

**Recovering History:
Philip Morton Shand and the Mission of Modernism**

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Abstract

Within the context of Modern architectural history the position of Philip Morton Shand (1888 – 1960) as a key figure in its dissemination has been historically understated. Although not a designer, his role as architectural critic and writer in conjunction with the breadth of his international contacts enabled him to bridge a gap between continental Europe and England. His contributions to the major English architectural journals (i.e. Architect's Journal, Architectural Review and the Architectural Association Journal) between the late 1920s and early 1950s, in addition to his travels, language skills and his involvement in the CIAM and the MARS Group, facilitated the dissemination of ideas to the English-speaking population.

Beyond his architectural writings, Shand was also a connoisseur of wine and food and published seminal texts on the topics. However, despite his significant literary contributions, a biography of Shand has not yet been written. An investigation into Shand's life and activities, particularly during the interwar years, will hopefully illuminate the magnitude of his involvement in the architectural scene and its effects on the dissemination of Modern architectural history.

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Introduction: Philip Morton Shand

The architectural canon is under constant scrutiny as new theoretical constructs emerge and evidence surfaces that illuminates a new perspective. The case of Philip Morton Shand (1886–1960) is one such instance where the collection of evidence, obvious and obscure, can be compiled to paint a different picture and dispute the accepted historical narratives. Although Shand has remained a marginal character in the re-telling of how continental European Modernism infiltrated England, careful exploration of sources indicate that he was a key figure in this process. In particular, his work and influence both abroad and in the United Kingdom in the late 1920s and 1930s helped inspire the adoption of new materials, construction techniques and aesthetics from the new architecture in Britain. Despite not having formally trained in the field, he was able to use his broad international network and his role as an architectural journalist to bridge a gap between the Continent and the UK. His contributions to the major English architectural journals such as the *Architects' Journal (AJ)*, *Architectural Review (AR)* and the *Architectural Association Journal (AAJ)* between the late 1920s and early 1950s, in addition to his travels, language skills and his involvement in the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM)* and the *Modern Architectural Research Group (MARS)*, facilitated the dissemination of ideas to the English population. An investigation into Shand's life and activities, particularly during the interwar years, will illuminate the magnitude of his influence on architectural scene, his role in disseminating Modern architecture in England, as well as suggest why his role has been historically understated.

Early Days & Personal Life

Son of Alexander Faulkner Shand, a social psychologist and a "fierce supporter of Ruskinian ideas about art" and Augusta Mary Coates, Shand was born on the 21st of January, 1886 in Kensington, London.¹ His family owned a Glasgow calico business, which allowed Shand to study and mature in privilege and international opportunity. He attending both Eton and King's College at Cambridge where he read History.²

Travel was an important early influence in Shand's life. His wealthy background allowed him to study abroad at the Sorbonne in France as well as in Switzerland. His early travels to the Continent exposed him to architecture that at the time would have presented a stark contrast to his English upbringing. Studying abroad also helped him master his fluency in French and German, which would prove instrumental in future endeavours.

The date of his return from studying in Switzerland is unknown and it becomes difficult to know exactly where he resided and what he did with his time until the First World War. According to Brian Housden, Shand stated that the latter served in the artillery during the First World War and then became a Superintendent of prisoner-of-war camps where he was able to put his language skills to use.³

Not much is known of his personal life, though it is suspected that Shand married four times in his life. His first marriage was to Edith Marguerite Harrington April 22, 1916, with whom he had a son, Bruce Shand (22 January, 1917–11 June, 2006). That

¹ Any distant familial relationship between Shand and Wells Coates is unknown. Wells Coates was born in Japan and lived in Canada before moving to London where he practiced architecture, contributed to journals, and was generally a prominent figure in the Modern Movement in England. Brian Housden, "Dr. Bowdler and the 'New Vision'", *Architectural Association Journal*, ed. Brian Housden. vol 74 (January 1959), p. 136.

² In a telephone conversation, Michael Spens informed me that Shand read History. Michael Spens, telephone conversation 31 August, 2007.

³ Housden, p. 135

marriage quickly ended in 1920, when Bruce was just 3 years old and both parents left the child to be raised by his grandmother.⁴

Dates, locations and even names of Shand's subsequent weddings and wives remains elusive.⁵ This is possibly due to the fact that he was not married in England and hence, the location of official records for these events is unknown. Shand had been living in Lyons, France as early as 1924.⁶ It is possible he moved there shortly after the end of his first marriage until returning to London sometime prior to 1931. In any case, his second and third divorces proved to also be considerable financial burdens which, Mark Girouard says, kept him in financial difficulty throughout his life.⁷

His fourth marriage to Sybil Sissons was a more lasting union. Sissons and Shand married in 1931, shortly after Sissons's divorce from John Ambrose Steel, with whom she had a daughter, Mary.⁸ Mary, still very young at the time, took Shand's last name until she married English architect, James Stirling.⁹ They also had a biological daughter, Elspeth. Both daughters worked in areas relating to architecture and design: Elspeth worked for some time as the secretary to Michael Patrick, then the director of the Architectural Association, and Mary, who started as a trainee at Heal's, went on to become a fairly successful furniture designer. Sybil was also involved in some way, with the design world: she worked as an assistant for Isokon, the design company responsible for the Lawn Road Flats in Hampstead.¹⁰

⁴ Bruce Shand's obituary, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/5052478.stm>

⁵ It is possible that this information could be deciphered from the material in the Shand Archive. Currently Michael Spens is in possession of the Shand Archive, on loan from Elizabeth Whittam. Spens is currently working on a forthcoming book on Shand and thus was unable to share the contents of the archive. In the event that Elizabeth Whittam should pass, Spens will be obligated to deposit the archive at the University of Dundee.

⁶ P. Morton Shand, "Introduction", *A Book of Wine*, London: Guy Chapman Dedication, 1926.

⁷ Mark Girouard, *Big Jim: The Life and Work of James Stirling.*, London: Chatto & Windus, 1998, p. 165.

⁸ The Times Obituary for Shand. "Mr. P. Morton Shand", *The Times*, May 2, 1960, p. 21b.

⁹ Girouard, p. 165.

¹⁰ Sybil Sissons signature and initials appear on several documents on Isokon stationary and she is also mentioned with respect to administrative matters in correspondences. In some cases, her name appears in business letters dictated by Jack Pritchard and typed by Sissons. All are located in the Pritchard Papers, Jack Craven Pritchard's archive. PP/29/1 and PP/243/24, 25, 27

Pre- Architecture

Prior to entering the architectural scene in London, Shand, who was a connoisseur of wine and food, worked on several books and had published English translations of foreign language texts. His first publication was the English translation of a German play by Arthur Schnitzler (*Liebelei*, 1894; in English *Playing With Love*) in 1914.¹¹ His work, like so many others, was interrupted by the war, but during the interwar period, when he was living in Lyons, Shand worked consistently on a series of books which were published in quick succession. The first was an English translation of a Norwegian mystery novel called, *The Mystery of the Abbé Montrose* (1924) by Sven Elvestad, a then well-known author.¹² Shand is credited as co-translator along with F. W. Crousse, however Shand's knowledge of Norwegian has never been noted before. It is likely that because he chose to write more frequently about German or French topics (be they wine, food or architecture), that his skill in this area had been over-looked. It is possible, however, that his grasp of the language was quite minimal and his role was more focussed on the translated English text and using his writing skills to shape it into a readable novel.

Shand's lack of any formal training in the areas he chose to write (wine, food, architecture, and later, rare apples) gave him the status of a connoisseur rather than a trained expert or specialist. This appears to have been part of a tradition in Britain, particularly of architectural journalists of his time: individuals who came from a wealthy background which afforded them an exceptional education and allowed them to travel, believed that they had license to write about cultural aspects they encountered in a well informed way. Examples of this include the non-fiction writings of Evelyn Waugh and Robert Byron, both of whom were of Shand's generation of writers and were also commissioned to write for the Architectural Press (publisher of both the *AJ* and the *AR*).

¹¹ Housden, p. 135.

¹² Sven Elvestad, *The Mystery of the Abbé Montrose*. Trans. P. Morton Shand & F. W. Crousse, London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1924.

Shand's first original volume was published in 1926, entitled, *A Book of Wine*. The book was intended to be a guide to wines from all over the world. The dedication reveals both the origins of his own interest in the topic and his hope for its continued familial inheritance. The dedication reads:

"To My Father from whom I learned the appreciation of fine wine and To My Son [Bruce] in the fond hope that he may grow up to cherish at their just worth the piously binned treasures which three generations have been at pains to lay up for his further inheritance and delight."¹³

The book, which was organized by country or geographical area, locates Shand in Lyons in August 1925 when he wrote the introduction. Also of note, the bibliography lists books in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish. Again, there is no mention of his Italian or Spanish language skills, however it is possible that because he did not use them as much in his various endeavours, his knowledge of the languages was not acknowledged.

The subsequent series of books that followed *A Book of Wine* became seminal texts on wine and food and solidified Shand as an authority on the topics.¹⁴ Early on in his career as an architectural journalist, he was able to incorporate some of his work in these other fields into his articles for the *AJ*. For instance, one of his earliest submissions to the *AJ* was a piece entitled, "Wine-Cellar Design in the Private House" which was published in 1926.¹⁵ This same text later became the first section of the introduction to his book, *A Book of Other Wines* (1929) and acted as a bridging point, connecting his vast knowledge in wine to the completely new field of architecture in which he feigned expertise.

¹³ Shand, "Dedication", *A Book of Wine*.

¹⁴ Other books included *Bacchus* (1927), *A Book of Food* (1927), *A Book of French Wines* (1928), and *A Book of Other Wines - Than French* (1929).

¹⁵ P. Morton Shand, "Wine-Cellar Design in the Private House" *Architect's Journal* vol. 64, p. 26.

From Wine to Architecture

Shand's first foray into architectural journalism is often thought to be the exhibition review he published in the *AAJ* in 1924, "The Exhibition of Decorative Arts at Paris, 1925", however Housden has noted that there was an earlier, uncredited Shand article on streets which was also published in the *AAJ*.¹⁶ At the time he wrote these first pieces, Shand was living in Lyons, working on his aforementioned books. Christian Barman, then the editor of the *AAJ*, contacted Shand and asked him to travel to Paris to review the exhibition.¹⁷ In order to fully understand what he was reporting on, Shand was encouraged -- or perhaps he felt it necessary -- to meet some of the participating architects. It is not clear if he succeeded in meeting any while attending the event, but he was able to use this exhibition to familiarize himself with the names and work of several key figures of that time.¹⁸ According to Housden, Shand made several attempts to meet the French architect Robert Mallet Stevens, who at the time was one of the foremost French architects:

"He never succeeded in meeting Mallet Stevens as the clerk to whom he spoke at the office always vociferously protested, with much hand waving, that Stevens was out and would not be back that day. Some time later he was introduced to Stevens' principal assistant, Gabriel Guevrekian, who told him that the 'clerk' he had met at Stevens' office was in fact Mallet Stevens himself."¹⁹

¹⁶ In Brian Housden's introduction to the *AA Journal* issue on Shand Housden says, "I have been unable to trace his first article which was on 'streets.' His second was 'The Exhibition of Decorative Art in Paris, 1925.'" These articles were not attributed to an author in the printed periodicals and as a result, I was also unable to find this article. *Architectural Association Journal*, July 1924, pp. 30-2." Brian Housden, "Dr. Bowdler and the 'New Vision' *AA Journal*, no. 829, Feb. 1959, p. 134.

¹⁷ Alan Windsor, "Letters from Peter Behrens to P. Morton Shand, 1932-1938," *Architectural History*, vol. 37 (1994), p166.

¹⁸ Participants in the exhibition included Auguste Perret and Robert Mallet-Stevens among many others. P. Morton Shand, "The Exhibition of Decorative Arts at Paris, 1925", *Architectural Association Journal*, vol. 62 (July 1924), p. 30-32.

¹⁹ Housden, p. 134.

Housden stated that it was through Guervrekian that Shand “became aware of ‘modern’ architecture,”²⁰ It is also through Guevrekian that Shand met Le Corbusier and Sigfried Giedion in his early years of covering architecture. Guevrekian, Le Corbusier and Giedion were responsible for organising the first CIAM in La Sarraz, Switzerland, in June 1928 and thus Shand’s relationship with Guervkian brought the writer into the heart of the continental Modern Movement.²¹ His connections early on to the French architectural community in particular, which was considered the epicentre of the new architecture, were important to the Architectural Press and their progressive agenda. Relationships with these figures would have also provided Shand with adequate knowledge of contemporary debates and theories surrounding Modern architecture if he had no previous knowledge of the field.

The English Context

Continental European Modernism appeared to be developing at a rapid pace both stylistically and ideologically at the beginning of the twentieth century. The political and economic climate during and just after the First World War, nurtured an attitude of change in an industrial world. By the 1920s, several key architectural events that indicate this new architecture which originated and developed mostly on the Continent rather than Britain. For example, events such as the publication of Le Corbusier’s *Vers une architecture* (1923), the move of the Bauhaus school to Dessau (1926) and the opening of the *Weissenhofsiedlung* exhibition in Stuttgart (1927) demonstrated if not a united, certainly a concurrent shift of architectural attitudes and forms on the Continent, quite different from the British architectural community. Indeed, it took four years for *Vers une architecture* to be translated and published in English (by Fredrick Etchells, Shand’s colleague at the Architectural Press, as *Towards a New Architecture* in 1927).²²

²⁰ Ibid.. p. 134.

²¹ Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000, p. 9.

²² Emphasis added. It is very telling that Etchells translated the title as Towards a New Architecture. Modernist architecture was referred to as ‘the new architecture’ before it was given labels such as Modern or the International Style. In addition, seen from an English perspective, the contents and approach of Le

Modern stylistic and tectonic approaches to architecture from the Continent were also progressing, mainly due to the pioneering use of reinforced concrete by the likes of Le Corbusier and his contemporaries, yet England remained noticeably outside this change.

England's isolation from this architectural movement on the continent is likely a reflection of the overall social and academic attitudes at the time. In her book, *Re-Forming Britain: Narratives of Modernity Before Reconstruction*, Elizabeth Darling draws a connection between the political, economic and social climate of Britain after the First World War with the rejection of modernity in general by the public. Although Britain had won the war, its position as the industrial leader was waning with the rise of foreign nations such as Japan and the United States. Successive political leadership of the country during the late 1910s and 1920s resisted too much change in order to prove the ability to govern and sustain Britain's economic position; social change in the form of mass democracy was transforming the balance of power between the upper and lower classes and between genders.²³ These factors resulted in a general resistance to change as the Britain of the prewar era attempted to determine its role during the interwar period.

This resistance was also felt in the architectural community. The Modern Movement had many detractors in Britain who were opposed to the new architecture because it appeared to be anachronistic and rejected national heritage and tradition at a time when Britain was struggling to define its own identity. One of its most outspoken opponents was Reginald Blomfield, whose notorious protest to the new architecture culminated in his literary attack, *Modernismus* (1934). Just prior to the publication of his book, Blomfield, a practicing architect at the time, wrote in *The Listener*:

Corbusier's book was completely new ideologically and visually. Since neither Corb nor his Continental contemporaries were accepted by the English architectural community emphasizing new-ness may have been a necessary element of Etchells's agenda: to present Le Corbusier and his ideas as progressive in order to combat the historicist attitudes of the time. It should also be noted that Shand was still living in Lyons at the time of the book's publication.

²³ Elizabeth Darling, *Re-Forming Britain: Narratives of Modernity Before Reconstruction*. London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 11-13.

"[The new architecture] is essentially Continental in its origin and inspiration, and it claims as a merit that it is cosmopolitan. As an Englishman and proud of his country, I detest and despise cosmopolitanism."²⁴

His comments may have been in direct reaction to the MoMA exhibition, "The International Style" of 1932 curated by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson. Blomfield's biographer, Richards Fellows, argues that the architect's chief objections to the new architecture were its complete denial of English history and its anachronism. Furthermore, a lack of regionalism in Modernism threatened Britain's unique Nationalistic identity which was associated with Britain's position as a world power.

The emergence of Modernism in England has historically been attributed to built forms. The work of Berthold Lubetkin and Tecton, Ernö Goldfinger Wells Coates, and others in the 1930s marks a particular time in English history when Modernism became tangible.²⁵ As a result of such staunch criticism by Blomfield and others, the new architecture had hardly registered in England during the 1920s. No one was building in that style or making use of new building materials or techniques. Using the work of Beatriz Colomina in particular, it is possible to understand the presence of Modernism prior to this time by tracing it in representational forms.²⁶ Primarily through publications such as the *AR*, the *AJ*, and the *Architect and Building News (ABN)*, articles and images featuring works by international architects of Modernist leaning became familiar features for English readers as early as the beginning of the 1920s.

Most of the architectural periodicals were not dedicating much space to the subject of the new architecture. Instead historicism and a strong sense of English tradition dominated the pages of architectural journals and there was a continued interest in

²⁴ Reginald Bloomfield, "Is Modern Architecture on the Right Track?" *The Listener*, vol. 10, 1933, p. 124.

²⁵ Darling, p. 2.

²⁶ Colomina's study looks specifically at Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier, discussing the photographic and archival representations of their architecture as another way in which their architecture exists. Beatriz Colomina, - *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996.

the prewar Arts and Crafts movement. These styles were illustrated in publications with mostly English examples which stressed a deeply rooted nationalistic and vernacular approach to architecture. However, the *ABN* set itself apart in this respect by publishing articles by Howard Robertson (head of the Architectural Association – the AA – 1926-1934 and Shand’s cousin) and F. R. Yerbury (secretary at the AA from 1911-1936). The two men had gone travelling around Europe together between 1925 and 1931 and photographed new and foreign architecture which they presented to the English architectural community via *ABN* with Robertson’s text and Yerbury’s photographs.²⁷ Several collections of Yerbury’s images were published as books, with the earlier volumes prefaced by Robertson. Whether it was a detail or an entire building, Yerbury and Robertson maintained that they simply photographed without discrimination and thus published their images without any theoretical agenda. The books included photographs of a wide range of examples from complete facades to small architectural details such as a doorknob.²⁸ However, the accompanying texts of both their books and articles in the *ABN* offered very little critical analysis and usually used soft and cautious language. The two authors were careful to stress their “satisfaction with traditional English... forms” so as not to encourage extreme hostility from the British architectural community towards the new architecture.²⁹

Yerbury and Robertson’s books included *Examples of modern French Architecture* (1928), *Modern European Buildings* (1928), which featured images from all over Europe including England, and *Modern Dutch Buildings* (1931).³⁰ Although by “modern”, they

²⁷ Andrew Higgott, *Mediating Modernism: Architectural Cultures in Britain*, London: Routledge, 2007, p. 20.

²⁸ “The modest collection of plates which constitutes this volume in no way purports to trace pictorially the development of ‘*le style moderne*’ in France. Still less does it claim to form a representative collection of the best and most characteristic examples of that new movement in architecture which so obviously in being but yet is so difficult to define. It is quite frankly, a volume of photographic impressions of modern French work, an architectural traveller’s record of buildings and details which on first and last examination appeared as having something to say, and as saying it in terms of modern architectural terms.” Howard Robertson and F. R. Yerbury, “Examples of Modern French Architecture,” London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1928, p. 5.

²⁹ With respect to the *Weissenhofseidlung*, the two wrote: “In all its major essentials, the English tradition type of small house can remain unchanged without the reproach of unsuitability to modern needs.” Howard Robertson & F. R. Yerbury, “The Housing Exhibition in Stuttgart”, *Architect and Building News*, (November 11, 1927) p. 766.

³⁰ Howard Robertson & F. R. Yerbury, *Examples of modern French Architecture*, London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1928; F. R. Yerbury, *Modern European Buildings*, London: Gollancz, 1928; F. R. Yerbury, *Modern Dutch Buildings*, London: Benn, 1931.

meant recently completed, rather than belonging to the Modernist style or ideology, these books introduced to Britain the work of prominent continental architects such as Le Corbusier, Auguste Perret, E. Gunnar Asplund and J. J. P. Oud. The work of Robertson and Yerbury was one of the first and most important steps in the dissemination of Modernism in England. These two authors recognized a need to publish the changing architectural landscape of the Continent in the UK and their work demonstrated that despite strong resistance by the British architectural community, there were venues for their work.

Enter Shand

It was at about this time, when Robertson and Yerbury began publishing the fruits of their travels, that Shand began to write regularly for the *AJ* and soon thereafter, the *AR*. Christian Barman, who had left the *AAJ* and was now working for the Architectural Press, continued to commission Shand for submissions. In 1927, Barman and Hubert de Cronin Hastings (son of Percy Hastings, owner of the Architectural Press) were appointed joint editors of the *AJ* and the *AR* at which time they set out policies and standards for the two periodicals. Together they decided to distinguish the content of the weekly *AJ* from the monthly *AR* by having the former concentrate on the practice of architecture and building techniques while the latter focus on arts in general with an emphasis on architecture.³¹ In order to help shape the content of the *AR*, Hastings commissioned a new generation of writers who, like Shand, were not formally trained in architecture or a related field. This group of writers included Robert Byron, Evelyn Waugh, Cyril Connolly, Sacheverell Sitwell and Shand, all of whom followed in the aforementioned connoisseurship tradition of writers in Britain.³² In addition, the layouts of the two journals were also quite different: *AR* stretching the boundaries of print layout at the

³¹ H. C. G. Matthew, & Brian Harrison (eds.), "Hastings, Hubert de Cronin", Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. 25, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 763.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 763.

time, included dynamic image-text arrangements, full-page bleeds, and over-sized pages to contrast the more standard look of the *AJ*.

Taking advantage of his location abroad, Shand's submissions to the *AJ* and *AR* for the first two to three years often featured French architecture or reviews of French architectural books. Between 1928 and 1930, his articles covered the work of the French modernist André Lurçat, a new fish market in Dieppe which demonstrated the advances of concrete construction, modern flats in Paris and a book review of *Auguste and Gustave Perret*, among other things.³³ Shand's articles were all accompanied generously with images, some of which may have been his own and some acquired from architects. Moving forward, Shand's work began to cover more German examples and from the beginning of his career as an architectural journalist, his *oeuvre* focused specifically on the architecture of the Modern Movement. In this respect, he was the first architectural journalist in England with the agenda of bringing the new architecture across the Channel.

As mentioned earlier, Shand's language skills had proven useful during the First World War and they continued to make him an asset in his work as a liaison and translator for the architectural community. Fluency in both French and German enabled him to communicate more easily than his English-speaking colleagues with foreign architectural figures. He corresponded in German with both Peter Behrens and Walter Gropius, and in French with Le Corbusier.³⁴ In addition to using his contact with these figures to acquire photos of their built projects for publication, he also acted as translator and liaison between the architects and Shand's English-speaking audience. This began simply by his aforementioned reportage of French Modernism in the late 1920s, and continued as

³³ P. Morton Shand, "M. André Lurçat", *Architects' Journal*, vol. 67 (February 1, 1928), pp. 192-203; P. Morton Shand, "The New Fishmarket at Dieppe", *Architects' Journal*, vol. 67 (February 8, 1928), pp. 234-236; P. Morton Shand, "Some Modern Paris Flats", *Architects' Journal*, vol. 67 (May 23, 1928), pp. 719-721; P. Morton Shand, "The Work of the Brothers Perret (book review)", *Architectural Review*, vol. 65 (June 1929), p. 307-308.

³⁴ He also corresponded with both Sigfried Giedion and Alvar Aalto. I am not certain in what language Shand and Giedion corresponded, but it is most likely that Shand and Aalto wrote and spoke in English with one another.

he began to translate texts by Le Corbusier for publication in the *AR*, the first being "The Town and the House" in 1928.³⁵

His firm grasp of French and German was also useful when writing book reviews for both the *AJ* and the *AR*. Shand reviewed several German and French books that had not been translated into English at the time his reviews were published. This was an efficient way of keeping his English-speaking audience abreast of the ideas being published on the Continent. Shand would also comment on the English translations of books and the quality of their translations. For example, a book review in the *AR*, "The Real Dutch Contribution," he says that much is lost in the English translation and the German and French translations are also poor. His comments suggest his ability to read Dutch as well or it may just be that the translations are done with poor grammar.

The differences in content as set out by Barman and Hastings can be used to explain the distribution of Shand's work over the *AJ* and the *AR*. More than half of Shand's contributions to the *AJ* were part of the opening segment of every issue called "Selected Precedents". The section, which was not exclusively Shand's territory (his colleague Nathaniel Lloyd and others occasionally contributed as well) would focus on a particular detail or typology for two or three pages and relied on images to illustrate a range of examples of the topic at hand. Here, Shand would publish week after week, images (normally five per issue), mostly taken from abroad, of various building techniques, developments in typologies or modern details that had originated from the Continent. For instance, the "Selected Precedents" section in the June 24th, 1931 issue of *AJ* was entitled "Glass as a Roofing and Walling Material" and was accompanied by images of: 1) The Model Hospital at Dresden International Exhibition of Hygiene, 1930; 2) The Glass-Walled 'Bauhaus' at Dessau; 3) Reinforced Glass Roof to the Hall of a Paris flat building; 4) Concreting in Progress on the Reinforced Glass Roof in Paris; and 5) a

³⁵ Le Corbusier, "The Town and the House", trans. P. Morton Shand, *Architects' Journal*, October 1928, p. 223-230.

Kindergarten at the Pankow Housing Estate, Berlin.³⁶ These segments allowed Shand to address specific buildings and construction details from abroad and in England. The images juxtaposed a number of solutions in a concentrated space where he could briefly critique and introduce new techniques. "Selected Precedents" provided a space for Shand to balance the very specific technical side of contemporary architecture with the more in-depth reportage he published in the *AR*.

After the publication of a first article in the October 14, 1931 issue of the *AJ*, an author called Baird Dennison became a regular contributor to the magazine. A year later, Dennison began to write for the *AR* as well. In his memoirs, J. M. Richards (editor of the *AR* from 1937-1971) reveals that behind that name was in reality Shand: Richards explains that using a pseudonym was common practice at the time.³⁷ It is difficult to grasp whether a specific rationale guided Shand's selection of the work under scrutiny and the use of his pseudonym: at times, the choice appears somewhat arbitrary, however in general, Dennison was utilized in cases of strong criticism. Pseudonyms are typically used to distance the real author from the written work, often because he or she wishes to be particularly critical of something or someone. However, in this case Dennison's real identity was not well hidden. In fact, the 1931 bound volume of the *AJ* lists in the index P. Morton Shand as the author of the piece contained in the October issue. Whether or not readers caught the mistake (which occurred again a handful of other times) is unclear.³⁸ It would defeat the purpose of having a pseudonym if readers were aware of the author's true identity, but Shand continued to publish using this moniker. Therefore, one can infer Dennison's true identity was widely unknown otherwise Shand would have disposed of the pseudonym if it no longer served its intended purpose.

³⁶ P. Morton Shand, "Glass as a Roofing and Walling Material", *Architects' Journal*, (June 24, 1931). 873-875.

³⁷ J. M. Richards, *Memoirs*, p.124.

³⁸ See November 11, 1931 - Selected Precedents "Inside and Outside the Power House (cont.)", pp. 629-630; in one case Dennison's name is not listed at all in the index.

An example of Shand's use of his pseudonym is in an edition of the aforementioned "Selected Precedents" entitled, "Inside and Outside the Power House (continued)." He begins:

"The vandals of the nineteenth century, much preoccupied with heaven in other respects, will be remembered for the titanic scale on which they violated it. Their fatal heritage of chaos and meanness, which is eating into civilization like a canker, was the result of uncontrolled industrialism. It is the mission of our age to civilize industrialism, and to transform those degraded mining-camps, for which the description 'manufacturing areas' is a derisive euphemism, into exemplars of 'order where disorder stood.'"³⁹

Shand's harsh criticism is directed towards the proponents of historicism who were resistant to the new architecture and favoured nineteenth century styles and methods of building. By publishing the article under Dennison, the author illustrates that there was a strong resistance at the time to ideas put forth in his comments, but also his own strong feelings against historicism in favour of the new architecture. The existence of Baird Dennison allowed Shand to advance his Modernist agenda by using both positive and negative publicity, praising the work of Continental Modernism under Shand and criticising those who were against it under Dennison.

The Mission of Modernism

Due to the apparent resistance to the new architecture by the British architectural community, Shand developed an almost morally driven goal to disseminate ideas from the Continent to Britain. For Shand, his architectural agenda was not about being "a

³⁹ Baird Dennison, "Inside and Outside the Power House (cont.)", *Architects' Journal*, (November 11, 1931), p. 629.

consistent theorist," but rather, he "shared fully in the *AR*'s project of shaking Britain into some sort of awareness of [modern] design."⁴⁰ In order to succeed in bringing the new architecture to the UK, Shand executed several projects that, in some way, presented Modernism as more digestible to the UK. Taking into account the main factors in the resistance to it, Shand demonstrated that there was a smooth, logical transition between historicist and nationalist practices, and Modern architecture thereby legitimising the new architecture to its sceptics and opponents. In doing so, the results of his actions often eclipsed his own efforts and this in turn kept Shand on the margins of the Modernist historical canon.

1. Alvar Aalto

Shand's travels abroad first brought him into contact with the Finnish architect, Alvar Aalto, when the writer was attending the 1930 Stockholm International Exhibition. Shand was there on behalf of the *AR* to report on the event and in particular, on the Asplund-designed exhibition buildings.⁴¹ The work of Aalto and Asplund belong to the Nordic style of Modernism which was seen by many as less extreme than French or German Modernism, for example. The nature of Nordic Modernism represented a successful compromise to the British architectural community. Due to its use of curves and wood rather than simple volumes and poured concrete, Aalto's work, as with others from Nordic Europe, was considered both modern and true to its local vernacular. It connected the functionalism of the Continent's new architecture and the traditionalism that many British architects demanded. In an article on the work of Aalto published in 1939, Shand wrote:

"In no good architect's work is it possible to separate the structural from what, for lack of a better word, must be called the decorative element. This is just as true of

⁴⁰ Alan Powers, "John Betjeman and Modern Architecture" First and Last Loves: John Betjeman & Architecture. Ed. Candida Lycett Green, Dan Cruikshank, et.al. London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 2006, pp. 35.

⁴¹ P. Morton Shand, "Stockholm, 1930", *Architectural Review*, vol. 68 (August 1930), pp. 67-69.

a so-called downright 'functionalist', like Aalto, as of any professed 'traditionalist.'⁴²

This idea that Aalto's work was equal parts functionalist and traditionalist made it more approachable to Britain given the disapproval and suspicion with which continental Modernism was regarded.

After their initial meeting, Shand and Aalto began corresponding regularly and seizing an opportunity, Shand initiated several events that brought Aalto into the consciousness of the British architectural community. Firstly, their correspondence enabled Shand to acquire images of Aalto's work for publication in Britain.⁴³ In addition to architectural photographs, Aalto also sent images of the bent wood furniture he designed specifically for his Paimio Sanatorium (1933). Upon seeing these photos, Shand enthusiastically offered to "make a real splash with them [in Britain]."⁴⁴ He did so by organizing an exhibition of Aalto's furniture in 1933 which opened at the London department store, Fortnum and Mason, in Picadilly.⁴⁵ The success of this exhibition was the impetus for Aalto's first visit to England and for many was a formal introduction of the Finnish architect-designer.⁴⁶

In response to the positive reaction to Aalto's furniture exhibition, Shand and Pritchard also founded Finmar, a company created specifically to import the furniture of Aalto to the UK. Finmar, as representative of the entire UK market for Aalto's plywood furniture, consistently formed the largest foreign market for Aalto's designs.⁴⁷ The demand for Aalto's furniture indicates Shand's success in facilitating the consumption of Nordic Modernism in Britain. Although this was in the form of furniture rather than

⁴² P. Morton Shand, "The Work of Alvar Aalto", *Decoration*, (Spring 1939) pp. 33.

⁴³ P. Morton Shand, "Viipuri Library, Finland: Alvar Aalto, architect", *Architectural Review*, vol. 79 (March 1936), pp. 107-114; P. Morton Shand, "The Work of Alvar Aalto", *Decoration*, (Spring 1939) pp. 33-39; P. Morton Shand, "Alvar Aalto: A Psychological Architect", *The Listener*, (November 15, 1933), 740-742.

⁴⁴ Kevin Davies, "Finmar and the Furniture of the Future: The Sale of Alvar Aalto's Plywood Furniture in the UK, 1934-1939", *Journal of Design History*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1998), p. 146.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁴⁶ "It is in connection with the physical arrangement of this little exhibition that Herr and Fru Aalto are paying their first visit to England." Shand, *The Listener*, p. 742.

⁴⁷ Davies, p. 146.

architecture, via Shand's continued publication of Aalto's work in the *AR* and other journals, Aalto became a prominent figure of Modernism in Britain.

2. Walter Gropius

The relationship between Shand and Gropius relied heavily on Shand's ability to act as a liaison for the architect. In May 1934, when Gropius travelled to London to oversee the opening of an exhibition of his work at the RIBA, the German architect spoke at a meeting of the Design and Industries Association (DIA). Although Gropius was able to understand English fairly well, his address to the DIA was translated into English by Shand.⁴⁸ Shortly thereafter, the British author also translated texts by Gropius for publication in English. Among them was an essay that was published in the *Concrete Way* and Gropius's seminal book, *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus* (1935).⁴⁹

Also in 1934, possibly while Gropius was visiting London, Shand had become aware of both the closure of the Bauhaus in 1933, Gropius's subsequent unemployment and the dangers the architect faced in Nazi Germany. As a result, Shand began to use his contacts in the London architectural community to manufacture a legitimate reason for the German architect to work in London. The result was an offer for Gropius to collaborate on the design of the second set of Isokon flats with London-based architect, Maxwell Fry. Working between Gropius in Germany and Fry and Pritchard of Isokon in London, Shand translated correspondences that organized the circumstances of Gropius's employment and travel.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Based on correspondences between Shand, Pritchard and Gropius that same year. Shand assures Pritchard of Gropius's ability to read English. Pritchard Papers, PP/29/1. Shand was also an active member of the DIA. Alan Powers, "Britain and the Bauhaus", *Apollo*, (May 2006), pp.48-54.

⁴⁹ Correspondences in the Gropius Archive at the Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin reveal Shand's difficulty deciphering a word which is mis-typed in Gropius's German transcript, as well as exchanges involving the deadline and word count for Gropius's contribution to the *Concrete Way*. Bauhaus-Archiv.

⁵⁰ A series of letters is located both in the Pritchard Papers as translated from German to English by Shand for Pritchard. Pritchard Papers, PP/29/1.

In October 1934, Walter and Ilse Gropius arrived in London and stayed at the Lawn Road Flats as arranged by Shand and Pritchard.⁵¹ Although the archival evidence clearly shows that Shand was the driving force behind the organisation of Gropius's emigration, this event and Shand's role in it is consistently downplayed or altogether unacknowledged. Whether it is because Shand was not directly involved in the building project for Isokon, or because the event is overshadowed by the careers of the prominent architectural figures involved, Shand has remained a marginal character. There are instances when Shand has been acknowledged, but often times merely as a correction of the facts. For instance, Pritchard wrote in his memoirs, *View From a Long Chair*:

“‘Thank you,’ [Gropius] said; ‘now fill your glasses and drink to Molly and Jack [Pritchard] for saving our lives.’
But it was really P. Morton Shand who saved their lives, by getting Max Fry to offer a partnership, and Isokon to give hospitality and promote building projects.”⁵²

With respect to Shand's Modernist agenda, aligning Gropius with Isokon upon his arrival may have been a strategic decision. The Lawn Road Flats in Hampstead and Isokon who had constructed them, were quite successful and well-known in Britain at the time. They were well published in the *AR* and its designer, Wells Coates, went on to become one of the most well-known British Modernists. By bringing together one of the leaders of continental European Modernism with the foremost British Modernists, a connection was drawn between the two movements. In bringing Gropius to London, Shand was able to push his modern agenda forward.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, PP/29/1.

⁵² Jack Pritchard, *View from a Long Chair: the Memoirs of Jack Pritchard*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984, p. 183.

3. Scenario for a Human Drama

In an attempt to make the new architecture more digestible to his British audience, Shand produced a series of essays which genealogically linked the architecture of the Modern Movement to English sources such as William Morris, John Ruskin and Sir John Soane. "A Scenario for a Human Drama" consisted of seven instalments published in the *AR* between July 1934 and February 1935 and worked "backwards illogically from effect to cause."⁵³ Once the reverse chronology was presented in full, Shand believed it would prove a logical lineage between the new architecture and English precedents thereby legitimising the new architecture and countering claims of anachronism. As Melvin put it: "'A Scenario for a Human Drama' put theoretical flesh on what was a common belief among progressive architectural writers at the time."⁵⁴

By 1934, two English architectural books appeared to have produced a historical gap in British architectural design: the recently published *The Modern House* (1934) by F. S. Yorke which presented houses of the Twentieth Century in the Modern style from the Continent, Britain and America, and Nathaniel Lloyd's *A History of the English House* (1931), which covers the end of the Twelfth Century through to the Regency style of the early Nineteenth Century. For Shand, an explanation of what went on during the intervening years was a necessary component to the acceptance of the new architecture by its British detractors. These two books provided an ideal temporal framing for Shand to work within. The project's focus on the house emphasises the nationalistic aspects of that typology which would appeal to the historicist British architectural community. Shand is sure to draw attention to this early on so as to establish a recognizable and universally accepted starting point:

"Throughout the nineteenth century the only "house"
talked of abroad was the English house. Neither French,

⁵³ P. Morton Shand, "Scenario for a Human Drama: VII. Looping the Loop", *Architectural Review*, vol. 77 (March 1935), p. 99.

⁵⁴ Melvin, *Mediating*, p. 29.

Italian, nor German houses offered concrete examples of a definite national type of dwelling.”⁵⁵

Two years after the publication of Shand’s serial, architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner published his book *Pioneers of the Modern Movement: From William Morris to Walter Gropius* (1936). Although it covers much of the same material and has a similar thesis, Pevsner’s book is considered a seminal text, where as Shand’s “Scenario” remains little-known. In an attempt to dispel any accusations as to the originality of Pevsner’s work, the author writes in the forward of the first edition of *Pioneers*:

“I did not know of P. Morton Shand’s excellent articles in the *Architectural Review* of 1933, 1934, 1935 until I had almost finished my research. The fact that our conclusions coincide in so many ways is a gratifying confirmation of the views put forward in this book.”

Spens has suggested that although Pevsner performs a courtesy by acknowledging the English writer’s work, it is highly likely that in fact the German author plagiarized Shand’s work, having the advantage of publishing two years after “Scenario” was published. The nature of books, however, in contrast to that of periodicals such as the *AR*, has solidified Pevsner’s work rather than Shand’s as a part of the architectural canon. In addition to being considered the definitive source on the subject, it is possible that the longevity of Pevsner’s book is in part due to the fact that *Pioneers* is his first published volume. Pevsner went on to publish numerous books on art and architecture, establishing himself as an authority in the history of both fields well into the postwar era.

⁵⁵P. Morton Shand, “Scenario for a Human Drama: [Foreword]”, *Architectural Review*, vol. 76 (July 1934), p. 9.

4. CIAM to MARS Group

As mentioned earlier, Shand was introduced to the founders of the CIAM early in his career as an architectural journalist in France. His early contact with the founders and their Modernist agenda was highly influential in Shand's own architectural agenda for Britain. The CIAM began meeting in 1928 and was "conceived of as an instrument of propaganda to advance the cause of the new architecture that was developing in Europe in the 1920s."⁵⁶ Although it was initially a forum for the interaction between mostly French-speaking and German-speaking representatives, it became apparent that Britain had the potential to play a critical role in achieving the goals of the Congrès.

According to Eric Mumford, author of *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, the lack of patrons on the Continent with respect to large scale projects such as Le Corbusier's "Radiant City" plans as well as the political changing climates in Germany and the Soviet Union caused a shift of focus toward England and the United States in 1933.⁵⁷ However, as early as 1929, Shand was corresponding with Giedion regarding a possible British CIAM representative. Giedion, the secretary of Congrès, later asked Shand to assemble a group that would represent Britain at future CIAM meetings. Although Shand's first suggestion was his cousin, Robertson, then head of the Architectural Association, he later suggested Coates whose interests were much closer to those of the CIAM. Thus, the MARS Group was formed in the fall of 1932 under the leadership of Coates.⁵⁸

Although there is no doubt regarding Shand's role in the initial formation of the MARS Group, his role as a member is a matter of debate. The membership records from early meetings have been lost and there are conflicting stories as to who the first secretary of

⁵⁶ Mumford, *CIAM Discourse*, p. 9.

⁵⁷ Mumford, *CIAM Discourse*, p. 91; "In 1934, the closing of the Bauhaus and the bleak prospects for CIAM in both Germany and the Soviet Union led CIAM to focus on England and the United States." Eric Mumford, "The MARS Group and Team 10 in the context of the Anglo-American Transplantation of CIAM," CIAM Team 10: The English Context p. 19.

⁵⁸ Mumford, *CIAM Discourse*, p. 91.

the group was. Betjeman maintains that Shand “was its first secretary, doing all the translation and organizing” for the group which, considering his relationship with Giedion and his role in forming the group, is very likely.⁵⁹ However, Mumford, Melvin and Richards all state that in fact, Yorke was the Group’s first secretary.⁶⁰ It is possible that Yorke was appointed the official secretary, but Shand’s activities as a member may have included secretarial tasks and perhaps acting as a liaison between the CIAM and MARS Group between meetings.

In its initial form, the members of MARS included Fry, Yorke, Godfrey Samuel, Serge Chermayeff, John Gloag, Lubetkin, Goldfinger, Raymond McGrath, Amyas Connell, Basil Ward and Colin Lucas, as well as Richards, Hastings and Betjeman. Knowing Shand to be one of the more outspoken advocates for Modern architecture and possibly the most well connected in Britain, it is no surprise that Giedion asked Shand to recommend a leader for the MARS Group. However, despite the membership of three other architectural journalists (Richards, Hastings and Betjeman), it appeared that Shand or any other architectural journalist, was ineligible for the position. Again, his lack of formal training and role as a journalist rather than an architect meant that his position in certain circumstances was regarded as marginal.

In 1938, the MARS Group opened an exhibition entitled, “The New Architecture” in London. It was both a scritical success and well attended by the public.⁶¹ The achievements of this exhibition were praised by Le Corbusier who attended its opening in January and published his impressions in the *AR* with the assistance of Shand as translator. This glowing review acted as a signal that the Britain had in a way, “caught up” to the Continental standards. Le Corbusier alludes to the fact the UK had been the last to fully adopt and accept the new architecture:

⁵⁹ John Betjeman. “Obituary”, *Architectural Review*, vol. 128 (November 1960) p. 327.

⁶⁰ Mumford, *CIAM Discourse*, p. 92; Melvin, Jeremy. *FRS Yorke: and the Evolution of English Modernism*, London: Wiley-Academy, 2003, p. 13; J.M. Richards, *Memoirs of an Unjust Fella*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980, p. 125.

⁶¹ Marginalia, *Architectural Review*, vol. 83, (January 1938), pp. 53-54.

“Much has certainly been accomplished. It is no longer a case of fighting a battle all over the world, but of a victory already won in every part of it.”⁶²

The exhibition of work by MARS Group members demonstrated a unified and much more cohesive style in England than ever before. The recognition by Le Corbusier of its accomplishments was significant to the international community. Although MARS accomplished many things, Shand’s role in its formation is a relatively small aspect of its overall achievements and activities.

5. Architecture Books

Shand published two books on architecture: the first, The Architecture of Pleasure: Modern Theatres and Cinemas, was published in 1930 and included a discussion and images of English examples, but focused on works from the Continent, particularly from Germany. The review of this book in the *AJ* by Gordon Craig was at times dismissive, but also apt and illustrated some of the general sentiments of his colleagues, for example a widespread distaste for German architecture which Craig accused Shand of overusing. At one point, Craig said matter-of-factly, “I don’t think Mr. Shand knows what he is writing about, but I am quite sure that he knows what it is he feels, and that he has the right feeling about the whole thing.”⁶³

This book, which includes plates of Gropius, Oskar Kauffman, and Hans Poelzig’s projects among others demonstrates Shand’s enthusiasm for the work of German architects in particular, however as a connoisseur of architecture, without the aid of several years of experience yet, Shand text is that of an amateur observer. The main achievement of this volume is the publication of images he often acquired directly from the architect. In the acknowledgements for the book, Shand thanks the above

⁶² Le Corbusier, “The MARS Group Exhibition”, trans. P. Morton Shand, *Architectural Review*, (January 1938), pp. 109.

⁶³ Gordon Craig, “Amusement – and its setting”, *Architectural Review*, (February 1931), p. 63.

mentioned as well as several other German and French architects for providing him with the images to publish.⁶⁴

His other published book on architecture was Building: The Evolution of an Industry (1954) which focused on the materials, details and construction logistics. This was much more of a technical guide and exemplifies the general interest and direction that Shand's work took later on. He was less interested in the 'style' of the new architecture and more focused on the technical developments in employed. In this way, it would appear that in fact, Shand was aligned with what Fellows believe was Blomfield's real thoughts on Modernism.

In this text, Shand draws from the breadth of his career as an architectural journalist, discussing the use and advantages of modern materials and construction methods. Chapters on stone, cement and concrete, brick, iron and steel, sanitation, and windows, for example have all been discussed at one time or another in his contributions to the *AJ* and *AR*, for instance in the "Selected Precedents" sections. Publishing this book near the end of his career in architecture demonstrates what he found to be most important about the Modern Movement, namely the technological advances of building materials and construction methods.

WWII and the Postwar Era

When the Second World War broke out Shand and his wife Sybil fled London and both worked for the Admiralty in Bath. Girouard describes how Shand chose to spend his days shortly after beginning work at the Admiralty:

"His wife was at the Admiralty too, and she stayed there
and kept the family solvent while PMS remained at

⁶⁴ Although the work of both Erich Mendelsohn (Universum Cinema, Berlin, fig. 44-45) and E. Gunnar Asplund (Skandia, Stockholm, fig. 54) were included in the book, these images were "reproduced by courtesy of the Proprietors of *The Architect's Journal*." Shand acquired images from Gropius for the publication, but there is no evidence to suggest that they met in person. p. v.

home, [p.166]in a boiler suit and an Old Etonian tie, seething with ideas, reading omnivorously, corresponding round the world, and giving everyone else a hard time."⁶⁵

Their daughters, Mary and Elspeth, were evacuated earlier with their school to Oxford and on weekends reunited with their parents in Oxford at the house of the painter, Paul Nash and his wife.

The Shands may have returned to London when the war was over (whether they returned to the city or remained in Bath is unknown), but Shand never fully re-immersed himself in the architectural world. He all but disappeared from the pages of the *AJ* and *AR*, submitting one only a few more articles in the postwar era. His last significant article published for the Architectural Press was translated excerpts of Henry van de Velde's memoirs (September 1952).⁶⁶ He attended the CIAM conference in Bridgwater (1947; Plate 1), however, the publication of his book *Building* marks his last significant contribution to the field. Shortly thereafter it appears as though he and Sissons, who had previously been working as an assistant to Pritchard at Isokon, moved to Lyons. It was there that Shand began to focus on his gardening, specifically the breeding and study of rare apples, until his death in 1960.

In a letter to friend and colleague, Betjeman, Shand's comments regarding the architecture of the postwar era indicate his strong feelings towards his role in contemporary architecture:

"I am haunted by a gnawing sense of guilt in having, in however a minor and obscure degree, helped to bring about, anyhow encouraged and praised, the embryo searchings that have now materialized into a monster neither of us could have

⁶⁵ Girouard, p.165-6.

⁶⁶ P. Morton Shand, "Henry van de Velde: Extracts from his Memoirs, 1891-1901", *Architectural Review*, vol. 112 (September 1952), pp. 142-155;

Plate 1: Shand (second from left, second from row from bottom). Group photo, CIAM
Bridgwater 1947. (photo from J. M. Richards, *Memoirs*)

foreseen: Contemporary Architecture = (the piling up of gigantic children's toy bricks in utterly dehumanized and meaningless forms), "Art" and all that. It is no longer funny; it is a frightening, all-pervading menace."⁶⁷

Richards maintains that what Shand is referring to in this letter was not the architecture of the Modern Movement, but the contemporary architecture from the time he was writing, the architecture of the postwar reconstruction. According to Richards, who had had several conversations regarding the postwar reconstruction, Shand had "disliked what contemporary architecture had become", but had "never lost his belief that the principles behind the Modern Movement were right."⁶⁸ Although there is no evidence to suggest that this was the initial reason Shand left architectural journalism, this was certainly a reason why he never returned.

One of the other possible reasons he left architecture, although this is subject to conjecture, is his apparent prejudice and, as Richards says, anti-Semitism and xenophobia.⁶⁹ There is evidence that Shand tended towards anti-Semitism in his correspondences and personal interactions, however this attitude appears to have little effect on his professional career. In a letter to Pritchard dated 20th June, 1938, he says,

"Though one buys them from the Jews in every case, very little of the enormous profit made out of them, I am glad to say, goes into their pockets – comparatively speaking – and the lion's share to your friends who govern Nazi Germany, which is also an unpleasant reflection."⁷⁰

The implication of this apparent racism is that in the postwar era, Shand was shunned from the architectural community as an embarrassment. However, Spens suggested that in fact Shand's racist attitude towards Jews was shared by many English middle

⁶⁷ Letter to Betjeman from Shand – published in Shand's obituary in the *AR*. Betjeman, *Obituary*, p. 327.

⁶⁸ Richards, pp. 124-125.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁷⁰ Letter from Shand to Pritchard dated June 20, 1938. Pritchard Papers, PP/29/1/8.

class. This was particularly important in understanding some of his relationships when Jewish-Germans began emigrating to England to escape the Nazis. Spens points to the fact that Shand's feelings have been the reason why he never took to the work of Erich Mendelsohn with as much gusto as that of Gropius. Mendelsohn, a Jewish-German, was a high profile architect on the Continent, but was only ever briefly mentioned in Shand's publications.

Conclusion: A Shadow in the Background

Shand's goal of bringing continental Modernism to the UK had been achieved as exemplified by such successes as the very existence of the Lawn Road Flats by Isokon in London and the MARS Group exhibition of 1938. He had passed on his legacy to a younger generation of colleagues at the Architectural Press including Yorke and Betjeman and influenced their own Modernist agendas. They owed much to Shand's work and were able to capitalize on the contacts and knowledge he had accrued in the previous years. As Melvin wrote, "Through his friendship with Morton Shand, one of the Architectural Press's most important contributors at the time, Yorke augmented his contacts across Europe..."

Despite having been involved in, if not the catalyst for, several key developments in the dissemination of the new architecture in England, Shand's role has never been fully credited by historians and in this respect, he has remained outside the canon. History recalls other names – for example, Pevsner, Yorke, Coates – to attribute changes that had occurred which he had influenced. The cumulative efforts of Shand in championing and bringing the new architecture to Britain during the interwar period have never been collected and recognized and as a result, Shand remains relatively unknown. Perhaps this is in part due to the fact that Shand did not fully immerse himself in the postwar era like so many of his colleagues had. It is possible too, that he was more interested in playing a background role in the architectural scene and positioned himself as such on

purpose. In any case, as such an important figure during a pivotal transition period for English architecture, Shand's could not remain unacknowledged for much longer.

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