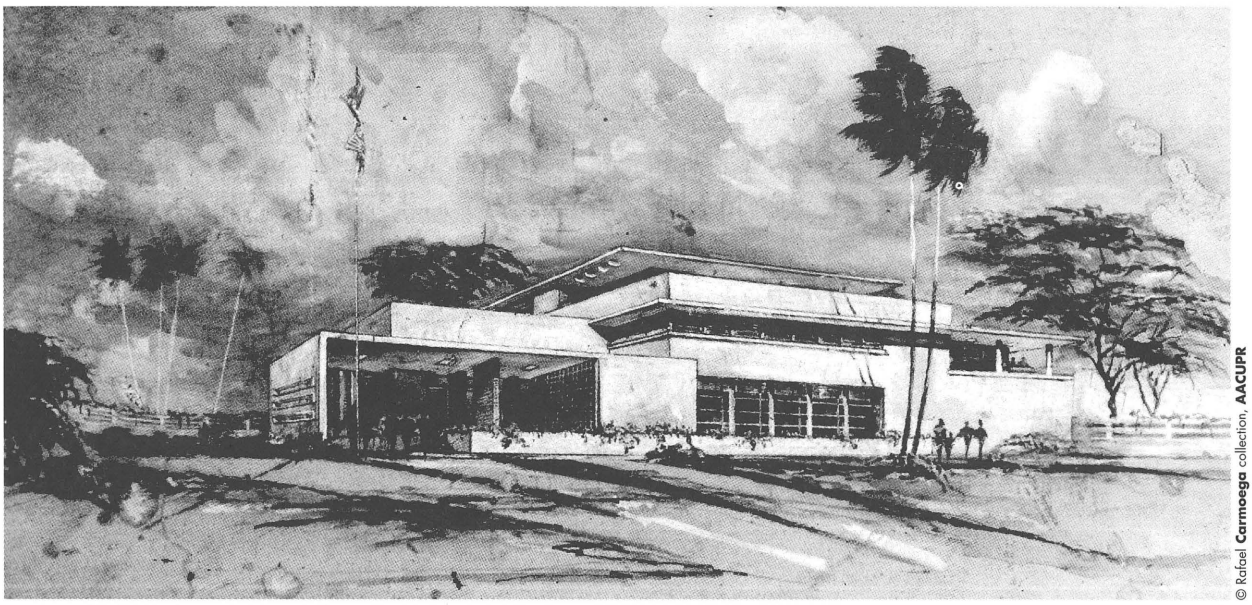
© Henry **Klumb** collection, **AACUPR**

Fig. 6. **Henry Klumb**, *Building for the Committee on the Design of Public Works*, Alcaldía de Maricao, 1944

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT by the year 1949, when the Caribe Hilton inaugurated its sumptuous facilities, the modern movement was establishing its hegemony in the practice of architecture. The government was at ease with the anonymous international style, in which identities and regional differences could be ignored. Henceforth, institutions were to abandon the Spanish revival style completely. The emphasis that the government placed on the modern movement had an abrupt effect on the practice of architecture in Puerto Rico. Without exception, all of the offices that existed before and were established after World War II embraced the principles of the modern movement, causing the demise of the Spanish revival in the sectors in power and in the academy.

IN SEARCH OF HIGHER VALUES, THE CAREER OF HENRY KLUMB

Between the two world wars, Germany was all but the best of places: a spirit defeated, a revolution in the making. For some, architecture had no direction and past solutions were discarded, while new ideas were hurried on, not given the necessary time to evolve. This situation confused some, unable to accept either the past or the new. Heinrich Klumb *(fig. 9)*, an architecture student born in Cologne in 1905, was one of these personalities. But he did see a way out: America, with its promise of a "poetic and spiritual exuberance" in architecture.



© Rafael **Carmoega** collection, **AACUPR**

Fig. 7. **Rafael Carmoega**, *Casino of Puerto Rico*, Santurce, 1945

Fig. 8. **Robert Swartburg**, *Project for the Caribe Hilton Hotel*, 1946

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HIS FRIENDS alternately called him "Klumbumbus," for his desire to discover new worlds, and the "Lloyd of Northern Germany,"[17] for his admiration of America's Frank Lloyd Wright. Thus, after graduating, he embarked on a journey in search of what he called "higher values." In the first volume of his diaries he recalls: "In 1927, facing a full life ahead I could not identify with the prevalent architectural concept of the day. To give my existence meaning I had to search for higher values and through fortunate circumstances found myself in early 1929 . . . in Taliesin East as 'another member of our little family in Architecture.' For five years I was part of a sheltered and inspiring life, always surrounded by beauty, exposed to the 'art of work and living,' I observed the principals at work to bring creative truth to earthly efforts."[18]

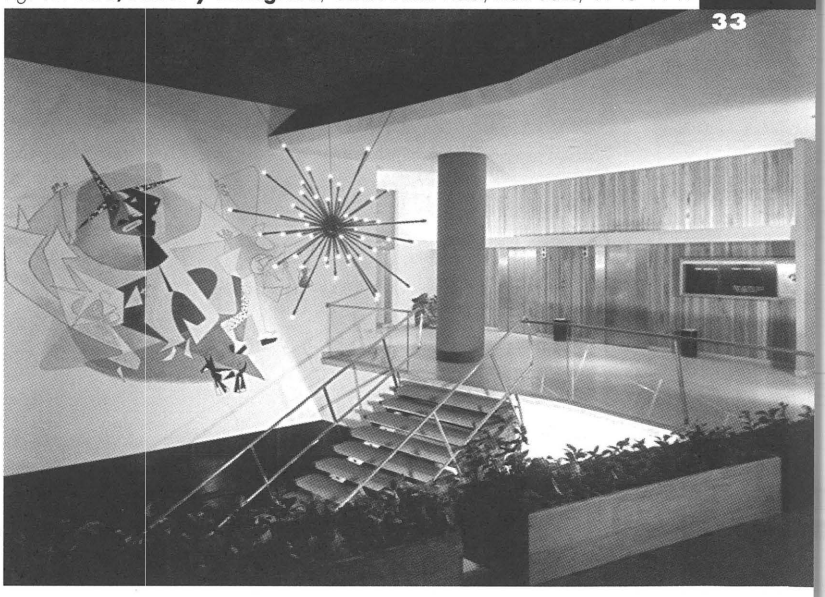
IN SEPTEMBER 1928, Wright returned to Taliesin from his 'exile' in California and Arizona with great plans for establishing the Taliesin Fellowship at Spring Green. In October of the same year, Klumb, then living in St. Louis, received an invitation to visit Taliesin, where for the next five years, he would be, as he himself described it, a student and assistant.

DURING THIS PERIOD he also spent one year with Wright in the Arizona desert, where they built the Architect's Camp, Ocatilla. Once back in Taliesin, Wright charged Klumb with the organization of the first 'Frank Lloyd Wright' exhibition on the Old Continent. He spent a year lecturing about architecture and managing the exhibits in Amsterdam, Berlin, Stuttgart, Antwerp and Brussels. During this trip, Klumb married Else Schmitt.

UPON HIS RETURN to Taliesin in November 1931, his marriage was not well received by Wright. Subsequently their relationship became somewhat strained, but still the faithful disciple, he remained with Wright for two more years and worked on the new buildings for the Taliesin Fellowship and various other projects.

Fig. 9. **Henry Klumb**, c. 1930

Fig. 10. **Toro, Ferrer y Torregrosa**, *Caribe Hilton Hotel*, main stairs, 1946–1949



THE LIFE CORE

In September 1933, Klumb left Taliesin for an extended vacation and never returned. On this decision, he commented: "I decided to face the cold reality of the world and its empty promises. Mimicking the past was usual but mimicking the imported style assured success and instant acknowledgment of status. What was important was to have style and not *a* style."[19]

FOR A DECADE he practiced in various cities across the United States. In early 1935, at the Art League in Washington D.C., he opened a one-man-show called "Architectural Drawings of Modern Houses by Henry Klumb," where he presented his ideas for the houses of middle class America. While in Washington, he formed the Cooperative Planners Inc. in association with Louis I. Kahn. Through this office they prepared various projects, such as the Philadelphia Garden Town Plan of 1936. In 1938 he also designed various private houses, such as the Gertrude and Harry Weiss House in Montgomery County, Maryland.

FOR THESE PROJECTS, Klumb insisted on limiting the use of prefabrication to the service area that he called the 'Life Core.' This allowed the rest of the house to be designed less rigidly. An example of this design

philosophy is the Battaglia House of 1939, in Burbank, California. During this period, Klumb also got involved with the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the direction of Rene d'Harnoncourt, for which he designed the American Indians exhibitions for the San Francisco World's Fair and for the Museum of Modem Art in New York. In 1940 he was also commissioned to design a community house for the Papago Native Americans in Sells, Arizona. His design was heralded as an "attractive example of native construction in the Southwest, . . . almost entirely Papago and yet . . . representative of some of the best trends in modern architecture." In 1943, Klumb moved to Los Angeles where he worked on the regional plan of the city.

AN ARCHITECTURE OF SOCIAL CONCERN

In December 1943 Klumb was officially invited by Governor Rexford G. Tugwell to Puerto Rico to work as Architect in charge of General Design of the newly established Committee on Design of Public Works. In *Pamphlet 3* of his work, Klumb wrote: "I recognized early, after leaving Frank Lloyd Wright in 1933, that solutions resulting in the alienation of man from man, and man from nature could only compound the problems facing us. After long years of struggle to adhere to this inner conviction I had the fortune to work and contribute to the reconstruction of Puerto Rico from 1944 on."[20]

THE COMMITTEE was charged with the design of $50,000,000 worth of public works. The program focused on the design of hospitals, housing, schools and community centers in order to cure and prevent diseases, and to shelter, educate and organize the life of farmers and laborers *(fig. 11)*. Using the natural benefits of the Island as a bonus to design, the Committee, steered by Klumb and advised by Richard Neutra, developed an architecture that was adjusted to the economic and tropical conditions of Puerto Rico. Klumb established a set of design requirements that encouraged diversity in the island of Puerto Rico. He considered that the work produced by the committee should develop with consideration for the specific problem to be solved and that the design of buildings should respect and accept the local needs, habits and traditions of the people for whom it was intended.[21]

THE OFFICE OF HENRY KLUMB

In 1945 Klumb founded the Office of Henry Klumb, which soon became one of the most important architectural firms in Puerto Rico. In his private practice Klumb explored and developed design tools whose formal roots can be found in the European vanguard and, more specifically in the architecture of Le Corbusier: pilotis, an open floor plan, bands of continuous windows, and a free-standing façade. On the other hand, his five years of apprenticeship with Frank Lloyd Wright had taught him how to harmonize the building with the surrounding land, to interrelate the interior and exterior spaces, to favor horizontal lines, and to organically design, following nature. These architectural tools and principles led Klumb to develop spaces shaped by the use of the brise-soleil, the perforated wall, the pivoting wall, cross ventilation and natural light. His projects were characterized by the use of materials available on the Island, with no aspiration for ornamentation beyond that generated by his understanding of the relationship between human being and environment, or of the built object in the context of

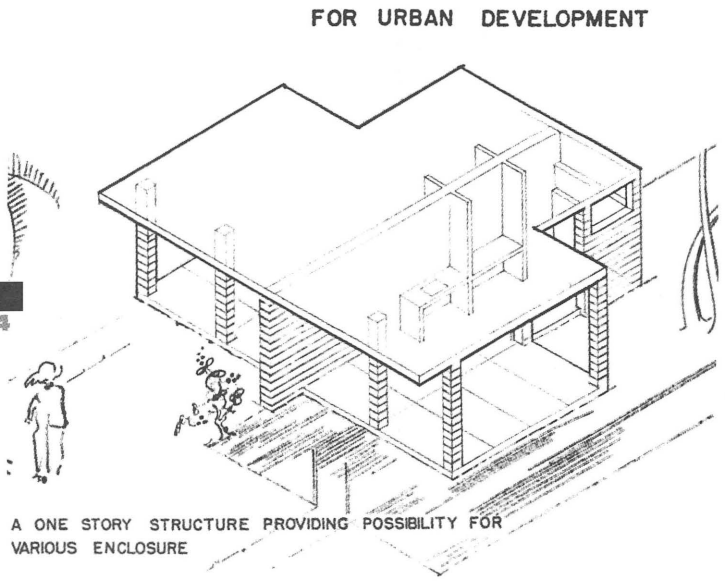
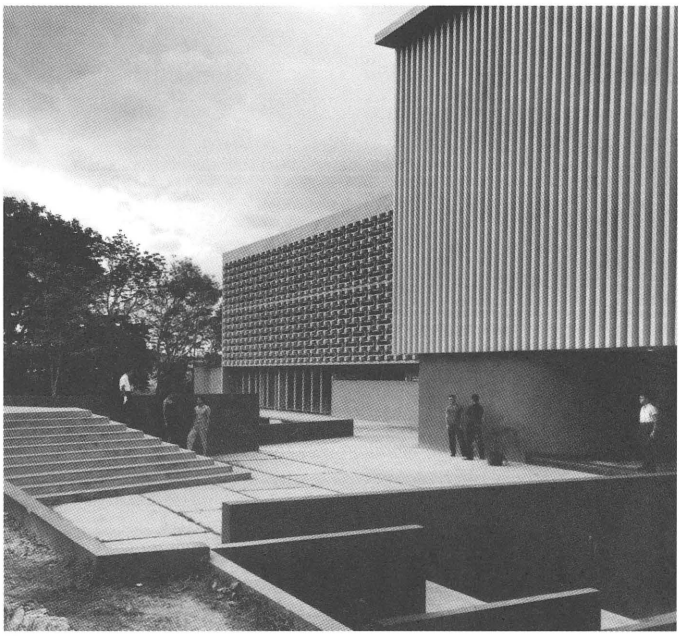


Fig. 11. **Henry Klumb**, *Zero-Plus Housing*, low-cost housing, 1944



Figs. 11 to 17 © Henry **Klumb** collection, **AACUPR**

Fig. 12. **Henry Klumb**, *Students Center*, University of Puerto Rico, Recinto de Mayagüez, 1954

nature. His early years in the practice of architecture were fundamental to his subsequent forty years of production in Puerto Rico.

DEMOCRATIC SPACES AND THE IDEA OF THE 'OPEN BOOK'

The Río Piedras and Mayagüez campuses of the University of Puerto Rico were the stage for architectural exercises that allowed Klumb to explore the possibilities of a social architecture adapted to the conditions of Puerto Rico. He set the standards and guidelines for a democratic architecture of open and constantly flowing spaces. He also developed several architectural strategies to tone down natural light with the use of various designs for brise-soleils *(fig. 12)* which provided light and shadow, thus modulating the homogeneous space and creating spaces suited for habitation. Klumb worked at the two campuses between 1946 and 1966 as the university's only architect. During those twenty years he formulated the master plans that transformed the campuses. His designs expressed in concrete what Jaime Benítez, the university's chancellor for many years, called the "university of the open book," or what Klumb himself saw as an architecture that was profoundly social, and whose measure was not merely the human being, but human well-being. For that reason, Klumb's buildings are organized around open, democratic spaces accessible to all. Photographs show the great variety of structures designed in the spirit of the 'open book,' from academic buildings, libraries, auditoriums, specialized laboratories, and student centers to dormitories and faculty residences *(figs. 13 & 14)*. Klumb designed each building with the same elements, but provided each with a particularity that made it unique.

KLUMB AND THE DOMINICANS, ARCHITECTURAL BALANCE

Henry Klumb found a kindred spirit in the Dominican Order of Puerto Rico. Their first encounter was in 1946, with the design of the Santa Rosa Chapel in Guaynabo, a simple rural structure. In 1948, the order commissioned him to design a sanctuary dedicated to San Martín de Porres *(fig. 15)* in the new housing development known as Bay View in Cataño.

Klumb's contact was Marcolino Maas, an artist-priest. The relationship between these two men was magical; their profound artistic sensibility led to a client-architect symbiosis rare in such dealings. The richness of this relationship produced exemplary works of architecture in Puerto Rico. In the sanctuary, conceived on the basic geometric figure of the square, Klumb achieved a space that was revolutionary for religious architecture in Puerto Rico. Here the worshipper communes directly with nature, which, through fretworks of concrete, steel, and wood, draws the eye toward the true focus of the space: the altar and the crucifix.

On the other hand, the design for the parish church in Cataño, La Virgen del Carmen *(fig. 16)*, was a difficult exercise for Klumb. Originally, the intention was to expand the seating area in the old structure, but the remodeling became the occasion to make a statement within the urban space of the city itself. Issues of scale, seating area, and interpretation of the ritual had an enduring impact on the design of the architectural project. For Klumb, the solution for the floor-plan was unique: a centralized space, with the altar in the center; porous lateral walls and light that streamed in through a cupola. But the path to this solution was difficult. Klumb suggested several alternatives for the dome's shape, among which a prefabricated dome designed by

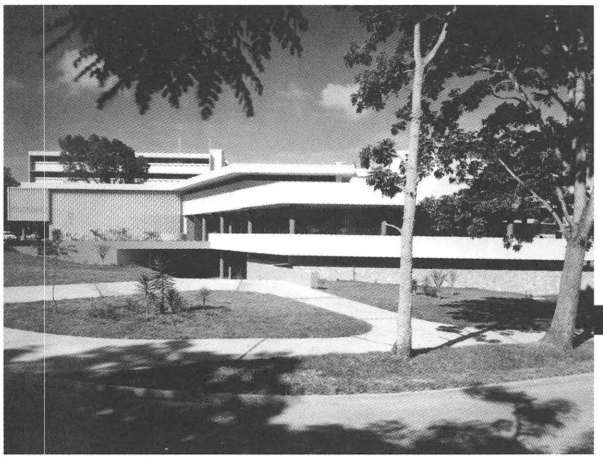


Fig. 13. **Henry Klumb**, *Students Center*, University of Puerto Rico, Recinto de Río Piedras, 1948

Fig. 14. **Henry Klumb**, *Main Library*, University of Puerto Rico, Recinto de Río Piedras, 1948

engineer August Komendant, at the time one of the most distinguished structural engineers in the United States. Costs and problems with manufacturing (the year was 1957) led to a more traditional construction solution.

ARCHITECTURE, ENVIRONMENT, AND ART: THE VARIOUS ARCHITECTURAL TYPES IN THE WORK OF HENRY KLUMB

From the beginning of his professional career in Puerto Rico, commercial buildings—whether public or private, stores or condominiums, clubs or hotels—were opportunities for Klumb to develop his ideas for life in the tropics on a grand scale. Klumb's constant struggle to adjust these institutions to life in the tropics sometimes came in conflict with technological advances that left the simple, uncomplicated life behind and required high energy consumption. Klumb fought against the mechanization of spaces. For him, using air conditioners was an excess that, given the island's economy, was unsustainable. Thus, even in the most sophisticated and technically complex buildings, Klumb insisted on the uncomplicated life and achieved this aim by introducing nature into the lived-in space. Sometimes, particularly in offices, stores, and other institutions which, for reasons of security, had to be closed, clients demanded that the space be mechanized.

The design strategies adopted by Klumb for these occasions attempted to mitigate energy consumption by means of double exterior walls (that is, the brise-soleil applied over the outer structural wall), as in the case of the IBM Building, so that insulation might significantly reduce the heat load on the interior of the building. His quest for a social architecture led him down paths that we can still admire today in many of his works. However, in the Puerto Rico of the twenty-first century, in most cases, that simple but elegant association between architecture, environment, and art is lost.

Fig. 15. **Henry Klumb**, *Church of San Martín de Porres*, Cataño, 1949

ALTHOUGH KLUMB designed his first industrial facility in 1957, for a pharmaceutical company, it was not until the 1970s that the office of Henry Klumb dedicated itself almost exclusively to the design of this type of structure *(fig. 17)*. Although Operation Bootstrap had begun to industrialize the island by building factories in every town and city, these structures were usually great hangar-like buildings flexible enough to contain practically any type of industry. The design of pharmaceutical manufacturing plants was somewhat more complicated. Usually, this industry required several related but independent and specialized structures. In the areas of greatest concentration of workers, Klumb incorporated architectural elements that would bring dignity to their work and life in the factory. He therefore incorporated interior courtyards for both visual and spiritual relaxation, and carefully designed the cafeteria: widely glazed walls, high ceilings, large interior spaces, a view on a pond, and a site distant from the noise and bustle of the factory-plant itself. Today the success of these designs is still evident in these pharmaceutical campuses. Visiting the premises and speaking with employees allows one to discover how contented they are with their work space, and how satisfying it is.

As in the case of Frank Lloyd Wright, whose architecture seemed most fitted to residential design, Klumb realized that it was houses that had the greatest presence in the life of human beings. His idea of concentrating the basic services of each residence within a Life Core made it relatively easy for him to incorporate the particularities of each site and client into the final result. In his private practice, designing houses was perhaps what he most enjoyed, and what he did the most of. The house did not isolate its residents, but their relationship with the house and nature had an elating effect.

CONCLUSION

Henry Klumb's career in Puerto Rico supported and coincided with the modernization of the island. His understanding of modern architecture stemmed from popular traditions and the nature of place. His quest for an architecture of social concern led him to enunciate the following ideas: architecture, with a spiritual and poetic exuberance, where the past is respected, the present is lived with consideration and the future is a projection of our hopes; the Life Core, where the service's area is a technologically precise construction that allows for a living space adjusted to individual and site needs; man as the measure of all, not as an anthropomorphic phenomenon, but as a social, humanizing prerequisite of architecture; and the concept of creative energy, which allows man to create the conditions under which he could obtain his inherent right for spiritual fulfillment and which would lift him from what Klumb called "the hopeless coarseness of reality."[22]

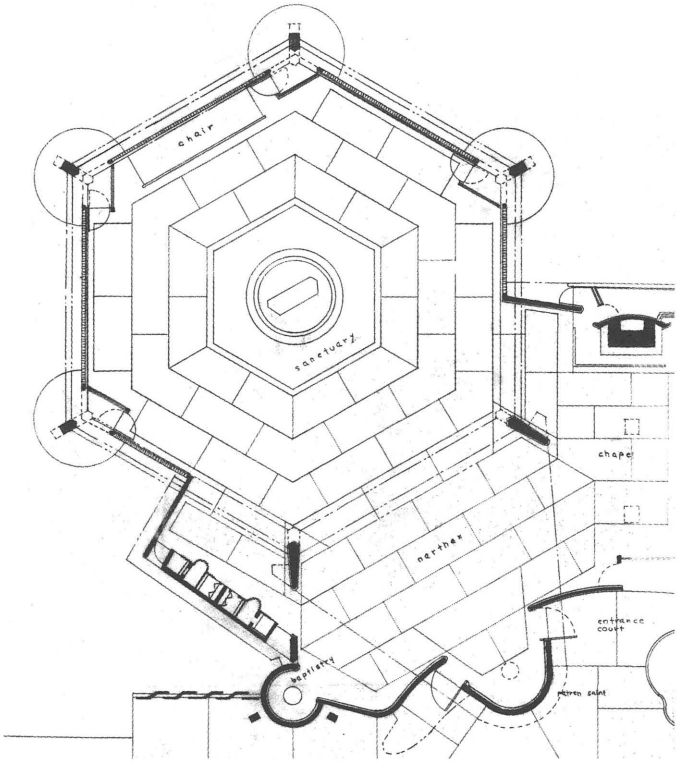


Fig. 16. **Henry Klumb**, *Church of la Virgen del Carmen*, Cataño, 1958

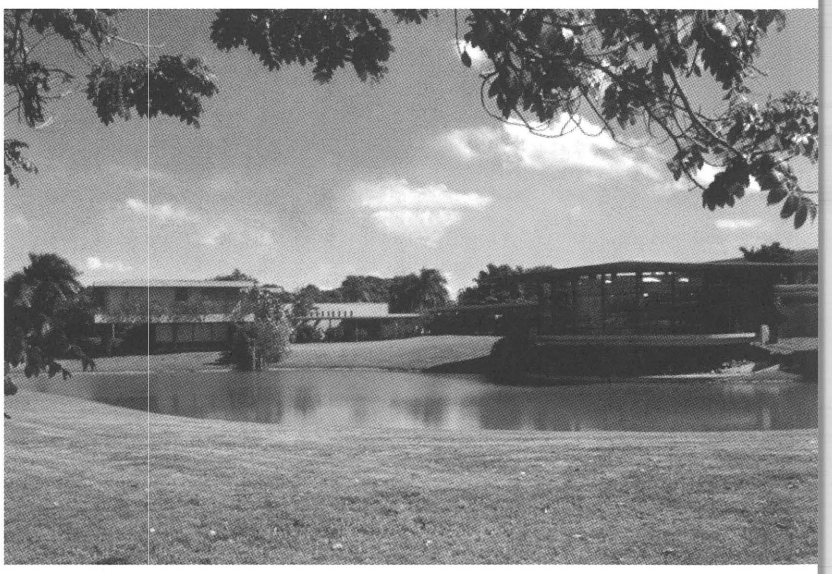


Fig. 17. **Henry Klumb**, *Pharmaceutical company of Parke-Davis*, Carolina, 1957

For forty years in Puerto Rico, Klumb searched for higher values in architecture during a career that made visible the idea of a new Puerto Rico.

ENRIQUE VIVONI-FARAGE, *director of the Architecture and Construction Archives at the University of Puerto Rico (AACUPR), is author and editor of* Ilusión de Francia: arquitectura y afrancesamiento en Puerto Rico *(AACUPR, 1997);* Hispanophilia: Architecture and Life in Puerto Rico (1900–1950) *(UPR Press, 1998);* Architect of Dreams: Pedro Adolfo de Castro y Besosa *(AACUPR, 1999);* Ever New San Juan: Architecture and Modernization in the Twentieth Century *(AACUPR, 2000);* The Corsican-Americans. Essays on their Architectures, Lives and Fortunes in the Nineteenth Century *(AACUPR, 2002) and a forthcoming book:* Henry Klumb and the Poetic Exuberance of Architecture. *He was recently the curator of the exhibition "Henry Klumb and the Poetic Exuberance of Architecture" at the Puerto Rico Museum of Art.*

Translated by ***Andrew Hurley***

NOTES

1 George Holliday, "Resurgimiento de las modernas construcciones en Puerto Rico," *Revista Económica* (June 1938): 7–35.
2 The said economy was based on the idea that the new style did not need the polychrome terra cotta pieces or expensive forms in order to generate the characteristic forms of the Spanish revival.
3 See graduation thesis of Miguel Ferrer, Toro Ferrer Architects Collection, AACUPR.
4 See Enrique Vivoni-Farage, "Pedro Méndez Mercado: obrero de la arquitectura," in *Pedro Méndez Mercado en su tiempo* (Ponce: Museo de Arte de Ponce, 1990).
5 Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company, *Informe anual, año fiscal 1948–1949* (San Juan: PRIDCO, 1949): 26.
6 Ibid.
7 Interview with architect Miguel Ferrer, 2 August 1989.
8 "Caribe Hilton Vigésimo Aniversario," *Historia del Caribe Hilton* (San Juan: 1969).
9 "Spanish Helped Hilton Win His Hotel...," *Caribe News* 9 (December 1949): 3.
10 "Puertorriqueños hicieron planos Caribe Hilton," *El Mundo* (9 December 1950), quotes architect Miguel Ferrer.
11 David F. Ross, *The Long Uphill Path (A Historical Study of Puerto Rico's Progress of Economic Development)* (San Juan: Talleres Gráficos Interamericanos, 1966), 103–104.
12 Ibid.
13 Interview with the architect Pedro Méndez, 19 November 1989.
14 Pedro Albizu Campos criticized the government for the construction of Hilton in three os his speeches from 1948 to 1950. See Ivonne Acosta, *La palabra como delito, los discursos que condenaron a Pedro Albizu Campos, 1948–1950* (Río Piedras: Editorial Cultural, 1993), 141–42.
15 Carmen Reyes Padró, "Cientos de invitados asistieron a la inauguración del Hilton," El Mundo (12 December 1949).
16 Henry Klumb, quoted in "Designs for the Tropics," *Interiors* (May 1962): 116.
17 Arno P. Mowitz, "Klumbumbus, or the Discovery of America," November 23, 1924. Henry Klumb Collection, Box 7B, Original publication pamphlets, Architecture and Construction Archives at the University of Puerto Rico (AACUPR).
18 Henry Klumb, "Pamphlet 1: Architecture in Search of Higher Values, 1929–1933." Unpublished manuscript, Henry Klumb Collection, AACUPR.
19 Henry Klumb, "My Architectural Design Philosophy." Paper read at the 65th Annual FAIA Convention in Florida, October 2, 1979, 2–3. Henry Klumb Collection, Box 8A, AACUPR.
20 Henry Klumb, "Handwritten statement." 1966? Henry Klumb Collection, Box 8A, AACUPR.
21 Henry Klumb, "Memorandum." August 10, 1944. Henry Klumb Collection Policy Statements, Committee on Design, AACUPR.
22 Henry Klumb, "Acceptance speech, Academia de Artes y Ciencias de Puerto Rico." April 17, 1972. Henry Klumb Collection, Box 8A, AACUPR.

Toro y Ferrer architects

TEN YEARS OF REASONABLE ARCHITECTURE IN PUERTO RICO*

JUAN **MARQUÉS MERA**

In 1945 architects Osvaldo Toro and Miguel Ferrer set up their practice in San Juan, Puerto Rico, where, up to 1984, they carried out more than 430 projects.[1] Thanks to the number of projects realized and to their quality, their work is an essential reference for modern architecture in Puerto Rico.[2]

DURING ITS FIRST TEN YEARS, between 1945 and 1955, the firm realized works that inspired, supported and particularly well represented a remarkable moment of the country's architecture. With sensitivity, common sense and restraint, the Toro y Ferrer practice accomplished a high-quality architecture, specific to the situation the country was experiencing at the time, namely its emergence on the scene of modernity and progress.

Throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, Puerto Rican architecture was characterized by the adoption of an eclecticism heavily leaning on the Spanish 'revival.' Puerto Rico copied trends born in Europe, usually with a certain delay. Moreover, the US home office favored the California mission style whose influence was clear in most of the public buildings realized in Puerto Rico. This new official style replaced the neoclassicism favored by Spain during the colonial period.

The Hispanophile revival developed during the 1930s and 1940s, with a romantic trend that came from Hollywood.

The works of Antonin Nechodema (1877–1928) also represented another important style. The Czech architect, trained in the United States at the turn of the century, designed many works whose stylistic debt towards Frank Lloyd Wright is obvious.

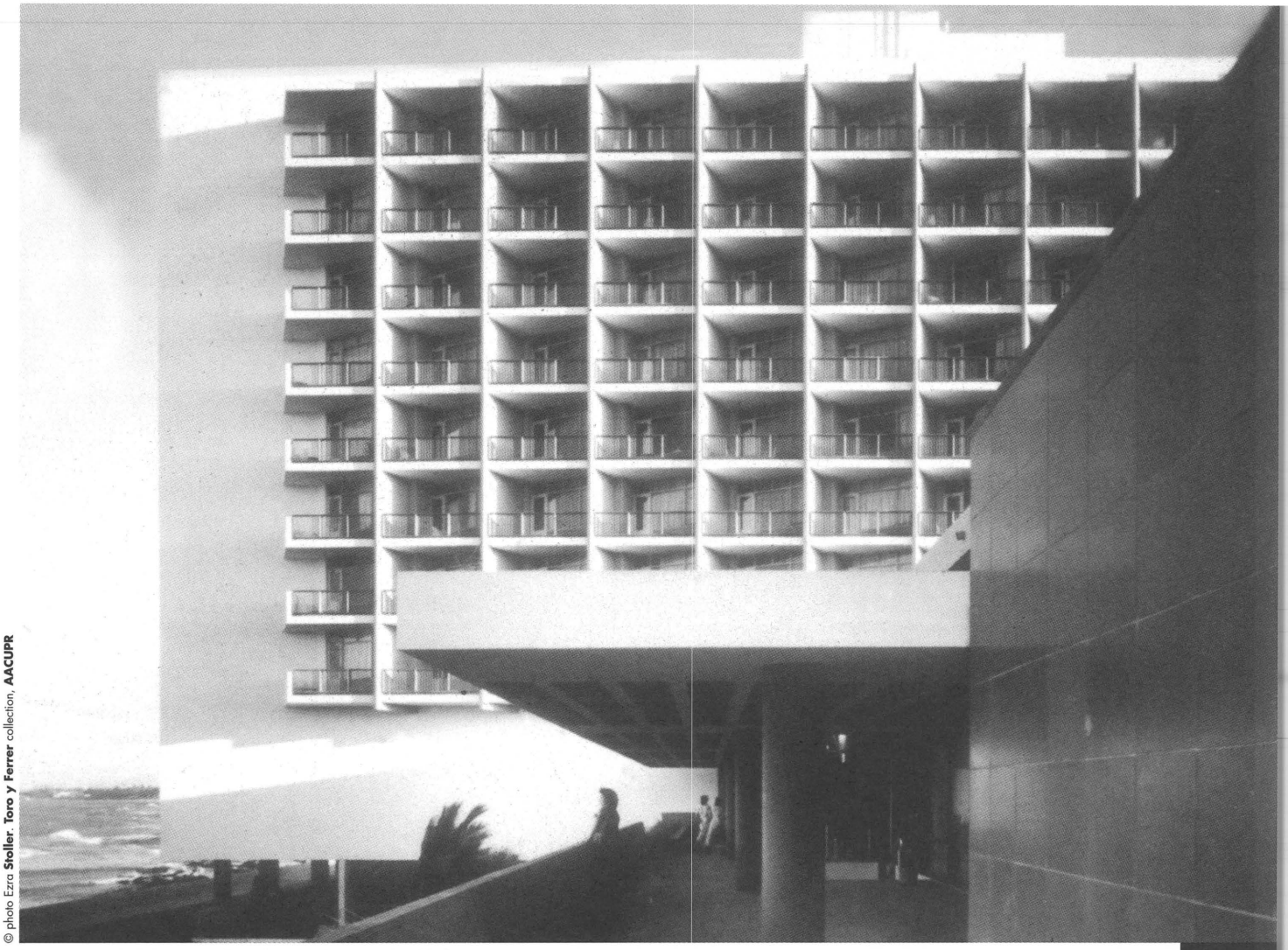
© photo Ezra **Stoller**. **Toro y Ferrer** collection, **AACUPR**

Fig. 1. **Toro y Ferrer**, *Caribe Hilton Hotel,* landscape

SEVERAL EVENTS that occurred during the 1940s were propitious to the appearance of a 'new spirit' in Puerto Rico. On the one hand, the Allied victory at the end of World War II and thereafter the US's economic and cultural prosperity that characterized the second half of the century. Puerto Rico's particular link with the major powers allowed the island to take part in this adventure. On the other hand, Puerto Rico also underwent a period of socio-economic reforms and its relationship with the US progressed. Between 1941 and 1945, the last North American governor, Rexford Tugwell, directed the country with a progressive vision that facilitated huge social changes. Simultaneously the Democratic Popular party established its political hegemony and governed practically free of opposition until 1968. Luis Muñoz Marin, the legislature's charismatic leader, who wished to reform and improve the country, became in 1948 the first governor elected by Puerto Ricans. Upheld by the people's enthusiasm, he stayed in office until 1964. In 1952, Puerto Rico's *Estado Libre Asociado* constitution was ratified and the country lived the illusion of autonomy.

THE CARIBE HILTON HOTEL, inaugurated in December 1949, is Toro y Ferrer's most important work, for their first ten years of professional activity. It also gave the direction for a new expression of the country's architecture,

* *The investigation that served as the basis of this paper was carried out thanks to a sabbatical leave granted by the University of Puerto Rico.*



© photo Ezra **Stoller**. **Toro y Ferrer** collection, **AACUPR**

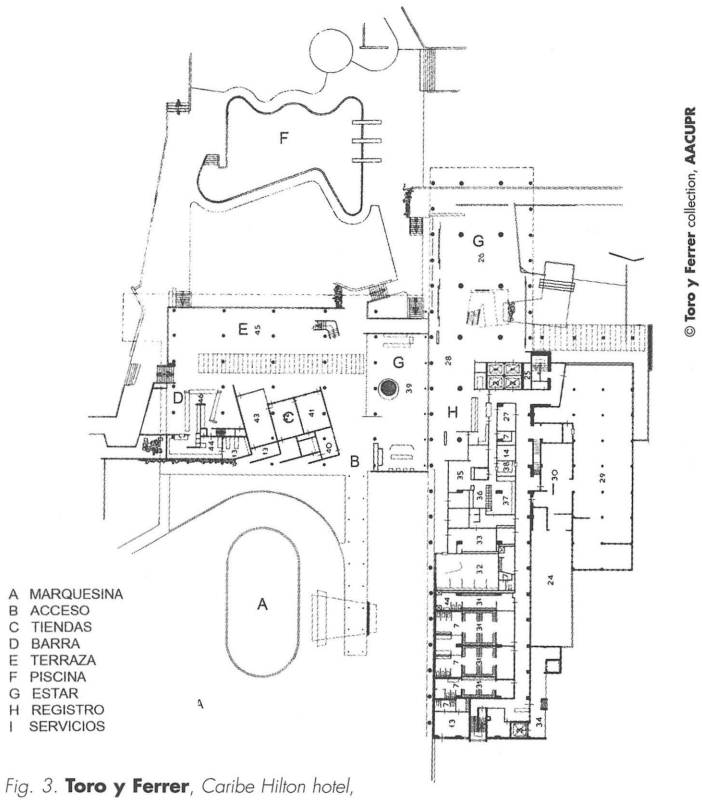
Fig. 2. **Toro y Ferrer**, *Caribe Hilton Hotel,* terraces and balconies

and influenced international hotel design. Puerto Rican authorities having resolved to contribute to the tourism industry's development, the project was assigned through a state competition. The project's promotion agency, which rejected the Hispanophile leanings of two American projects, deliberately chose a modern style, and invited the Hilton Company's representatives, selected to manage the hotel, to visit the Jaraguá Hotel in Santo Domingo,[3] to let them see for themselves the new style's virtues and how appropriate it was for tourism. This superb hotel served to promote and publicize the 'new spirit' the country was living.

THE 300-BEDROOM building is located on the small island of San Juan, a privileged site with remains of Spanish military fortifications, beaches and excellent views onto the sea and the peninsula *(fig. 1)*. The complex's well-articulated, dynamic and open shape emphasizes the building's exterior and creates a close link with the site. The building accommodating the bedrooms composes the dominant vertical structure. A second building, horizontal and perpendicular to the tower, completes the cruciform layout. Public spaces and parts reserved to the hotel's services are located in a semi-underground basement, on the hotel's two first floors. The central part, devoted to lifts for clients and staff and to the main staircase, joins the two structures.

Bedrooms (39 per story) are laid out on both sides of a corridor. Most dispose of a balcony, slightly turned and adjusted to enjoy the view at best. This distinctive characteristic serves as a gigantic climatic protection, like a vast screen clinging to the main body *(fig. 2)*. The balconies are placed 13 inches lower than the bedroom level, which allows for a full view from the interior, without the usual interference of the balcony railing.
The hotel's entrance has an easy access and the progression towards the building is varied *(fig. 3)*. The awning is independent and distant from the entrance hall, and a covered walkway through foliage guides the visitor. There are no doors. As a stimulus and reward, the visitor catches a framed glimpse of the sea, gardens and swimming pool with a vast terrace and bar. A relaxed atmosphere, an open and clear space, elegant in its simplicity, characterize the entire entrance hall and the lounge. The vegetation, panorama, breeze, gardens and ponds and even animals (flamingos and peacocks) are part and parcel of this architecture surrounded with tropical plants.

THE HOTEL'S INTERIOR, designed by the Warner-Leeds firm of New York, significantly adds to this very special architectural work's value. The photographs of the completed project are the work of renowned photographer Ezra Stoller.



© Toro y Ferrer collection, AACUPR

Fig. 3. **Toro y Ferrer**, *Caribe Hilton hotel, access story*

THE CARIBE HILTON received the silver medal during the 8th Pan-American Congress of Architects, celebrated in Havana in 1950, and was the subject of press coverage in several international journals.[4] Subsequently, Toro y Ferrer were charged with the hotel's extension, and the works carried out respect the project's spirit. Unfortunately, in the past few years the hotel has undergone changes that hardly respect the initial design.

FOR AN ARCHITECTURAL FIRM that made a name for itself by promoting the modern vocabulary to which it identified, the challenge of designing a building for Puerto Rico's Supreme Court was significant. Located on the far end of a large esplanade, the rectangle-shaped building is precise and raised two levels above ground. It dominates the horizontal place, distinctly endowing it with a mood of quiet balance and peace *(fig. 4)*. The Supreme Court, which rises from the ground, avoids the arena stand effect thanks to a partly marble-covered flight of stairs and platform. It also boasts a monumental hall and cupola, and its row of columns deserves appreciation as well as the main staircase. All the elements of the classic institutional architecture are present in this work whose spirit and vocabulary are nonetheless modern. The layout of the access, composed of an axis including the pond and front flight of stairs, could only be designed on a diagonal line; the slab is laid out in carefully selected sections of marble, and the cupola, lowered and asymmetrically placed above the structure, covers the main room whose open walls allow it to welcome a larger public, thus symbolizing justice and her relationship with the people. Finally, the impressive spiral staircase that projects itself outside the volume, in a daunting structure-sculpture scheme, gives the visitor the impression of being introduced into a transparent box. The international airport and governmental offices adjoining the Capitol are also inspiring realizations of the time.

Alongside its important realizations in the field of public building, the Toro y Ferrer practice carried out many private projects, for single and collective housing. In this category, the dwellings realized for Leticia Ferrer de García in Miramar, San Juan, should be mentioned. Designed in 1953, the building consists of two blocks, one shifting from the other horizontally, and vertically by half a story *(figs. 5 & 6)*. The spatial organization comprising two dwellings per story solves the exposure problems that these many angles imply, with the longest side facing south, allowing for an appropriate ventilation of the north-western façade, for all the bedrooms and living rooms. The ingenious device makes the most of the ground's slope, it reduces to the minimum the amount of passageways that converge at the core of the building, it allows a private access for each unit, and places the service areas, barrier-like, in the areas that are the less comfortable climate-wise.

During their first ten years, Toro y Ferrer use personalized standards and strategies as well as modern movement characteristics that it interprets, develops and tailors to the specific site and time.

THE TORO Y FERRER ARCHITECTURE is made of precise and rectilinear shapes. Façades consist of planes and repetitive elements that provide rhythm and direction. When an angle or curve is introduced, it emphasizes the stylistic intent. Spaces usually possess a clear directionality; they move and direct views or actions and join or intersect other spaces. Proportions and the place of entrance ways and openings add power to the spatial motion.

Toro y Ferrer explores the possibilities of an expanding, fluid, continuous space, and steers clear of spaces defined as static interior boxes. For an indoor-outdoor interaction, limits are insinuated and minimized, or even rub out contiguous planes. The effect is created by implementing large sliding or folding doors, with wooden jalousies or glass, or walls with floor to ceiling glazed openings, or fore-roofs that soften transitions or filter light, or continuous

Fig. 4. **Toro y Ferrer**, *Supreme Court*

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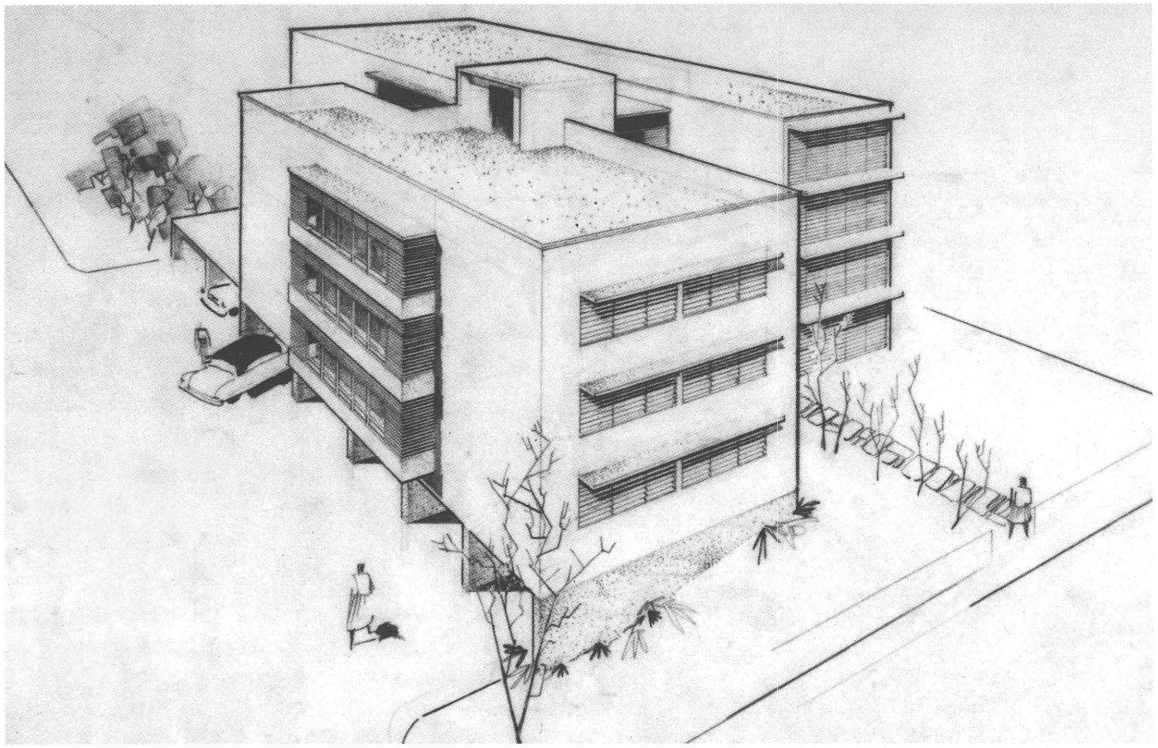

Fig. 5. **Toro y Ferrer**, *Leticia Ferrer de Garcia housing development,* perspective drawing

© **Toro y Ferrer** collection, **AACUPR**

inside-to-outside pavement, or living rooms that stretch out onto terraces or balconies. Interior courtyards are incorporated thanks to plants or walls that are extended to encompass and give shape to exterior spaces.

For residential architecture, access is preferably indirect, lateral. Formal frontal alignments or entries are avoided. To ease the way towards the indirect access, spacious walls, handsomely textured, are used. Entryways, sometimes entirely concealed, are located as close as possible to the room's center, thus imposing a lateral access so as to solve the question of circulation, by saving space and sparing movements. A difference is established between the outdoors, the public space from road to sidewalk, and the private realm of the house, indoors. Once inside however, living areas of each apartment are advantageously interwoven with outdoor spaces.

THE CIRCULATION CORE includes the connection of private and public movements and facilities in a hub that distributes and settles circulation options.

Another of the firm's strategies consists in grouping similar functions together, to form larger shapes, both in

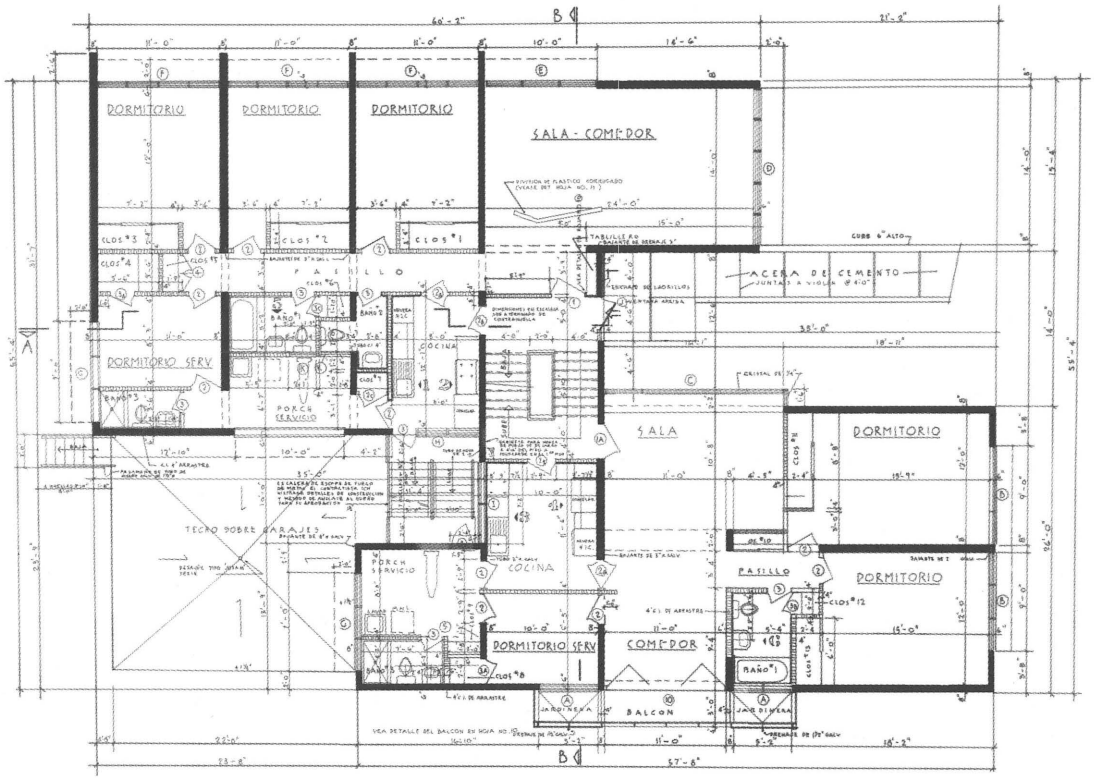

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Fig. 6. **Toro y Ferrer**, *Leticia Ferrer de Garcia housing development,* typical floor plan

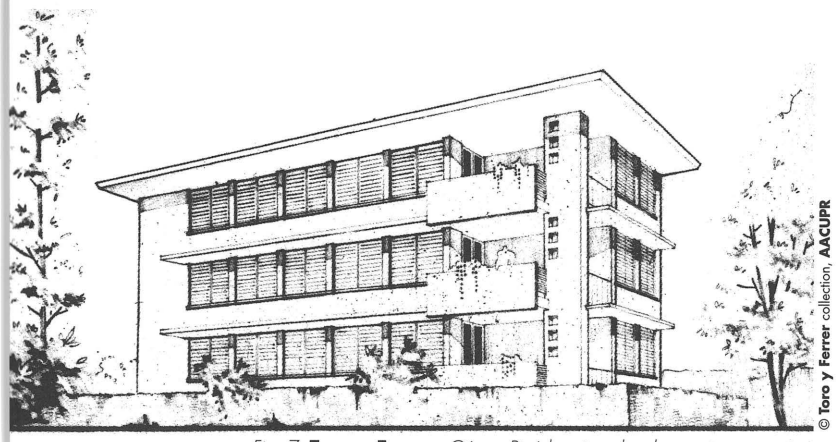


Fig. 7. **Toro y Ferrer**, *Gómez-Pizá housing development*, perspective

Fig. 8. **Toro y Ferrer**, *Gómez-Pizá housing development*, current state

plan and in volume. These shapes are articulated, that is to say signaled or differentiated, to facilitate their interpretation as single units. The spaces that are repeated, such as bedrooms, form larger rooms. On the other hand, a hierarchy of shape, position or size characterizes the main spaces, the spaces that grow bigger when they are interwoven with the outdoors.
Attention to climate, such as exposure or protection against rain or sun, is a steady feature of the firm's production. Taking advantage of the panoramic view or of the topography is also a constant feature. In houses, bedrooms and living rooms have the best exposure, whereas bathrooms, kitchens and toilets are the least favorably exposed.

THE STRUCTURES used are rational, realized in reinforced concrete made with the technical and constructive means that are available. The firm's production during that period makes use of only modest spans and spacing. Some structural solutions for specific elements, such as the Supreme Court and the Caribe Hilton's stairways, are outstanding.
Toro y Ferrer also stands out for the architects' acute attention to detail, emphasizing the identification and articulation of elements and their connection. Their preference goes to local materials, concrete for structures and hydraulic binder-based slabs or terrazzo for floor coverings. Wall veneers of rough limestone also typify the practice's work during that period.

A fair share of Toro y Ferrer's production of that initial period exists no longer, or has suffered considerable damage, at times irreversible. This is a sad example of the neglect or bad treatment that affects modern architecture works of the Puerto Rican heritage.

CONCLUSION

Toro y Ferrer's initial architectural production has the strength conveyed by fair proportions, careful articulations, elegant project solutions, and the implementation and incorporation of exterior spaces turned into a major feature. It is a work that shows respect towards the site and seeks for the most appropriate use of its resources, of climatic exposure, panorama and topography, while also incorporating discreet technologies, carefully using materials and finishing works. It is not an individualistic expression, but rather a rational architecture, thought out more than felt, whose guiding lines are comprehensible. Sophisticated or aggressive shapes, or those whose major value is novelty, are eschewed.
Toro y Ferrer's production of the first ten years confirms the serious and determined dedication of the architects to quality and efficiency, and to the satisfaction reached through sensible actions coupled with discipline and care. It is a production that uses in a responsible way and takes full advantage of the resources available, depending on the period and space. At the beginning of a period of intense social and economic development for Puerto Rico, the works achieved by Toro y Ferrer contrived to make the most of the country's many capacities, and revealed the potential of a healthy and measured growth.

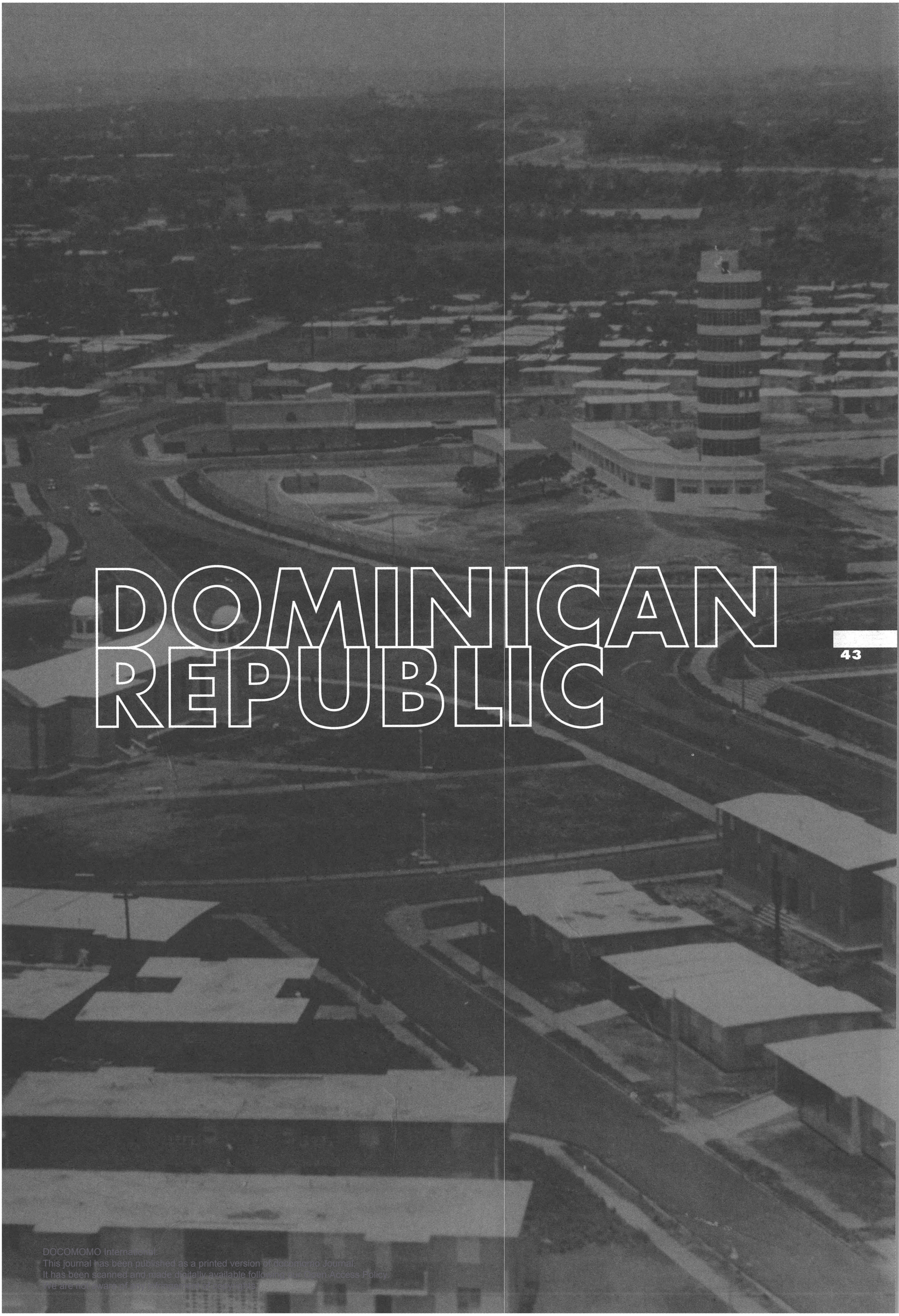
JUAN MARQUÉS MERA *is an architect living in San Juan, Puerto Rico. A graduate of the first class of the School of architecture at the University of San Juan in 1971, he taught architecture until 2001 and was Dean of the School for a time. He also conducted research on modern architecture in Porto Rico, Cuba and Dominican Republic and designed several houses, commercial spaces and interior decorations in the old San Juan. Frequently invited to architectural jurys in Puerto Rico and Jamaica, Juan Marqués Mera has extensively written in specialized publications. He has also recently established a fund to support student travelling.*

Translated by ***Isabelle Kite***

NOTES

1 Osvaldo Toro (1914–1996) is a graduate of Columbia University, United States (1937). Miguel Ferrer (1915–2004) is a graduate of Cornell University. From 1945 to 1952, considering engineer Luis Torregrosa as a main partner, the firm has been known as Toro, Ferrer y Torregrosa. From 1952 up to 1984, the firm's name became Toro y Ferrer, as generally known.
2 The Toro y Ferrer Collection can be found at the Architecture and Construction Archives of the University of Puerto Rico (AACUPR). It consists of some 267 projects, written documents, photos, illustrations and cuttings prepared by the architectural practice.
3 Built by architect Guillermo González Sánchez, it was inaugurated in 1942 and has been demolished. It was a masterpiece of the history of modern architecture in Santo Domingo.
4 The category's gold medal was awarded to Ancap (Uruguay), for the realization of low-priced houses, and the Honors prize went to the Casa del Desierto, by Richard Neutra. *Arquitectura*, June 1950.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC



Dominican Republic, the **transition** to **modernity**

GUSTAVO LUIS **MORÉ**

Until the mid nineteenth century, and for almost three hundred and fifty years, Dominican colonial architecture had been characterized by thick garden walls of brick, and limestone, and by roofs of mahogany and flat tiles, white, rough cast walls, and luminous patios. The first indication of a change in building occurred around 1865 with the introduction of industrial materials.

SMALL AND LARGE wooden buildings, metal structures and sheets were imported to construct new railroad lines, to make sugar refineries and, eventually, to populate the urban centers (Puerto Blanca, Montecristi, San Pedro Macoris, La Romana, Barbona) linked to the new industrial developments of the country.[1] At the beginning of the twentieth century, the technology of reinforced concrete was introduced at the important southern port of San Pedro. Spaniards, Italians, Arabs and West Indian blacks lent their services as designers, contractors and specialized workers, all defining a process which finally reached Santo Domingo, the capital.[2] At that time the city was busy extending its limits beyond the decaying walls into new areas where, with a certain modesty, it applied the eclectic models of the period.

Figures like Antonin Nechodoma, that mythical Czech who introduced the prairie style in the Caribbean, carried out notably avant-garde works. These builders, skilled in the use of new materials, worked in both the Dominican Republic and in Puerto Rico. Their works show the first sign of incipient modernism, still uprooted from its social and cultural processes of Europe and the United States where it had been long gestating. A certain birth defect always accompanies modern architecture in the Caribbean and Latin America generally. It is the well-concealed notion of considering modern architecture as a phenomenon of importation, rather than as the result of man's material and intellectual possibilities as a builder of his own culture.

Fig. 1. **Tomás Auñón**, *Ricart House*, Jarabacoa, 1940

THE INFRASTRUCTURE works built by the North Americans, who occupied the country from 1916 to 1924, defined a more clear path. The Panama Canal, a sort of testing ground for a new architecture appropriate to the climate and to the Caribbean's natural demands, provided new and fresh models. These were distinguished by simple, almost platonic forms, and were built with an intelligent combination of local and imported materials.[3] In the Dominican Republic, the US created the institutional bases for the new design in setting up the Office of Engineers, later known as the Secretariat of State for Public Works. Various young Dominicans who began their careers at this time were eventually to become the first generation of modern architects: Octavio Pérez Garrido, Mario Lluberes, Guillermo y Alfred González, among others.[4]

LACKING A LOCAL, properly so-called architectural faculty (one was formed in 1939), the true schools of this generation were in the United States and Europe. Guillermo González became the most outstanding practitioner of Dominican modernism. He attended the

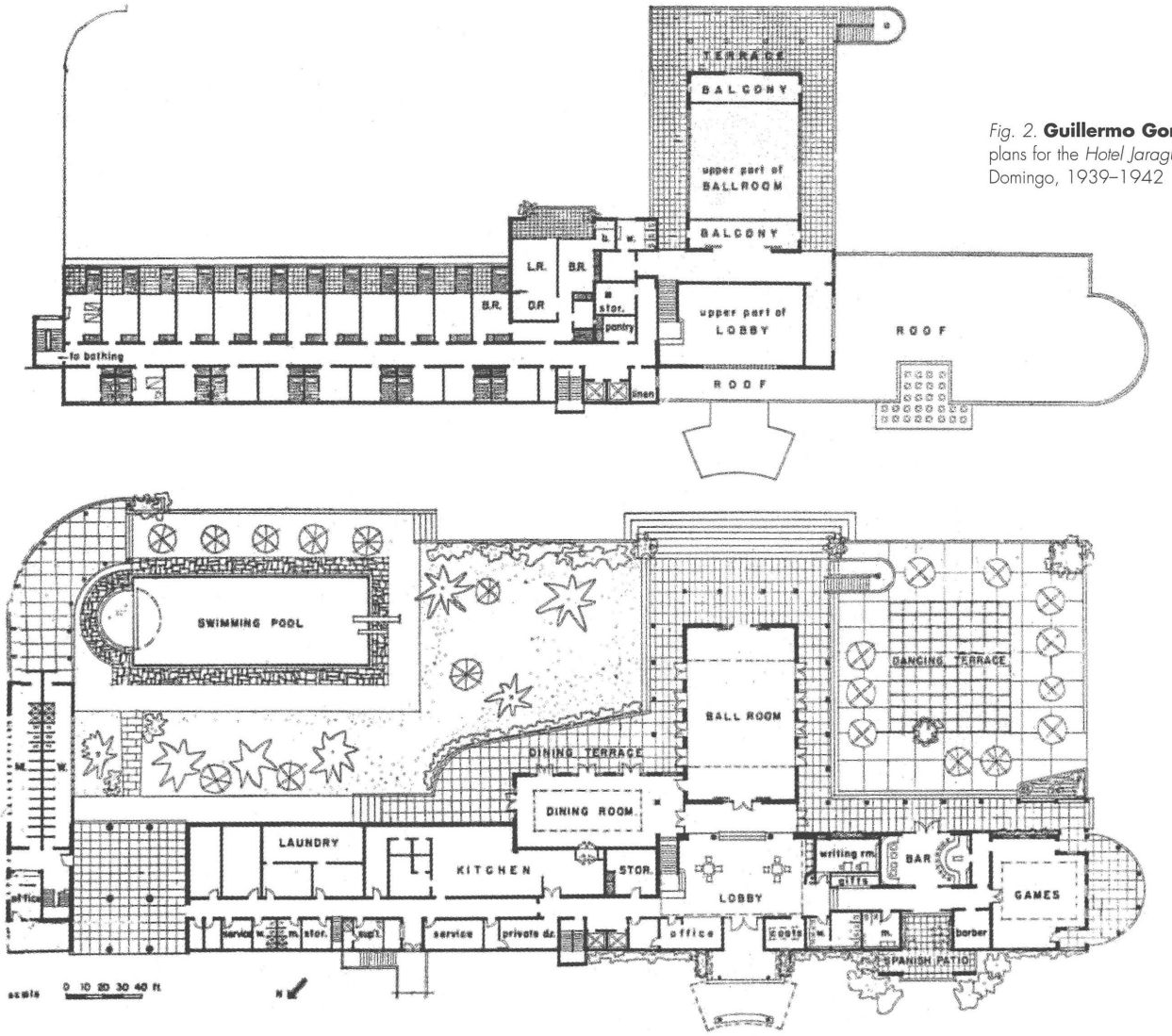


Fig. 2. **Guillermo González**, plans for the *Hotel Jaragua*, Santo Domingo, 1939–1942

University of Columbia while working in Edward Durell Stone's studio; he also attended Yale University, graduating at the top of his class.[5] José Antonio Caro Alvarez, who of the group had the strongest intellectual background and was probably the most prolific, returned from France after the 1925 World's Fair; Leo and Marcial Pou Ricart, Humberto Ruiz Castillo and Miguel Hernández came back from Belgium. The 1930s were fundamental in the development of Dominican modernism.

Just less than a month after the dictator Rafael Trujillo Molina assumed power (he governed untroubled from 1930 to 1961), one of the most devastating cyclones in Dominican history, hurricane San Zenón, hit the island. The substantial property damage and the loss of human life brought about a change in attitude toward the use of traditional materials. This new attitude promoted the use of the concrete block, still employed today, as the primary unit of Dominican architecture.

THE PREDOMINANCE of Mediterranean domestic style, introduced owing to the then prevailing taste for it in North American regions of Spanish colonization like Florida, Texas and California, was now seen in the new houses of the wealthy in such suburbs as Gazcue,

Fig. 3. **Guillermo González**, *Jaragua Hotel*, Santo Domingo, 1939–1942

Fig. 4. **Guillermo González**, *Jaragua Hotel*, Santo Domingo, 1939–1942

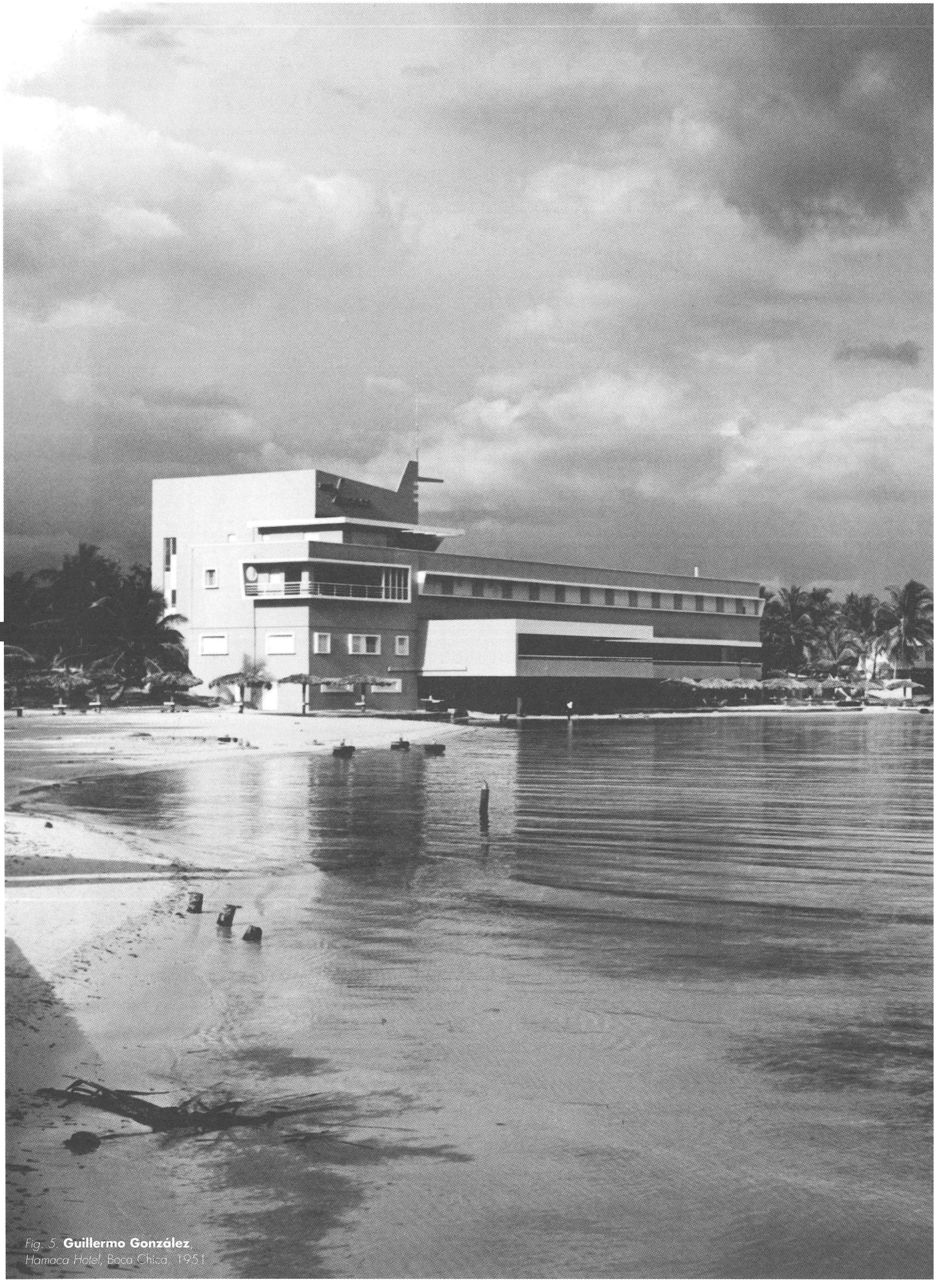


Fig. 5. **Guillermo González**
Hamaca Hotel, Boca Chica, 1951

Fig. 6. **José Antonio Caro**, *Faculty of Medicine of the University of Santo Domingo, 1945*

El Ensanche Lugo, La Primavera and in other similar neighborhoods.[6] This taste for the neo-Hispanic continued throughout the century and today, transformed by postmodernism, is still a constant in the aesthetic choice of many Dominicans.

THE FIRST AVANT-GARDE works were produced towards 1937. Guillermo González broke with the attitude of the typical inhabitant of the capital toward the Caribbean and, in the common graveyard of the victims of the San Zenón hurricane, developed a landscaped plaza sloping toward the sea. This public space, whose design was won through competition, was called Ramfis Park in honor of Generalissimo Trujillo's son. Today it is one of the few works of early modernism which has been wholly preserved. In 1939 Gonzaléz realized projects fundamental to Dominican modernism: the Copello building, in the heart of the historical center, and the original preliminary project for the Hotel Jaragua, his most eminent project. Both structures should be discussed in more detail.

ALTHOUGH THE COPELLO BUILDING is in scale with the historical ensemble of 'the First City of America,' its aesthetics are not. It is a corner building, in contrast to its immediate colonial surroundings where such structures were rarely erected. Its curved façade is perforated by continuous bands of horizontal windows, assuming Corbusian prescriptions in colonial America. Its commercial ground floor is drawn back to a plane which is protected by the three protruding upper stories. The building has been admirably well preserved. After 66 years of abuse (among other vicissitudes, it was often attacked during the 1965 Civil War when it was the seat of the Consitutional Government), it has nevertheless kept its sanitary services, its illuminations and its original Otis elevator, which functions perfectly. Copello's scheme was later interpreted by Caro in his Palace and Opera, and by Ruiz Castillo in Flomar. These works of Caro and Castillo established the typology for many corner structures in the country's historical contexts.

THE VICTIM of bad central administration, the Hotel Jaragua was demolished in 1985, to make way, unnecessarily, for an anodyne hotel designed in the USA. All this was done without any consideration for the local culture. When it was inaugurated in 1942, it constituted the most important architectural work realized by the Dominican government in decades *(figs. 2, 3 & 4)*.[7] Many factors contributed to its distinction. Its planimetric scheme, its admirable solution of volumes submitted to a subtle rotation oriented, once again, to the Caribbean, the innovative tropical character of its spaces, the dignity of its furnishings; all of these gave it the distinction of being the region's first hotel of international category and absolute modernity. Admired by both locals and visitors, the Hotel Jaragua became the standard of early Dominican modernism. From this point on, the prodigious González produces, within the rigid structure of the Trujillo regime, the first challenge to the fascist and academic schemes applied up to then by Henri Gazón Bona and others.[8]

Until his disgrace in 1954, Gazón was the most favored architect of the regime. Aided by the dictator's collaborators, he even designed and built the dictator's residence in Cerro, San Cristóbal, Trujillo's native province.[9] In addition, he realized many other public institutional buildings: lycées, police stations, churches, and commemorative monuments and other structures for the Government party. His Monument to the Peace of Trujillo in Santiago de los Caballeros even today stands as one of the permanent sites of this Mediterranean city of the Republic.

1944 SAW THE CELEBRATION of the first centenary of the Dominican Republic. President Trujillo and his intellectuals developed a memorable plan of public buildings and events never before seen in the country. Most of the projects were completed in the new style. The Pou brothers designed teacher training schools and the Dr. Martos and Lithgow Ceara hospitals. Collaborating with González, José Antonio Caro made the fire station in Calle Palo Hincado, the casino on the Guibia beach and the Perla Antillana hippodrome. González, Caro and José Ramón Báez Lopez-Penha designed the new campus of the University of Santo Domingo, with a supremely functional axial scheme of great modernity.[10] Caro's 1945 Medical Faculty stands out from this singular urban ensemble as one of the most superb modern Dominican buildings *(fig. 6)*.

THE CHANGE TOWARD the modern movement in domestic architecture proceeded timidly and slowly, with one outstanding exception. In 1939 the Spanish Civil War bequeathed us artists of enormous transcendence. One of them was the Catalan architect Tomás Auñón who, according to Eugenio Pérez Montás, arrived in the Dominican Republic by "dodging submarines" (*toreando submarinos*).[11] Because of his leftist ideas, he was exiled to the mountains of Jarbocoa where he produced a group of buildings of fascinating design for which he used local materials, thus breaking with the rest of the country. Of Nordic taste, nearer to Aalto than to the tradition of Catalan modernism (without considering the outstanding artisanship of its insuperable details), the Ricart and Armenteros houses inaugurated a new vocabulary. Now brick masonry, ornaments faced in stone, dark wood and modern forms were used in Dominican domestic architecture *(fig. 1)*.

Auñón's provincial houses won him a safe conduct to move to Santo Domingo where he produced a series of the most extraordinary private houses in the neighborhood of Gazcue. His palette changed with the move from the rural to the urban context and with the availability of industrial materials. The forms he created were now freed, the spaces filled with light, as was the case in the now lost Casa Molinari and the Benitez Rexach houses. His work, which he realized in barely eight years before he emigrated to Mexico, is unjustly little emulated. It constitutes one of the most relevant chapters in regional modernism.

IN 1943 GONZÁLEZ realized one of his most paradigmatic works, the Richado residence. Of an absolute and white rationalism, it was called the Telefunken House by association with the forms of the European international corporation. Immediately after completing the first stage of the Hotel Jaragua, González began a group of apartment buildings meant for sale. In one of them, he established his studio where he worked for the rest of his career. At the same time, he designed various hotels for the state, the most relevant being the Hotel Hamaca (1951) in Boca Chica beach *(fig. 5)*. It is a beautiful concrete block, solidly implanted on the calm beach. Another of his hotels is the Montana, on the then-new highway to Jarabacoa, for which he resorted to Auñón's palette, although without Auñón's success.

THE 1955 FAIR of Peace and Fraternity of the Free World in Ciudad Trujillo constituted an orchestrated attempt by the regime to restore its battered international relations and to vitalize the local economy.[12] This most ambitious project ever undertaken by the central administration had a double purpose: to serve as a civic center, once the Fair had ended. To these ends, various plans were drawn up, one dating from 1937, which was entrusted to architects Caro and D'Alessandro. This plan laid down some of the city's traces, such as the current locations of the Secretariat of Education (Caro, 1956) and the Palace of Fine Arts (Batista, et al., 1955), and the surroundings of the Plaza of Culture, ordered by Joaquín Balaguer in the 1970s, which transformed the estate of the late Generalismo Trujillo.

The project for the Fair, which culminates in the Caribbean Sea where it forms a northern axis which today crosses almost the whole city of Santo Domingo, was assigned to Guillermo González *(figs. 7 & 8)*. This same architect realized, almost thirty years later, a modern version of his

Fig. 7. **Guillermo González**, *Fair of Peace and Fraternity of the Free World*, portico, Santo Domingo, 1955

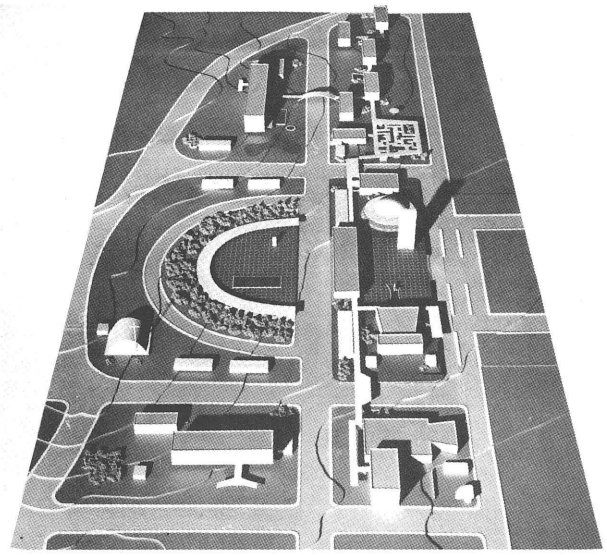


Fig. 8. **Guillermo González**, *Fair of Peace and Fraternity of the Free World*, original model, Santo Domingo, 1955

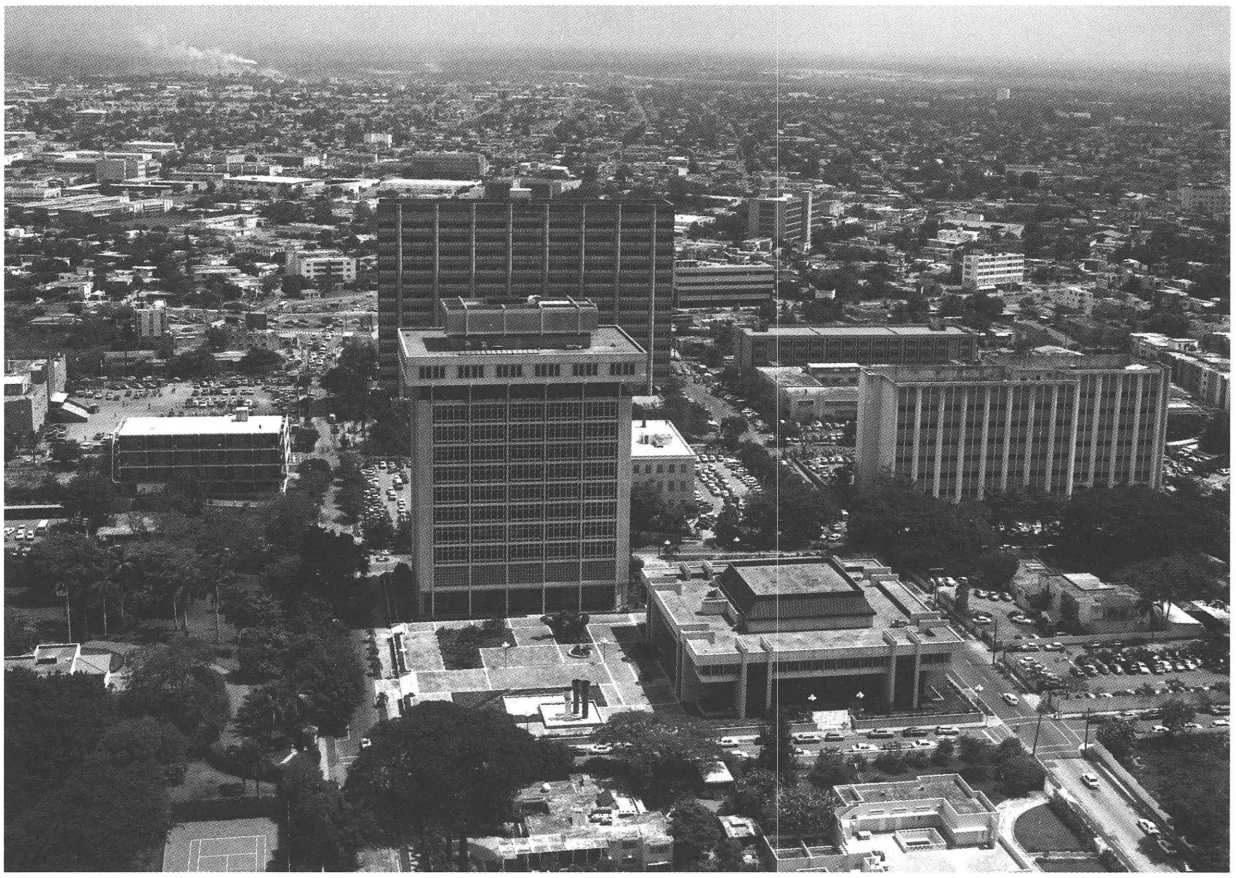


Fig. 9. Distrito oficial central, Santo Domingo, 1955–1975

Yale thesis in his Municipal Palace.[13] Oriented around a beautifully proportioned circular fountain are the buildings of the National Congress, the Supreme Court of Justice, the Office of the Attorney General of the Republic, various state secretariats and many other public and autonomous institutions. In spite of the carelessness which today characterizes the most typical Dominican urban environment, González's project shows a masterly command of scale and of the instruments necessary to achieving an efficient public space which is both symbolic and of great beauty. Later the schemes were used by Costa and Niemeyer in Brasilia. Nowhere else in the Caribbean is there a civic space of such strength and of such refinement.

IN 1938 the Faculty of Engineering and Architecture was founded at the University of Santo Domingo. The generation of the 1930s masters was now joined by a new one which made its mark in the 1950s: Gay Vega, Manuel Baquero, Téofilo Carbonell, Amable Frómenta, William Reid and Manuel José Reyes are all outstanding figures of the immediate postwar years, they guaranteed the transition toward the post dictatorship and produced the change toward the international aesthetic based on considering regional identity and the native character appropriate to the climate and local culture.[14] The influence of Neutra, Villanueva, Niemeyer and Pani became evident in both domestic and institutional architecture. Their mark is seen in the predominance of latticed windows, pierced concrete walls, brise-soleils, unworked ornaments, prefabricated curtain walls, placid shadows and the gentle spatial fluidity in communion with the sensual nature of the Caribbean.

THE FINAL YEARS of the Trujillo era have left us few public works of any scope. An international competition for the Basilica of Higuey was launched, whose construction was completed years later.[15] Caro Alvarez realized the first building for the Central Bank of the Republic, as well as the now demolished Main Post Office and the Secretariat of Education in a highly academic language. In these projects he established the tradition of covering public buildings with local travertine and endowing them with beautiful murals, generally painted by the Spanish artist José Vela-Zanetti.[16] In spite of two districts, the barrio of Social Betterment and the barrio of the Workers, and of the expansion of public housing, the transition toward the turbulent 1960s had begun.[17]

Trujillo fell in May 1961, causing a period of political instability which only ended five years later with the electoral victory of Joaquín Balaguer. During this period an attempt was made to establish a democratic system with a constitutional government. Such a government was headed by Juan Bosch who was overthrown seven months later because his government was alleged to be too revolutionary for the status quo. The April 1965 Revolution unsuccessfully tried to restore Bosch to power but only provoked the second US intervention of the

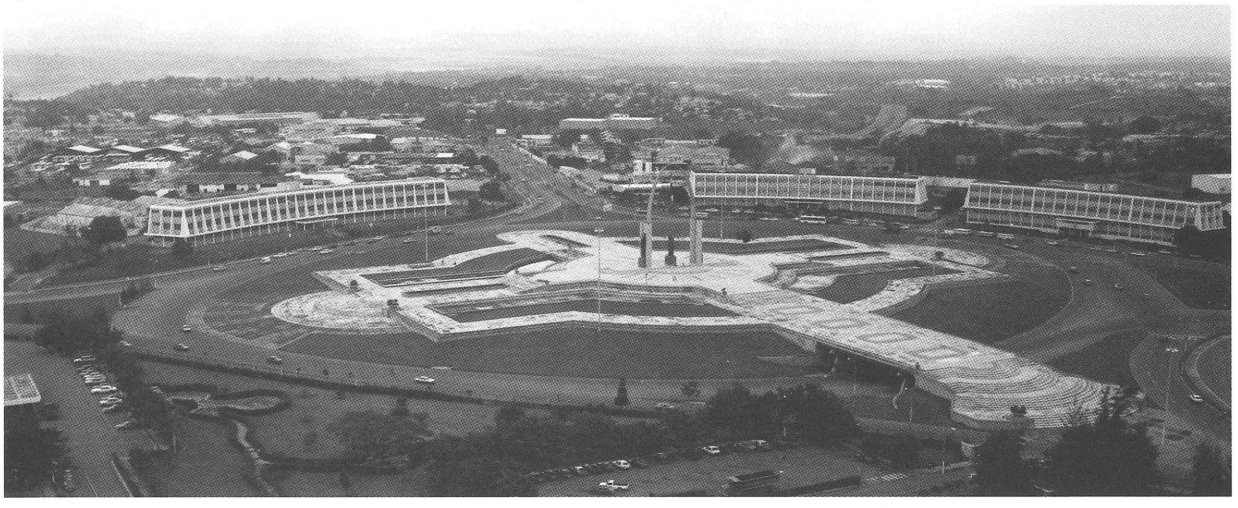
century and the organization of new elections. Given the circumstances, little was accomplished during this period. However, it was a transitional stage when a notable group of young architects returned to the country, having completed their postgraduate studies: Eugenio Pérez Montás, Roberto Bergés, Fred Goyco and many other were in this group. Five of these returnees was dubbed the 'Italian Axis,' because they were taught in Italy: Erwin Cott, Manuel Salvador Gautier, Victor Bisonó, Vital García and Rafael Calventi. The most notable of this group is Rafael Calventi who, after his work in the studios of Marcel Breuer and I. M. Pei, brought a new manner to later modern Dominican architecture, more rigorous, more demanding and more sophisticated.[18]

THE INFLUENCE OF PIER LUIGI NERVI and the Italian structuralists of the time is evident in works like the Chapel of Horfanato de Haina or the Cathedral of La Vega (Cott and Gautier), the latter finished decades later by Pedra Mena who followed the fundamentals of Cott's project. The summits of Calventi's career were achieved also at this time: the complex of the Central Bank of the Republic and the Sports Palace of Santiago, which employ the vocabulary of exposed concrete and which are structures that reach the height of poetic expressiveness *(fig. 10)*.

THE SO-CALLED 'twelve years of Balaguer,' from 1966 to 1978, define the limits of a permanent mark in the development of national architecture and urbanism. Public works proliferated, built according to the Dr. Balaguer's policy of 'rods and cement,' a policy, already established under Trujillo, but with its own intellectual features. At this point, Balaguer chose his architects well. The list of outstanding projects built on the basis of this policy is long: the building of the Offices of the State by the young Pedro José Borrell, those of

Fig. 10. **Rafael Calventi**, *Central Bank of Dominican Republic*, Santo Domingo, 1974

Fig. 11. **Christian Martínez** and **Rafael Tomás Hermández**, *Square of Independency*, Santo Domingo, 1976



Calventi, those of Caro Ginebra brothers (sons of the modern master, Caro Alverez) such as the National Library and the Museum of the Dominican Man, the National Theater by the veteran Téofilo Carbonell, the Modern Art Museum by José Miniño, the Museum of Natural History by Héctor Tamburini, the Olympic Stadium by Fred Goyco and many other structures. All of these define a new urban landscape which integrates the antiquated Trujillista surroundings. Several other projects enable us to understand today's Dominican Republic: the Plaza of Culture, the Juan Pablo Duarte Olympic Center, Pérez Montás's and Valverde's National Zoological Park and their Southern Mirador Park, Benjamin Paiewonsky's Botanical Park, the reconfiguration of the traffic axis of the February 27 road and the building of many multifamily apartment buildings for the growing population of the capital (Rafael Tomás Hernández et al).[19] Not only were new projects completed, but also Santo Domingo's large monuments and old buildings were restored.

THESE RESTORATIONS were made possible by the recently created Central Office of the National Patrimony (1967) and the Commission for the Consolidation of the Monuments of Santo Domingo (1972), the latter of which was instituted as a result of the 1971 earthquake. The work was directed by Manuel Delmonte and by the venerable Don Moncito Báez López-Penha, dean of Dominican restorers. The work of these pioneers has been exemplary in Latin America and has brought about the reassessment of the country's historical spaces.

AFTER TWO RE-ELECTIONS and twelve years in power, Balaguer's management of the national destiny was recognized. Furthermore, those years saw a change in international architecture. A new and postmodern generation arose.[20] Such architects and scholars as Venturi, Rossi, Scully and Rowe provoked new ideas in this group. They inspired Miguel Vila, Apolinar Fernández, Plácido Piña, Marcelo Alburquerque, Oscar Imbert, Eduardo Lara and many other young architects who defined a new attitude toward the rebellion against modernity. This generation had also established a redefinition of an autonomous identity based on the possibilities of reinterpreting time and space. The glance is inward, regional and critical. The paradigms have changed, and even today's modernity is still to be discovered.

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Translated by ***Jon Kite***

NOTES

1 See the excellent inventory by Cesar Iván Feris, "Arquitectura Republicana," *CODIA* 56 (Santo Domingo: 1978).

2 The most complete text on this architect is by Thomas S. Marvel, *Antonin Nechodoma: Architect, 1877–1928: The Prairie School in the Caribbean* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1994).

3 See the account by Silvia Vega in *Archivos de Arquitectura Antillana* 20 (January 2005). The most prolific author on this theme is the Panamanian Samuel Guitierrez.

4 Gustavo Luis Moré, "Notas sobre forma e identidad en la arquitectura de la Era de Trujillo," *Arquivox* 1, Year 1 (Santo Domingo: June/August 1984).

5 See the special edition entirely on this architect so fundamental to Dominican modernity: *Arquivox* 3–4, Year 1 (Santo Domingo: December 1984/May 1985).

6 A study of this theme is by Rexford Newcomb, *Mediterranean Domestic Architecture in the United States* (Ohio: J. H. Hanson, 1928).

7 In its time, the Hotel Jaragua was widely publicized. One of most noticed articles was in *The Architectural Forum*, "Dictator Trujillo Builds a *de luxe* Hotel in the Reconstructed Capital which Displays his Name," translated as "Dictator Trujillo construye un hotel de lujo en la reconstruida capital caribeña que hoy ostenta su nombre," *Arquivox* 3–4, Year 1 (December 1984/May 1985).

8 See Gustavo Luis Moré, "La arquitectura official de Ciudad Trujillo," *El Nuevo Diario*, Grupo Nueva Arquitectura 62–63 (Santo Domingo: July 12–19, 1983).

9 The only publication on the public architecture of those years was edited by Gazón and withdrawn from sale when rejected by Trujillo. See Henry Gazón Bona, *La arquitectura dominicana in la Era de Trujillo*, 1 (Ciudad Trujillo: Impresora Dominicana, 1949).

10 *Album del Centenario de la República* (Ciudad Trujillo: Impresora del Estado, 1944).

11 Eugenio Pérez Montás, "Tomás Auñón," *El Caribe* (Santo Domingo: April 10, 1982).

12 *Album de Oro de la Feria de la Paz y la Confraternidad del Mundo Libre*, II (Ciudad Trujillo: 1957).

13 Eugenio Pérez Montás, "Guillermo Gonzaléz y el Movimiento Moderno en Santo Domingo," *Arquivox* 3–4, Year 1 (December 1984/May 1985).

14 On this theme see: "Díalogo: William J. Reid Cabra, Ing. Arq.," in *Archivox* 1, Year 1 (Santo Domingo: June/August 1984); "Manuel José-Nani-Reyes Valdéz: el hombre, la obra, la huella;" Gustavo Luis Moré, "Investigación de José Manuel Reyes Malla," in *Archivos de Arquitectura Antillan* 8 (Santo Domingo).

15 André J. Dunoyer de Segonzac, *Basilica Nuestra Senora de la Altagracia* (Santo Domingo: Edicion del Banco Popular Dominicano, 2000).

16 On the Dominican work of Vela, see Jeannette Miller, *La obra dominicana de Vela Zanetti, 1939–1981* (Santo Domingo: Galeria de Arte Moderno, 1981).

17 Little has been published on the extensive urbanism of the Trujillo period. A brief article appears in *De Arquitectura* 2 (Facultad de Arquitectura y Artes UNPHU, 1984).

18 In contrast with local custom, Rafael Calventi has published much, notably articles and reflections in national newspapers and in his pivotal volume *Arquitectura Contemporánea in la República Dominicana* (BNV, 1986).

19 Rafael Tomas Hernández is identified as the most relevant author of domestic public housing of the period, having realized thousands of housing units and hundreds of urban interventions in the whole of the country, with the priority on the city of Santo Domingo.

20 Postmodernity can be understood through the pages published by the Grupo Nueva Arquitectura every Tuesday in the *Nuevo Diario*, and in various distinguished essays in such publications as *Arquivox*, *De Arquitectura*, and *Arquitiempo*.

Fig. 1. **Guido D'Alessandro** and **José Antonio Caro**, urban planning development of *Ciudad Trujillo*, Santo Domingo, 1937

Santo Domingo, **Modernity** and **Dictatorship**

OMAR **RANCIER**

In the early twentieth century, Santo Domingo was a small village. When it burst its original limits of the colonial wall and of the villages of San Carlos to the North and of Pajarito on the east bank of the Ozama River, those peripheral settlements became part of the Republic's capital.

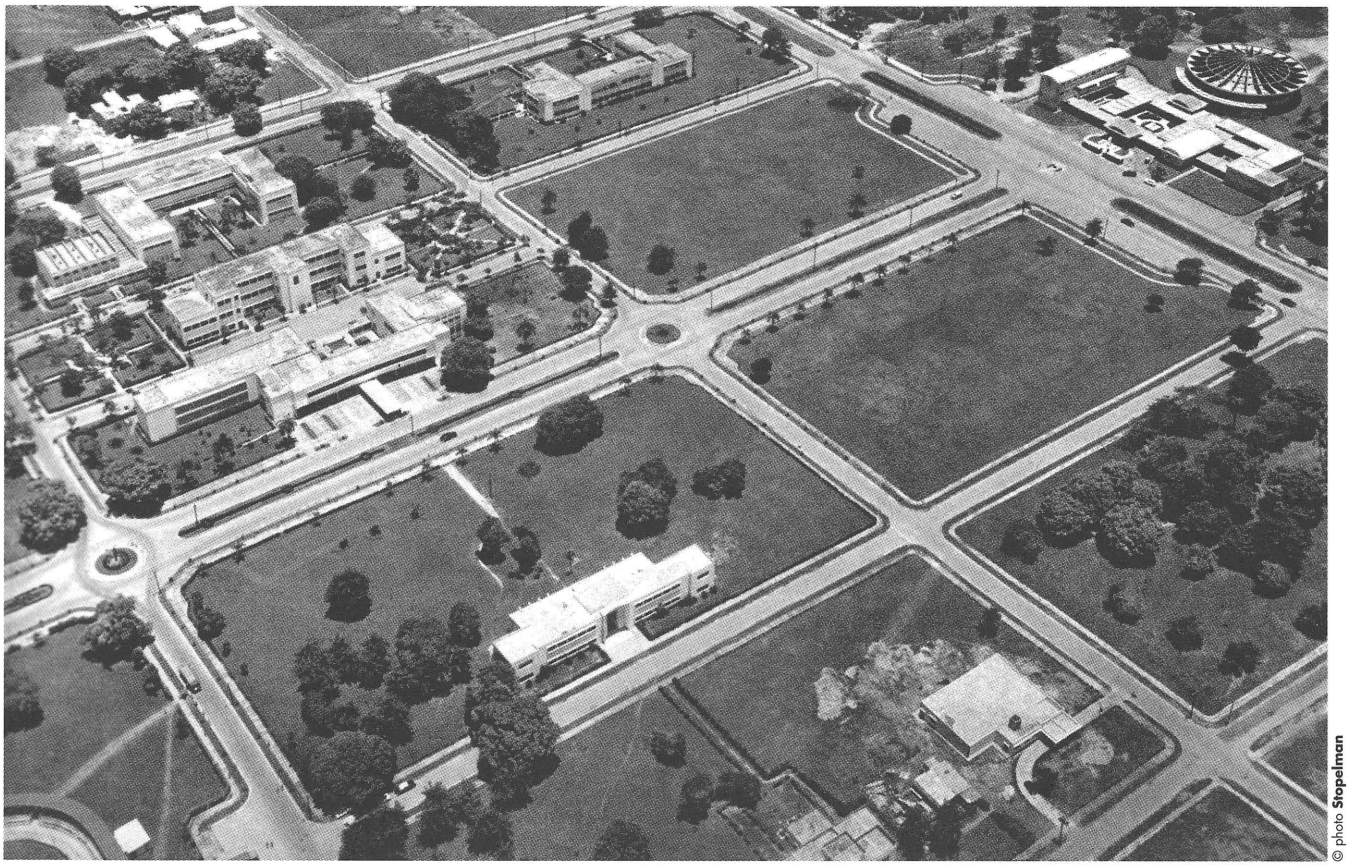
AT THAT TIME, the modern movement was underdeveloped in Santo Domingo. Meanwhile, the European masters were carrying out their works and the *bauhauslers*, who had fled the nazis and settled in the United States, participated in a process by which the total social content of modernity was lost, according to Colin Rowe.[1]

After nine years of the Trujillo nightmare the city changed its name to Ciudad Trujillo. This change was marked by the first consistently modern structure, the Copello building, erected in the emblematic Calle El Conde in 1939. Thus, modernity came to Santo Domingo during the mandate of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, the dictator who held Dominican society in his fist for three decades from 1930 to 1961. In his own person Trujillo assumed the role which the amorphous Dominican bourgeoisie did not take on, a pattern that became the usual strategy of other contemporary Latin American dictators: Pérez Jiménez in Venezuela, Machado and Batista in Cuba, and Perón in Argentina. Santo Domingo initiated its major modern urban projects, dividing them into two major divisions: on the one hand, public housing projects, such as the Barrios Obreros (Henry Gazón),[2] the Barrio of Maria Auziladora to the north of the city and the Barrio of Los Mina (Ramón Báez López-Penha and Pablo Mella) in the center, and on the other hand, institutional projects like the University City (José Antonio Caro Alvarez, Humberto Ruiz Castillo and André Dunoyer de Segonzac). The Fair of Peace and Fraternity of the Free World (Guillermo González), Caro's Medical School and González's Governmental Palace of the Federal District are emblematic works of the Dominican modern movement. Other relevant urban works are the Malecón, an enormous urban space more than twenty kilometers long, also known as the George Washington, which preserved the city's seascape, Máximo Gómez Avenue and Fabré Gefrard Avenue and other thoroughfares, which created the first north-south axes of Santo Domingo. All these works were directed by engineer Ramón Báez López-Penha.

ONLY IN THE MID 1950s, with the Regulating Plan of Ciudad Trujillo drawn up by Ramón Vargas Mera, does a vision of a modern city for Santo Domingo appear. This is in spite of two urban plans for the city, more neoclassical than modern, one of which was conceived by Guido D'Alessandro and José Antonio Caro in 1937,[3] and the other by José Ramón Lopez-Penha (1938). Virgilio Vercelloni called Lopez-Penha's plan 'comical and banal.'[4] Modernity is impeded by the need to satisfy the central and hegemonic powers. So, on the one hand, projects are executed which attempt to make the city more efficient and which fulfill the requirements of motorized transportation, and on the other hand, which render the city a medium to promote the dictatorship's power and presence.

THE CREATION of a formal repertory[5] made of a full neoclassical catalogue is conceived by Henry Gazón.[6] It extends the regime's power, from the capital to the distant and troubled frontier with Haiti.

PERHAPS one of the most interesting aspects of the transition to modernity in the Dominican Republic under Trujillo's rule is the use of a double code. This enabled



© photo **Stopelman**

Fig. 2. **José Antonio Caro**, **José Ramón Báez et al**, aerial photography of *the campus of Santo Domingo University*, circa 1945

the regime to appear as a modern, even democratic, government in its hotels, schools and hospitals, all of which are conceived and built in a mature modern idiom. On the other hand, buildings which house organs of social control, such as police detachments, court houses, fortresses and other government buildings, have an almost fascist look. Conforming to the semantics of the regime, they are called 'palaces.'[7]

THIS DOUBLE CODE also appeared in the works of some the main Dominican architects of the period, namely Guillermo González and José Antonio Caro. In his housing projects, González worked within a traditional idiom, and in his institutional buildings he worked within a modern idiom, stark and of colossal scale. In his modern idiom, he was equally skillful in rotation (Hotel Jaragua) and frontalness (the Palace of the City Government of the Federal District). In his Secretariat of Education and his Central Bank, Caro does not impose himself, but rather minimizes his own personality, which results in a neoclassicism far from the modern plasticity of his Medical School of the University of Santo Domingo or from the Bauhaus rationality of the Engineering and Architecture School.[8]

THIS STYLISTIC INCONSISTENCY of modern architects is not exclusive to the Dominican Republic. In the preface to her fine book *Malaussena: Arquitectura Academica en la Venezuela Moderna*, Sylvia Hernández de Lasala, writes of the Venezuelan Luis Malaussena: "A worrying and seductive question arises which needs examination: how can a work like the headquarters of the Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic, known as the White Palace, and of a neoclassic appearance, have been conceived at the same time as the Guaicamacuto Hotel, today the Marcuto Sheraton, and the Maracay Hotel, which are both examples of the purest international style?"[9] Ever since Haussmann in the nineteenth century laid out long perspectives which were incidently also useful for controlling rebellions with grape-shot, almost all dictators have preferred imposing projects and grand avenues in their urban plans.[10] We see this in Caracas in the monumental works of Malaussena and in Havana in the grand avenues designed by Forestier. In Santo Domingo, during the consolidation of modernity which occurred during the Trujillo period, there was no structured will expressed in a master plan. Rather, what occurred was a series of unstructured works which fulfilled very defined needs but which in the end orchestrated a proposal for a modern city.

The engineer Ramón Báez López-Penha wrote about the urban regulations enacted to remedy the effects of the 1930 hurricane San Zenon: "let us continue assembling housing developments mechanically and uncreatively without any plan or specific goal so that we can continue to lack what we lack today, that is, clear and precise plans to guide us."[11]

The direction of Máximo Gómez Avenue, also planned by Báez, demonstrated this lack of structural vision

when the construction of General Andrews airport mutilated this avenue's north-south line. This axis was completed only in the final years of the dictatorship when the airport was moved to Cabo Caucedo, its present location, thirty kilometers east of the city. This group of traffic arteries was completed with a project which became the paradigm of the Trujillo era's architecture and urbanism: the Fair of Peace and Fraternity of the Free World, completed in record time in 1955 to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the regime. It was designed by Guillermo González Sánchez and was influenced by the EUR 42 and the University of Rome.[12] Caro's plan for the University of Santo Domingo (in collaboration with Humberto Ruiz and the French designer of the Basilica of Higuey, Dunoyer de Segonzac) dates from this period.

IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT that Caro's urban schemes for the University and González's for the Fair recognize the postulates of modern urbanism. They are particularly axial, defined by the two main axes with their monumental end points, the Alma Mater building at the University and the Plaza of the Nations (better known as 'the little ball of the world') at the fair. The modernity of

Fig. 3. **Guillermo González et al**, aerial photography of *the Fair of Peace and Fraternity of the Free World*, Santo Domingo, 1955

Fig. 4. **Rafael Tomás Hernández**, urban development of *the barrio de Honduras*, Santo Domingo, 1966

Fig. 5. **Rafael Tomás Hernández**, urban development of *the barrio del Hoyo de Chulín*, Santo Domingo, 1988

these ensembles is seen in the design of their buildings and in their urban installations, but not in their conception of space or their management of vehicular traffic.

Trujillo compromised Dominican modernity when he commissioned a catalogue of works representing the regime throughout the country. Gázon Bona created a 'Trujillista' typology of Dominican architecture in a series of projects in San Cristobal, where he built hotels, housing projects and schools; in Santiago with his Monument to Peace of Trujillo and dozens of 'palaces;' and in the frontier region where he designed hotels, barracks, municipal government buildings, law courts and branch offices of the Dominican party.

Santo Domingo never had a structured vision of a modern city (or to be exact, of any kind of city), unlike Cuba during Machado's dictatorship, for whom Forestier worked, as he also did in Argentina.[13] In reality, the city's urban project appears to be only the sum of independent and punctual works, linked to the city to optimize and adapt it to the new times without touching to the historical center, as José Lluís Sert proposed for Havana in 1959.[14] The architect Ramón Vargas Mera, author of the Regulating Plan for Santo Domingo in 1956 recognized a bit of this when he wrote: "Demolishing the historical center and building towers in its place is not what is proposed. The center is to be respected, with its architectural and urban values."[15]

Vargas Mera was the only one to demand a vision of a modern city for Santo Domingo. Nevertheless, his vision questioned orthodox modern urbanism, as he noted when writing about the plan: "The system of zoning according to function, central to the CIAM and the Athens Charter, is to be substituted by a system of mixed zoning in which the predominant activity will stimulate the character of the zone and secondary activities will complement the zone's use."[16]

The fact that Vargas Mera's plan was rejected, once it conflicted with the regime's political interests, reaffirmed the refusal of political will to conceive of the city as an integrated whole. This attitude continues today.

AFTER THE FALL of the Trujillo regime in 1961, Santo Domingo recovered its name and became an open city which continues to enforce its vision of modernity. However, it has still not drawn up a master plan, and we continue to hope to see it converted into a better city.

Although modernism was practiced during the Trujillo era, a modern city, participatory, functional and democratic, remains to be constructed. Joaquín Balaguer, elected president with the support of the invading troops of the Organization of American States, was more interested in the colonial city, bad housing and large parks. Nor have subsequent governments really involved themselves in the city. And so, after five centuries, Santo Domingo, lying by the Ozama River, still awaits a contemporary identity, which has yet to arrive.

OMAR RANCIER, *architect, graduated cum laude from the University Autónoma of Santo Domingo in 1979. President and founder of the group Neuvarquitectura, organizer of architectural biennials in Santo Domingo, author of numerous articles and essays in Santo Domingo's major specialist journals, professor at the school of architecture at the University Pedro Henríquez Ureña (UNPHU). Omar Rancier was also director of the Faculty of Architecture at the University Iberoamericana (UNIBE).*

Translated by ***Jon Kite***

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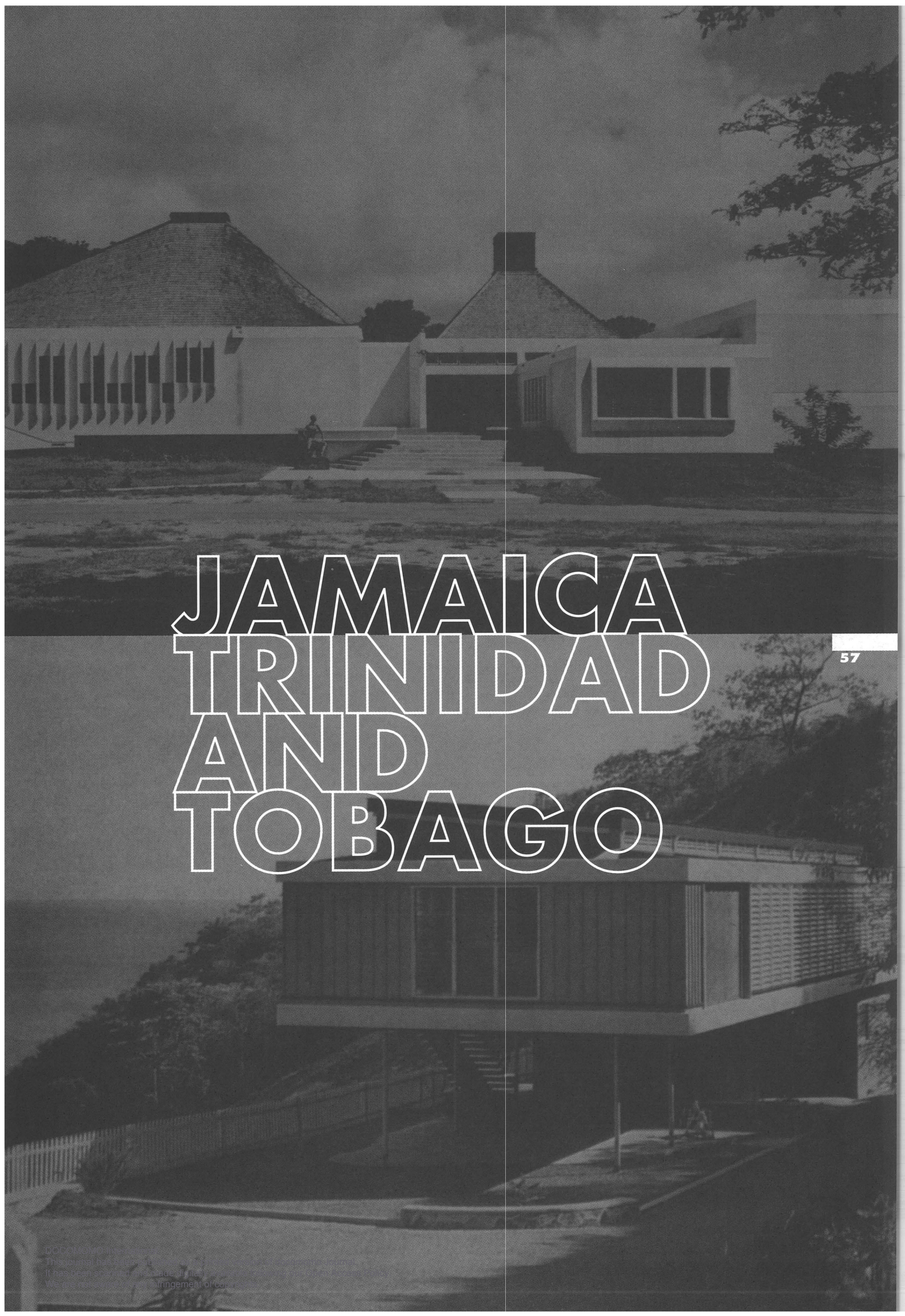

JAMAICA TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Social and **public** architecture in **Kingston**, Jamaica

JACQUIANN **LAWTON**

There are circumstances that site modernism. Events such as the Great International Exhibit of 1891 launched the trademark of Jamaica as a partner in celebrating industrialization with the world's bastions of exhibition pavilions. Natural disasters have made demands on inhabitants to recover and re-structure living since 1692.

THE IMPACT of World War II on cultural identity and historicism had its peripheral effects. In the West Indies it nurtured an ideology of self-governance and the spirit of independent nations, a West Indian Federation. These interstitial nodes locate stations of modernity. A modern architecture emerged most visibly in Kingston and St Andrew, the legislative seat and cultural depository of Jamaica.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF KINGSTON'S PLAN discloses the figure of a key. It is a structural figure in the morphology of the city *(fig. 1)*. It traces the events of the 1907 earthquake, consequent fire and city renovation thereafter. The city center was then connected to Spanish Town (the former capital) by railway and an internal motorized tram serviced the John Geoff grid (1693) on the north-south streets, where telephone and electrical power generation were operational. Post 1907 building codes were revised. Of significance was the use of stone and cement in lieu of bricks as building materials. By mandate of the Kingston Council, all public departments were moved from the water's edge, Harbour Street, and internalized on the North-South primary artery of King Street *(fig. 2)*. The city's theater located at North Parade (the end of King Street) was rebuilt as the Ward Theatre (1912).

Fig. 1. Kingston, 1967

© photo J. Tyndale-Biscoe

THE FORMAL PROPERTIES of these significant civic structures (attributed to contractors Henriques Brothers) are distinctive. The public departments' greco-roman arched colonnades are severe in their repetition and reduction of ornamentation, whereas the Ward Theatre's façade is symmetrical and eclectic in ornament, as emphasized by the arched and oval treatment of its openings. The public departments' imagery, shared with other colonial structures of that time like the Commander in chief Residence, New Delhi, India,[1] points to architectural production as an instrument of the colonial office. In addition, from 1907 through to the 1950s, the sign of the master builder is inconspicuous in its signification as inventor of predisposing universal formal laws.

SOCIAL AGENDA 1940s-1950s

The Central Housing Authority (CHA) was formed in 1937 to address deteriorating housing in Kingston metropolitan area and gained legislative support with the Slum Clearance and Housing Law of 1939. The majority of projects were located in western Kingston along the line of approach from rural Jamaica by railway and the Spanish Town Road. Squatter settlements in Trench Town, Dung Hill and Back-O-Wall, Kingston Pen were in existence since the 1920s. The program's schemes included the provision of rental housing, tenement blocks of multi family units with one and two room apartments,

shared communal service areas and detached cottages.[2] Simultaneously, private production of single-family dwellings occurred in St Andrew East Central. They were of a standard rectilinear typology, L shaped, with a public volume (verandah) at the corner, set on a plinth for air flow beneath, with hip and/or gable roofs. Of interest is the systemization of typological determinants and material properties of combined concrete block walls (150 mm) and concrete nog (75 mm).

THE KINGSTON AND ST ANDREW Corporation has on file numerous built and un-built approval submissions, variations of the theme with examples like Repole, Sanguinetti and Co Ransford Avenue, Lyndhurst Park, for P. G. Serrart, 1936.
In 1951 the hurricane Charlie relief fund, implemented through the Hurricane Housing Organization (HHO), increased the urgency of the CHA agenda. Solutions took the shape of site subdivisions with roadways and a basic shell unit. These communities were located in Port Royal, east and western Kingston. The parcels of land designated for relief housing varied in scale from 6.5 to 42 and 75 acres respectively and with densities at 14–20 lots per acre.[3]

THE PREMISES OF THESE SCHEMES were self-help with a small grant for materials and a nominal charge for rent with the right to purchase the lot once infrastructure was installed. The scheme was managed by the Ministry of Housing.[4]
Formally, the pattern of modules were generated from a core unit of 10x10 for Tower Hill and 24x20 for Balmagie in western Kingston. They were bungalow-like with gable or hip roofs and assumed the disposition of cottages in timber (Tower Hill). Land area for cultivating gardens and livestock remained consistent with rural/urban living rituals.

BETWEEN 1948 AND 1952, the Jamaica Manufacturers Association licensed the Caribbean Cement Company to build a factory at Rockfort, the entry to Kingston from the east and Palisadoes airport (built during World War II for the British army) *(fig. 4)*.[5] Recovery from the hurricane placed heavy demand on production.
The Housing Act of 1955 created the Department of Housing and Social Welfare, a merger of HHO and CHA. The act, amended in 1958, set provisions

Fig. 2. Government Buildings, King Street

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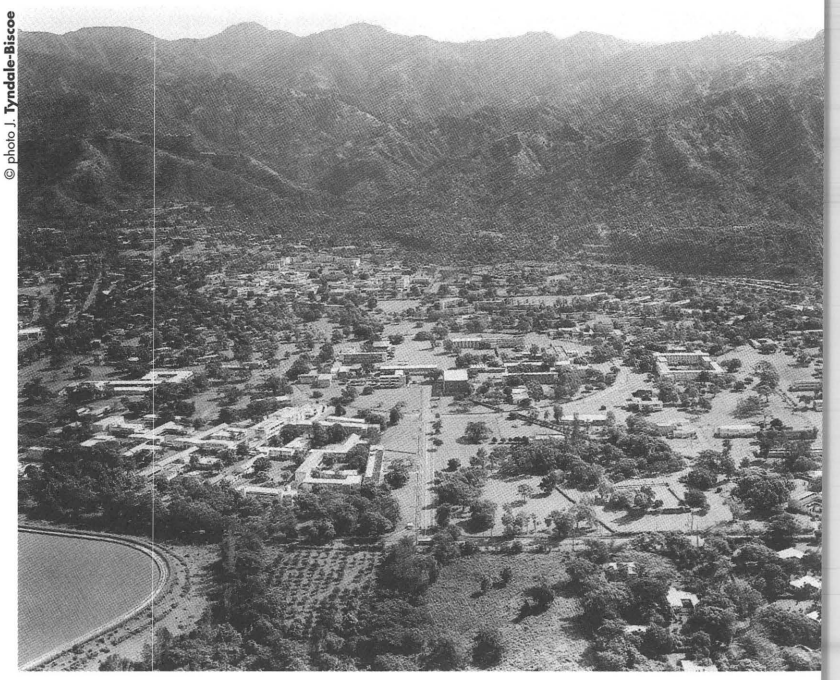

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Fig. 3. UWI campus and *Queen's Way*

for private capital, financing construction to extend the portfolio of state housing to the middle-income intra-urban migrants.[6]

THE MONA HEIGHTS 1958 SCHEME was built within 200 acres that were originally designated for the West Indian Federation. The fabrication is a system of ribbed pre-cast reinforced panels erected on site. Following suit were the major developments of Harbour View (1960), Duhaney Park (1963), Hughenden (1967), Edgewater (1970) *(fig. 7)*. The single-family dwellings or 'Jamaican Bungalow' were now pre-fabricated for mass consumption; industrialized in a horizontal settlement.
Sanitization policies within the inner city squatter communities continued with four story blocks of flats in western Kingston (Trench Town and Tivoli), but production of the vertical type was limited.[7] Housing strategies continued in the envelope of the Ministry of Housing that replaced the Department of Housing and Social Welfare in 1966. It wasn't until the 1970s with the McIntyre Lands Development (architects, design collaborative) in eastern Kingston that a viable solution of an aggregate of public and private spaces found a livable equilibrium in a low-rise clustering plan.

SINCE 1947, the Office of the Town Planner (the post of Town Planning Adviser consequently becoming the Government Town Planner) was instrumental as the government's adviser in activities relating to housing and land use. The Town Planning Department carried out extensive island wide mappings of population and land use data. However, the integrated use of this data with housing policies was disjointed. What was purposeful was the department's development of the first ten-year

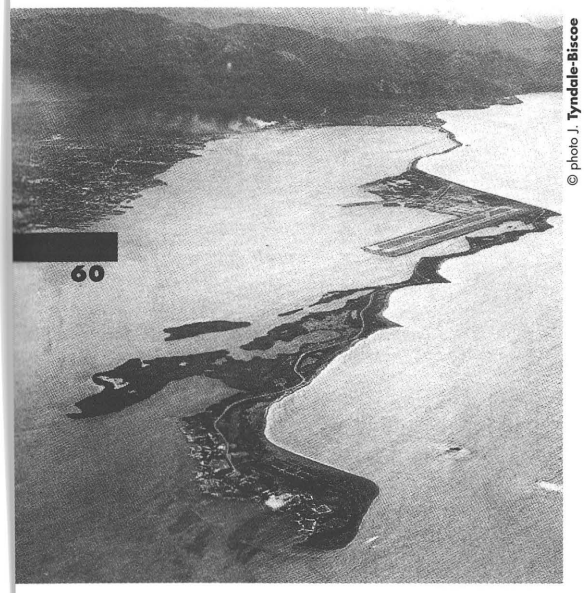
strategic plan for physical development with emphasis on coastal towns and the urban development plan for a conduit connecting the suburbs of Spanish Town with Kingston.[8] The urban development of open public areas, park and beach facilities was also implemented.[9] Planning adviser David Spruell, town planner Graham Charles (Bill) Hodges (1952–1967) and Jamaican architect Carl Chen are of relevance.

DURING THE 1940s the University College of the West Indies (UCWI) Mona campus, Papine, was being conceived as the single tertiary education institution in the region that would fulfill the needs of the West Indies. Medicine for public health was of priority. British architects Norman and Dawbarn were commissioned for the campus design in 1946 *(fig. 3)*.
A ring road was central to the planning of the university's administrative functions and circulation distribution to the greater campus. It was sited West of Gibraltar camp, World War II barracks constructed by the Public Works Department as a safe haven for evacuees of Gibraltar and Malta (1940–1941). The camp buildings were the first temporary home of the university.[10]

THE RING interrupts an aqueduct which serviced the Hope Estate from Hope River during its period of sugar production. The fragmented aqueduct is a colonnade of continuous arches that ends in the campus as a chapel, located perpendicular to the processional entry. "Resident Engineer Ainsworth David Haughton Scott (A. D. Scott, 1912–2004, Jamaican) 'painstakingly pulled down, numbered and transported to Mona the cut limestone blocks of an eighteenth century rum-store from Hampden Estate in Trelawny,' as historian Douglas Hall recorded."[11]

The displacement of function in relation to building type in the transposition of the rum store to chapel, notwithstanding classical attributes of the structure, is modernist in operation. Yet, memory resides in the planning. The central spine, Queen's way, which was planned as two parallel avenues whose ends were to connect the Senate House with an amphitheater embedded in Long Mountain recalls the procession of Ephesus.
The Senate House, and the Registry, Library and Arts buildings within the ring road were completed by 1953 *(fig. 5)*. The programmatic components are extensions of the ring's diameter without the panoptic guise of Ledoux's ideal city. The buildings are simple rectangular sections that exaggerate lines and are suspended between sky and earth on pilotis. Facades are mosaic skins of breather block modules or brise-soleils that are integrated within a post and beam system, yet appear free in their homogeneity. The Arts buildings are in principle rows of load bearing walls that appear as bookends. The walls are individually cut limestone with irregular mortar joints. They are tactile and hand crafted.
The work presents an ideal of naturalism driven climatically and a synthesis of the artisan and industrialized labor. A modern classicism concerned with equilibrium.
As Dawbarn wrote in a newspaper article of 1947 quoted by Francis Brown: "by logical and sympathetic appreciation of local and current conditions; by a reasoned simplicity enhanced by local arts married to blue skies and luxuriant vegetation."

Fig. 4. Kingston *harbor* and *Palisadoes airport*



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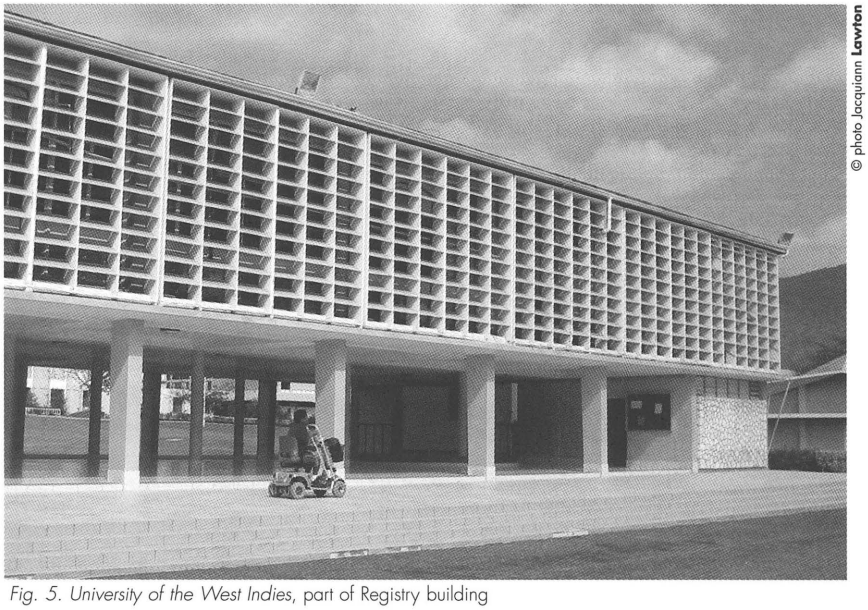

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Fig. 5. University of the West Indies, part of Registry building

PRE / POST INDEPENDENCE 1950s–1970s

During the transitional pre-independence decade the private practices of Wilson Chong, Harold J. Ashwell and

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Fig. 6. **M. F. Campbell** and **R. A. Brandon**, *Public Works Department, Commissioner of Income Tax Department, recently painted blue*

Mc Morris Sibley Robinson were established. Contractors were still creating the majority of buildings in Jamaica. Early practices strategically offered design and building services, as was the case with Wilson Chong and engineers Leonard Chang and Mc Morris Sibley Robinson and contractors Marley and Plant, however short lived the relationships might have been. Alternately, local architects who were foreign trained practiced within the Public Works Department (PWD). The PWD was the government's architectural firm, with the responsibility of all government building other than the Ministry of Transportation's facilities.

WILSON CHONG (1922–1984) epitomizes the spirit of the age. Of Chinese-Jamaican descent, born in Santiago, Cuba, he studied at the University of Notre-Dame and at the University of Illinois (1952). He was able to realize a co-existence of handicraft and industry. He invented a hand pile bore (1967) that was granted U.S., British and German patents in 1971. He ingenuously embraced the lyrical potential of pre-stressed, reinforced and pre-cast concrete building technology. His National Stadium (1960–1962) triumphed as the emblem for nurturing the collective spirit. Its gothic grandstand of concrete vaults from cantilevered beams on a tripod base is empathetic with the plastic limits of the material *(fig. 8)*.

HE ELEVATED the concrete block module to wall panel. In the Henriques Building at Cross Roads, it appears as the residual template of fretwork: a cubist scaffold, tethered by the building's corners, which rises beyond the wall inducing vertical extension of post and panel system *(fig. 9)*. He used it also as kit component for prefabricated low resource housing units: ribbed, pre-cast walls. A formal affinity for shell structures is evident in the Presbyterian church (Mona), Oxford pharmacy, and the Texaco service stations. International attributes appear in the works of the Ministry of Education seemingly inspired by Le Corbusier's Unité d'habitation and the brutalism of the Central Sorting Offices.

THE WORKS, sited throughout the limits of Kingston and St Andrew, were constructed primarily during the 1970s decade and point to an ideology not solely concerned with the materials' monolithic and system building contingencies. As a member of the Society of Architects (1957), Chong forged the establishment of conditional guidelines for practice: engagement, fee scales and conduct codes as well as laws governing the Registration of Architects. In 1979, he was made Commander of the Order of Distinction by the Government of Jamaica.
V. R. Mc Morris and J. P. Sibley started practice in 1955, later joined by H. W. Robinson in 1958.

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Fig. 7. Harbor view housing scheme

Mc MORRIS, SIBLEY AND ROBINSON (MSR) graduated from the University of Manitoba and McGill University, architecture schools in Canada. Their studio was the mentoring forum for generations of Jamaicans who studied externally and returned home to practice, including the first female architect Verma Panton (McGill University, 1964). Members of the partnership also lobbied the Commonwealth Association of Architects on behalf of the Society of Architects for a regional school to be sited in Jamaica. The Bahamas was the alternative location being considered. At the time Canada was the primary CAA delegate of the Americas and architect Norris Mitchell of Grenada was the representative for the Caribbean. The school was realized in 1988.

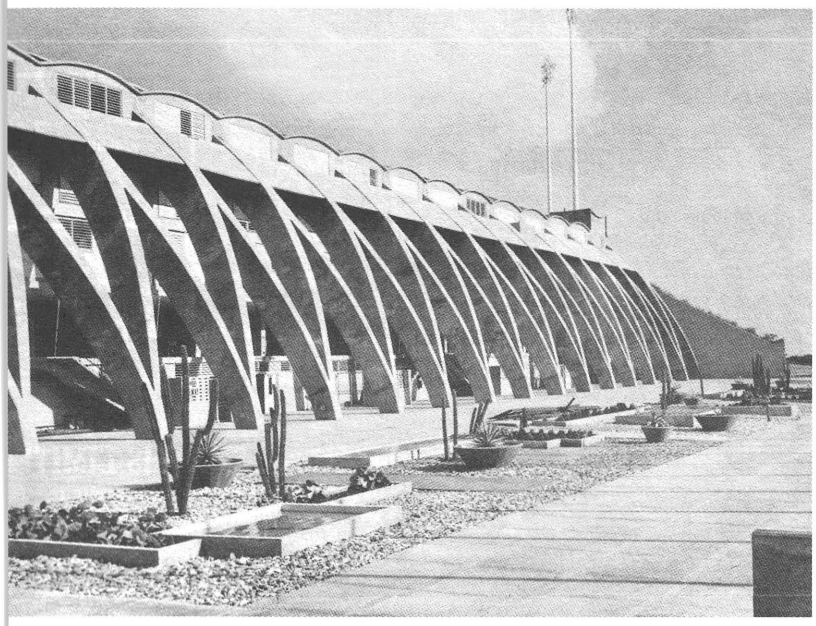

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Fig. 8. **Wilson Chong**, *National Stadium*

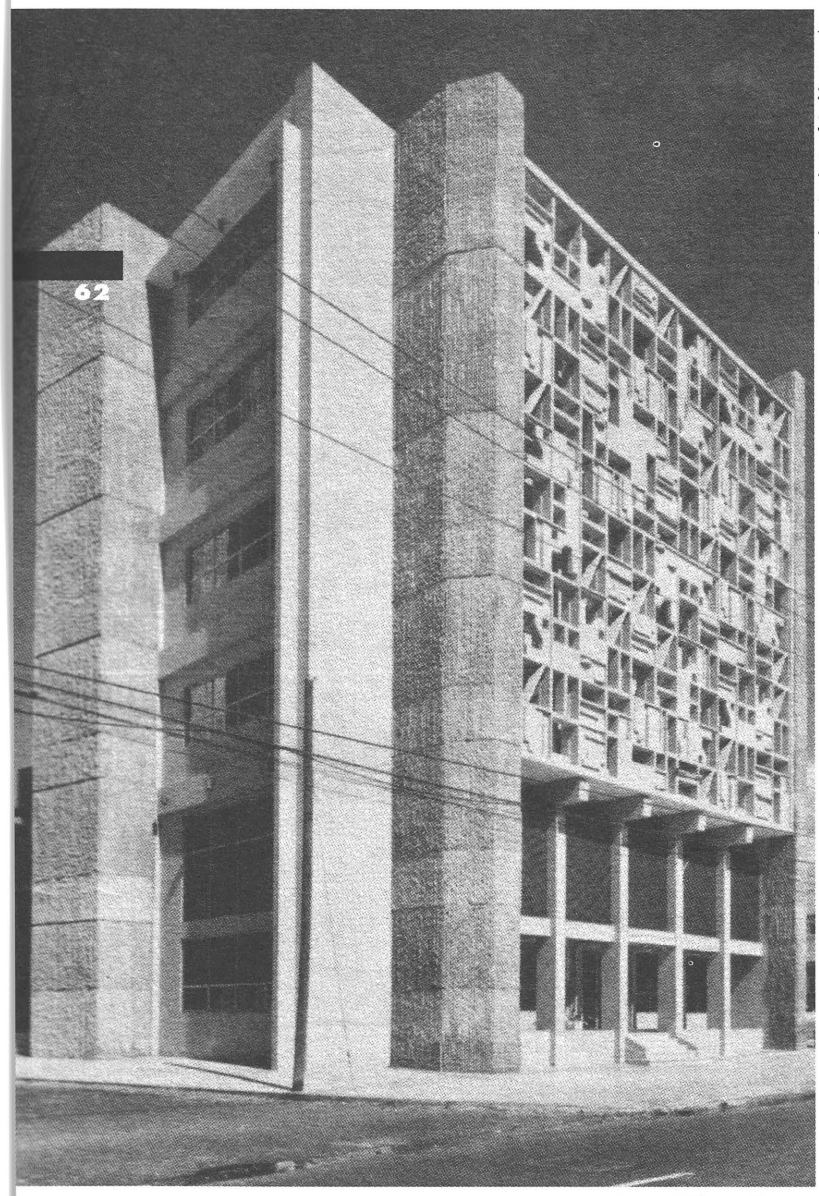

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Fig. 9. **Wilson Chong**, *Henriques Building*

THE ARCHITECTURE OF MSR captured the spirit of a new Kingston, with repetitive façades of urban anonymity celebrated in concrete. Construction method varied. In the example of Scotia Bank Center located on the Kingston waterfront both in situ and pre-cast concrete components were utilized. MSR were also identified as associate architects for multinational corporations with foreign architects investing capital through regional offices in Kingston, for buildings such as the British-American building (1967), now Victoria Mutual, New Kingston.

The linguistic expression of the group varied, appearing ambiguous with the expressionistic works of the UCWI Creative Arts Center (1969) and the Matalon Residence (1970), St Andrew East *(fig. 10)*. What prevails is a structural rationalism, hinging on building method and material technology.

ARCHITECTURE PRODUCTION since 1958 has in essence debated the limits of a materialist based rationalism. The objects of Marvin Goodman and Associates are sensitive to tropical climatic themes most evident at a private residential scale, with the exception of the Petroleum Corporation of Jamaica office building (New Kingston). The dialectic extreme of H. D. Repolé's monolithic office towers integrates public concern with the implementation of livable streetscapes in New Kingston. Works of Patrick Stanigar in East Kingston (Harbour Street) reveal an organic bridge towards naturalism.

PROPOSALS between 1957 and 1970 for the expansion of the business and industrial facilities geographically confined Kingston's administrative limits to St Andrew north east (New Kingston) and pushed port facilities further west (Newport west). This made way for the super block redevelopment of the Kingston waterfront and placed the Urban Development Corporation Act of 1968 and its vehicle the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) at the center stage of development plans. Initially the UDC only worked in designated areas: rural tourism towns such as Ocho Rios, Negril, Montego Bay. The first appointed chief architect was British architect David Gregory Jones, of Shankland and Cox, who assisted in the establishment of the UDC.

DEVELOPMENT IN CONTEMPORARY Kingston is state driven as a result of the management of capital since the 1970s. High-rise housing is on the social agenda again, utilizing defunct models of modernisms past. Numerous proposals for the revitalization of Kingston have been guided by the UDC. In its capacity as member of a committee or board, it provides technical support and coordinates consultants both local and foreign. Initiatives include: Vision 20/20, the Kingston Restoration Company, and the Kingston City Center Investment Company

(KCCIC). The master builders' obsession with style persists and embodies a resilient entrepreneurial history. Between 1998 and 2002, the National Stadium was renovated in two phases by the Urban Development Corporation (project managers and consultants) as part of a joint agreement between the Government of Jamaica and the Venezuelan Government.[12]

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Fig. 11. **Mc Morris**, **Sibley and Robinson**, *Turtle Beach Apartments, Ocho Rios*

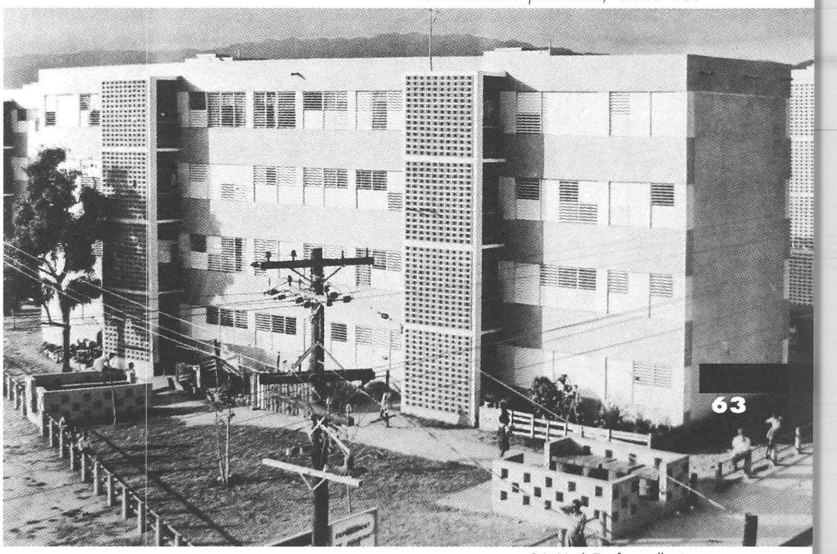

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Fig. 10. **Mc Morris**, **Sibley and Robinson**, *UWIC Creative Arts Center, 1969*

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Modern Trinidad outlined

AND THE WORKS OF COLIN LAIRD AND ANTHONY LEWIS

MARK **RAYMOND**

Trinidad is the southernmost island of the Lesser Antilles. It was discovered in 1498 by Columbus but remained an underdeveloped Spanish colony until the late eighteenth century when there was large scale migration of French plantation owners and their slaves from the region. The island was subsequently claimed by the British who imported indentured laborers from throughout the Commonwealth and governed the island until independence in 1962.

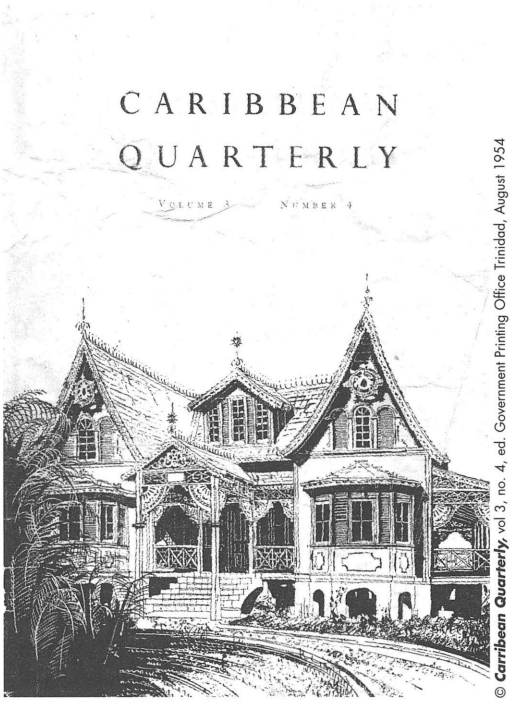
THIS ESSAY OUTLINES the development of the production of modern architecture in the city of Port of Spain, Trinidad with specific reference to the work of two architects, Colin Laird and Anthony Lewis.

THE MODERN ARCHITECTURE of Port of Spain can be seen to have evolved in four distinct phases: 1900–1938, 1939–1961, 1962–1980 and 1981 to the present. Laird and Lewis were independently active after World War II and demonstrate the two primary tendencies which informed architectural production during this period. These influences revealed themselves through, on the one hand, an exported postwar British architectural culture—'tropical modernism.' This was a form of

Fig. 1. House at 1 St Clair Avenue, Port of Spain typical of pre-WWII modernism

© photo Mark **Raymond**

Fig. 2. Cover of *Carribbean Quarterly* illustrated with reproduction of Colin Laird's pen andink drawing of 9 St Clair Avenue



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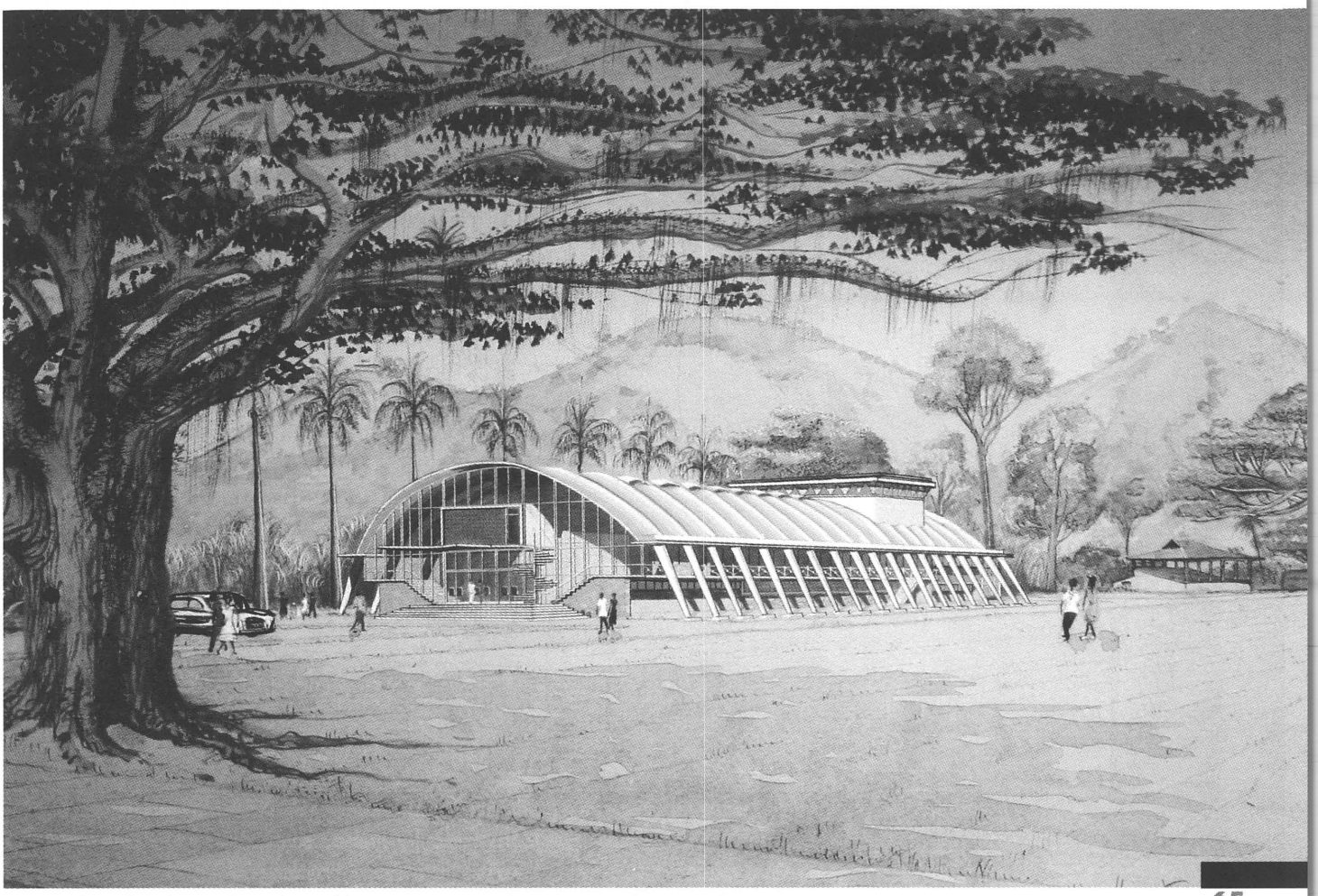


Fig. 3. **Colin Laird**, Water color rendering of the *Community Centre*, later *Queen's Hall*, on original site at George V Park St Clair

modernism derived from the functional, formal and programmatic tenets of mid century European modernism, modified by an interest and concern with the climatic conditions imposed by tropical climates.[1] On the other hand, a tendency was evolving which embraced the concerns and the formal preoccupations presented in the debate in the US at this time surrounding regionalism, as expounded by Lewis Mumford and others. The regionalist movement, represented by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, was opposed to the universal and essentially European modernism. Laird's work can be seen as a product of the former whilst Lewis's work reveals the influence of the latter.

The cultural evolution of independent Trinidadian society represents an archetypal post-colonial search for identity and authenticity. This search or struggle confronts the common dilemma of developing nations as described by Paul Ricœur in his essay *History and Truth*—quoted by Kenneth Frampton in his seminal essay on critical regionalism: "Thus we come to the crucial problem confronting nations just rising from underdevelopment. In order to get on the road toward modernization, is it necessary to jettison the old cultural past which has been the raison d'être of a nation?"[2]

Whence the paradox: on the one hand, it has to root itself in the soil of the past, forge a national spirit, and unfurl this spiritual and cultural claims before the colonialist's personality.

In the case of Trinidad, Ricœur's paradox is further compounded by the effective absence of any authentic cultural past. The indigenous population had been wiped out by the Spanish colonizers and the racially diverse population grew from immigration, whether through the importation of slaves of African descent, indentured laborers from India, China, Madeira or entrepreneurial immigrants hailing from various parts of the world and drawn to new opportunities and the promise of the new world.

INDEPENDENCE

In the 1950s, as in many colonies, British colonial domination of Trinidad was emphatically rejected. The British political, social and cultural structure that had been maintained was an integral part of the formation of the society and thus, in the absence of any indigenous culture or clearly identifiable cultural past, whilst the political presence was expelled, the cultural framework was unavoidably retained, modified substantially by the burgeoning influence of North American culture.

Thus in the 1950s and 1960s the work of regional poets, artists and writers focused on the establishment or assertion of a regional language albeit influenced by

Fig. 4. **Mies van der Rohe** seated far left and **Anthony Lewis** seated far right at Art Institute of Chicago studio, December 21, 1942

modernism. Architecture other than domestic architecture, whilst part of this enquiry, was still pursued in a highly universal manner mediated only by a preoccupation with and scientific attention to climate.
The social, economic, political and cultural initiatives that informed the physical reconstruction of the post war European and North American landscape were thus mirrored in the gradual reconfiguration of the nineteenth century city of the Port of Spain underscored by a quintessentially modern and universal agenda. This scenario was subtly informed by the cosmopolitan influences of the racially diverse populace.

1900-1938

Prior to World War II the idea of modernism appeared in the urban and architectural landscape of Port of Spain intermittently and largely through the construction of private houses and a few notable buildings of significance such as the Queen's Park Hotel. Architecture had been for the most part undertaken by visiting European architects commissioned to undertake large-scale public buildings or by local builders who functioned as architects providing design through catalogues and pattern books from Australia, India and the southern United States; places which shared climatic similarities. The bungalow in numerous forms and guises became the predominant domestic typology.

HOWEVER, a number of distinctive buildings appeared at this time, demonstrating clear modernist stylistic tendencies such as the private residence at 1 St Clair Avenue *(fig. 1)*. The period was characterized by a significant expansion of the city in the form of suburban type development, notably the development of Woodbroo. It is noteworthy that the influence of centralized planning was still evident in this growth and an effective city council maintained a firm grip and control on physical development, maintaining a high quality of urban space and amenity.

1939-1961

History, trade and the political status of Trinidad as a British colony determined a strong political and cultural link with Britain and to a lesser, but nevertheless significant extent, Europe. The postwar reconstruction of Europe triggered idealistic social, cultural and economic activity that extended worldwide and had a marked impact on the colonies in the Caribbean. This influence enjoined a series of issues that defined the elaboration of modern architecture in Trinidad marking the advent of a second phase of modernism.

Fig. 5. **Anthony Lewis**, *Wight House,* Goodwood Park Trinidad

ARCHITECTURE EVOLVED in Trinidad during this time in response to three primary factors. Firstly the impact of American culture, secondly the radical politics of late colonialism and then post-colonialism and thirdly the nationalist search for a local and regional identity.
This phase effectively began with the arrival of US forces to establish naval and air bases in Trinidad during the war. The sheer scale of US presence at the naval base at Chaguaramas and at the air base at Waller Field had a profound cultural, social and political impact on Trinidadian culture, politics and society. Trinidad was reputed to have been the single largest US military base outside of the US.

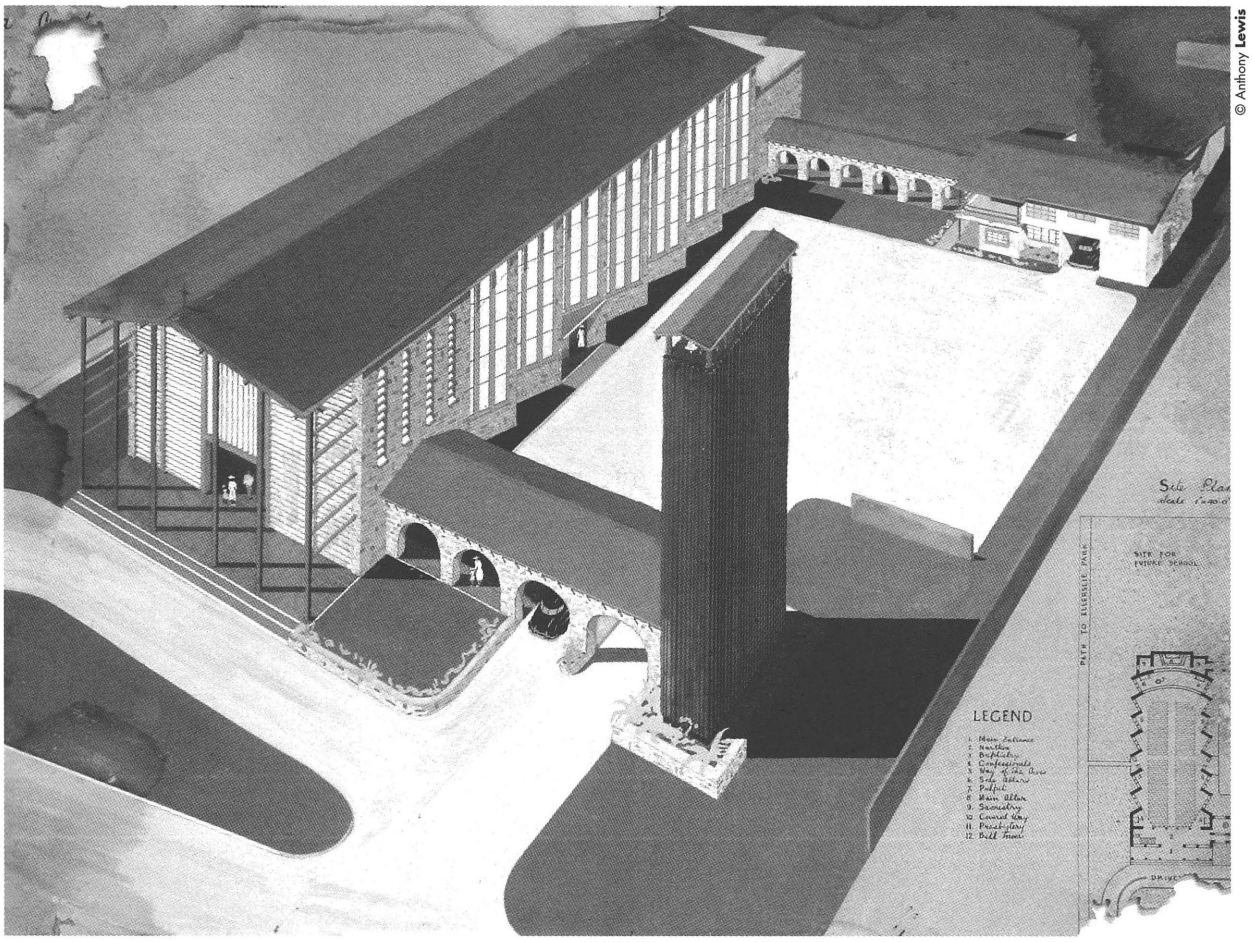
THE NORTH AMERICAN presence resulted in a fundamental influence on the infrastructure with the comprehensive road network that was rapidly created to accommodate the massive military presence. Trinidad was the site for rapid and effective implementation of infrastructural and technological projects on a scale unprecedented in the history of the island.

BRITISH INFLUENCE was still very present at this time and its impact on architectural and other areas of culture, made evident through the Colonial Development and Welfare Act (CDWA). This colonial mechanism facilitated the engagement of initiatives which drove the need for development and modernization not only in Trinidad but in all former British colonies.

A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT influence was the work of Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, two British architects who worked in West Africa in the 1950s and who published an important text named *Tropical Architecture in the Humid Zone* in 1956.[3] The book married the contemporary socialist preoccupation with social transformation through the implementation of modern planning and architecture with specific reference to the 'tropics.' Fry and Drew's work developed in Nigeria and Ghana produced ideas focused on an analysis of climate and social programming as the key elements for what became a widespread modernist trend in many parts of the Commonwealth.
Fry and Drew's promotion of a specifically tropical modernism gave modern architecture within the Commonwealth a universal dimension, through its climatic adaptation responsive to the peculiarities of its geo-climatic location. The book influenced a generation of British architects in the colonies after the war and coincided with the evolution of the idea of independence. This architecture became synonymous with the subsequent movements of independence. In 1961 the Architectural Press published *New Buildings in the Commonwealth*, a comprehensive record of this architecture. The work of Laird and Lewis is featured in the section on Trinidad.[4]

FOR THE SOCIAL IMPERATIVE of self-determination and change which defined the postwar social and political climate of Trinidad, modern architecture and town planning represented a tangible, prominent and visible cultural symbol. The inter-linked disciplines simultaneously addressed the need to demonstrate technological advancement—thus signifying participation in universal culture—whilst also offering through iconographic representation a symbol of modernity, authenticity and identity.

The two leading practitioners of this period in Trinidad were Colin Laird and Anthony Lewis. The formation and subsequent work of both of these architects demonstrates the fundamental ideological and theoretical preoccupations and influences of the period and the way these tendencies were adapted to the circumstances presented by post WWII Port of Spain.



© Anthony **Lewis**

Fig. 6. **Anthony Lewis**, original presentation painting for *the Church of the Assumption*, Maraval

COLIN LAIRD

Laird belongs to that generation of British architects described by architect and critic Kenneth Frampton as follows: "a member of that generation of so-called modern architects . . . whose concept of modernity (like that of the immediately previous generation) was already historically mediated; that is to say, unlike the pioneers of the inter war period (1918–1939) we did not conceive of ourselves as trying to engender an architecture whose form was totally unprecedented. Instead we already saw our task as a qualified restoration of the creative vigor of a movement which had become formally and programmatically compromised in the intervening years."[5]

HAVING COMPLETED HIS STUDIES at the Regent Street Polytechnic and worked on the Festival of Britain, Laird married a Trinidadian, adopted Trinidad as home, and established a successful practice in Port of Spain. He was active in the burgeoning cultural and political independence movement, embraced the notion of a socialist independent Trinidadian culture and was an active participant in many forms of contemporary culture. His production and achievements in Trinidad and in other locations in the Caribbean over the past fifty years have been prolific.

Two important contributions to the evolving discourse around architectural production at this time from Laird were the *Caribbean Quarterly* article "The Trinidad Town House"[6] and his design for the Queen's Hall.

THE *CARIBBEAN QUARTERLY (fig. 2)* devoted itself to the exploration of regional cultural production and the assertion of regional identity. The essay produced by

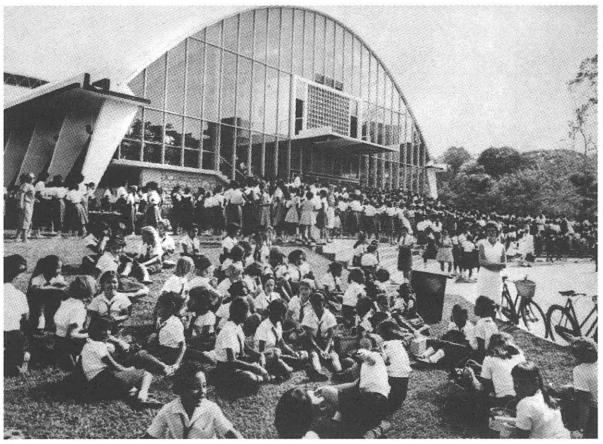


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Fig. 7. Queen's Hall, 1965

Laird for the journal focused on a study of domestic architecture in Trinidad. The essay is the first modern critique of architecture in Trinidad and reveals the fascination of the architect with the architecture's capacity to manifest the peculiarities of location. The drawings and studies of the houses in the essay interpret their planning and construction. The essay concludes with a statement concerning the effective climatic function of the traditional houses whilst criticizing the absence of such consideration in contemporary domestic production. This is the enduring value of the study's historical focus and a view consistent with the ideas of Fry and Drew, which were simultaneously being developed in their work in West Africa.

A STUDY of Laird's later work, particularly the National Library in Port of Spain completed in the 1990s demonstrates an effective resolution of this investigation into what Laird describes as a rational regionalism; a modernism inflected by an adapted, local, although not vernacular, tectonic; the adaptation being ultimately represented through the articulation and expression of climatic devices.

LAIRD WON THE QUEEN'S HALL competition by in the early 1950s. The original site for the project was to be in George V Park in the St Clair area of Port of Spain *(fig. 3)*. The brief called for a multi-purpose community center. The architectural landscape of Port of Spain at the time would have been characterized and dominated by the buildings and structures of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century; a highly colonial and Victorian architectural landscape. The addition of this structure with its radical modern design and inverted catenary roof was a phenomenal achievement and a remarkable event.

THE BUILDING was eventually built on a prominent site adjacent to the President's Grounds and the Queen's Park Savannah. Unfortunately the recent re-modeling of a new entrance and interiors—which was undertaken without the courtesy of consultation with Laird—has undermined the integrity of the original building. Laird's architectural and intellectual formation contrasts with that of Anthony Lewis. Whereas Laird's work fitted into a social program, Lewis's engagement with architecture centered around a more poetic and esoteric, but equally potent, engagement with materials and the language of modern architecture.

ANTHONY LEWIS

Anthony Lewis was born in Trinidad in 1918 and began his studies in architecture in London at the Regent Street Polytechnic. Lewis returned to Trinidad in 1938 for a brief interlude, working on the American Naval Base at Chaguaramas and designed a house for his father in Port of Spain before continuing his architecture studies at Mc Gill University in Montreal. Lewis won the Canadian Governor General's Award and a scholarship to continue his studies at the Illinois Institute of Technology under it's newly appointed head Mies van der Rohe and the architect and urban planner Ludwig Hilberseimer *(fig. 4)*.

AFTER THIS EXPERIENCE Lewis returned to the Caribbean and was responsible for a number of projects in Barbados, including the re-planning of St Lucia which had been destroyed by fire and the Church of the Assumption in Maraval, a suburb of Port of Spain *(fig. 6)*.
The form of the church is a single clear span supported by a system of sophisticated and robust timber trusses. The form is expressed with the deliberate use of local materials, including Guyanese hardwood columns which frame the entrance of the building and full height painted white jalousies, which flank the entrance and form the northern façade.
The pink limestone facing of the structural piers and openings on the east and western flanks, colors the reflected light at the time of morning and evening mass to dramatic effect. Light, form, material, color and texture conspire to generate a highly poetic statement clearly guided by a regional rather than universally modern sensibility.

IN THE LATE 1950s Anthony Lewis designed for the Wight family a house in Goodwood Park *(fig. 5)*. The house departs from the regionalism evident in the Church of the Assumption. In the Wight House the relationship to the context is articulated by means of the climatic device of the framed louver, not by the latent or associative value of the materials employed in the Church. The work reveals an exploration of a clearly universal language both in its composition and tectonic form.
Subsequent houses designed by Lewis curiously reverted to the exploration of materials and structure evident in the Church of the Assumption reaching their apotheosis in the stunning hilltop house for the British society photographer Norman Parkinson in Runnymede Tobago.

1962–1980

Post independence architectural production in Trinidad had a massive impact on the urban morphology of Port of Spain and represents the effective breakdown between the discipline of planning and architecture. The form and fabric of the city began to rupture with the largely expedient and careless modification and expansion of the city.

However, what distinguishes production at this time is the program of public buildings inspired by the precedent set by the bold statement of Laird's Queen's Hall *(fig. 7)* in the form of schools and other civic buildings undertaken by, or commissioned and overseen by the Government through the Public Works Department.

The work of architect and former Chief Architect Peter Bynoe merits further research in this field.

1981–PRESENT

If the work of Laird and Lewis represents the advent of a comprehensive modernist ideology in the architectural landscape of Port of Spain, the work of John Newel-Lewis and Roger Turton expanded and continued this trend.

The theoretical investigation into a more specific regional identity began with the research of the Guadeloupean architect Jack Berthelot[7] and in Trinidad in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the work of John Newel-Lewis. Newel-Lewis began to move away from orthodox modernism to a more fluid and sculptural architectural expression. This work began the rejection of the tendency towards universalized building technique and proprietary building products which dominated architectural production. In his work, he employed local tectonic devices such as the jalousie or *demerara*[8] window. Newel-Lewis's ideas were articulately expressed in his florid evocation of a national architecture in his book *Ajoupa*.[9]

NEWEL-LEWIS'S THINKING was embraced and adopted by Roger Turton. Turton was very close to Newel-Lewis and, after returning from his architecture studies at Oxford Polytechnic and the Architectural Association in the mid 1980s, collaborated with Newel-Lewis on his work in the conversion of the Normandie Hotel for local businessman Fred Chin Lee before Newel-Lewis's untimely death.

Turton went on in his own tragically short life to produce a number of small, largely domestic, yet remarkable works which bridge the gap between the dialectic presented in Ricœur's developmental paradox by artfully and seductively infusing the syntax of a 'white' modernism with reference to the vernacular architecture of Trinidad.

DESPITE the fine examples of modern planning and architecture still evident in the architecture of the city, the failure of planning and the absence of coherent discourse amongst architects continues to undermine the architectural quality and inhibited qualitative production. Architecture appears to have adopted an expedient and ad hoc tendency that is accelerating the deterioration of the fabric of the city.

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NOTES

1 The development of architecture in this context is discussed by Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre in *The Suppression and Rethinking of Regionalism and Tropicalism after 1945, Tropical Architecture: Critical Regionalism in the Age of Globalisation* (Wiley-Academy, 2001).

2 Kenneth Frampton, *Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance, the Anti-Aesthetic* (Seattle and Washington: ed. Hal Foster, The Bay Press, 1984), 16.

3 See Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, *Tropical Architecture in the Humid Zone* (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1956).

4 J. M. Richards, *New Buildings in the Commonwealth* (The Architectural Press, 1961), 165–70.

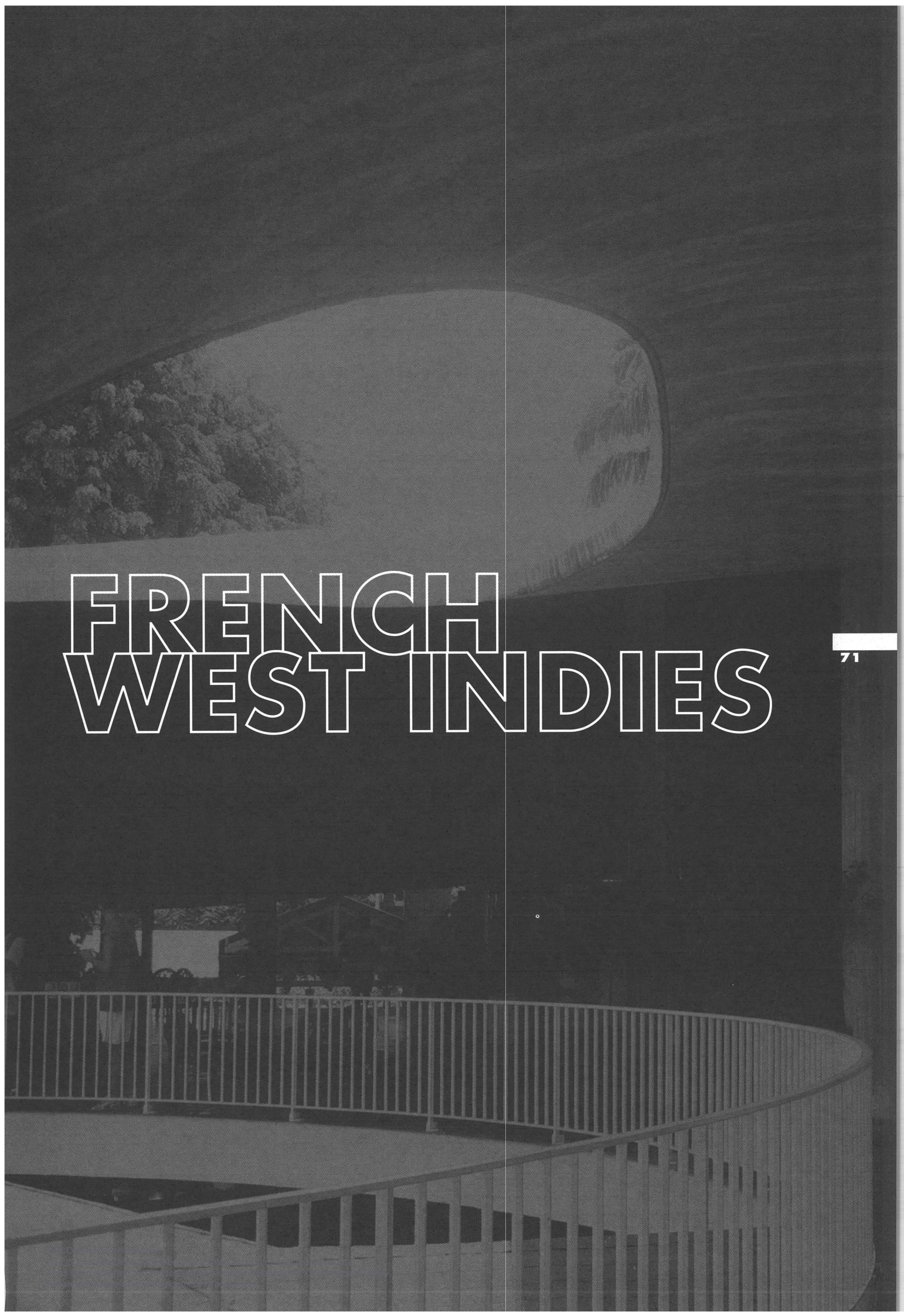
5 Kenneth Frampton, "Place-form and cultural identity," in John Thackara, *Design after modernism* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1998).

6 Colin Laird, "Trinidad Town House; or the Rise and Decline of a domestic architecture," *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol 3 no 4 (ed. Government Printing Office Trinidad, August 1954, Phillip Sherlock and Andrew Pearse): 188–98.

7 Jack Berthelot and Martine Gaumé, *Caribbean Style* (Thames and Hudson, 1985; Éditions Perspectives Créoles, 2002). Also Kaz Antiyé, Jan Moun Ka Rété, Jack Berthelot.

8 A top-hung timber louvered shutter operated by means of a timber prop and which rests at an angle when closed. The name derives from Guyana where the type originated.

9 John Newel-Lewis, *Ajoupa* (John Newel-Lewis, 1983); also published as *Architecture of the Caribbean and its Amerindians Origins in Trinidad* (American Institute of Architects Service Corporation, 1984).



FRENCH WEST INDIES

Martinique, Case studies in modernism

EMMANUELLE **GALLO** AND JEAN **DOUCET**

Martinique's modern architecture is characterized by its widespread dissemination. Owing to its history, cyclonic destructions and seismic damage, Martinique's heritage, prior to the nineteenth century, is limited.

PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY architecture survives in a confined way, a church here, a market there, with an emblematic example: the Schœlcher library (1889), built following architect Henri Picq's plans. The bulk of extant constructions was realized during the twentieth century when the number of dwellings tripled. In that respect, Martinique is located within the American context although administratively it is part of Europe. In this context and during that period (1927–1969), a good many of Martinique's residents chose to endorse architectural modernity.

Fig. 1. Basse-Pointe School, 1930s

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MARTINIQUE'S MODERNITY was promoted by architects, among which Louis Caillat (1901–2002), Maurice de Lavigne Sainte-Suzanne (1917–1992), but also by enthusiastic or determined contractors and engineers: René Dantin, Constant Eudaric and Raoul de Jaham; and also by a few enlightened building sponsors such as Donald Monplaisir or pharmacist Charles Glaudon. However in Martinique this new architecture was not confined to 'learned' architecture. Thanks to the realizations of many contractors and to menial draftsmen, a real dissemination of vernacular modernism is patent. This commitment was an unusual feature of Martinique's modernity.

THE 1930s

Apparently the first modern work in Martinique would have been for the Fort-de-France sailing club in 1927, an unbuilt project by architect Gérard Corbin[1] of Guadeloupe (1905). The first modern building erected was l'Église du Prêcheur, probably built around 1930.
A key factor seems to be at the origin of this architecture's development. Through the May 21, 1930 law, the French State allocated 50 million francs to Martinique to repair the damage caused by Mount Pelée's last volcanic explosion in September 1929.[2] Concurrently the Conseil général (Regional Council) raised a public loan of 150 million francs.[3] These efforts materialized as the renewal of many public constructions: town halls in Saint-Pierre (1934), in Grande-Rivière (1932), at Lamentin (1934, Louis Caillat), schools in Basse-Pointe and Bellefontaine

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Fig. 2. Lycée Schœlcher seen from the entrance, 1937

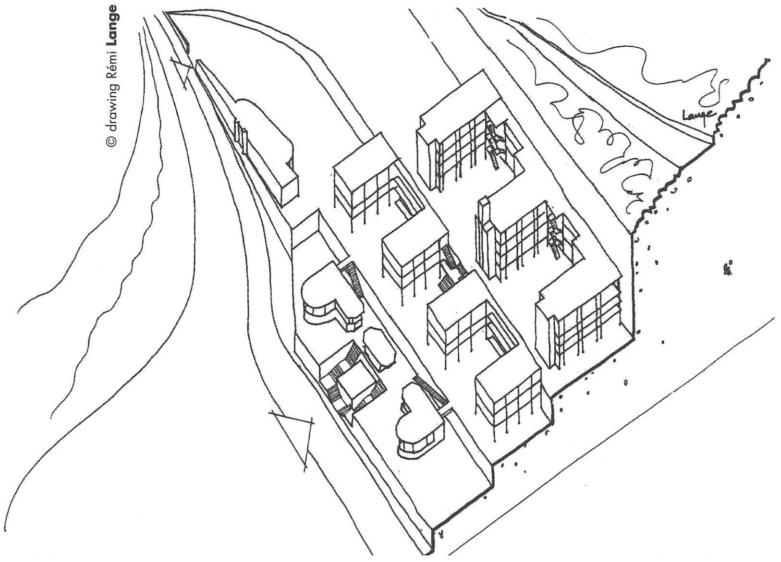

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Fig. 3. Lycée Schœlcher, axonometric view

(1930s), but also the Clarac hospital (1935, Wulfleff and Verrey)[4] and the Lycée Schœlcher (1937), as well as a volcanology observatory at the Morne des Cadets (1935, Louis Caillat) *(fig. 1)*. It is worth mentioning that these projects occurred at a moment when in continental France modern municipal buildings were being constructed in Boulogne-Billancourt, Suresnes, Villeurbanne, Clichy, Villejuif, and for hospitals such as Beaujon in Clichy (1935, Jean Walter) and lycées (high schools) such as Camille-Sée (1934, François Le Cœur). In Guadeloupe architect Ali Tur (1889–1970), member of the Société des architectes modernes, developed a genuine architectural œuvre with many public buildings but also churches.[5]

THE LYCÉE SCHŒLCHER[6] *(figs. 2, 3 & 4)*

The Lycée Schœlcher, designed for the tri-centennial, is implemented by stages between 1937 and 1938. With its 80,000 sqm built in a 4-hectare park, it is a highly significant work. The earthworks and retaining walls of the hill overlooking the Fort-de-France bay lasted nearly ten years, and the school's construction itself began in 1933. Honoré Donat supervised the works. The post and beam structure, designed anti-seismically, was conceived by the Parisian civil engineers office Delefosse and Trompat.[7] The works were carried out by the Roy-Camille, Kalfon and Roseau firms of Martinique. The Lycée's general composition consists of a central axis emphasized at the entrance by a clock tower. The layout makes the most of the hill, with buildings spaced out on three terraces and positioned perpendicular to the slope, allowing the trade winds to ensure cross-ventilation. The entrance provides, thanks to its staircase, a link with the first terrace and the administration buildings. Another flight of stairs provides access to the second terrace on which four teaching buildings are distributed around three courtyards facing the sea. The 3-story constructions are connected to each other by outdoor but covered catwalks and stairways. The last

Fig. 4. Lycée Schœlcher, catwalks and flights of stairs

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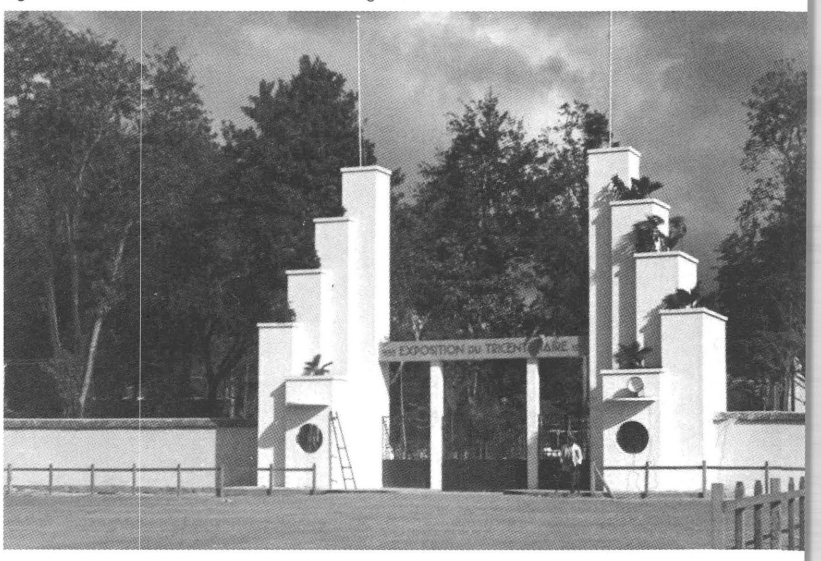
Fig. 5. **Haller**, *tri-centennial exhibition's* front gate, 1935



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terrace, which is situated between the second and third stories, welcomes three 4-story buildings, around two courtyards. The clock tower extends the central building. All buildings accommodate classrooms: covered outdoor galleries lead to the classrooms that cross through the buildings. Windows are endowed with wooden jalousies. Transparency, sequences of shallow steps, the rhythm of posts, roof-terraces and continuous bands of balconies produce entirely original aesthetics.[8] Sadly, this first-rate ensemble is currently threatened with destruction, although it deserves to be rehabilitated, be it with a revised brief.

IN 1935 an event celebrating the colony's tri-centennial was organized in Fort-de-France at the Parc Gallieni.

THE DORMOY HOUSE *(fig. 6)*

Louis Caillat was commissioned by René Dormoy, construction and civil works engineer, and contractor, to build this residence. The rectangular ground floor welcomes a covered gallery leading to two living rooms, a bedroom and a study. An adjoining volume encloses the kitchen and bathrooms. The second story comprises two bedrooms with curbed walls, one of which opens onto a large terrace. Windows, bearing on high breast walls, closed by jalousies, are shaped into continuous bands under the outcrop of the brise-soleils. A system of natural ventilation emerges on the façade like a concrete trellis. The stoneware floor replicates various rug patterns; the furniture in exotic woods was especially made to order. Today the house, over-exposed to the nuisances of a very busy road, has been altered and is in a very poor general state.

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Fig. 6. **Louis Caillat**, *Dormoy house*, 1933

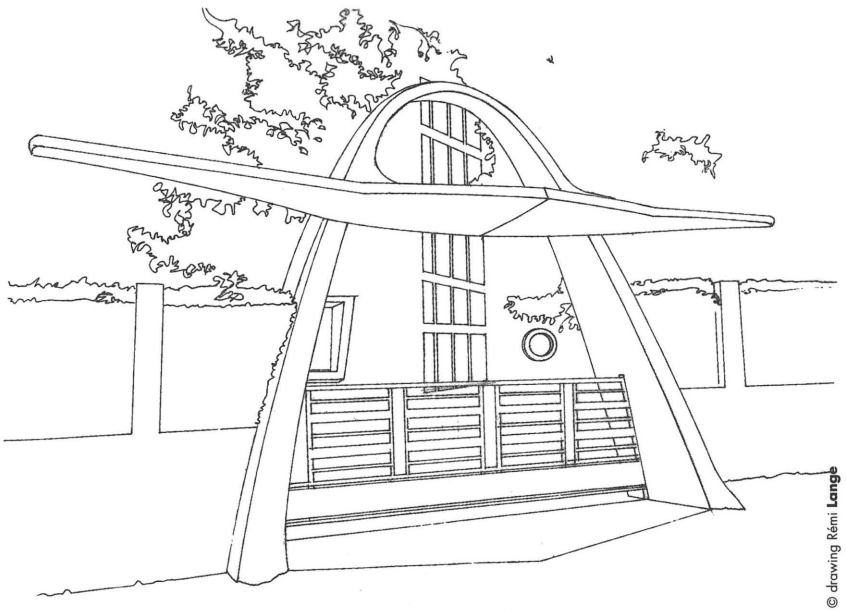

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Fig. 7. **Louis Caillat**, front gate of the *Monplaisir house*, 1946

The exhibition entrance's striking feature is a monumental modernist front gate, no doubt influenced by the aesthetics of the 1925 Arts décoratifs World Fair *(fig. 5)*. Architect Robert Haller is the author of the exhibition's layout and of the 15-meter high fountain of light also set up at Terres-Sainville: "The waterfall takes place from the top down in successive cascades onto level surfaces of glass. At night an inner light of varying color turns the drops into pearls, rubies, topaz gems, emeralds."[9] This new neighborhood in Fort-de-France was designed by town planners René and Paul Danger.[10]

In this context, private commissioning was not outdone, as for example in Fort-de-France: the Dormoy House (1933, Louis Caillat), the Baude house (193*), the Didier house (1933, Louis Caillat), la Rotonde (1935, Louis Caillat), the Nationale building (1938, Rendu); and likewise in Saint-Pierre, the Roy-Camille House (1936, Louis Caillat).

The modern shapes were well perceived by different social sets and did not remain the prerogative of enlightened connoisseurs. In 1935, the houses of Nestoret, artisan bricklayer, and Thorell, cabinetmaker, located in Fort-de-France, are signs of that dissemination. Thus, in small towns or in the countryside, artisans build using formal references to the modern movement, without architects.

THE POSTWAR PERIOD

During the war the island did not suffer any destruction, but construction came to a standstill due to a severe embargo. In the days following the conflict, building activity takes up again, with an important share for domestic architecture. As early as 1946, the Monplaisir House is built on the Bellevue heights of Fort-de-France

by Louis Caillat, who concurrently erects villas for the military at Fort Desaix. That same year, engineer Eudaric builds the Massel house in Balata (above Fort-de-France). In 1948 Lamartinière realizes the Maison Rose (Pink House) for dentist Sylvestre; the articulation of volumes, the central core, and the outcropping flat roofs can be related to the houses of Frank Lloyd Wright. Architect Marcel Salasc (1885–1966) builds in turn the Richer building in Sainte-Marie in 1946, then in 1948, the Trade Unions House according to a layout consisting exclusively of circles.

THE MONPLAISIR HOUSE *(figs. 7 & 8)*

This beautiful family dwelling was realized by Louis Caillat for Donald Monplaisir, a tradesman in Fort-de-France. Before the war, he had lived in one of the architect's buildings and therefore chooses Caillat, granting him great freedom for the project. When drawing close to the building, the atmosphere is quickly palpable thanks to the railing's front gates, genuine concrete sculptures of organic shapes. The building is characterized by its largely differing façades. The street façade expresses the building's horizontal and vertical circulations, with two curbed stairwells that sculpt volumes. The striking and imposing features of the living area's two façades, joined by a rounded angle, are the balconies' horizontal line and the monumental solar protections: suspended concrete curtain walls of organic shapes. Views and light are directed while shade is sustained. Spaces are free flowing thanks to the post and beam structure. The ground floor is practically wide open, closed off only by pillars, entrances and stairs. Favoring the view overlooking the Fort-de-France bay requires some extra height. The second floor's volume matches the living room and mezzanine volume, and comprises three bedrooms and bathrooms giving onto an open balcony. The roof is laid out as a terrace and nightly reception place. The floors are of granite, marble or stoneware. In 1946 it was difficult to lay hands on these materials, but Donald Monplaisir had family in Sainte-Lucie and managed to come by them. The influence of Brazilian architecture's formal freedom is no doubt at the root of this bold project.[11] Donald Monplaisir's son is the house's current owner and its advocate, and the house's current state is absolutely remarkable.

THE 1950s see the introduction of collective dwelling projects and the first briefs for middle-class housing estates, with for instance the Petit Paradis by Maurice de Lavigne Sainte-Suzanne (Schœlcher, 1956). The Impératrice Hotel, the extension of an existing building, was designed in 1955 by a Charles Glaudon fascinated by ferroconcrete construction techniques, and imposes its façade on the jardin de la Savane (garden) *(fig. 9)*.

AS IN THE OTHER FRENCH DEPARTMENTS, social housing estates become common. In 1952, a first development is built at the Baies des Tourelles, designed by architect Desbordes for the Société des habitations et repas bon marché (Society of affordable dwellings and meals). The first collective HLM (*Habitations à loyer modéré*, moderate rent dwellings), work of architect Lavigne, is erected in Saint-Georges, Batelière (Schœlcher, 1958). In 1959, the same architect builds for the Société immobilière des Antilles Guyane the elegant Résidence Sainte-Catherine, a residential block of

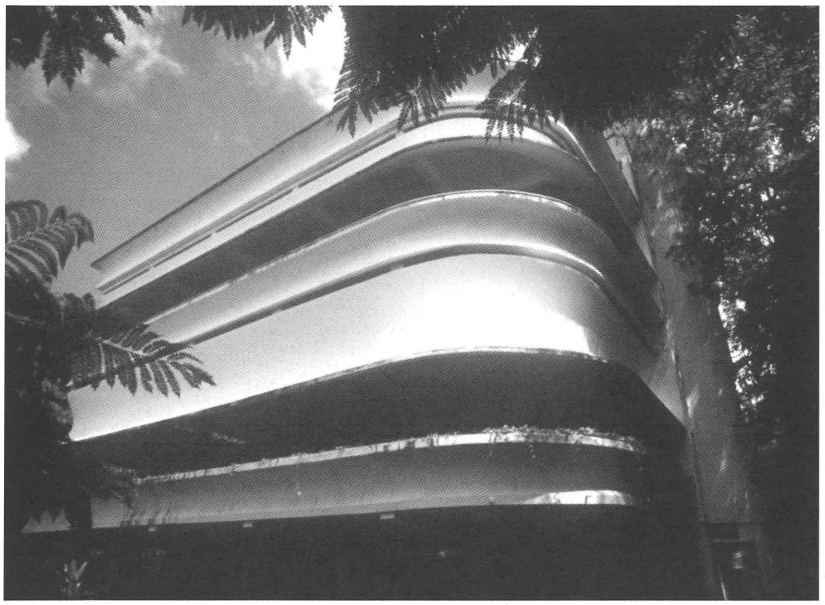

Fig. 8. **Louis Caillat**, main façades of the *Monplaisir House*, 1946

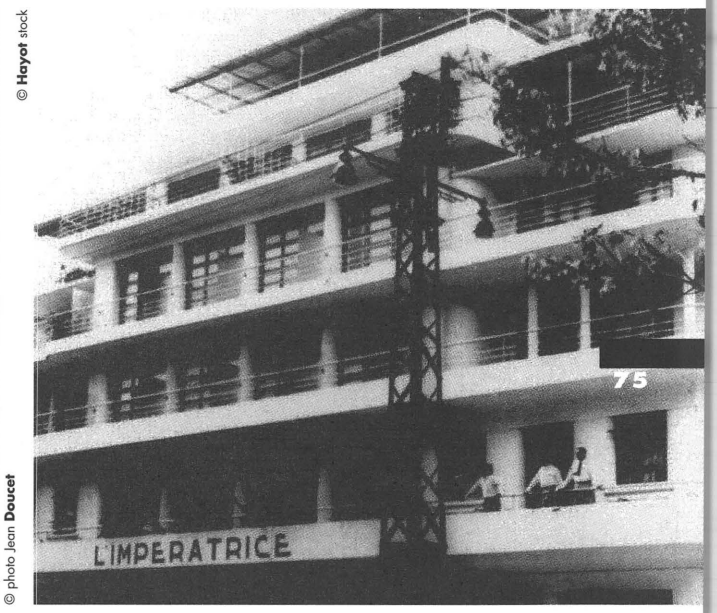

Fig. 9. L'Impératrice Hotel, 1955

apartments, in Cluny, a neighborhood of Fort-de-France, as well as the Résidence des Palmiers (1960) *(fig. 10)*.

THE CONSTRUCTION of *grands ensembles* (large social housing developments) that marked the construction policies of the 1960s, occurred in Martinique at the same time as in continental France. The following are worth mentioning: the Floréal development (Fort-de-France) in 1963, following a block plan by Georges Candilis (1913–1995),[12] Dillon (Fort-de-France) in 1965, following a plan by Antoine de Roux (head of the Antilles Guyana Town Planning Agency) and Batelière (Schœlcher) in 1969 on a block plan by Maurice de Lavigne Sainte-Suzanne.

© photo Jean **Doucet**

Fig. 10. **Lavigne**, *résidence Les Palmiers*, 1960

RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

Religious architecture is present and spreads out throughout the period, from the Église du Prêcheur in 1930 to the Bethléem Chapel in 1960. Are noteworthy: the Sainte-Thérèse Church (Fort-de-France, 1938), Josseaud Church (Remy, 1952), the Saint-Christophe Church in Dillon (Fort-de-France, 1955) by architects Tessier and Crevaux *(fig. 11)*, the Bethléem Chapel (Fort-de-France, 1960). The two latter are the most radical, and Saint-Christophe truly belongs to its time, with its curves, its vault, its concrete lateral ventilation that incorporates colored glass piers, and finally its apse, a vaulted tower that plays with light in a Le Corbusier-like spirit.

A NEW FORMAL VOCABULARY, AND CONSTRUCTION ASPECTS

During the 1930s, the bulk of rural dwellings is built with plant materials: sugar cane straw roofs, and woven *ti-baume*[13] walls, and traditional housing is usually the rule, as in continental France.

Using concrete and reinforced cement allowed all sorts of climatic adjustments that also prompted aesthetic researches. Covered galleries, cantilevered horizontal brise-soleils, vertical brise-soleils of varied profiles, screen walls, have become common *(fig. 12)*. Inclined posts and cruciform pillars renew the load bearing element. Sometimes there are unexpected additions, such as a concrete covered gallery in front of a traditional cabin. Flat roofs are made with filler blocks until the 1960s when the concrete slab becomes a common deed. Using it

Fig. 11. **Tessier** and **Crevaux**, *Saint-Christophe church*, 1955

© photo Jean **Doucet**

makes it possible to create terraces that are very pleasant for the hot hours of the day.
In spite of the maritime influence, of the sand's uncertain origin and of the slimness of sections, constructions are often in very decent condition: with little spalling or cracks, doubtless thanks to the concrete's composition that is rich in hydraulic binder. On the other hand, humidity, rainfalls and the relative quality of paints, combined with the absence of upkeep, present the onlooker with many liquid stains, fungal growths and other dirty marks.

SUPPLYING RAW MATERIALS for concrete was not always easy. Thus, bamboo membranes were at times substitutes for metal reinforcement.[14] Buildings concerned do not seem to have aged less soundly than others. Moreover, deliveries on the Atlantic coast are often difficult, owing to the ocean's roughness. As a result construction elements were thrown out of ships straight into the sea (directly for the form panels, in barrels for the cement bags) and experimented swimmers were left to retrieve them at their own risk...

PROBLEMS OF ATTRIBUTION, ARCHITECTS AND OTHER BUILDERS

For the moment, out of all the modernist buildings recorded by ADAM Martinique, only a third (90) can be attributed to an author (architect or other construction practitioner). This situation is the result of different factors: the lack of archives, the relocation of others (overseas archives center in Aix-en-Provence), and a vernacular built production without architect or written record.[15]
Among the architects, the following can be considered significant: Louis Caillat, Xavier Rendu, Robert Haller, André Desbordes, Léon Humblet, Germain Olivier, Charles Wulffleff and Alois Verrey, Maurice de Lavigne Sainte-Suzanne, Alexandre Ziwès, Fernand Tessier and Maurice Creveaux, Marcel Salasc, Clément Lison, Claude Meyert-Levy, Henri Madelain, Claude Le Folcavez, Lamartinière *(see appendix)*.[16] Louis Caillat alone builds nearly a third of the buildings recorded. And the paradox is that Martinique's most prolific modernist architect is not an architect. This self-taught practitioner, of continental French stock, trained himself while working at Ali Tur's practice in Guadeloupe.[17] He settles in Martinique in 1933 and produces architecture works whose value will mark their time.[18] It is possible that a certain number of buildings from the 1930s in Martinique are the work of Ali Tur.[19] Desbordes seems to focus on school buildings. Lison and Lamartinière are both engineer-architect graduates of the École spéciale des travaux publics (ESTP, renowned civil engineering school).[20]
AS FAR AS THE ENGINEERS are concerned, are of significance: Jules Roy-Camille [7], Raoul De Jaham [5], Honoré Donat [4], François Lubin [3], and Constant Euradic [2]. Jules Roy-Camille (ESTP 1924) who begins his career in Guadeloupe in 1926, is an engineer of the Arts et Métiers et Travaux publics de l'État (prominent construction and civil engineering state school). Honoré Donat (ESTP 1925), present in Martinique as early as 1929, sets up the department of public and large scale works, the first (public) research unit for reinforced concrete.[21] Albert Delaval, concrete construction engineer

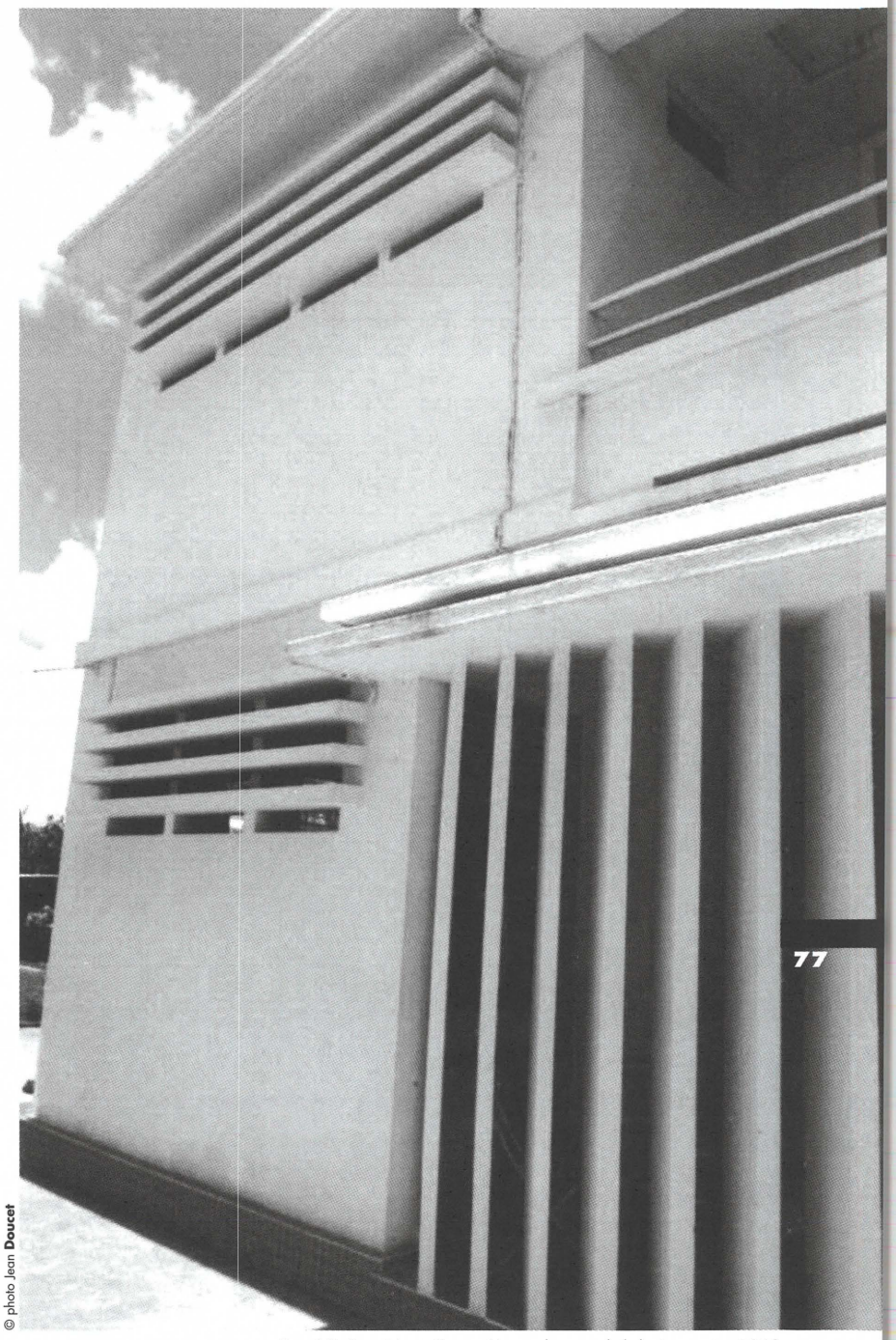
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Fig. 12. Rose-Marie-Sanon House, brises-soleil, le Lamentin, 1963

© photo Jean **Doucet**

Fig. 13. Building of the former *Crédit martiniquais bank* after restoration

and Joseph de La Guarrigue, a Polytechnique graduate (prestigious science and engineering school), are also worth mentioning. At the time the construction firms that build in Martinique are those of Roy-Camille, Raoul de Jaham, Jacques Kalfon, Joseph et Emmanuel Roseau, the Dantin brothers (René, Robert and Richard).

A RENEWED INTEREST AND THE FIRST RESTORATIONS

In the 1970s a certain weariness for modern shapes and a postmodern international context was coupled with, in the Antilles, a rejection by independence movements of shapes that were perceived as 'imported.' Incorporated, adjusted, *creolized*, modernity is today part and parcel of Martinique's history of architecture, both learned and vernacular. As such, it deserves to be recognized and enhanced, particularly since it conveys values of social progress, democracy and emancipation. The adjustment of modern shapes to the tropical climate was an original contribution to the movement. The ADAM Martinique association, formed in 1996, has led a number of initiatives to draw the elected representatives and the public's attention to this heritage. Two restorations illustrate a certain evolution: the restoration of the former Crédit martiniquais (bank of Martinique) building and of the Trade Unions House. The bank building, completed in 1937 by engineer Valide and the Dantin firm, was doubled in 1947, then again enlarged in 1953 and finally concealed by a curtain wall at the beginning of the 1980s. The restoration, realized in 2003 by architect Yves Tanguy and the BRED bank, current owner of the building, endeavored to recapture the spirit of the building's original aesthetics, if not its actual state *(fig. 13)*.[22] The restored building has recovered its original coupled pillars, loggias, as well as the horizontal lines of its brise-soleils.

EMMANUELLE GALLO *is an architect, a philosopher of art and culture and an architectural historian (specializing in the contemporary period). After a period of studio practice, she taught history of architecture, construction design, history of construction in several institutions such as the Institut d'art de l'Université Paris 1. Currently, she is writing a dissertation on the history of domestic heating in France. She has published papers on the history of architecture, on the history of heating, and a book in conjunction with an exhibition on the history of a nineteenth century palace hotel in Normandy. Founding member of Docomomo France, she has been member of the Docomomo International Specialist Committee on Technology since 2002.*

JEAN DOUCET *is a federal engineer of public works. In 1996, he founded the Adam Martinique organization in which thirty architects, urbanists, historians and actors in the field of culture and national*

heritage gather around the subject of Martinique's national heritage of modern architecture. The organization has sponsored lectures, exhibitions, television reports and a series of short films, as well as information panels in front of the main buildings. Adam Martinique has received public funding to produce a census of the entire modernist heritage and is currently preparing the first work on this subject.

Translated by ***Isabelle Kite***

NOTES

1 Architect, graduate of the École spéciale des travaux publics (1928), works for the Guadeloupe sous-préfecture (sub-district of a French department) but also for a private practice (ESTP yearbook).

2 May 8, 1902, the town of Saint-Pierre and its surroundings were destroyed, causing 30,000 casualties. Another eruption occurred in 1929.

3 Following the damage caused by the cyclone of September 12, 1928, Guadeloupe was granted 40 millions francs of subsidies as well as 50 millions of municipal loans. Christian Galpin, *Ali Tur architecte, 1929–1937, itinéraire d'une reconstruction* (Conseil général de la Guadeloupe, 1993), 8 p.

4 *Illustration* 4838 (November 23, 1935). Introduces the hospital and quotes the designers' names.

5 Architect D.P.L.G., postwar graduate, he becomes in 1925 one of the architects of the Ministry of Colonies. After the 1929 cyclone, he is chosen as Guadeloupe's architect, and as such he also builds the pavilion at the 1931 Colonial Fair, with a patent modernist character contrasting with the conformist exoticism of other pavilions.

6 The lycée Schœlcher was originally located in Saint-Pierre, then transferred to Fort-de-France.

7 Delefosse, civil engineer of the Ponts et Chaussées, béton armé/fer, Sageret, 1938.

8 The question of the author's identification remains open for the moment. The spatial complexity and the subtlety of aesthetic researches, the building's importance, all speak in favor of an architect. Some aspects evoke Ali Tur's architecture.

9 *Le Courrier des Antilles* (Saturday April 11, 1934) and the *Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce de la Martinique* 2-3 (April-June 1936): 11.

10 During the 1931 colonial Fair, they present a regional development plan, in the Martinique Pavilion. Victor Sévère, "L'Urbanisme aux colonies, Fort-de-France (1639-1931)," *l'Architecture* 8 (Paris, 1931): 284-288. Raymond Danger, "L'Urbanisme à la Martinique, trois siècles d'urbanisme colonial : Fort-de-France," *L'Urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays tropicaux* (Delayance: La Charité-sur-Loire, 1932–1935), 325-338.

11 The exhibition on Brazilian architecture at the MoMA in New York takes place in 1943 and is the subject of broadcasts in the Anglophone press.

12 With Alexis Josic and Shadrach Woods, 500 inexpensive dwellings are partially realized (1957), as well as the development plan for the Balata neighborhood with Louis Caillat as architect in charge of the operation, 500 dwellings, cultural and shopping centers, nursery and elementary schools. The Georges Candilis archives are accessible at the Institut français d'architecture archives.

13 Local species of trees whose branches can be used woven for construction.

14 This novel experiment was led at the Maison Laventure in Grande-Rivière (1935) and for the Torgiléo at Bellefontaine (1948).

15 Up to now the association has focused on gathering information in situ.

16 See frame on right.

17 Ali Tur, architect D.P.L.G. (1920), has his main practice in Paris, is a member of the Société des architectes modernes founded in 1922 by Frantz Jourdain.

18 Ali Tur's architecture influenced Louis Caillat. For instance, the option chosen for the Lamentin town hall is reminiscent of the Palais de Justice (law courts) of Basse-Terre.

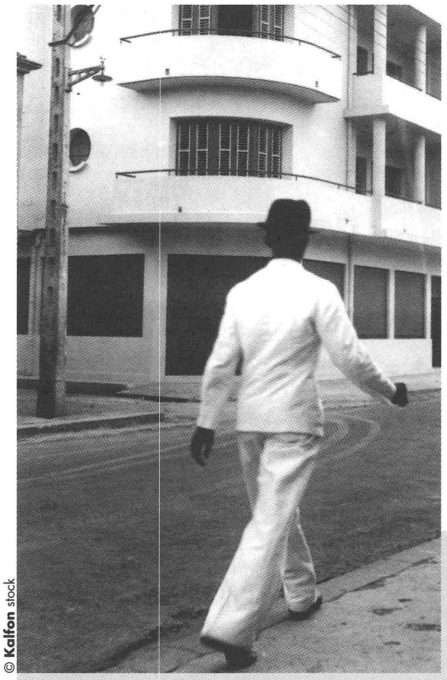
19 In publications, Ali Tur presents his works in Guadeloupe only. In 1936 in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* he writes: "This method [doing without the architect] has just been, again, adopted by Martinique's department of construction works where the Palais du Conseil général of this colony has been handed over for competition between building firms." It is therefore quite possible that he had already been in contact with this department/section before 1936 (and that he was trying to get even with it?). *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 3 (1936): 87-104 (quote: 92).

20 In 1921 Léon Eyrolles creates in his École spéciale des travaux publics the degree of engineer-architect. Criticized by the architects D.P.L.G., it will disappear after the war. Hélène Vacher, "L'École spéciale des travaux publics et la formation aux métiers du bâtiment au début du XX^{e} siècle : le projet de l'ingénieur-architecte," 107^{e} Congrès national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques, Nancy, April 16, 2002.

21 Roy-Camille and De Jaham are fairly widespread names in Martinique, visible on commercial ads in the local press and in the colonial phonebooks of 1946.

22 Eric Montagne, the BRED bank's director, was particularly supportive of this project.

Xavier Rendu, *National building*, 1938



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Louis Caillat, in turn fitter, draughtsman, lithographer, heating technician, architect-draughtsman, becomes a member of the Order of architects (French Antilles region) in 1954 and even regional president in 1975.

Xavier Rendu (1880–193*), architect D.P.L.G. 1910, student of Chedanne, in Paris, chief-architect of the Compagnie nationale d'assurance sur la vie, GAN building (ex-La Nationale, 1938).

Robert Haller, architect, graduate of the École spéciale des travaux publics 1921, was director of construction works in Laos.

Lamartinière, architect, graduate of the École spéciale des travaux publics, Sylvestre house (Fort-de-France) 1949, pharmacy in Saint-Pierre, 1950s.

André Desbordes (1914–*), architect, graduate of the École spéciale d'architecture 1939.

Léon Humblet, architect D.P.L.G. 1937, Chartres, CGM building (ex-IEDOM) 1956.

Germain Olivier (1869), architect D.P.L.G. 1903, (SADG, Montauban), Château Aubery in Ducos and several colonial palaces for various fairs in Marseilles (1920), Grenoble (1925), Paris (1931), Brussels (1935).

Charles Wulffleff (1874–), architect D.P.L.G. 1909, (SADG 1909) Paris, associate of Alois Verrey (1889–), architect D.P.L.G. 1920 (SADG 1921).

Maurice de Lavigne Sainte-Suzanne, architect D.P.L.G. Saint-Brieuc, Petit Paradis housing estate (1956), Grand Paradis building (1958), Batelière housing estate (1958), Résidence Sainte-Catherine 1959.

Alexandre Ziwès, architect D.P.L.G. Paris, architect of the Menier establishment, Plein ciel building (end of the 1960s).

Claude Meyer-Levy (1908–), architect D.P.L.G. (1933, SADG), student of Umbdenstock-Tournon, architecte des bâtiments civils et palais nationaux.

Fernand Tessier, D.P.L.G. Dourdan, and Maurice Creveaux, architect D.P.L.G. (Saint-Cloud), Saint-Christophe church (1955).

Marcel Salasc, not found in the professional yearbooks. His daughter recalls that he worked in Algeria before settling in Martinique in 1939.

Clément Lison, architect, graduate of the École spéciale des travaux publics, in 1948 his place of residence is in Fort-de-France, in the Sageret; in 1954 he works in Claude Le Cœur's practice, Annuaire ESTP (1954), town hall at the Diamant (1935), Post office at Rivière-Salée (1955), town hall and building of the Marin (Fort-de-France, 1950s), Cherchel House in Bellevue (Fort-de-France, 1960s).

Guadeloupe, the modern transition

CHRISTIAN **GALPIN**

Asking the question of modern architecture in Guadeloupe amounts to examining the transition that affected this 'old French colony,' which became in 1946 a French department (administrative division), just like her continental sister Guyana and her other insular sister Martinique.

AT THE TURN of the twentieth century, architecture and town planning become subjects of first importance within the French colonial empire. Used to promote the colonial undertaking, in particular via Fair pavilions, architecture and town planning are duty-bound to express its 'civilizing mission.'
Thus, the colonial or World Fairs, and the other celebrations of France's presence outside its geographic boundaries, showcases of the colonial undertaking, partake in the assertion of France's place in the entente among the Western colonial powers. These demonstrations are also authentic exercises in 'colonial narcissism,' meant to express within the country itself the nation's greatness.[1]

AS EARLY AS THE 1930s the first expressions of modern architecture markedly contributed to the development of landscapes and life styles, but the most important changes started in the 1960s. As a result the years between 1929 and 1960 can be considered a period of 'welding' during which learned architecture contrived to blend in with the vernacular.

THE INTENSITY of this 'crossbreed' relationship tended to weaken as the penetration of the modern movement and international style increased. Herein, the expression "international style," coined by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson in 1932, is used to describe the architecture and formal options that were carried out in

Fig. 1. **Ali Tur**, *Saint-André de Morne-à-l'Eau church*, main façade, circa 1935. This church was listed on the additional register of historical places

© *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 3 (March 1936)

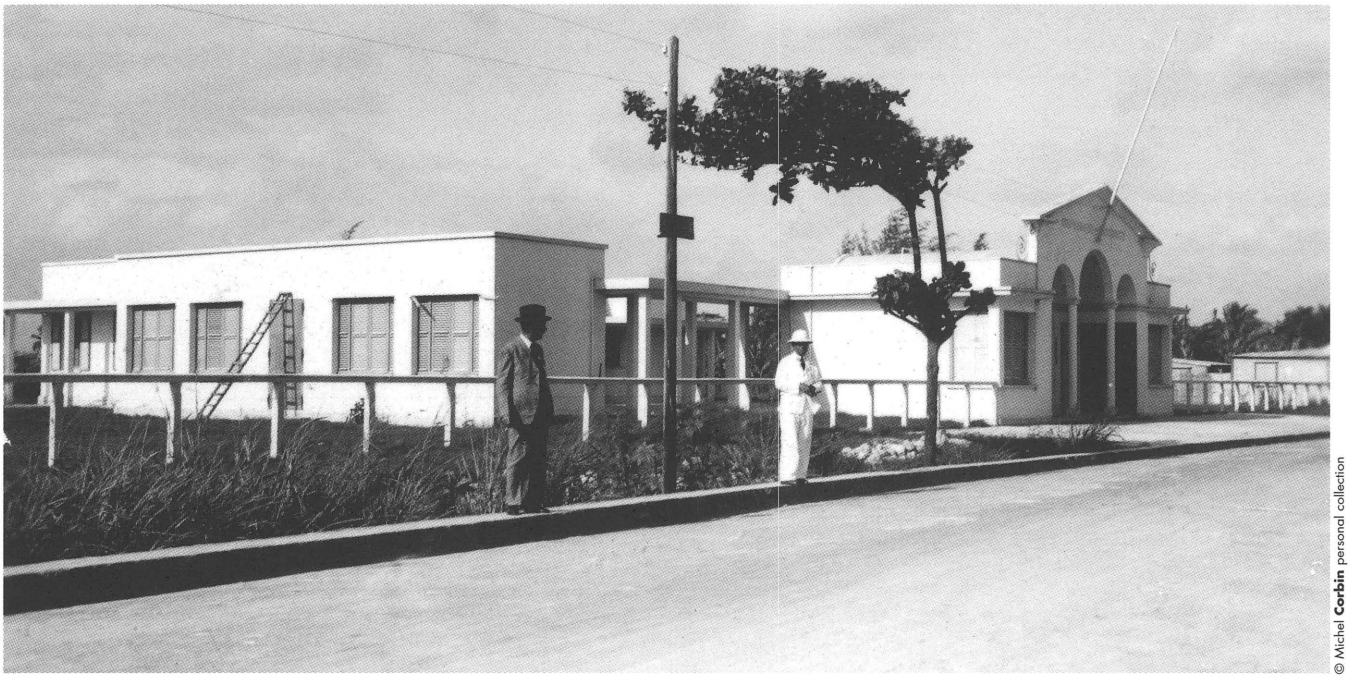

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Fig. 2. **Ali Tur** and **Gérard Michel Corbin**, façade of the *Port-Louis clinic*, circa 1931

© Christian **Galpin**, 2005

Fig. 3. **Gérard Michel Corbin** and **Edmond Mercier**, façade of the *Bank of Guadeloupe* entrance, circa 1937

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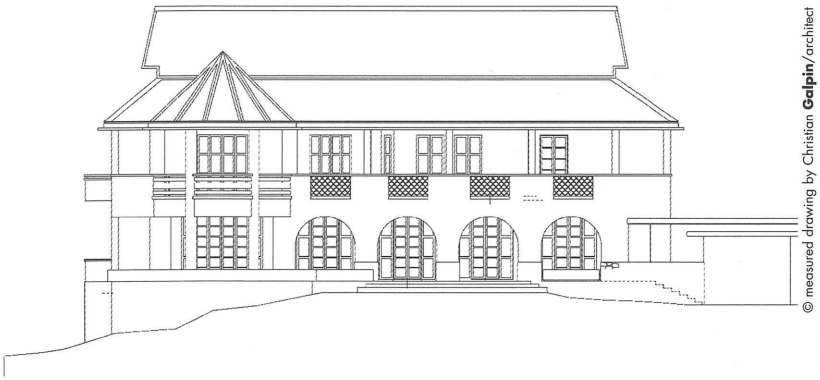
Fig. 4. **Gérard Michel Corbin**, *Nithila building*, façade, Pointe-à-Pitre, 1950s

Europe by Le Corbusier and the members of the Bauhaus (in Guadeloupe, from the 1960s onwards). As for the terms 'modernist' and 'modernism,' meaning "that assumes the modern ideas," they describe a rational architecture in reinforced concrete (in Guadeloupe, from 1929 and 1960), somewhat marked with 'classicism.'

ALI TUR'S FOUNDING WORKS

A major expression of modern architecture emerges after a natural disaster in Guadeloupe's landscape. In September 1928, a terrible cyclone strikes Guadeloupe, destroying a built environment consisting largely of architecture in wood.[2] The cataclysm occurs just before the celebration of colonization's tri-centennial, scheduled in 1935 in the island. During a visit to Paris, Tellier, Guadeloupe's governor, asks Ali Tur to reconstruct the government's buildings. This will be the architect's chance to realize the work of his life: from 1929 to 1937, he is the author of a considerable number of buildings (more than a hundred) on this island of 1789 sq.km. Despite his Arabic first name, Ali Tur is the son of a high-ranking French civil servant, born in Tunisia around 1889. Trained at the Beaux-Arts school in Paris, he joins the Ministry of Colonies' list of ten architects in 1925.

THE INITIAL COMMISSION concerns the governmental buildings, but quickly extends to municipal buildings.



© measured drawing by Christian **Galpin**/architect

Fig. 5. **Edmond Mercier**, *Longueteau-Gourbeyre House*, façade, circa 1940

THUS, the following are entrusted to Ali Tur: schools, nearly all of the town halls, police stations, markets, civil servant offices, both Law Courts, the Regional Council, the Governor's residence (current Prefecture) and even some War memorials.

THE ARCHITECT'S QUESTIONS at the time, which he expresses in an article published in issue 3 of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, March 1936, have to do with the country's climate, the know-how of local skilled workers and local supplies in construction materials. As far as the workforce is concerned, he recommends bringing in building contractors who master the implementation of reinforced concrete to train local labor. This explains why M. G. Diligenti lands in Guadeloupe at the end of 1928 with some workers of Italian stock from his Saint-Étienne firm; he then brings in others from his native village of Coggiola, Italy. The latter undeniably contribute to the training of a first-rate skilled local labor in a few years' time; subsequently, they settle in the country and establish construction firms; some also become building sponsors—the Diligentis build for themselves the Diligenti-Grand Hôtel that currently accommodates the Pointe-à-Pitre Chamber of commerce (Jacques Tessier, architect). As for building materials, they come from Germany's payment of the war debt to the Allies.[3]

MAIN FEATURES OF TUR'S WORKS

When Tur operates in Guadeloupe, in the conditions previously evoked, the question of 'overseas' construction is a real issue for architects in France. A text called "De la construction en pays chaud" (Of Building in Hot Climates), published in issue 3 of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, March 1936, penned by E. Weithas,[4] bears witness to this concern and discloses a real guide or memento for the colonial architect's use, which outlines the conditions of a good tropical architecture in the colonies: "Hot countries are characterized by very special phenomena of meteorological nature and by equally special diseases due to the environment and to which the diverse human races are variously receptive. Herein we have in mind especially the white race, the colonizer's, transplanted in regions where it is important to make his life easier."

IN THIS ARTICLE, construction is considered from the angle of climatic conditions, with a scientific approach to the environment. It gives unsparing advice on how to use building materials, lay out and size spaces, site buildings, place openings, choose floor materials, and more widely on the general lay out. The use of reinforced concrete rather than wood for walls and floors (covering) is strongly advised. As for joinery, the use of windows with slatted shutters is encouraged, and raising ground floors and protection verandahs is recommended. The height to underside of ceiling is

Fig. 6. **Gérard Michel Corbin**, *Villa Ferly*, Petit-Bourg, circa 1960

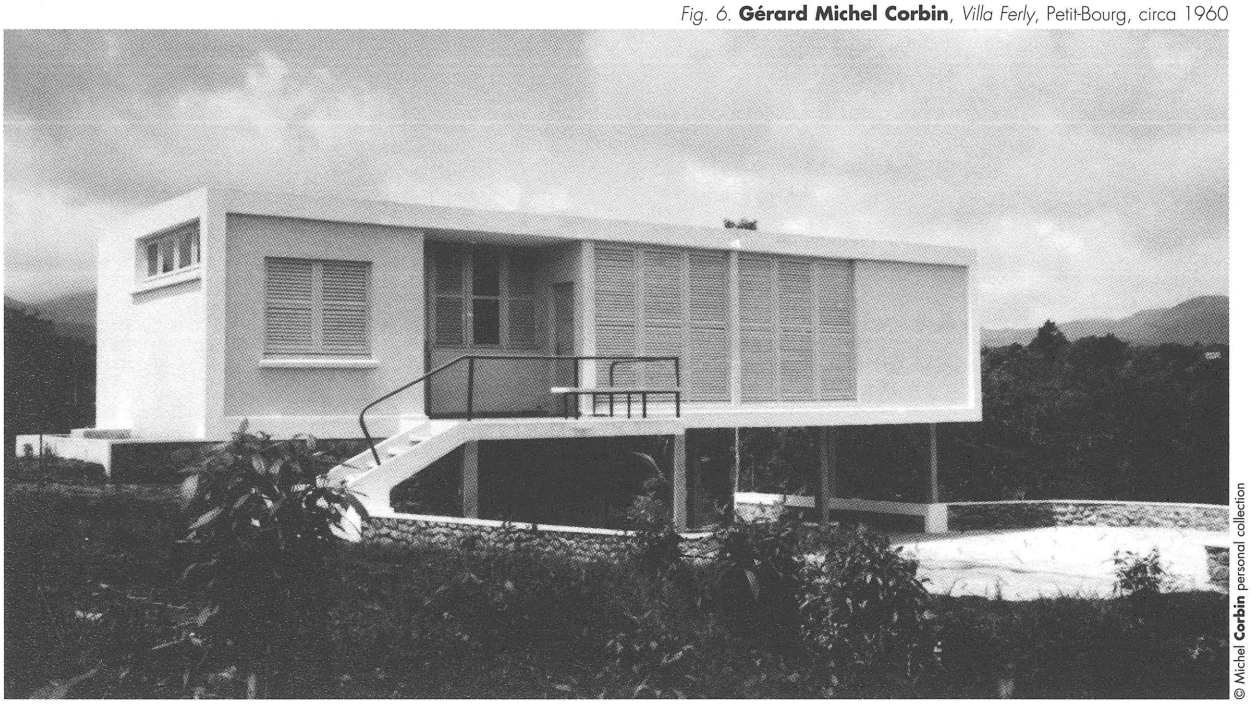


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Fig. 7. **Creveaux** and **Tessier**, *Air France building*, Pointe-à-Pitre, circa 1961

determined at three meters minimum. The article suggests a set of construction rules that take into account the climatic realities as well as hygienist considerations. Concerning spatial layouts and more specifically outbuildings, the author points out that: "It is useful to bear in mind the direction of wintering winds if it is constant, so that no building can deprive its neighbors of these winds. Annex buildings that give off smells or fumes, pavilions for contagious patients, dwellings for the natives, must be located under the wind of European dwellings."

THE AUTHOR CONCLUDES: "For the white race, life in hot countries poses, beyond the problem of houses, other problems. In the first place, the problem of native houses whose principles remain the same with alleviations that are possible thanks to the black or yellow race's acclimatization or mistakes. Then come the problems linked to town planning: the problem of segregation, solved by the separation of European and native towns, the problems of sterilizing drinking waters." The modern conception of colonial architecture at the time considers the adaptation of architecture to the climatic context as a crucial factor, but it also reasserts the position of each and every social group in the organization of spaces, in all parts of the world.

THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT that Tur was aware of these debates, but his architecture attests mostly to the influence of Perret (1874–1954): a rational, rigorous even, conception, a classical sense of layout and the use of simple materials that widely contribute to perpetuating his architecture in this country. Just like his illustrious contemporary,[5] but without reaching the master's exceptional art, he designs an architecture of load-bearing structures with elements of infill, supports for geometric décor ensuring a generous ventilation of spaces. This affinity with Perret is striking if one compares, on some points, the Notre-Dame du Raincy church (1923, A. and G. Perret, architects) with the Saint-André de Morne-à-l'Eau church (circa 1935, Ali Tur, architect) *(fig. 1)*. Ali Tur also draws from observation to develop answers adjusted to local conditions and practices: it is the previously evoked "crossbreed alchemy" of this period's colonial architecture.

IT IS NOTEWORTHY that this architecture incorporates a certain amount of traditional techniques and uses what

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Fig. 8. **André Bruyère**, *Caravelle hotel* (currently Club Méditerranée), Sainte-Anne, 1962. In 1968 in his book *Pourquoi des architectes?* André Bruyère defines architecture as "the way of molding tenderness onto constraint"

Fig. 9. **Ali Tur**, *Lamentin Presbytery*, 1930s, rehabilitated by Christian Galpin/architect

would today be considered a matter of sustainable development. Thus, in the town of Lamentin, the buildings of the administrative ensemble[6] surrounding the War memorial—town hall, law courts, presbytery, school and church—are all fitted with rain water tanks destined to supply water for the sanitary appliances.

Tur's works turn out to have had a powerful influence on the local architectural culture of the first half of the twentieth century. But, although his works can be evoked as the founding act of modernity for Guadeloupe's architecture, nonetheless the father of modern architecture in this country is doubtless Gérard Michel Corbin.

GÉRARD MICHEL CORBIN: A MAJOR FIGURE OF THE MODERNIST PERIOD

Gérard Michel Corbin (1905–1975) was born in Martinique of Guadeloupean parents. Between 1923 and 1928 he is a student at the ESTP (École spéciale des travaux publics) where he is awarded his degree as architect-engineer in 1929, but his career as an architect really starts in 1930. Corbin is co-author with Ali Tur of a few projects, such as the Port-Louis town hall, a strange piece of architecture of neo-classic intent, somewhat baroque, overwrought with elements of décor that resemble the works of neither architect *(fig. 2)*. He is also the designer of many important works, such as the bank of Guadeloupe building (1940s), the music kiosk in Pointe-à-Pitre (1930–1931), of many 'civilian buildings' and elegant town houses *(fig. 3)*. Corbin's works are the thread of the story of Guadeloupe's architecture in the twentieth century, and in this respect, he would deserve to be the subject of a monograph. Moreover, he is in 1953 the founder and president of the council of Antilles-Guyane association of architects.

After the 1928 cyclone, public commissioning is the main receptacle of the reinforced concrete architecture, referred to as 'modernist.' On the other hand, private sponsors tend to reconstruct in wood the destroyed heritage. Mostly, these are very characteristic town houses, with ground floor and one or two stories, which fit into the urban fabric of narrow and deep plots, with frequently an interior courtyard and a lightweight balcony overhanging on the street façade.

THE REINFORCED CONCRETE ARCHITECTURE of the 1930s, considered the more apt to last and resist natural disasters, asserts itself as a mark of progress symbolizing modernity and development. During the immediate postwar period, it is adopted by larger fractions of the population seeking to display their social ascent, and somewhat transforms the landscape of cities. In fact this new building mode replaces traditional housing, in the bourgeois districts and the outskirts alike. This architecture remains hybrid, borrowing from the traditional house its spatial layout, sometimes its proportions, while also incorporating new architectonic elements (flowerbeds, horizontal tubular railings, larger openings, bull's eye windows, rounded shapes, 'broken' angles, etc.) *(fig. 4)*. As a result, this architecture, which "enjoys a harmonious relationship with the existing buildings,"[7] is a very fine private heritage for our cities. It is also a period of villas erected in the new residential districts[8] by middle-class families. Corbin confirms his position in the private and public sectors during this phase of production, and realizes varied and rich works. At the same period other architects such as Edmond Mercier (Villa Longueteau, circa 1941) or Henri Gabriel (former Ali Tur collaborator) also stand out *(fig. 5)*.

THE END OF THE 1950s, THE 1960s: THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE

At the end of the 1950s, the newly created DOM (overseas departments) initiate a process of assimilation to France that triggers an important change in architecture. New players appear on the architectural scene. Architects Raymond Creveaux and Jacques Tessier are the main figures that emerge, among other reasons because they are the main contractors of the very important operation of urban renewal in Pointe-à-Pitre (RUPAP).[9] The architecture of social housing increases dramatically and, like the *grands ensembles* (large social housing developments) in France, it produces only a second-rate heritage. But, unlike the mass production of social housing, projects for state or city facilities produce some interesting constructions architecturally.

THE INFLUENCE OF LE CORBUSIER'S architecture is very significant for Creveaux and Tessier, as well as the 'contextualized' approach of architects such as Oscar Niemeyer.[10] These influences are also noticeable in the second part of Corbin's work *(fig. 6)* and it cannot be a coincidence if, in 1961, the latter organizes an important trip to Brazil, for an encounter with Niemeyer's Brasilia *(fig. 7)*.[11]
Architects from Guadeloupe, such as Gérard Corbin and Gilbert Amarias (a frequent Corbin collaborator), young architects like Robert Desgranges and Daniel Ricou, and designers coming from France, such as André Gomis (1926–1971) or André Bruyère[12] (1912–1998) also enjoyed their moment of fame during that period *(fig. 8)*.

PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT

In a conference held in 2004 in Pointe-à-Pitre, Jean-Pierre Giordani spoke about Guadeloupe's heritage as being "a stock shared by a creation that is old and contemporary, urban and rural, 'theoretically' available for the free recognition of, and appropriation by, the inhabitants." Herein, and in a nutshell, he expresses our main and crucial issues.
During the 1990s, within the framework of a thematic campaign, the French Minister of Culture, taking into account the built heritage of the first half of the twentieth century, carried out the listing of five works by Ali Tur on the additional register of historic places.[13] However, government institutions cannot be the only players of the protection and development endeavor.

THE EFFORTS CONCERNING documentation and the elaboration of tools to communicate with the general public and to develop this heritage are starting to yield some results. The local communities aware of this heritage seem to want to implement preservation policies, and even to restore buildings from that period *(fig. 9)*.
Whatever one may think of the meaning or conditions of this architecture—colonial or inspired by the international style—in the Antilles, it remains for local contemporary architects a set of references that should nurture their own considerations on the expression and signification of their work.
If, as August Perret once said, "architecture is what makes beautiful ruins," then ensuring its preservation is an important deed of citizenship.

CHRISTIAN GALPIN *is an architect in Guadeloupe. He earned his degree at the School of architecture Paris-La Défense and has been in practice since 1986. Over the last few years, besides his professional practice, he has become interested in the architecture between the two world wars, focusing more particularly on the work of Ali Tur. His work has led to several publications and lectures in France and abroad. He has furthermore collaborated to the shooting of a fiction-documentary (2002) recounting the reconstruction of Guadeloupe after 1928. President of the Regional Council of the Order of Architects of Guadeloupe since 2002, he is the former president of the Maison de l'Architecture.*

Translated by ***Isabelle Kite***

NOTES

1 Notion evoked by Mia Fuller in her work on the Italian colonial process.
2 Since the beginning of colonization, construction in this island subjected to each of nature's whims and fancies (earth quakes, cyclones, active volcanoes) was as a rule implemented in wood.
3 Payment in kind settlement. Defeated Germany had to pay its debt by providing the Allies with products, in particular building materials. *The motherland*, in all fairness, demanded of Guadeloupe, her colony, that she pay back these supplies.
4 E. Weithas, "De la construction en pays chaud," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 3 (March 1936, 7th year).
5 Jean-Pierre Le Dantec, in *Architecture en France*, concerning Auguste Perret, talks about a language that is "*classic-modern*, in the sense that it unites principles reminiscent of the greco-roman antiquity to plastic inventions of the first masters (of which he was himself) of twentieth century architecture."
6 All of these buildings were designed by Ali Tur.
7 "noue une relation heureuse avec l'existant" in Jean-Pierre Le Dantec, *Architecture en France* (Paris: ADPF, ministère des Affaires étrangères, 1999).
8 Region of Vernou Petit-Bourg on the outskirts of Pointe-à-Pitre, and region of Saint-Claude the outskirts of Basse-Terre.
9 This very large scale operation of urban renewal for unsanitary dwellings followed André Malraux's visit in 1964 (senior French minister) and the Général De Gaulle's visit in 1964.
10 On this subject, see Brazil's pavilion at the 1939 Fair in New York, which uses brise-soleils and Le Corbusier-like shapes.
11 Architects, building contractors, local and State political figures take part in this trip.
12 He is the author of the remarkable La Caravelle hotel in Sainte-Anne (1962).
13 The following were listed: the former Governor's residence (currently the Préfecture), the Law Courts, the Regional Council palace in Basse-Terre, the Saint-André de Morne-à-l'Eau church and the former Pointe-Noire town hall.

A **EUROPEAN GLANCE** IN THE MIRROR OF **CARIBBEAN** MODERN **ARCHITECTURE**

VICTOR **PÉREZ ESCOLANO**

THE INTERPRETATION OF OPPOSITE POINTS of view between Europe and the Americas has frequently generated deep controversies. Remember the international Euro-American congresses on the Latin American baroque, ever since the first one held in Rome in 1980: European echoes versus specific entities. In fact, the question of the Latin American cultural sphere's alternative use for discoveries that were impossible in Europe is analyzed in works such as Roberto Fernández's in *El laboratorio Americano*: one of its premises is Burckhardt's hypothesis according to which America could be the opportunity of shedding new light both on nature and on mankind. Numerous round-trips made by the architecture of our times, are studied by another brilliant Argentine historian, Jorge Francisco Liernur.[1] America returns and increases our doubts, and vigorously questions our convictions. To quote Antonio Fernández Alba, "today's man lives in territories of disenchantment," "he inhabits spaces and accepts dwellings built with no project of place," "he passes through the city with no possible identification" and "his biography is built around a miserable emptiness."[2] Are modern dwelling's conditions and the failure of urbanism and architecture based on the modern movement due to action or merely to omission? Many of us believe that modern architecture's qualities are traces and clues to a landscape frustrated of a modern project that never was completed.

THE MODERN MOVEMENT'S ARCHITECTURE is an ample garment covering a multitude of cities on the five continents; it bears witness to a historical stage convulsive yet also intermingled with innovative propositions that allowed cities from every latitude to live the paradox of realizing their specific modernizing project according to the disciplinary rules of a pluralistic and common international system. Latin America developed this fascinating

game of mirrors between World War II and the 1960s crisis. The Caribbean region, in its insular lands, actively partakes in the difficult integration process, although Brazilian and Mexican achievements were prevalent in this process. Investigating the Caribbean and its architecture is nonetheless interesting to appreciate some of its singular realities.
Everybody knows the political but also cultural impact of Castro's revolution on Europe. It would not be appropriate here to delve into this most significant power play, but it is nevertheless necessary to point out that it occurred for architectural culture as well. In the 1960s Cuba was the focus point of the complex Caribbean—and more generally Latin American—realities, and this excess of attention overshadowed the knowledge and discrimination acquired before 1959.

LET US OBSERVE a journal very widely published at the time, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, which devoted its attention (88/1960) to Havana's Pilot Project by Town Planning Associates (Wiener, Sert et al.), a few years before it began covering the new situation with growing enthusiasm: the competition for the Playa Girón Victory's monument (115/1964), the Art Schools (119/1965) or the broader subject of Cuban leadership within the Third World (140/1968). By then, J. M. Richards had already published his report in the venerable British journal *Architectural Review* (1962). These brief references cover the modern movement's course from the TPA plans for Havana, a modern urbanism variation on the advanced CIAM, to Ricardo Porro's neo-expressionism and experimentation for the Art School, masterpieces of the Revolution before it implemented a controlled and rigid system.

NEARLY half a century later, our European outlook can carry on the Caribbean and Cuba itself with a renewed sense of perception, with the serene feeling of an expanded knowledge. This is due to the extraordinary contributions of the Caribbean world itself, persistently and efficiently introduced in the last few years. The case of architectural journals is significant: *Arquitectura Cuba* went through a serious crisis that was only partly overcome thanks to the efforts of Eduardo Luis Rodríguez and of Gustavo Luis Moré and his team, the publication *Archivos de Arquitectura Antillana* in Santo Domingo is just as successful and interesting as the most widely published Latin American journals.

MODERNITY'S PREMISES IN THE CARIBBEAN have been carefully studied in the only book incorporating the *Caribbean Architecture of the 20th century*, written by Roberto Segre, the most prolific historian on the subject of Cuban architecture from the 1960s onwards.[3] This research, published as a book in Mexico and Cuba, was also edited in chapters in *Archivos de Arquitectura Antillana*. The fifth chapter of his analysis of Caribbean modernity ("La difícil simplicidad tropical"—the difficult tropical simplicity) had an initial version distributed worldwide by the *Docomomo Journal*.[4] The Dominican review is a crucial and extremely efficient instrument of integration, and academic work is also currently being carried out, with Panamanian Eduardo Tejeira-Davis's dissertation at the University of Heidelberg.[5]

IN LATIN AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY, the reaction to nineteenth century historicisms takes place repeatedly and, therefore, the process of architectural renewal occurs in different ways: regionalism of neo-colonialist or neo-indigenous expression, and formal innovation either of art deco persuasion or of proto-modernity, or primitive modernity, neither being especially affiliated to the modern movement.[6] The tardy decolonization process of the big Caribbean led the United States to take over as the dominant power in the region, where they put into practice their imperialist doctrine, as staged in the 1893 Columbine Fair in Chicago. According to Segre, "as soon as Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Haiti were occupied, the North American government created public works departments and began implementing basic social constructions, designed by this country's architects. The solutions drawn from twenty years of experience in tropical zone construction were adjusted to the 'Hispanic' environment where 'modern' subjects were incorporated."[7]

THIS EPISODE is not unimportant in the history of Latin American and Caribbean architecture, because extremely frustrating events stemmed from its illegitimate consecration. Remember for instance the international competition for the Columbus Lighthouse in Santo Domingo, a landmark in the history of the most famous competitions (Palace of the Society of Nations, Chicago Tribune), for which "the architects from the entire world" were summoned (1928). Over nineteen hundred of them entered the competition, coming from 44 different countries. Amongst the 453 projects of all kinds, a jury, chaired by Eliel Saarinen, selected ten for the final stage, among which several Russian constructivists; F. L. Wright was a jury member, and the prize was awarded to J. L. Gleave for an absurd project located somewhere between pseudo art deco and pseudo neo-maya, which was built decades later.[8]

A TWOFOLD DEVELOPMENT deserves to be pointed out: on the one hand, renewal processes rooted in heavily inert cultural models (neo-colonial or art deco) and on the other, those that are deeply linked to climatic and material conditions. For the latter, the question is solved. Thus, the *bohío* (the Indian hut), an ancestral shelter preserved in the modesty of local rural dwelling customs, conforms to a 'common' model of the region, displaying throughout the Caribbean[9] simple transculturation shapes intermingled with mixed-breed spatial structures. This is how identity values work their way in and produce some specific modernization experiments that do not mimic the modern movement's formal archetypes to such an extent. This the case for instance with the figure of Eugenio Batista in Cuba, praised by Nicolás Quintana as follows: "throughout a whole period, he was one of the only Cuban architects who had a claim to the title . . . thanks to the value of his works, products of an inspiration stemming from our tradition and its purest spatial concepts." Roberto Segre also praises him: "Eugenio Batista differs from his contemporaries in his ability to move away from the colony's composition system and decorative repertoire and to adopt the conceptual attributes they were born of. By establishing the three P rule—patio, *persiana* [louver] and portico—as characteristic of the Cuban dwelling adjusted to a lifestyle and concrete ecological conditions, he does not take for granted the use of shapes necessarily stemming from the historical heritage."[10] The Falla House (1939) by Batista is therefore an excellent model to understand the specifically Caribbean kind of modernization.

FORMAL COMPONENTS, the use of concrete and new typologies, etc. were unevenly incorporated to that basis; but the total modernization of Caribbean architecture takes place later, starting from 1945, under the influence of more brilliant works built in Brazil or Mexico, but also due to the presence of North American architects, in particular European immigrants, from Neutra to Gropius. Neutra's case is especially interesting because he incorporates the weight of his conceptions to a biological discourse, which we would today call environmental, in perfect agreement with the requirements of a tropical climate, the region's paradigm. To be precise, Neutra comes to Puerto Rico invited by Rexford G. Tugwell, a crucial figure of the TVA's planning (Tennessee Valley Authority) under Roosevelt's presidency, who in the 1940s also monitored the island's public works plans. However, Neutra's most significant work in the Caribbean is the Schullthess House in Havana, whose gardens were laid out by Roberto Burle Marx.[11]

IN CUBA, the creation of the Technical Group of Contemporary Studies (Agrupación Técnica de Estudios Contemporáneos, ATEC) reflects how architects who had innovative ideas, but were looking for an alternative to the more severe avant-garde groupings, could gather. The months Lluís Sert and his wife spent in Havana, from March 1939 to the moment they obtained forged Cuban passports that allowed them to leave for New York, were propitious to meetings that doubtless included discussions on the CIAM and GATEPAC, the Spanish organization, essentially Catalan, linked to CIRPAC. Cuban architects Eugenio Batista, Miguel Gastón, Nicolás Arroyo, Gabriela Menéndez, Tapia Ruano, Carlos Alzogaray, Beatriz Masó and Rita Gutiérrez, among others, participated in ATEC, which would ultimately join the international organization. The Cuban architects'

participation in the CIAM started with the first postwar congress in 1947 (6th Congress in Bridgewater), where Eugenio Batista and Nicolás Arroyo were present. Batista once more, this time with Rita Gutiérrez (8th Congress in Hoddesdon), and then Nicolás Quintana for the last congresses (9th in Aix-en-Provence and 10th in Dubrovnik), would subsequently attend.[12]

SERT, BETWEEN 1942 AND 1959, practiced at the Town Planning Associates, with Paul Lester Wiener and two other partners, working hard both in Latin America and for the US War Department. Brazil, Peru, Colombia and Venezuela were their main fields of operation, supplemented by another Caribbean project (a hotel in Curaçao) which in the end was never realized. Nicolás Arroyo, who attended the 6th CIAM (1947), would later be the Public Works Minister for Fulgencio Batista's second government, and pushed Sert to work in Cuba. In the first place, Sert worked with the National Dwellings Program in 1952. In the following years, via the Memorandum to the Minister, the TPA's collaboration with the Cuban government involved mostly urbanism works, based on the ideas developed concerning functional cities adjusted to their environments, 'city cores,' civic centers and neighborhood units. From the ATEC's womb, and from the Pro-Urbanism Patronage, simultaneously created with the motto "better cities, better citizens," emerged several architects (Montolieu, Romañach, A. Quintana, Mantilla, among others) who officiated in positions of great responsibilities in the National Planning Committee (la Junta Nacional de Planificación) created by Arroyo and for which Sert and Lester Wiener were counselors. They studied Varadero, the Pine Trees Island, and Havana, whose Pilot Plan project had already been presented;[13] Eastern Havana is the project's only deferred effect, while thankfully other decisions, concerning the historical center for instance, were never carried out.

BUT THE MODERN MOVEMENT'S ARCHITECTURE that can be seen, known, documented and preserved reveals the history of protagonists and of certain works, many of which, fortunately, have been preserved and form a precious heritage of the region's recent history. Dominican González Sánchez is a contemporary of Cuban Eugenio Batista, also born with the century and trained in the United States where he acquired his professional skills. His office building Copello (1939) marks the beginning of his efforts, praised for the refined hotels Jaragua (1941, demolished) and Hamaca in Boca Chica (1951), to 'tropicalize,' as Gustavo Luis Moré would say, the international style.[14] In 1955, González is the author of the decade's most significant architectural event in the Dominican Republic under Trujillo, the Fair of Peace and Fraternity of the Free World (Feria de la Paz y Confraternidad del Mundo Libre). It is the best public architecture work of Santo Domingo's urban development, which is supported by its public roads system and carries out other experiments in the Gazcue district.

HOWEVER, DURING THIS PHASE, the works that best perform the modern movement's postulates are built in Puerto Rico: Neutra, invited by Tugwell to participate in the school and hospital building programs with the Committee of Public Works' Design, has a particularly potent influence. His collaborator, Henry Klumb, who had previously worked with Wright, permanently settles in the island, and other excellent Puerto Rican architects, such as Osvaldo Toro, Miguel Ferrer and J. Torregrosa, also participate. Here, the grounds for innovation are Condado y Santurce, and Toro y Ferrer design some buildings characteristic of San Juan's modernization process, such as the Caribe Hilton hotel (1949) or the Supreme Court's seat (1955). I think Henry Klumb's contribution to the modernization of the Río Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico should be emphasized. It is mentioned in the *Latin American Architecture since 1945* presentation prepared by Hitchcock for the MoMA in 1955. Besides drawing a new regulating plan in 1951, he was called on to design dozens of buildings on the campus, among which the General Library, the Museums of Anthropology, Art and History, the Student Center, the Architecture School, the Student Housing building, the Faculties of Social Science, Business and Management, and the Law School, among others, which altogether form a most essential ensemble. Textures, manipulations of light created

by brise-soleils, and subtle chromatic variations, added to the natural environment's incorporation, are part of a program of modern and tropical architecture.[15]

LET US CONCLUDE by returning to the biggest island of the Caribbean, and its capital, where the modern movement's architecture is luxuriant. Havana's urban heritage, despite its degradation, truly exists; likewise with its 1940s and 1950s heritage. Strollers, and those who remember their strolls, can find excellent guides, in particular those to which Eduardo Luis Rodríguez has contributed.[16] A late and copious art deco, with buildings such as the Bacardí (1930) or the López Serrano (1932), and many more sharply modern constructions, also inspired Batista's surprising expressions, previously mentioned, or some attractive and rare experiments such as the Solimar building (1945) by Manuel Copado, or the workers' settlement of Luyanó (1947), by P. Martínez Inclán, A. Quintana, M. Romañach and J. A. San Martín. 1947 is always referred to as being significant in the modernization process as the year when architecture students rebelled and burnt their school's Vignolas.* Beyond its symbolic value, this destruction seems a gesture much less eloquent than the achievement of a major work, composed without restraint and absolutely modern: the Radiocentro building by Emilio del Junco, Miguel Gastón and Martín Domínguez. It is the fruit of a collaboration between two brilliant architects and the exiled Spanish architect Domínguez who, with his companion Carlos Arniches and engineer Eduardo Torroja, is the author of the Zarzuela Hippodrome's stands (1935), one of the most significant modern architecture works in Spain. Later, he will collaborate with Ernesto Gómez Sampera and Bartolomé Bestard to design another landmark and symbol of Havana's modern architecture: the FOSCA building (1956), the most important apartment house built during the period.[17]

Among so many interesting works, it would be hazardous to select architects and projects of that decade: Max Borges (architect's personal house, 1950; Tropicana cabaret, 1951), Frank Martínez (Eight Brothers' House, 1952), Ricardo Porro (Abad-Villegas House, 1954), Manuel Gutiérrez (Engineering Faculty of the Villanueva University, 1959)... Roberto Segre singles out the commercial courts' building (Tribunal de Cuentes, currently the Ministry of the Interior's seat), by Aquiles Capablanca and others, as "the decade's most remarkable public work," to the extent that Hitchcock compares it to Rio de Janeiro's Ministry of Education and Health. For Eduardo Luis Rodríguez, it is the figure of Mario Romañach that is exceptional, associated with Silverio Bosch, for his renowned works and his intense relationships with the international figures present in Cuba; Neutra will praise his Vidaña House (1953), and Gropius will do the same with the Noval House (1949).[18] This excellent domestic architecture spreads to positively urban works, such as El Vedado's Medical Insurance building (1958) by Antonio Quintana, Beale, Rubio et Pérez Beato, preceded by the Odontologic Building, of brilliant volumetric and construction solutions. Antonio Quintana, who had already taken part in the Luyanó settlement, finds outstanding answers for different kinds of housing developments, that, according to Segre, provide "the best small-sized distribution diagrams, based on the rationalist experience and on the break with traditional classification and segregation of internal functions."[19]

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THE MODERN MOVEMENT'S ARCHITECTURE IN THE CARIBBEAN extends beyond the 1960 border, because it continues with the Cuban Revolution's experiments. Eastern Havana or the University Campus City by J. A. Echevarria will prove it. This goes further still: when in 1963 the Congress of the International Architects' Union takes place, the Cuban Pavilion (J. Campos and L. Medrano) that is erected on Street 23 is a copy of the Bacardí project in Santiago de Cuba (1957) by Mies van der Rohe. The normalization process of projects and prefabrication impede free experimentation that is more frequently considered as being ambiguous, as is obvious with the architecture devoted to public education.[20] In the 1960s, architecture undergoes a critical episode throughout the world, which also affects the Caribbean.

Translated by ***Isabelle Kite***

* Classic architecture handbooks by theoretician and architect Giacomo Barozzi De Vignola (1507–1573). —TRANS.

NOTES

1 Roberto Fernández. *El laboratorio americano. Arquitectura, Geocultura y Regionalismo* (Madrid: Gedisa, 1998). Jorge Francisco Liernur, "Un nuovo mondo per lo spirito nuovo: le scoperte dell'America Latina da parte della cultura architettonica del XX secolo," *Zodiac* 8 (Milan: 1992–1993), reissued in *Escritos de arquitectura del siglo 20 en América Latina* (Madrid: Tanais, 2003).

2 Antonio Fernández Alba. *En las gradas de Epidauro* (Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 1987).

3 Roberto Segre, Italian-Argentine architect, drew close to the Cuban process after the Revolution. His many publications were essential both inside the island and abroad. Some were published in Europe, especially in Spain, Italy and France. For years, his publications expressed a clear operative approach, consisting in a theoretical and pedagogic compromise with the long revolutionary process. His widely distributed review of the first decade, called *Cuba, La arquitectura de la Revolución* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1970), was issued simultaneously in Cuba, Italy and Spain.

4 Roberto Segre, *Arquitectura antillana del siglo XX* (Mexico: UAM-Xochimilco/FCE, 1996; Havana/Bogota: Arte y Literatura/National University of Colombia, 2003). It was also published in chapters, for the Spanish and English versions, in *Archivos de Arquitectura Antillana*, issues 4/1997 to 10/2000 (Santo Domingo). The book is the result of the research initiated thanks to the grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation awarded to Roberto Segre in 1985.
At the same time he published his first articles on Caribbean architecture ("Un siglo de arquitectura antillana," in *Arte moderno en América Latina*, Damián Bayón, ed., Madrid: Taurus, 1985), in parallel with his works concerning Latin America in general, drawing mostly from his courses at the University of Sao Paulo (*América Latina fim de milênio. Raíces e perspectivas de sua arquitectura*, Sao Paulo: Studio Nobel, 1991; in Spanish, *Arte y Literatura*: Havana, 1999). His previous article on Caribbean modernity is "Difficult simplicity: a tropical paradox. Antillean rationalism in the Caribbean," *Docomomo Journal* 13 (1995): 51–53.

5 Eduardo Tejeira-Davis, *Roots of Modern Latin American Architecture: the Hispano-Caribbean Region from the Late 19th Century to the Recent Past*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Heidelberg, 1987.

6 Ramón Gutiérrez, *Arquitectura y urbanismo en Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1983). The references to proto-modernity or to a primary modernity as being nascent trends not strictly belonging to the modern movement, are herein presented, for the Caribbean case, in Roberto Segre, "Preludio a la modernidad: convergencias y divergencias en el contexto caribeño (1900–1950)," in *Arquitectura neocolonial. América Latina, Caribe, Estados Unidos*, Aracy Amaral, ed. (Mexico: FCE, 1994). For Havana, the subject was studied in Carlos Sambricio and Roberto Segre, *Arquitectura en la ciudad de La Habana. Primera modernidad* (Madrid: Electa/Colegios de Arquitectos de Galicia, Asturias, Castilla y Léon este y León, 2000). In Segre, *Arquitectura antillana*, 127, this interpretation is emphasized because it suggests some parallels between American neo-colonialism and the same period's Spanish regionalism, with the 1929 Spanish-American Fair in Seville, a privileged place for experimentation.

7 Segre, *Arquitectura antillana*, 128. This way of doing was particularly well studied for the Puerto Rican case: Enrique Vivoni-Farage and S. Álvarez Curbelo, *Hispanofilia. Arquitectura y vida en Puerto Rico 1900–1950* (San Juan: University of Puerto Rico/AACUPR, 1998).

8 *Concurso Internacional. Faro en Memoria de Cristobal Colón* (Santo Domingo: A. Kesley, 1931). The Columbus Lighthouse International Competition was widely covered by international journals but works providing a detailed historical analysis still need to be published.

9 Whose appeal generally makes it a common souvenir for European or North American tourists, as shown by the repeated issues of the book *Caribbean Style*, Jack Berthelot, Suzanne Slesin, Stafford Cliff et al. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1985).

10 Nicolás Quintana, "Evolución histórica de la arquitectura en Cuba. Sus factores esenciales," *La Enciclopedia de Cuba*, tome V (Madrid: Playor, 1978): 93. Segre, *Arquitectura antillana*, 186.

11 For Roberto Segre, Neutra is the figure who had the greatest influence on Caribbean architects, precisely "owing to his studies on the adjustment to climate and on the psychological effects of shapes and spaces on man's life" (Segre, *Arquitectura antillana*, 197).
Two of Neutra's books were initially published in Latin America: *Architecture of Social Concern in Regions of Mild Climate* (Sao Paulo: 1948) and *Realismo biológico. Un nuevo Renacimiento humanístico en arquitectura* (Buenos Aires: 1958), and other significant texts were immediately translated (for example his most important conceptual work: *Survival Through Design -Planificar para sobrevivir-*, 1954), and then amply distributed in Spanish-language countries. His son Dion Neutra, in his prologue to the Spanish edition of his father's autobiographical *Life and Shape*, 1962 (*Vida y Forma*, 1972) comments on "how much my father felt proud and satisfied when we were granted the privilege of realizing our first work on Spanish-language grounds: a house in Havana (Cuba), which was completed in 1956."

12 ATEC has hardly been studied, much less distributed. It is part of the period immediately prior to the Revolution that was left in the dark. References to these years were cursorily gathered in the work written in exile by Nicolás Quintana in "Evolución histórica de la arquitectura en Cuba. Sus factores esenciales," *La Enciclopedia de Cuba*, and in memories collected in "Pasado. Los años 50. Presente y futuro," *Archivos de Arquitectura Antillana* 10 (June 2000): 86–101. A detailed study of the CIAM can be consulted in Erich Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, Mass., London: The MIT Press, 2000). In the book, Sert's important role is made obvious, starting with his presence at the third congress in Brussels (1930), as well as his various and significant Latin American contributions since 1937. It also refers to Sert's wish to extend the organization to the American continent, both in the United States and in Mexico and Brazil in 1945. The presence of Cuban architects Batista and Arroyo at Bridgewater in 1947 coincides with that of Argentineans Jorge Ferrari Hardoy and Jorge Vivanco. The recent exhibition held in Barcelona is an excellent opportunity to study Sert's American stage, *Sert 1928–1978. Medio siglo de arquitectura. Obra Completa*, Josep M. Rovira, ed. (Barcelona: Foundation Joan Miró, 2005). See also Josep M. Rovira, *José Luis Sert 1901–1983* (Milan: Electa, 2000).

13 Josep M. Rovira et Timothy Hyde focus their particular studies on the Cuban TPA's propositions, in Rovira, *Sert 1928–1978*. Roberto Segre's critical position can be seen, for example, in the articles "La Habana de Sert: CIAM, ron y cha cha cha," *Dana* 37–38 (Buenos Aires: 1995): 120–125, or, in a more specific context, "La Habana siglo XX: espacio dilatado y tiempo contraído," *Ciudad y Territorio. Estudios territoriales XXVIII* (110), (Madrid, 1996): 713–731.
A very recent insight into the values of the TPA's propositions is Francisco Gómez's as yet unpublished work, "Todo era posible en La Habana. El Plan de Sert & Town Planning Associates para la Habana de 3.000.000 de habitants," 2005.

14 Gustavo Luis Moré, "Guillermo González: a los 82 años de su nacimiento," *Arquivox/GNA* 3–4, 1984–1985: 13. North American studies have documented the Jaragua hotel, a great success of the city.

15 *San Juan siempre Nuevo: Arquitectura y modernización en el siglo XX*, Enrique Vivoni-Farage, ed. (San Juan: University of Puerto Rico/AACUPR, 2000); M. L. Moreno, *La Arquitectura de la Universidad de Puerto Rico. Recinto de Río Piedras* (San Juan: University of Puerto Rico, 2000).

16 In a journey that takes him from Darmstadt (1992) to Seville (1993, 1998) and New York (2000), Eduardo Luis Rodríguez, sometimes in collaboration with María Elena Martín Zequeira, has published a succession of excellent architecture guides. The last reference is *The Havana guide: modern architecture 1925–1965* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2000). Likewise, "The Architectural Avant-Garde: From Art Deco to Modern Regionalism," a monograph devoted to Cuba, *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 22 (Miami: 1996): 254–277; and Eduardo Luis Rodríguez, *La Habana. Arquitectura del Siglo XX* (Barcelona: Blume, 1998).

17 A thorough work on architect Martín Domínguez would be necessary. The monographic issue that was devoted to him years ago by the *Nueva Forma* journal of Madrid cannot be enough: Stephen W. Jacobs, "Martín Domínguez y colaboradores," *Nueva Forma* 74 (Madrid: 1971).

18 Segre, *Arquitectura antillana*, 236. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Latin American Architecture Since 1945* (New York: MoMA/Simon & Schuster, 1955), 73. Rodríguez, *La Habana. Arquitectura del Siglo XX*, chapter 10. Of relevance to understand the Cuban capital's architectural complexity was the meeting at the origin of the publication *Aprendiendo de La Habana. Una guía visual*, Francisco Gómez, ed. (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, 2004).

19 This aspect also aroused some interest in Europe. See *Architettura e istruzione a Cuba*, Giorgio Fiorese, ed. (Milan: Clup, 1980).

20 The synthesis achieved by the Retiro Médico is outstanding, and Roberto Segre praises it in that it specifically designates minimum functional spaces as being principles "also valid for dwellings of the social housing type." Roberto Segre, *La vivienda en Cuba en el siglo XX, República y Revolución* (Mexico: Concepto, 1980), 21–22.

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Docomomo International is a non-profit organization dedicated to the **DO**cumentation and **CO**nservation of buildings, sites and neighbourhoods of the **MO**dern **MO**vement.
It aims at:
- Bringing the significance of the architecture of the modern movement to the attention of the public, the public authorities, the professionals and the educational community.
- Identifying and promoting the surveying of the the modern movement's works.
- Fostering and disseminating the development of appropriate techniques and methods of conservation.
- Opposing destruction and disfigurement of significant works.
- Attracting funding for documentation and conservation.
- Exploring and developing the knowledge of the modern movement.

In the future, Docomomo International intends on extending its field of actions to new territories, to establish new partnerships with institutions, organizations and NGOs active in the area of modern architecture, to develop and publish the international register, and to enlarge the scope of its activities in the realm of research, documentation and education.

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