

VOLUME I

LE CORBUSIER 1900 - 1925 : THE YEARS  
OF TRANSITION

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"The measure of an artist's originality, put in the simplest terms, is the extent to which his selective emphasis deviates from the conventional norm and establishes new standards of relevance. All great innovations which inaugurate a new era, movement or school, consist in sudden shifts of previously neglected aspect of experience, some blacked-out range of the existential spectrum. The decisive turning points in the history of every art form are discoveries which show the characteristic features already discussed: they uncover what has always been there; they are 'revolutionary' that is destructive and constructive, they compel us to revalue our values and impose a new set of rules on the eternal game".

Arthur Koestler

The Act of Creation

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## ABSTRACT

More information on Le Corbusier's early career as Charles-Edouard Jeanneret is gradually coming to light but little is yet known of him during his period of transition from being a minor architect in La Chaux-de-Fonds to a major one of great theoretical and practical influence in Paris. As one might expect he did not make this transition without considerable personal anguish and it was only because of the help afforded him by his friends and the influence of his associates and mentors that it was made at all. These relationships and influences form the subject of this study which throws light on various unexpected sides of Le Corbusier's development. The research is primarily based on his records of the period, his personal documents including letters he sent to colleagues, relations and friends; interviews by the writer with his brother and contemporaries still living in Switzerland and Paris; together with published material on his life and work, including his own.

As Le Corbusier did not become generally known by this name until 1925 his given name of Charles-Edouard Jeanneret is used throughout this thesis.

The thesis has been divided into two parts; the first covers the formative years of his life in La Chaux-de-Fonds from 1900 until 1917 when he left to live and work in Paris. The roots of many of his later convictions, activities and abilities lie in this period and the thesis traces the interconnecting links between, and the development of, his four principal activities namely architecture, painting, writing and business.

The second part of the thesis covers Le Corbusier's first eight years in Paris (1917-1925) and examines the process by which he became, by the end of this period, established as one of the major innovators of the 'Modern Movement'.



In the conclusion the writer draws together the major threads from the thesis to demonstrate how the transition from Charles-Edouard Jeanneret to Le Corbusier was achieved.

The events and activities covered by this study have been placed within the context of the artistic, economic and social life of the period in so far as Le Corbusier's development was affected.

## PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to examine and document four significant aspects of the educational, artistic and professional development of Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, known later as Le Corbusier, between the years 1900 and 1925.

The choice of dates marks the limits of Jeanneret's formative years. In 1900 at the age of fourteen he left school to join an apprentice engravers course: by 1925 he had achieved international recognition as one of the leading innovators of the Modern Movement and was widely known by his nom-de-plume of Le Corbusier. 1925 signifies the watershed between his formative period, the subject of this study, and his main career.

The sources for this historical study are existing published work and new information drawn from original research.

The published work includes Le Corbusier's autobiographical accounts of which the series entitled Oeuvres Complète is the most important. (The first volume on the period 1911 to 1929, appeared in 1929). Few architects have been such good publicists about their own work and theories as Le Corbusier, nor have their buildings been analysed and discussed to the extent that his have been. The constant repetition of the same information about him in the great volume of published material has given an appearance of truth to the image of the lonely, self-taught and self-reliant pioneer that Le Corbusier constructed for himself at the start of his career.

In the 1929 Oeuvres Complète account Le Corbusier credits Charles L'Eplattenier, his first teacher, for introducing him to the world of art. Le Corbusier stated that when the young Jeanneret was undertaking the engravers course at the La Chaux-de-Fonds Art School, his teacher's enthusiasm and the small collection of books he kept in the classroom,

amongst which was Owen Jones Grammar of Ornament, excited his interest in design. In Le Corbusier's account, the period of L'Eplattenier's influence is limited to 1907; thereafter Le Corbusier implies he was on his own.

When he reached the age of seventeen and a half years old, Le Corbusier said he received his first architectural project for a house. The client could have been his teacher or an official from the art school, his accounts conflict on this point. No mention is made of the process whereby Jeanneret changed from a watch engraver to architect and no hint is provided of how he acquired the basic knowledge to undertake this task. But there is a clear statement that the house was built without the restrictions of architectural routine, for by this time Jeanneret had apparently already developed a 'terror of the teaching of the architectural schools'.

On the proceeds from the house project Jeanneret undertook the first of his many travels around Europe, with the personal proviso to avoid all architectural schools. He supported himself with practical work and eventually finished in Paris where he was introduced by the artist Eugene Grasset to Auguste Perret. No mention is made in this account of working for the Perret brothers but Le Corbusier does acknowledge the pioneer work of Perret and says that he was introduced by him to the use of reinforced concrete in architecture. Le Corbusier also referred to the work of Tony Garnier, indicating that at this stage he regarded it as the example of a new era in architecture, while acknowledging that it was also the product of centuries of architectural evolution.

Jeanneret's friend William Ritter is described as an older man willing to listen and support the doubts and confidences of an uncertain young man through a troubled period in his life. Le Corbusier writes of Jeanneret's abandonment of all architectural work at the start

of the First World War but provides little evidence of what this work consisted of. In Oeuvres Complètes 1912-1929 very few schemes from this period are illustrated and apart from the house designed when he was seventeen and a half, apparently only one other, the Schwob house of 1916 illustrated earlier in Vers Une Architecture, was ever built.

After the war his involvement in business and industry are mentioned but again no specific information is provided. Of the post war architectural practice in Paris, partnership with Pierre Jeanneret is recorded as taking place in 1922 the purpose of which was not to 'seek for lucrative commissions' but for true architectural research. There is little proof that much was offered in the way of live commissions to tempt them from their path, for only four of the projects illustrated in the book from this period ever reached the construction stage. First, the house at Vaucresson followed by houses for Ozenfant, La Roche and Albert Jeanneret and finally the pavilion for L'Esprit Nouveau at the 1925 Paris Exhibition d'Art Decoratif.

No other evidence is offered of how Jeanneret made a living during these years and it is unlikely that the journal L'Esprit Nouveau could have provided him with sufficient income, though there is no information of his earnings from the magazine.

Le Corbusier says that L'Esprit Nouveau was responsible for the introduction of Modern Architecture to the public, by publicising a wide range of contemporary activities and providing a forum for discussion of innovatory ideas, many of which had originated in the pre-war work of architects like Tessenow, Berlage, Van-de-Velde and Behrens and whose development had been accelerated by the advent of the war.

The article ends with a further attack on the architectural schools and their professors:-

"How often have I had it drummed into me that it is impossible

to achieve a career otherwise than through the teaching of of the schools, and that it is equally impossible to practice in my profession without having acquired the celebrated diploma which so pompously crowns the close of an architect's studies and sometimes, unfortunately, his creative activity as well."

Throughout his writings Le Corbusier showed a consistent contempt for academic learning and formal education, and these remarks have led people to believe, as they were probably intended to do, that his abilities had been acquired quite independently of such systems of training.

Little further is added to this document by Le Corbusier's later autobiographical accounts, of which those in Le Modulor, written at the age of forty-nine, and My Work, at the age of seventy-one, are the most informative. They were mostly written many years after the events and have all the certainty and assurance of hindsight. They show no real change in Le Corbusier's attitude to this period of his life and beyond these sparse comments he credits no one else's inspiration or theories.

The other principal form givers of the early twentieth century were no less guilty of creating myths about their own development period, as Jacques Paul in his 1970 Doctorate thesis Modern Architecture and the Classical Tradition points out :-

"Complementary to this formal academic process one finds that traditions were also perpetuated and handed down within professional families, from father to son. Thus specific Classical themes were transmitted through the generations of such families as the Gropius family in Berlin, the Stadler family in Zurich and the Thiersch family in Munich, enabling their members in the twentieth century to draw on a considerable wealth of accumulated experience. Architectural theory transmitted both through the family connection and through the Hochschulen provided the modern

'form-givers' with the strands of their theories of architecture.

In dealing with this thesis, that education has had an important influence on the Moderns, one must be aware of their frequently repeated statements rejecting all academic influence. The present-day view is the Romantic one that Modern architectural theory was discovered by men thinking about their problems ab initio, and not through the survival of a tradition. Le Corbusier's hostility to 'the academies' has done much to win tacit acceptance for this view and, significantly, Walter Gropius has written :

"I have found out that neither Wright, Mies, Corbu nor myself made exams. I personally ran away from the Technische Hochschule in Charlottenburg and went straight into practice". In order to substantiate the main thesis, as stated above, it is necessary to challenge the anti-academic implications of this remark, to show that Le Corbusier and Gropius were not the autodidacts they professed to be, but that on the contrary they were extremely well educated in the true sense of the word".

The denial of traditional values made by Gropius, Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier in their autobiographical writings is contradicted by detailed knowledge of architectural tradition that is demonstrated in their discussions of architecture and in their work.

The first occasion when Le Corbusier's own account of his early career was adopted by others was in 1931 in the exhibition of modern architecture at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The director Alfred Barr had asked Philip Johnson, together with Henry-Russell Hitchcock to organise the exhibition. Johnson, a recent graduate in classics and philosophy from Harvard, had read an article on modern architecture by Hitchcock and become interested in the subject.

In the exhibition for Museum of Modern Art, they covered a wide range of contemporary architecture both in the United States and in Europe; but the work of Le Corbusier, Oud, Gropius, Mies van der Rohe and Wright provided the most prominent exhibits.

The two organisers also prepared a book entitled The International Style: Architecture since 1922, which was published in 1932. Of Le Corbusier, they said:

"... the man who first made the world aware that a new style was being born was Le Corbusier. As late as 1916, well after his technical and sociological theorizing had begun, his conceptions of design were still strongly marked by classical symmetry of his master Perret. His plans, however, were more open than those of Wright. In his housing projects of the next few years he passed rapidly beyond his master Perret and beyond Behrens and Loos, with whom he had also come on contact. His Citrohan house model of 1921 was the thorough expression of a conception of architecture as radical technically as Gropius' factory and as novel aesthetically as Oud's village. The enormous window area and the terraces made possible by the use of ferroconcrete, together with the asymmetry of the composition, undoubtedly produced a design more thoroughly infused with a new spirit, more completely freed from the conventions of the past than any thus far projected. The influence of Le Corbusier was the greater, the appearance of a new style the more remarked, because of the vehement propaganda which he contributed to the magazine L'Esprit Nouveau, 1920-1925. Since then, moreover, he has written a series of books effectively propagandizing his technical and aesthetic theories. In this way his name has become almost synonymous with the new architecture and it had been praised or condemned very largely in his person. But he was not, as we have seen, the only innovator nor was the style as it came generally into being after 1922 peculiarly his. He crystallized; he dramatized; but he was not alone in creating".

Although the importance of the role of other architects in establishing an 'International Style' was recognised, they clearly saw Le Corbusier as the principle instigator of a modern architectural movement, and in doing so they largely accepted his own evaluation of his career, and in particular the freedom he claimed from past conventions.

Over the next thirty years no further factual evidence was produced to throw doubt on Le Corbusier's version of his early origins, until Reyner Banham's appraisal of his work in Theory and Design in the

First Machine Age published in 1960. The earlier accounts of the development of the Modern Movement by Pevsner in 1936 Pioneers of the Modern Movement and Richards in 1940 Modern Architecture had not questioned Le Corbusier's facts and the biographical studies by Maurice Gauthier and Peter Blake were similarly accepting of Le Corbusier's own account of this period in his life.

Banham demonstrated for the first time that a number of Le Corbusier's ideas were drawn from early twentieth century theories on art; in particular he drew attention to the influence of the Futurists on both his writing and architecture. The similarity of the form of some pre-war Paris studios and workshops to the early Citrohan houses is also identified by Banham as evidence of Le Corbusier's ability to recognise and exploit ideas from both the functional and formal tradition in architecture.

The effect of Banham's observations was to cast doubt on Le Corbusier's own accounts of his career. Jacques Paul in his research continued the line of investigation set up by Banham and established that there existed in Germany a body of architectural theory that could be demonstrated to underly the education of Jeanneret and his contemporaries making it plain that the accounts of their early development as free from all academic traditions put out by Gropius, Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier was indeed a myth.

A study in 1963 by Chavanne and Laville on Jeanneret's early houses in La Chaux-de-Fonds had revealed that the young engraving apprentice had received considerable professional help from an experienced local architect of some repute.

In 1968 Stefan Von Moos produced a critical appraisal of Le Corbusier's work entitled Le Corbusier, Elemente Einer Synthese , following on Banham's theme and incorporating some new facts.

When 'La Fondation Le Corbusier' opened in Paris in the late 1960's



his personal archives gradually became available to researchers. Work on an exhibition entitled 'Le Corbusier et Pessac 1914-1928' was started by Brian Taylor and presented in 1972, revealing that Jeanneret had been involved for some years in the development of industrial building systems and added an important new dimension to his early work.

A study of these accounts indicates that there are still considerable gaps in our knowledge of the facts relating to Le Corbusier's early years. The present investigation has been directed towards discovering the facts to fill these gaps. The Jeanneret family's personal papers have only recently been made available for research and are the subject of a study by Alan Brookes, as yet unpublished.

None of these accounts apart from the last two have drawn on the material from 'La Fondation Le Corbusier'. In making use of these documents which include Jeanneret's drawings, his practice files and his personal correspondence it must be born in mind that Jeanneret's writing was sometimes difficult and unorthodox perhaps because of his Swiss origin and because he was not after all, an educated man. I have quoted from it extensively in translation, though I believe that the professional translator has succeeded in capturing Jeanneret's idiosyncratic style.

Works from his personal library, comprising books, periodicals and newspaper cuttings have also been consulted. References to these sources is given in Endnotes to the thesis and the more significant documents are reproduced in the appendices. I was also able to have extensive conversations with Albert Jeanneret and some of Jeanneret's associates from his formative years, among them Leon Perrin the sculptor and Max DuBois, engineer and business man.

The four main problems of Jeanneret's development to which I address myself in this thesis are the nature of his architectural education, his financial means during the period in question, his rôle in the production of the journal L'Esprit Nouveau and lastly how, under the name of Le Corbusier he had succeeded by 1925 in establishing an international reputation for himself as a theorist and practioner in architecture.

I refer to Le Corbusier throughout the period of this study as Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, his family name and the one he was known by to his friends and associates of the time. I consider that his total adoption of the pseudonym Le Corbusier symbolised in his mind a radical change in attitude to his own life and ambitions, enabling him to later suppress the trials and tribulations of the young and unsuccessful architect known as Jeanneret. By 1925 the followers of L'Esprit Nouveau had, from his writing, come to expect a somewhat larger than life architect. The success of the LEsprit Nouveau Pavilion in the 1925 'Arts Decoratif' Exhibition accelerated Jeanneret's realisation of the character he had unwittingly prepared for himself and he took the opportunity to adopt his alternative role completely.

This study is historical: it sets out to re-evaluate the evidence about Jeanneret's life, sifting established facts from the silt of half truths and myth that has been deposited in the minds of architects and students as a result of the image tha Le Corbusier had continued to create for himself through his writings.

In order not to stray from this strictly biographical approach I have refrained from involvement with aesthetic interpretation of Jeanneret's architecture, confining myself to establishing what the evidence is about his early career. Others will no doubt deal with any of the problems of re-interpretation that are necessitated by the results of the study.

The thesis is divided into two parts; Part One contains four chapters, each dealing with an aspect of Jeanneret's life when he was based in his home town of La Chaux-de-Fonds in Switzerland. This part is organised chronologically, beginning with his early teenage years as an apprentice and ending with his departure in 1917, at the age of thirty, to Paris. Part Two is set in Paris and covers the last year of World War One and the difficult post-war years up to 1925 the end of the period of this study. It is ordered thematically in three chapters, each dealing with a major aspect of Jeanneret's complex activities during this time, namely his work as a painter, entrepreneur and architect.

Both Part One and Part Two are followed by brief summaries.

In the conclusion I draw together the major threads from the thesis in order to answer the four questions stated in the preface.

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Permission was given for the use of the archive material in this thesis for the purpose of this research only, it is not to be used or quoted without permission from the archive concerned in publication.

PART ONE

LA CHAUX-DE-FONDS:  
1900 - 1917

## CHAPTER 1 Background

Jeanneret was fascinated with the genealogy of his family; during his life he collected several books on the history of the people of the Jura and Neuchâtel districts<sup>1</sup> but he was never to return for any length of time to his homeland and preferred to refer to the French side of his heritage. In 1930, the year of his marriage, he became a naturalised Frenchman.

La Chaux-de-Fonds, the town where Charles Edouard Jeanneret was born is situated in the valley of the river Le Doubs in the Jura Mountains above Neuchâtel. It lies on one of the main routes between Switzerland and France, a major factor in its choice as shelter in the past for political refugees fleeing from France.

During the nineteenth century, the watch and clock industry thrived and La Chaux-de-Fonds and the neighbouring town of Le Locle expanded. From 1850 to 1900 the population of La Chaux-de-Fonds tripled from 10,000 to 30,000 inhabitants. Part of the increase came from the last major influx of refugees in 1850, made up of Russian and French Jews. They were later given permission to settle permanently in Switzerland, due to an abatement in a previously strong Swiss anti-Jewish movement. Even so, they were to be regarded as second-class citizens for a number of years and only gained equal legal and religious rights after pressure from the French over a trade agreement in 1864.<sup>2</sup>

Though isolated in the winter by snow and ice, the railway kept the town in contact with the rest of Europe throughout the year and the salesmen of the clocks and watches travelled the world establishing contacts. The town increased in prosperity and size until 1911, when a world-wide slump in the industry brought this to a stop.<sup>3</sup>

Resentment towards the Jewish immigrants has never been totally dispersed in La Chaux-de-Fonds. Their success and skill in watch and

clock-making, (by the end of the nineteenth century they were among the town's major manufacturers), did not endear them to the population at large, who preferred, as did Jeanneret,<sup>4</sup> to preserve the image of watch-making as a hand craft process, a nice side-line to mountain farming, rather than the industrial process it had become. The largely French/Swiss Protestant community, though they were not averse to making money or using modern techniques to expand their own businesses, acknowledged status in the more academic professions of lawyer, teacher, councillor, etc., rather than in industry.

The open acceptance and persuasion by the Jews of business and industry as a means to make money together with interests in cultural pleasures outside of mountain walks and woodcarving created tensions and a certain amount of liveliness in the society and politics in La Chaux-de-Fonds, in the period before the first world war. Literary societies, concerts, music groups, and art discussions thrived together with the long-established Alpine club.<sup>5</sup> Jeanneret's mother was involved through her music teaching in this cultural life. The new Fine Arts course at the La Chaux-de-Fonds Art School,<sup>6</sup> founded by Jeanneret's mentor and teacher L'Eplattenier, provided a wider dimension to the existing technically based art education. Skiing had one of its earliest starts in Switzerland on the mountain slopes above the town.<sup>7</sup>

When Jeanneret's 'Ville Contemporaine'<sup>8</sup> was criticised in 1922 by M. Léandre Vaillat, a member of the Commission technique de la Renaissance des Cités<sup>9</sup> for being a German inspired design, a very damning accusation at the time. France was undergoing a romantic period in her architectural ideas and town planning theories; the winding lane received approval, the straight road denigration, because of the straight lines association with classical thought, which in the minds of the French was a predominately German preference.<sup>10</sup> Jeanneret's work had, in fact, been strongly influenced by classical principles learnt through the ideas of people whose work he admired and had studied in Germany before the

advent of the war.<sup>11</sup> But it was something that he would not acknowledge at that time or even later.

The criticism arose from Jeanneret's use in his city project of a predominately rectangular layout. Jeanneret, very displeased, said in his reply:

"I came from the mountains of Neuchâtel in Switzerland. My father was called Jeanneret, my mother Perret. My family had its cradle in the south of France, it was chased out by the Albigeois crusade. In these free lands where these refugees enjoyed the rights of 'Free Herbergeants' there followed the people prescribed by the Edict of Nantes, then the political refugees of Louis XV and of Louis XVI then those of the Commune.

In those high valleys situated at 1000 metres of altitude which belonged to the Dukes of Nemours and of Longueville (the canton of Neuchâtel joined the Swiss confederation in 1848) these colonists cleared the land in summer and in winter, starting from the XVIIth century they constructed the most marvellous clock movements and automatic figures of world renown. These farms they had made and of which I had found the prototype in Armagnac represent majestic examples of folk lore; of great architecture. In those interiors, in the 19th century, one read Rabelais, Rousseau and Voltaire. In the Neuchâtel mountains we have always been revolutionaries that is to say passionate for individual independence. For a hundred years one persisted for independence. For a hundred years one persisted in trying to find "perpetual motion". They were idealists, these people were not thick skinned. They were quite a race. Today the railway has started to mix the blood, but there it is quite specially the world centre for horology". 12



## CHAPTER 2    The Jeanneret Family

The two Jeannerets, Charles-Edouard Jeanneret and his elder brother Albert appear to have had a happy childhood.<sup>1</sup> The Jeanneret family were well established in the Neuchatel area<sup>2</sup> and took an active part in the life of the town, they were closely knit and affectionate. Their father, Edouard Jeanneret-Perret was by profession an enameller of watchcases. His letter heading reading read:

"E. Jeanneret-Perret Successeur de E. Jeanneret-Rauss.  
Fabrication de Cadrans d'Email.  
Chronographes en tous genres soignés et ordinaires".<sup>3</sup>

He was also a very active member of the Alpine Club.<sup>4</sup> The grandfather, Edouard Jeanneret-Rauss, married Lise Rauss from Le Locle,<sup>5</sup> and was a descendant from the Jeanneret-Gris family thought to have originated in the south of France and had been one of the leaders of the revolution to join the Swiss Confederation in 1848. Another branch of the family came from Prussia, that included Pierre Jeanneret, Le Corbusier's later partner.<sup>6</sup>

Albert and Charles-Edouard's mother, Marie Charlotte-Amélie Perret, came from a Neuchâtel family, which, like the Jeannerets included doctors, lawyers, and teachers amongst their number.<sup>7</sup> Madame Jeanneret was a talented musician and gave piano and singing classes; through her music teaching she came into contact with a large number of influential families of La Chaux-de-Fonds, some of whom were later to become clients of Charles-Edouard's architectural practice.<sup>8</sup> The extra money she earned from her classes must have contributed to the cost of Albert's and Charles-Edouard's education as they were not a wealthy family and had only moderate means.

The decision of the two sons not to follow in their father's profession was a disappointment to him. According to Albert, their father was very bourgeois in his outlook on life and believed in one job and one way of life. When his sons both abandoned regular work,

he washed his hands of them,<sup>9</sup> and apparently provided no further financial support.

Albert Jeanneret was born in 1886, just over a year before his brother, Charles-Edouard, and was a musically gifted child. His mother taught him the violin and by the time he was ten years old, they were giving public recitals together. In 1901 at the age of fourteen and a half, he was sent to the Königliche Hochschule für Musik in Berlin to study the violin, then returned in 1907 to complete his studies at the Geneva Conservatoire. It was to take him two years instead of the usual one to obtain the necessary teaching certificate, due, possibly to over-practicing at too early an age; he had found great difficulty in coping with the physical requirements necessary in sustaining a solo violin performance and found the time in Geneva very depressing. In 1909, still in Geneva, he attended a series of lectures given by Jacques Dalcroze, on a new eurythmical approach to the study and appreciation of music. The first talk was well attended, but for the second, the only member of the audience was Albert Jeanneret.<sup>10</sup> Dalcroze's ideas did not have the approval of the professors at the academy and Dalcroze could see no future for himself in Geneva. At the time he had already accepted an offer from a new colony at Hellerau to start a school of music and dance based on his methods. Hellerau, founded for the purpose of promoting art and music, is situated near Dresden and the architect Heinrich Tessenow had been engaged to plan the layout and main buildings, one of which would be a building specially designed to accommodate the Dalcroze Academy.<sup>11</sup>

Albert was fascinated with this new approach to music and after the second meeting with Dalcroze decided to join him at Hellerau and study eurythmics. He qualified as a teacher there and joined the company in several successful European tours<sup>12</sup> before 1914 when with the imminence of war, he and other foreigners were compelled to leave Germany. Dalcroze returned to Geneva where his system of music teaching was at last recognised and he was able to restart his academy there. Albert

returned to La Chaux-de-Fonds to start his own school of eurhythmics in La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>13</sup>

As a child, the younger brother, Charles-Edouard, was not academically or musically talented but did show artistic ability.<sup>14</sup> In the family it had always been expected that he would be the son to follow in the steps of his father because of Albert's talent with the violin, and he spent the early part of his life, until joining the art school, in the shadow of his brother's musical achievements. When he left school at thirteen and a half to join the apprentice engravers course at the local art school L'Eplattener, his design course tutor, offered him the opportunity to match Albert's success. Charles-Edouard would have understood from his brother's efforts the necessity for self-reliance and the need to practice to attain high standards of work. Self-discipline, independence, together with a strong moral and religious attitude, which had been important factors in the two sons' upbringing,<sup>15</sup> enabled Charles-Edouard with his own considerable natural ability to take full advantage of L'Eplattener's enlightened teaching.

Charles-Edouard, together with friends<sup>16</sup> made at the art school and under the guidance of L'Eplattener, were later to form an elite group of young artists in La Chaux-de-Fonds in the period before the first world war. They had travelled and had achieved by then a limited amount of work and were somewhat idolized by the next generation, though at the same time they were considered arrogant and snobbish.<sup>17</sup> The group were free with their criticisms of the town and its inhabitants,<sup>18</sup> and they made themselves generally unpopular but their contact with ideas outside La Chaux-de-Fonds brought excitement in the otherwise bourgeois town.<sup>19</sup>

In 1917 when Charles Edouard was twenty-nine he abruptly and, as it turned out, finally left the town to settle in Paris. He left behind a vacuum in the lives of his close associates. The group could not sustain the previous air of superiority or intensity of interest in

activities without Jeanneret's abilities and driving force. Charles-Edouard's energy, integrity of purpose, and head-on clashes with authority were sorely missed.<sup>20</sup> This apparent desertion and the subsequent complete lack of communication with his friends in the group caused considerable pain and hurt, so much so that friendship turned to resentment and gave rise to harsh criticism of his later internationally known work. This intense feeling is clearly portrayed in the following letter from Charles Humbert, one of the group and a former close friend of Charles-Edouard.

"The real evil, you must admit, is that you have changed and that you include in this same disfavour everything which could remind you of La Chaux-de-Fonds. You have even changed so much that you do not realise how strange your way of writing to me is. I admit that it could be your irresponsibility and it is that which hurts me the most. It is all very well to despise sentimentality as the base of art but you must not fall lower and lower down the hill until you deny all sentiment. As for the irony which you throw out, there is no cause for it and if I spoke badly of your book it is because it was contrary to my taste; in this I can differ from you and still be a friend ..... and I shall not be the only one: you know the opinions of W. Ritter, P. Godet, Marnon, etc. on purism. In any case you are greatly mistaken in comparing L'Esprit Nouveau with Voix which in my opinion is a newspaper "manifestation of pride". No, I have never pretended to regenerate art by manifest Voix has only a local or regional interest, whereas L'Esprit Nouveau ? ! In summary: whatever parisian success has gone to your head and whatever contempt you have for us, there must be a neutral zone whereby there might be a chance for us (poor people of La Chaux-de-Fonds) to render you a service, do you not feel the hatefulness of this world? !

If there should remain within you a vestige of the man that I used to know, it is to him that I send my friendship. Re-read my old letters if they could be counted as "gestures over the frontiers"?

C. Humbert " 21

Though a few commissions were to arrive from La Chaux-de-Fonds in his Paris office for a few years after his departure, Charles-Edouard was not to continue with any of these early friendships beyond a very occasional letter. Even visits to his parents became rare, although he took an active part in their welfare, particularly after his father had retired.

a. Charles L'Eplattenier

In the spring of 1901, Jeanneret joined the engravers course at La Chaux-de-Fonds Technical Art School, a school established to provide designers for the watch and clock industry. His design tutor was a young interior designer and mural painter from Neuchatel called Charles L'Eplattenier, a son of a peasant, born in 1874 at Neubert near Neuchatel.

L'Eplattenier had studied design in the Kunstgewerkeschule in Budapest for one year, going from there to the Ecole des Arts Décoratifs in Paris where he was a student in the atelier of Luc Olivier Menon for three years. On the completion of his studies he travelled in England, Belgium, Holland and Germany, staying for a while in Munich.<sup>1</sup> There he may well have met or become re-acquainted with William Ritter, a Swiss art critic and writer. Ritter's father was a councillor in the area of Neuchatel and Ritter could well have told L'Eplattenier of the possibility of finding a job teaching in the art school of La Chaux-de-Fonds while he built up his interior design practice.

Though L'Eplattenier had not been a student of painting while in Paris he had certainly absorbed the trends that were, in 1893-96, influencing his fellow art students in the painting school. Neo-impressionism and symbolism were by then clearly recognised as movements and many articles appeared in the contemporary art magazines publicising the theories and ideas of these closely related new movements.<sup>2</sup> Seurat and his followers had attracted many young painters to Paris. The effect of their belief in the scientific analysis of colour and the study of proportion provided an important stimulus to the development of impressionism which was, in itself, rather devoid of logical content and provided no guide-lines other than rather vague emotional qualities.<sup>3</sup>

L'Eplattenier's first paintings in La Chaux-de-Fonds were mainly pointillist style landscapes.<sup>4</sup> Cézanne at that time was virtually unknown whereas Seurat's ideas had been well recorded in Paul Signac's book D'Eugène Delacroix au Néo-Impressionisme published in 1899. Signac had been a painter, follower and friend of Seurat. His book demonstrated how Seurat's principles had originated from Constable to Delacroix, Ruskin and the Impressionists.<sup>5</sup> L'Eplattenier, when planning his design course for the young engraving students at La Chaux-de-Fonds must have found in the theories of Ruskin and his disciples, the path he wished to follow. It would have been in sympathy with the English Arts and Crafts Movement, whose ideas were taking root amongst design workshops and schools throughout Europe at that time.<sup>6</sup>

Ruskin's ideas were frequently discussed in class and a French translation of Ruskin's major work, The Seven Lamps of Architecture was available in the studio.<sup>7</sup>

L'Eplattenier, new and untrained in teaching with only his art design studies behind him, discovered good foundation material in Ruskin's writings for his course.<sup>8</sup>

L'Eplattenier's enthusiasm, strong personality and freshness of approach compensated for any inadequacies of experience and he made a considerable impact on the new and, as yet, uncommitted students.<sup>9</sup> Jeanneret was very fortunate to have such a teacher at the outset of his studies, and later acknowledged this fact:

"Up to 1907 I had in my native town, the good fortune to have a master worthy of the name. 'L'Eplattenier', as we called him, was a fascinating teacher. He it was who first opened the gates of art to me. With him we studied the master-pieces of every age and nation".<sup>10</sup>

L'Eplattenier's approach to design teaching was rewarded in 1902, when the art school submitted a display of its students work for a craft competition, held at an International Exhibition of Decorative Art in Turin.<sup>11</sup> The display was awarded first prize. Jeanneret's

frequently illustrated watchcase was part of it and showed the very real artistic talent that he possessed at the age of fifteen. He regularly gained prize awards in the art school.<sup>12</sup>

The La Chaux-de-Fonds school board were impressed by the work of the new design tutor and the success of his students, which promised to be of considerable future commercial value to the town's major industry. The following year they promoted L'Eplattenier to the position of director of the design course,<sup>13</sup> a move that could not have been entirely popular with some of the older and long-established members of the staff who were to make the job a difficult one for L'Eplattenier in later years and eventually help lead to his resignation.<sup>14</sup>

It is not possible to know precisely which of Ruskin's principles were expounded by L'Eplattenier, but many similar statements can be seen embodied in 'Purisme' and in many of Jeanneret's later writings. Ruskin's influence was acknowledged by him.<sup>15</sup>

There are also many other aspects in Jeanneret's development that shows an early influence of Ruskin. For instance, the necessity for a good painter to practice every day :

"So many hours a day of steady practice - all your mind and nervous energy put into it - or no good painting".<sup>16</sup>

This advice Jeanneret attempted to follow throughout the whole of his life.

L'Eplattenier recognised that in Jeanneret he had an exceptional student. He fed him the belief that he was born to be a great artist<sup>17</sup> and encouraged in him attitudes and ideas, again to be found in the writings of Ruskin :

"Wherever imagination and sentiment are, they will either show themselves without forcing, or if capable of artificial development, the kind of training which such a school of art would give them would be the best they could receive. The infinite absurdity and failure of our present training consists mainly in this that we do not rank imagination and invention high enough and suppose that they can be taught. Throughout every sentence that I have ever written, the reader will find the same rank attributed to these powers - the rank of, purely the divine gift, not

to be attained, increased, or in any way modified by teaching, only in various ways capable of being concealed or quenched ..... Should we not educate the whole intellect into general strength, and all the affections into warmth and honesty and look to heaven for the rest?" 18

Ruskin in <sup>The</sup> Elements of Drawing considered that "WE NEVER

SEE ANYTHING CLEARLY"<sup>19</sup> and further advised :

"only remember this, that there is no general way of doing any thing; no recipe can be given you for so much as the drawing of a cluster of grass. The grass may be ragged and stiff, or tender and flowing; sunburnt and sheep-bitten or rank and languid; fresh or dry; lustrous or dull: look at it and try to draw it as it is, and don't think how somebody 'told you to do grass' ". 20

Jeanneret in Vers une Architecture has a chapter entitled "Les yeux qui ne voient pas".<sup>21</sup> In the frontispiece to this chapter he writes:

"Architecture is stifled by custom.  
The "styles" are a lie.  
Style is a unity of principle animating all the work of an epoch, the result of a state of mind which has its own special character. Our own epoch is determining, day by day its own style.  
Our eyes, unhappily, are unable yet to discern it".<sup>22</sup>

Ruskin's opinion on style is very similar :

"..... A man who has the gift will take up any style that is going, the style of his day, and will work in that, and be great in that, and make everything that he does in it look as fresh as if every thought of it had just come down from heaven". 23

L'Eplattenier insisted on a great deal of sketching of nature, buildings and architectural detail as Jeanneret's drawings at the time show.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>(This was)</sup>  
Again, <sup>an</sup> influence of Ruskin.<sup>25</sup>

Ruskin also advocated the use of the camera:

"The greatest service which can at present be rendered to architecture, is the careful delineation of its details from the beginning of the twelfth to the close of the fourteenth century, by means of photography. I would particularly desire to direct the attention of amateur photographers to this task; earnestly requesting them to bear in mind that while a photograph of landscape is merely an amusing toy, one of early architecture is a precious historical document; and that this architecture should be



taken, not merely when it presents itself under picturesque general forms, but stone by stone, and sculpture by sculpture. 26

Jeanneret became a keen amateur photographer.<sup>27</sup>

In Vers une Architecture his selection of photographic detail of the Parthenon shows his awareness of light and shade in architecture. This awareness also had roots in Ruskin, who wrote :

"..... and I do not believe that ever any building was truly great, unless it had mighty masses, vigorous and deep, of shadow mingled with its surface. And among the first habits that a young architect should learn is that of thinking in shadow, not looking at a design in its miserable tiny skeleton; but conceiving it as it will be when the dawn lights it, and the dusk leaves it; .....

..... His paper lines and proportions are of no value; all that he has to do must be done by spaces of light and darkness; and his business is to see that the one is broad and bold enough not to be swallowed up by twilight, and the other deep enough not to be dried like a shallow pool by the noon-day sun". 28

In Vers une Architecture in the chapter entitled Pure création de l'esprit, Jeanneret wrote the following :

"There comes the moment when he must carve the lineaments of the outward aspect. He has brought the play of light and shade to the support of what he wants to say. Profile and contour have entered in, and they are free of all constraints; they are a pure invention which makes the outward aspect radiant or dulls it. It is in the contours that we can trace the plastic artist; the engineer is effaced and the sculptor comes to life. Contours are the touch stone of the architect; in dealing with them he is forced to decide whether he will be a plastic artist or not. Architecture is the skilful accurate and magnificent play of columns seen in light. Contours go beyond the practical man, the daring man, the ingenious man; they call for the plastic artist". 29

Jeanneret again echoes Ruskin:

"The fact is, there are only two fine arts possible to the human race, sculpture and painting. What we call architecture is only the association of these in noble masses, or the placing of them in far places. All architecture other than this is, in fact, mere building; and though it may sometimes be graceful, as in the groinings of an abbey roof; or sublime, as in the battlement of a border tower; there is in such examples of it, no more exertion of the powers of high art, than in the gracefulness of a well-ordered chamber, or the nobleness of a well-built ship of war ....." 30

Ruskin considered that the education of the architect and sculptor should be united and that their studies should include literature and philosophy; engineers were to be educated elsewhere.<sup>31</sup> So it was definitely not from Ruskin that Jeanneret was to acquire his belief in the engineer as the man of the future. Nevertheless, he took the point of the combination of the fine arts as a necessary qualification for an architect. It was a serious belief, nurtured by L'Eplattenier who had decided that Charles-Edouard Jeanneret was to become an architect and his friend Léon Perrin a sculptor.<sup>32</sup> Many of their studies were to be taken in common and though Jeanneret did little or no sculpture himself at this time, his architecture developed as a work of sculpture in itself and he was to produce some pieces of solely sculptural work in the later years of his life, very little of which is well known yet.<sup>33</sup>

Another important influence on L'Eplattenier's teaching, comes from Owen Jones book entitled The Grammar of Ornament published in 1856, a copy of which was kept in his design studios.<sup>34</sup>

Owen Jones used the minimum of words to outline the premises upon which he considered a designer should work; many of these overlap those of Ruskin but are stated in direct and easily comprehensible terms with a rich supply of illustrations.<sup>35</sup> He was considerably ahead of his time in realising that industrialisation called for a new approach to design and that good design could be available to everyone.

Another book available in L'Eplattenier's studio was Plantes et ses applications ornamentales by Eugène Grasset (1896). Grasset was Swiss and had studied architecture at Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule in Zurich, going from there to Paris to work as an interior decorator and illustrator, where L'Eplattenier came to know him. His work was based on the geometric analysis of natural form.<sup>36</sup>

The result of the influence of Owen Jones and Grasset, can be seen in Jeanneret's pattern work illustrated in My Work and Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929 which are based on geometricised natural forms.

Later the emphasis placed by Jones and Seurat on proportion and harmony was to be reinforced when Jeanneret travelled through France and Germany meeting several groups of architects and artists who were investigating the use of proportional systems and were designing specifically for industry.<sup>37</sup>

Much of the content of Jeanneret's early design education with L'Éplatténier, up to the age of eighteen, was similar to the introductory course at the Bauhaus and today's foundation courses in art and design. Jeanneret also spent a large part of his time in learning the very precise skills of an engraver, not only from the school but from his father and grandfather.<sup>38</sup>

L'Éplatténier smoothed his early education by providing a course of work that was not too formal or restrictive and placed importance on intellectual and all round interests. This method, together with plenty of encouragement and praise before they were eighteen years old, brought out unknown talents in both Jeanneret and Léon Perrin, neither of whom had had ambitions beyond becoming engravers when they joined the art school. Jeanneret became accustomed to being regarded by the intellectuals in La Chaux-de-Fonds as the star in their cultural world.<sup>39</sup> This adulation at such an early age may have been at the root of many of his problems, starting with his first journey away from La Chaux-de-Fonds and particularly when he finally left for Paris in 1917.<sup>40</sup>

On the completion of the four year craft course in 1905 Jeanneret, at the age of 18, not surprisingly, did not want to go into the family business, to the bitter disappointment of his father.<sup>41</sup> It is doubtful if the family had sufficient funds to continue his full-time education elsewhere as they were still supporting Albert in his music studies in Berlin. It is also unlikely that Jeanneret had the suitable academic qualifications for any course other than in fine art.<sup>42</sup> However, the resourceful L'Éplatténier had foreseen this problem and the year his first group of engraving students completed their course, he instituted

a completely new class in the school, which started in September 1905, under the title Cours de Dessin Général et Supérieur. It was later to be ratified by the school board in January, 1906 under the title La Nouvelle Section.<sup>43</sup> Eighteen students were enrolled, many of them the sons and daughters of the wealthier families in the town and amongst them at least three students from L'Eplattenier's recently qualified engraving class, Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, Léon Perrin and Georges Aubert.

These three L'Eplattenier had instructed as to what should be the aims of their future studies. Perrin said:

"Ensuite de cette formation purement artisanale, j'ai la chance d'être reçu au 'cours supérieur' que vient de fonder le Maître Charles L'Eplattenier qui initie ses élèves aux arts plastiques et dirige avec clairvoyance les meilleurs d'entre eux vers de nouvelles destinées. Pour moi, ce sera la sculpture en commençant par le rude et nécessaire apprentissage du tailleur de pierre-marbrier-sculpteur. Pour Georges Aubert (qui est devenu dès son âge mûr professeur à Lausanne et animateur de la jeune école de peinture vaudoise) il sera dirigé vers L'ébénisterie et la sculpture sur bois. Enfin Charles-Edouard Jeanneret entendit L'Eplattenier lui dire: "Toi, tu sera architecte". La réunion de ce trio, auquel viendraient se joindre une vingtaine d'autres élèves, créera un milieu dynamique, ardent, amical. Ce sera le premier acte d'une aventure merveilleuse".<sup>44</sup>

Financing these students was a problem; Perrin in 1904, had won a competition for a mural, which was subsequently executed, in the premises of the promoters, a local firm of watch makers.<sup>45</sup> The money he received for this, together with a bursary obtained for him by L'Eplattenier, from the school board, enabled him to study, travel around Europe and avoid Swiss military service for the next two years, a thing that would have been impossible to do without aid as he was one of a large family of limited means.<sup>46</sup> Jeanneret was more or less apprenticed to the office of an architect friend of L'Eplattenier, René Chapallez, who had a practice in the nearby town of Tavanne,<sup>47</sup> and was working on the design and construction of a house for L'Eplattenier on the mountainside above La Chaux-de-Fonds. This arrangement probably provided Jeanneret with

sufficient funds to support himself and the means to embark on the travelling stage of L'Eplattenier's educational plan.<sup>48</sup>

Paul Turner in his thesis on The Early Education of Le Corbusier, discusses two important books.<sup>49</sup> The first book, Les Grandes Unités. Esquisse de l'Historie secrète des religions, by Edouard Schuré,<sup>50</sup> L'Eplattenier gave Jeanneret when he was leaving on his travels in 1907. Schuré was a French drama critic, writer and Wagner enthusiast. The second book, Art de Demain by Henry Provensal, was probably purchased a few months earlier by Jeanneret. Both books are closely related in content, and judging by the number of passages, marked out, he gave them a lot of attention.<sup>51</sup>

Both Schuré and Provensal emphasize the importance of the spirit and idealism in art, the unity of the world and the elitism and importance of the artist. While both books contain a great deal that is very mystical in content, there is also a large amount of clear advice, classical in nature.

Provensal advocates that the purpose of the artist's role "is to connect man with the absolute, by means of the divine laws through unit, number and harmony". He emphasises that only a few men even possess the potential for invention and are a race apart: again very similar to Ruskin's observations.<sup>52</sup> Jeanneret bracketed the chapter entitled "L'Unité Humaine", which contains Provensal's advice for a person of genius to seek out an :

"..... intellectual minority, a centre of action and combat", then he should show himself to this elite group by revealing his creative force which expresses his own inner self, then he must begin to "formulate in every aspect of his work, a new personality to replace his former activities".<sup>53</sup>

Provensal also thought it the duty of such a man to share, with mankind, the discovery of such spiritual truths as he may find and to ensure that they were accepted and respected.<sup>54</sup>

Provensal's aesthetic theories were based on Beauté Idéale of the mind and the spirit rather than the physical senses. He

considered the instinct could no longer suffice an artist and not even the best of the contemporary masters understood Beauté Idéale. To correct this, Provensal advised the artist to look for basic forms, which should be universal and general. Architecture and music he regarded as the most abstract of the arts and therefore closest to the Idéale. Architecture must express this whilst having underlying reality. He refers to the cubic form in architecture as being the most perfect and universal form, crystalline and representing unity as the principle of natural sciences in the form of mineral crystals.<sup>55</sup>

These ideas again reinforce many from Ruskin, Jones, Grasset and Seurat and can be found expanded in Jeanneret's writing.

The book by Schuré includes the principles of the Beuroner artists,<sup>56</sup> who connected proportion with spiritual harmony as part of a very explicit aesthetic theory. When their work was exhibited,<sup>57</sup> the use of the 'Golden Section' ratios and their conviction in it, reinforced by considerable historical evidence, had attracted the attention of a number of artists who were looking for some type of firm aesthetic guidance.

Schuré's hero is a poet rather than an artist, a mystical poet who feels the need for a spiritual revival as in Nietzsche's Zarathustra, a book which was to come into Jeanneret's possession a few months later.<sup>58</sup>

But the art that was inspired by these aspirations did not meet the ideas embodied in the Beauté Idéale. Yet in the context of contemporary art these ideas must have had a strong appeal. <sup>Jeanne ret</sup> was aware that L'Eplattenier saw him as a version of Schuré hero, a role that appealed to him and which probably coloured his further education and future ideas of his life.<sup>59</sup>

In 1907, Jeanneret and Perrin went round Florence with Ruskin's book Mornings in Florence.<sup>60</sup> They did not even glance at Palladio's work, according to Perrin: they were completely under Ruskin's spell. From there they travelled up through Italy to Budapest, where L'Eplattenier had studied for a time, and then to Vienna, the two students drawing

annotated sketches of all that appealed to them.<sup>61</sup> In Vienna, apart from possibly looking at the craft workshops<sup>62</sup> for L'Eplattenier and working for their keep, they could have also seen the work of the Vienna secession artists and become acquainted with the ideas of Adolf Loos, through his newspaper and magazine articles. They stayed in Vienna for eight months, during the winter 1907-1908; it was a logical stopping point for the two students to stay and try to obtain work in a studio, though they had no great success.<sup>63</sup> Jeanneret worked on the drawings for two more houses in La Chaux-de-Fonds.

In the Spring of 1908 they continued their travels in Germany, first visiting Munich, where it is very likely that Jeanneret would have had an introduction through L'Eplattenier to William Ritter,<sup>64</sup> who later played an important part in Charles-Edouard's life.

After visiting Munich, they travelled to Nuremburg and Strasbourg; at the end of April 1908, Perrin left for Paris and Jeanneret returned to La Chaux-de-Fonds to continue work started in Vienna on the houses in La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>65</sup> L'Eplattenier, at this time, was preparing his case for the school board on a new form of art school on the lines of Victor Prouvé's school in Nancy and the art workshops in Vienna, Munich, Dresden, Hellerau and Stuttgart.<sup>66</sup> Jeanneret would have given him first hand reports on his experiences. Both he and Perrin had been very impressed by what they had seen in Germany in the provision of practical craft training.<sup>67</sup>

In July of 1908 Jeanneret joined Perrin and four painting students from La Nouvelle Section in Paris. The painting students, M. Woog, G. Humbert, L. Schwob and Zysset, were at L'Ecole des Beaux Arts.<sup>68</sup>

Both Jeanneret and Perrin needed offices in which to work, though they were not eligible as official students of a recognised school. They took their travel sketches from Italy to Franz Jourdain, a successful Paris architect and founder President of the Salon d'Automne and whose

work was in sympathy with Hoffman's 'jugendstil'. He had no place for them and advised them to try the office of Hector Guimard, a fashionable architect and Art Nouveau designer; who accepted Perrin.<sup>69</sup> Jeanneret then approached Eugène Grasset, the artist illustrator, publisher and friend of William Ritter and L'Eplattenier.<sup>70</sup> Grasset advised him to go to the office of Auguste and Gustave Perret. The Perret practice was not officially recognised by L'Ecole des Beaux Arts for their students, firstly because Auguste Perret had not completed his diploma and, secondly, they were acting as contractors and making architectural use of concrete.<sup>71</sup> Jeanneret was given a job by the Perrets and both he and Perrin worked like official students of L'Ecole des Beaux Arts for the mornings only,

leaving them time for what Perrin called 'nos laborieux loisirs'.<sup>72</sup> It is very probable that Jeanneret and Perrin would have seen some of the early cubist paintings that were exhibited at the time. The previous year, 1907, had seen a large and very popular memorial exhibition for Cézanne at the Salon d'Automne.<sup>73</sup> The impact of Cézanne's almost unknown work had been considerable on young painters. By 1908 many of them were adopting Cézannism and the young Picasso and Braque, working independently at first, had started on their first cubist paintings.<sup>74</sup>

Also exhibiting that year at the Salon d'Automne were Bonnard, Vuillard and Denis together with the work of some of the neo-impressionists under the leadership of Paul Signac.<sup>75</sup>

Auguste Perret was a close friend of the painter, writer and critic, Maurice Denis,<sup>76</sup> who had been a member of the Nabis, a group of painters including Bonnard, Verkade and Vuillard, inspired by Gauguin and directed by Paul Sérusier.

The Nabis were interested in cultural and practical life outside painting and owed this influence to Morris and Rossetti. The group functioned between the years 1891 and 1900, when some of its members went their own ways. Sérusier, Denis and another painter, Paul Verkade,



remained faithful to the original spirit of the group and became interested in the work of the Beuroner Artists under the direction of Father Desiderous Lenz. Lenz had joined the Benedictine Abbey of Beuron in southern Germany, so that he could develop his own theories of sacred art, and create a parallel with the work that the Benedictines had done in restoring the Gregorian chant. Charles Chassé in his book on the Nabis says of Lenz's theories :

"The Benedictines, no doubt did not accept this art without some misgivings. What attracted them was the fact that Lenz intended to place it entirely under the control of the monastery; no freedom of expression was to be left to the painter monks who would work under the whole responsibility of a single master who would be like the orchestra leader of this new Gregorian chant. Instead of using models, what Lenz proposed was to represent the human figure according to a geometric 'cannon' inspired by the Scriptures which would always have the same proportions. Since God, at the beginning of the world, had created man in his image, symbols of the Trinity would appear through the idealized contours painted on the walls of sanctuaries at the same time as the measurements of length prescribed by Jehovah when the Temple was built in Jerusalem". 77

Lenz believed that in Egyptian art, with the addition of Christian ideals lay the foundation of a theory of proportion based on regular geometric bodies, expressing a logic and order and from these studies he devised rules from which the artist monks worked. Sérusier published in 1905 a booklet entitled ABC de la Peinture , with a foreword by Maurice Denis based on Lenz's theories. Verkade had been so impressed that he joined the order and was visited several times at Beuron by Sérusier and Denis.

In 1905 the school of Beuron had contributed to a religious art exhibition organised by the Secession Group in Vienna. Their work, despite its inherent dullness, attracted considerable attention and they were to continue to exhibit with success in Europe over the next few years. Jeanneret was to acquire in 1913 Denis's book Théories 1890-1910 which contained the Beuroner principles as expounded by Sérusier.<sup>78</sup>

While Jeanneret and Perrin were in Paris, Matisse published his Notes d'un Peintre in La Grande Revue in 1908,<sup>79</sup> and in the same year exhibited in the Salon d'Automne.<sup>80</sup> Then in February 1909, Marinetti published the first Futurist Manifesto in Figaro.<sup>81</sup>

The effect of such a variety of theoretical and artistic activity on the twenty-one year old Jeanneret was devastating and threw him into a state of mental confusion. In his efforts to rationalise this turbulence he turned a very critical eye on his past education, and environment and in particular on his mentor, Charles L'Eplattenier. His letters to L'Eplattenier show this.<sup>82</sup>

In September 1908, L'Eplattenier presented his proposals for a new fine art school to the School Board of La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>83</sup> It was a development from the 'Nouvelle Section' and he considered that it would require completely new accommodation designed for the purpose. Part of his case was that the school would be very largely self-financing when established and supported this with the fact that his students on the 'Nouvelle Section' had already earned 24,500 francs in fees from design commissions and had several projects planned for the future. The Board was sympathetic to his proposals but postponed any decision on the provision of a new building because of the lack of finance.<sup>84</sup>

This did not deter Jeanneret's intrepid teacher and he eventually obtained the use of an old hospital building which was situated alongside the art-school. There he transferred his 'Nouvelle Section' students to studios on the ground floor and turned the top floor into a series of workshop studios, to form the foundations of a group to be called 'Les Ateliers des Artistes Réunis'.<sup>85</sup>

Leon Pérrin, on his return from Paris, in the summer of 1909, was made Chairman of the new group and, together with Georges Aubert, was given space to work. Jeanneret, when he returned in October 1909, joined the group and started his own office within the building. It was also L'Eplattenier's intention that, eventually, these three ex-students of his

should be offered posts teaching in his new art school.<sup>86</sup> Meanwhile, Jeanneret worked with the students on design commissions, mainly small interior projects and the decorative work for the town's crematorium.<sup>87</sup> From this time, L'Éplattenier's importance as principal mentor in Jeanneret's life was to diminish.

b. William Ritter

During the winter of 1909 when Jeanneret was twenty-two, he spent a considerable time in the mountains at Les Brenets, a resort on a lake above Le Locle the next town up the valley from La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>1</sup> It was there that he was to renew an acquaintance with an old schoolboy friend from Locle, Max Du Bois, who was on holiday before moving to Paris to take up a new job. Du Bois had recently qualified as a railway engineer and had completed the translation into French of a German book on reinforced concrete.<sup>2</sup> While at Les Brenets, the two young men, with Perrin, Aubert and others did a great deal of skiing and entered for one of the earliest and very 'ungymnastic' national ski races.<sup>3</sup> Also living at Les Brenets at that time was L'Eplattenier's friend, William Ritter, and his parents. Ritter was soon to become well acquainted with Du Bois and Jeanneret and encouraged them both to take up water colours.<sup>4</sup> Ritter was an excellent water colourist and produced very attractive landscapes of the surrounding mountains.<sup>5</sup> Du Bois has a water / colour snow scene by Jeanneret from this period. It is a delightful small sketch on the lines of a Matisse painting, very free in form and sensitive in colour.

Ritter must have been impressed by the young Jeanneret, who could paint with such confidence, and he was to spend a great deal of time talking with him about life, music, art and his future.<sup>6</sup> Ritter thought that Jeanneret's talents would possibly lay more towards painting or writing than architecture.<sup>7</sup>

Ritter considered that it was essential for Jeanneret to be in a less provincial atmosphere and encouraged him to travel and get away from what was becoming the rather smothering influence of L'Eplattenier,<sup>8</sup> and the environment in La Chaux-de-Fonds.

In the Spring of 1910, Jeanneret tried to get a job with a firm of German engineers but did not succeed.<sup>9</sup> Soon afterwards he visited

Ritter and an art student friend, Auguste Klipstein, in Munich.<sup>10</sup>

While there, L'Eplattenier obtained permission from the La Chaux-de-Fonds school board for Jeanneret to undertake a project to find out about the progress of the art and design movement in Germany and to produce a report on the movement and its relevance to the industrial design courses in La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>11</sup>

Jeanneret accepted the task and very likely planned his route with the help of Ritter, who was also in the position to provide him with introductions to leading architects, members of the Werkbund and was probably behind an official letter of introduction that Jeanneret obtained from the Swiss Consul in Berlin.<sup>12</sup>

William Ritter wrote reviews for French and German art papers and contributed to the La Chaux-de-Fonds Journal, Feuilles d'Avis.<sup>13</sup> His father's position as Deputy Chief Town Councillor in Neuchâtel, must have given him considerable prestige in the eyes of Jeanneret, who was flattered at the interest Ritter was taking in him :

"I am unable sufficiently to prove to you how much your welcome touches me. You have allowed me to approach you, me who is nothing but a beginner in life and a schoolboy in the arts".<sup>14</sup>

Jeanneret responded willingly to the friendship and the correspondence that was to be of vital importance to him as a means of expressing ideas, feelings and ambitions that he found were becoming impossible to share with his old teacher, L'Eplattenier.

"I have a great need to write to you, it is to you alone that I write letters; L'Eplattenier is even left out. That is I have nothing to say in a letter because I have too much to say".<sup>15</sup>

Ritter helped to make him aware of the possibilities of painting and writing as a means of expression and the potential fulfilment of his ambition to be a unique man of genius.<sup>16</sup> He provided Jeanneret with a detailed background to painting, literature and music and supported his brother, Albert Jeanneret, in his decision to join Jacques Dalcroze in

Hellerau.<sup>17</sup> From Ritter's work his own preferences in art would appear to <sup>have</sup> been similar to <sup>(more of)</sup> L'Eplattenier, Neo-impressionists, Symbolists, Nabis,

Puvis-de-Chavannes and Maurice Denis,<sup>18</sup> painters with a rather mystical religious belief in order, harmony, and proportion.<sup>19</sup> But unlike L'Eplattenier, he did not approve of Cézanne and considered his approach too scientific. Both L'Eplattenier and Ritter disapproved of the work of Picasso, whom they both thought something of a fraud.<sup>21</sup>

Ritter also appreciated the emerging new trends in music and developed Jeanneret's musical education.<sup>22</sup>

Jeanneret departed on his German tour early in June 1910, having received the necessary confirmation and funds from La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>23</sup> In a letter written from Berlin to Ritter, Jeanneret reported on an exhibition at the Berlin Secession :

"Secession very few canvasses. Direct resemblance of contemporary efforts with French impressionism was shown by the presence of canvasses by Manet, Monet, Van Gogh, Lieberman. Matisse had two things which pleased me because of their beautiful colours, the synthesis (People laugh at it). One Trubeur room which is probably not bad without really impressing me. A very elegant Van Dongen (already admired last year at the Salon d'Automne). Some brutal Corinth, one Zoru room with his famous technique. One Habearman room showing the oldest and newest works (the last one very beautiful). Hodler who re-did 'Le Jour', which is in Berne, in a more vigorous colour. From the same one 'lac Lemane', one ghost, one naked man, one woodcutter not so good. In general my impression is that German painting has short wings and is heavy in comparison with the French school". 24

From this letter it is quite clear that Jeanneret had a good knowledge of new art movements in Europe at that period; his time in Paris had been well spent.

Ritter must have been impressed by the fluency of his letters and later arranged for him to write some reviews of Berlin concerts when he went to work for Behrens in November 1911.<sup>25</sup> This gave Jeanneret some practical problems, and in his first letter to Ritter from Berlin, he wrote :

"So this is the end of my explanations and complaints. I am sure I have exasperated you and you will think I am indecisive and lack enthusiasm. On the contrary, I am so willing that one word from you will decide me. The whole thing is too interesting for me not to try to be worthy of the task". 26

In the same letter he went on to talk of the pleasure he had experienced in Ritter's company, over the year since they first met, and how he regarded Ritter's home as a sanctuary of art and poetry.

Jeanneret liked what he saw of the Werkbund movement and its followers, amongst whom was Peter Behrens. When he returned to Munich in September 1910, he decided to try again to find work in Germany and wrote to Behrens asking for a position in his Berlin office.<sup>27</sup>

Jeanneret had to wait for a reply from Behrens but was offered a job starting on the first of November 1910.<sup>28</sup> He had postponed the writing of his report for the School Board until he should return to La Chaux-de-Fonds. The long absence from home was probably necessary to continue the avoidance of the usually obligatory period in the Swiss Army, as it had been in Perrin's case.<sup>29</sup>

In a letter sent to Ritter in December 1910, Jeanneret wrote of his disillusionment with Behrens. He felt that only the assumption that Behrens was ill could explain the disastrous picture that he saw and which made him reconsider his thinking, clearly showing his absorption of L'Eplattenier's Ruskin's principles.

"I feel that an architect must above all be a thinker. His art, which consists in abstracting proportions, has no possibility of describing or painting outside the symbol, his art does not require a clever hand. That perhaps would be fatal. But he must have rhythms, a well developed brain and an extremely supple one.

General culture today, when no single style reigns, seems to me to be the basis for everything ..... And totally ignoring the trickeries of the trade, I continue or rather I am thinking of going back to the bizarre studies of my student days. And work, that will be for a few years hence, the fight for survival will teach me that ....." 30

He told Ritter that he had heard of young people experiencing a period of depression following one of enthusiasm and asked :

"You who have a deep understanding of life and the artist, elucidate this for me, condemn me without pity, or else tell me the remedy". 31

Ritter must have given him some hope because in the next letter Jeanneret sent, he said :

"And it will be thanks to you, that I am greatly comforted. What does all this kindness you give me mean to me. The respectful admiration that I feel for you, gratitude which penetrates me, and I should like one happy day, to be able to return it to you by tangible means". 32

After five months Jeanneret had had enough of Behrens office and Berlin, but he did feel that he had acquired a new understanding from working there. <sup>Writing</sup> again to Ritter :

"My mind had these last few months opened up so much to the understanding of the classical genius that my dreams have stubbornly taken me there. Do you not think that the whole of our present era looks more than ever towards those happy lands where the rectangular marbles whiten, where the vertical columns and the entablature are parallel to the lines of the seas. I have the opportunity, my dream will become a reality. To finish my student life, I am preparing a very great journey .....

..... My spring will soon be shining. Summer arrives too soon, for after four years absence they want me back in my country. I feel prepared to open myself up to everything. Gone is the period of voluntary concentration ! Open the flood-gates ! Let everything rush out ! Let everything in me live !

And this journey which I wish to be splendid the wise people will find it inappropriate, my father will think it is time to work and not to galivant. My master L'Eplattenier will say I am not mature enough to profit from it completely. I have simply repeated the saying ' a bird in the hand' .... etc.

..... Constantinople ! I might not find it any more fairy-like than that magical painting by Signac at the Munich Exhibition ". 33

This new interest in the classical world was partly instigated by the advice he had received from Karl Osthaus in Hagen when Jeanneret was on his German travels. Osthaus had impressed Jeanneret and he took his advice seriously, later writing to thank him for it.<sup>34</sup>

During 1911, Jeanneret's letters to Ritter became increasingly uninhibited and he came to rely more and more on the sympathy and advice of Ritter. The separation from L'Eplattenier was not brought about by the influence of Paris and Ritter alone, but by the involvement of Jeanneret in a totally different approach to design that he had found on his German trip, and in Behrens office. Despite the fact that he



did not like Behrens, Jeanneret was still very impressed by his logical and methodical approach to architecture and the assistants in the office with whom he came into contact, <sup>36</sup> who had had a thorough architectural education including technology and new building types together with the appropriate use of proportion. Up to that time he had been almost exclusively influenced by Ruskin's gothic romanticism so that his sympathies for classical principles had not yet been awakened, other than in an historical sense, but living amongst people who were intensely interested in the classical tradition, he found a great deal to respond to. So interested did he become that against advice from La Chaux-de-Fonds, he extended his absence from home primarily to visit Athens.

Ritter was in sympathy with this first real sign of rebellion against family and L'Eplattenier. He advised Jeanneret and his friend Auguste Klipstein as to what they should see on their trip, particularly in Bucharest and Constantinople together with some introductions to people who would help them on their journey.<sup>37</sup> He also told Jeanneret to write to him in the form of a journal of his travels, with the idea of making it into a book when he returned. Ritter also proposed having some of the letters published by the local La Chaux-de-Fonds newspaper, Feuilles d'Avis.<sup>38</sup> Jeanneret wrote in a letter at the start of his travels :

"According to our agreement, you will have letters from me which will be in the form of a narrative. I hope to be able to do it but a very extraordinary and unfortunate phenomena has occurred to me, that is an overwhelming amnesia of my linguistic faculties. The most simple French vocabulary escapes me, and sadder still, I remain often incapable of spelling the simplest French words. I am so ashamed that I confess this to you: before my visit to Germany I wrote faultlessly. I never had any style but at least I used to send off my letters with a serene soul knowing they were without spelling errors. All this proves that I must leave the Germans as quickly as possible and reintegrate myself in Latin countries. You know I am having a fit of gothophobia. Nuremburg bores me and the Burgs of the Rhine would be unbearable without the scenery. In fact I am only unrelenting for this: that modern life has nothing to do

with this setting which has become too restrictive.  
It is later times which satisfy me more". 39

He had also become a great deal more knowledgeable on art and had turned this new awareness on to his own work, criticising his drawings for lack of skill and knowledge.<sup>40</sup> Some weeks later in another letter to Ritter, written before going on to Athens, towards the end of his travels he was much calmer :

"I am in a great mood to write to you. You are the only person to whom I write letters; even L'Eplattenier is forsaken. It is because I do not know what to say in letters, because there is so much to tell. Therefore I summarise in innumerable postcards and it takes an infinite time. A journey such as this one is very odd. I don't do a thing, my note pad is clean empty and every evening I am exhausted ..... And you are the only one to whom I can want to tell a lot of things, because you understand me and you forgive me my foolishness ..... I told you that M. Bernette had written to me. He wants to meet me in Madrid ! I could have gone to Paris this winter to my Bosses. 41 I met one of them in Constantinople where we spent some beautiful hours together. But I also feel happy to go and join L'Eplattenier for I owe him everything and he is my best friend. I have felt particularly during this great journey the meaning of true friendships ..... I feel the immensity of Europe on me and how a man can be lost under it. But I feel a few stable points which honour me, elevate me, exalt me and tells me to look high. Thank God for that ". 42

It is clear from this letter than he was in somewhat of a quandary. The strong hold of his family and L'Eplattenier were very much in evidence but still without any real conflict at this stage and he was looking forward with real affection and enthusiasm to returning home. He missed his family and friends, but there was still Athens and the Acropolis to be seen. From Greece, Jeanneret had decided to return home through Italy, rather than follow plans to visit Egypt; he was certainly homesick and had suffered badly from the usual stomach complaints that accompany dubious food and water supplies. They had also drunk far too much retsina as a recommended prevention against typhoid, which was at that time threatening to become an epidemic in Turkey. He stopped in Pisa for a few weeks to write up his journal of travels for Ritter,<sup>43</sup> and from there sent him a very emotional letter.

He had been strongly affected by Classical Greece and was still bemused by its effect.

"The scene will be beautiful tomorrow, everything in marble adorably yellowed, perfectly preserved and rising from a green lawn. And the leaning tower did not deny herself to me tonight while the decor rehearses for tomorrow. On the contrary, I find this a famous point of wit, and an eloquent tower. The whole thing is in one piece and please note that I say that, I who have seen Athens. I am completely filled with death. Everything has crumbled in Italy. Italy to me is a cemetery where the former dogmas, my religion, are rotting on the ground. Is it creditable such a hecatomb? In four years I have progressed a great deal. In the east I gorged myself with unity and power. My gaze is horizontal and does not see the beetles on the road. I feel I am brutal. Italy has made me into a blasphemer.

And so I was following my destiny when I left everything to go there at any price. As the bric-a-brac were my delight, now make me sick. I mumble elementary geometry with a thirst for knowledge. In their mad race, red, blue and yellow have become white. I am in love with the white colour, the cube, the sphere, the cylinder and the pyramid and the disc, all that is unified and vast empty spaces. The prisms elevate themselves, gain balance, acquire rhythm and start marching as a great black dragon which undulates at the horizon to tighten at the base. There is only white sky above them, they pass on a polished marble paving and are monolithic unity which no colour will argue with, but at noon the light unfolds the cubes in one surface; in the evening the rainbow loom there forms. In the morning they are real with shadows and lights, clear like a finished design. One can feel their tops, their bottoms and their sides. At night it is more than ever black and white". 44

At the beginning of November, on completion, which he intended to publish, of his journal "Le Voyage d'Orient", Jeanneret left Pisa and returned to La Chaux-de-Fonds. Ritter had already included an account of Jeanneret's travels in the La Chaux-de-Fonds newspaper much to Jeanneret's pleasure :

"And also thank you very much for the friendly pat on the shoulder (of which I shall be proud) which you said you have done me in one of your chronicles. Will my daddy deign to smile if he sees one day the name of his son printed in black and white ! The truth is that my father is absolutely convinced that his sons will never be any good. Up till now it has been justified, but damn it, he is in such a hurry ! You know, I am going to default the modesty which befits my tender age, by singing my own praises, or rather that of the offshoots of my venerable family stock. My brother missed you in Munich because he was in a hurry and will see you at his return in Dresden, since he has been named junior assistant in the Jacques

Dalcro e Institute. As you will see, schoolmasters are blossoming everywhere. Without my knowledge, L'Eplattenier, that joker, put down 12 hours of lesson a week on me in the new institute which will be L'Eplattenieresque. So that my dear father who aspires for nothing better for his sons than stable jobs, could be happy. But no, it is he himself who told me all these wonders, remarking on my lack of enthusiasm, lack of fire which does not surprise me and doesn't bother me. One thing is clear: my rate of promotion and it is not so good.

All this without comments ! How I sweat to put anything down on paper ! Really, I am not brilliant ! I have no technique at all. And I must admit that for me who if I were to paint would like a synthetic subject, there are few such opportunities or if there is such a subject, I happen to be on a train which only does 20 kms an hour because it is a Turkish train.  
For whatever reason water colour does not work.<sup>45</sup>

Jeanneret was starting on a difficult period in his life. He was not at all clear as to what he should do and not happy with what other people thought he should be doing. Ritter apparently warned him of the possible dangers of stagnation involved in working for L'Eplattenier. As a compromise Jeanneret planned to spend at least two months a year away from La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>46</sup>

The Journal of Le Voyage d'Orient was completed by 1914 but, because of the start of the war, it had to be shelved and was only published in 1965 after Le Corbusier had rediscovered it.<sup>47</sup>

During the summer of 1911 L'Eplattenier had formally proposed the employment of three new teachers for La Nouvelle Section and had obtained the Board's approval in principle. Official approval was to come at the end of December.<sup>48</sup> Jeanneret, together with Perrin and Aubert were to begin work in January 1912. Jeanneret was to teach for twelve hours a week, and to lecture on theoretical studies and geometrical elements, (their value relative to decoration and monumentality), as well as practical studies in architecture, furniture design and massing studies.<sup>49</sup> Léon Perrin had six hours teaching, primarily on drawing studies from animals and nature with their use as decorative elements, and Georges Aubert ten hours, taking practical studies in wood carving and sculpture.<sup>50</sup>

L'Eplattenier's argument to the school board for engaging three more teachers had been that he thought the building arts should be encouraged in the town.<sup>51</sup> His support came from non-socialists on the board who were in the majority at that time; they were mainly professionals, upper middle-class businessmen and the immigrant Jewish industrialists. The socialists came principally from the long established industrialists and businessmen, who were solely concerned with the watchmaking industry and its expansion and opposed to anything not directly concerned with watches. L'Eplattenier was not popular with the older staff members who did not appreciate his efforts at expansion in subjects outside their experience.<sup>52</sup>

Jeanneret had an accommodation problem on his return from Pisa to La Chaux-de-Fonds. He wrote the following in a letter to Ritter:

"First of all, no accommodation: I had recommended a nice little place to my parents when I left in 1907. That place had no room for the son .... but I am not despairing (I am not ungrateful, I shall tell you later on). So then I resorted to the very brotherly hospitality of L'Eplattenier. It was for two or three nights ..... it lasted four weeks !" 53

Eventually, he joined two friends, who had rented an old convent building above the town and constructed himself a room in the roof; he was to stay there until 1913 when he moved into the house he designed for his parents. Of L'Eplattenier at this time, he wrote :

"For a month I saw L'Eplattenier, too involved in politics (you know we have a socialist council in the spring) and busy with big decorative paintings for the crematorium. He painted a great deal this summer, country scenes to sell, generally bad. Here and there he does a piece which shows him master of his trade. I accuse him of not being modern enough and not being sensitive to the works of our era (literature, music and painting)." 54

This was a somewhat unfair comment to make on L'Eplattenier's political activity as he must have had a hard fight to get Jeanneret and his friends' posts ratified before the council was renewed. The criticism of his work and attitude shows very clearly that Jeanneret's independence from his old teacher was complete. He also found

L'Éplatténier's possessive attitude towards him increasingly difficult to cope with though it was probably no more than the way he had been treated before he left in 1907. The change was within himself and the fact that his allegiance to L'Éplatténier as his mentor had been transferred to William Ritter. Despite the change in their relationship, during the following years, Jeanneret carried out architectural work that was required for L'Éplatténier's interior projects and helped him with the problems involved in running two separate courses.

Jeanneret had a considerable amount of architectural work for his own practice, including a house for his father. He found settling down to a routine and the need to meet deadlines extremely hard to do for the first few months and was still contemplating painting as his sole way of life.<sup>55</sup> Over the year of 1912, he was to carry out a large number of watercolours with the intention of entering some in the Paris Salon d'Automne in October.<sup>56</sup>

December 1911 and January 1912 were spent by Jeanneret in the preparation of his report on his 1910 trip to Germany for the school board, which was submitted to the chairman on February 1st, 1912, under the title Etude sur le Mouvement d'Art décoratif en Allemagne.<sup>57</sup> They found it full of information on everything from the fine arts to the smallest industrial art object, but then proceeded to ignore the recommendations.<sup>58</sup> Jeanneret and L'Éplatténier then had 400 copies of the report produced for free distribution.<sup>59</sup> In October he wrote to Ritter :

"In the spring of this year I took the liberty of sending you a copy of my 'Etude du mouvement d'Art Décoratif en Allemagne'. This study was edited here, in a centre of clock life, and distributed free of charge, in the hope of arousing the attention of our industrial leaders on the aesthetic movement in commercial production.

A few copies, however, went beyond the Swiss frontiers and to my surprise they made their mark in a small and gradual way. I will admit (and please forgive the immodesty of this admission) that I received towards the end of this year numerous signs of interest from people particularly in a position to judge art

and its involvement in social life - from France, Germany, Belgium. Furthermore, requests for my Etude are now constantly being made by individuals and bookshops of these countries. If I must find a reason for this, I would guess that those who are interested in the connection between industrial art and economic prosperity and commercial expansion have found a useful and clear synthesis from the German intentions and results.

I therefore plan a reprint of my Etude. I would like this study written with the utter conviction that the latin genius ought to produce works combining aesthetic and social pre-occupations. I would like to reprint it in France where it would arouse most interest. In order to approach a publisher, I feel the necessity to be introduced by some influential persons and it is for this reason that I turn to you. I should ask you, if you agree, to write a few lines on why you think a new edition of my study would be of use and suggest which publisher might consider undertaking it.

You will find me very bold and vain to ask you this. Please don't let it influence you, I will be greatly appreciative. 60

This was immediately followed by another letter, in which Jeanneret shows his disappointment in his friend's apparent lack of interest :

"You never said a word to me of the Etude du Mouvement d'Art Décoratif . You understand the reason for my question, when reading the enclosed leaflet. Here more than 400 copies have been distributed: no one has said a word about it: not a single person !

From Paris, Berlin, Brussels a few echoes have come back and sometimes so enthusiastic that I would have liked to have sent them my photo (just to deflate some of them). So I am asked for more copies and I do not have any more, I would like to have it reprinted. Please let me know what you think". 61

Several of his colleagues left La Chaux-de-Fonds at this time to work elsewhere which left Jeanneret more or less on his own.<sup>62</sup>

Nevertheless, he had a very busy summer building the Jeanneret Père house, teaching, working on ideas for a book on theory and painting, with a trip to the Dresden Building Exhibition and a visit to his brother, Albert, at Hellerau.<sup>63</sup>

In the autumn, five watercolours of his were accepted for the Salon d'Automne, four entitled Langage de pierres , and one interior;<sup>64</sup> they were well hung and received a favourable notice from Maurice Denis.<sup>65</sup>

Jeanneret was unable to obtain leave from teaching to go to Paris at the time of the opening of the exhibition and had

to wait until mid-December, when he went to see his friends in Paris, met Maurice Denis and collected the paintings.<sup>66</sup> He must also have visited Max Du Bois to discuss the possibilities of work in Paris and the details of the use of Du Bois' office as a sales depot for Swiss light fittings.<sup>67</sup>

The Salon d'Automne of 1912 contained the work of a group of painters who called themselves the Section d'Or and who, at the same time, had their own separate exhibition in the Galerie de la Boétie.<sup>68</sup> The leader of the group, Jacques Villon, together with his brothers, Raymond Duchamp-Villon and Marcel Duchamp and a few other painters, introduced a new element into Cubism, evolved from theories expounded by the last of the Nabis, Sérusier and Denis. The group's name was chosen because of the importance attached to Section d'Or by Leonardo da Vinci and reflected the interest they all had in the belief in human proportions held by the Beuroner Artists.<sup>69</sup> Duchamp-Villon's exhibit La Maison Cubiste roused considerable interest; he was concerned to construct his sculpture to be like architecture. Juan Gris also joined the group with Picabia, Lhote, Metzinger and La Fresnay among others, several of whom were later to be founder members of the Dada movement. Gris was later to be an important influence on Ozenfant and Jeanneret in the formulation and development of Purism.

Apollinaire wrote on the Section d'Or at the time:

"Modern art as metaphysical. Wishing to attain the proportions of the ideal, to be no longer limited to the human, the young painters offer us works which are more cerebral than sensual. They discard more and more the old art of optical illusion and local proportion, in order to express the grandeur of metaphysical forms. This is why contemporary art, even if it does not directly stem from specific religious beliefs nonetheless possesses some of the characteristics of great, that is to say religious art".<sup>70</sup>

Jeanneret could not have been unaware of the work of this group; he certainly knew of the theories that had attracted Villon and his fellow artists. In December, he had met Maurice Denis and obtained his book "Théories 1890-1910", soon after it was published in 1913.<sup>71</sup>



The most important part of the book was about the properties inherent in the ratio of the golden section. Numbers were given a symbolic interpretation and the right angle was held up as the representation of balance and equilibrium. Also included in the book was a theory of colour to have an impact later on Jeanneret's painting.

The full significance that these ideas would eventually have on him would not have been apparent to Jeanneret at the time, but they enriched his basic knowledge. He was certainly aware of the theories as he later demonstrated with Ozenfant as they evolved the theory of Purism.<sup>72</sup>

Jeanneret had been pleased with the success of his work in the 1912 Salon d'Automne. He wrote of it to Osthaus and at the same time told him of the proposed National Swiss Exhibition to be held at Berne in 1914 and for which he had been invited to be on the committee of Swiss artists.<sup>73</sup> He was also constantly writing to Max Du Bois over this period with proposals for projects and developments that could possibly provide work for him in Paris.<sup>74</sup>

L'Éplattener's growing jealousy of Jeanneret's independence of him and increasing reliance on William Ritter and Max Du Bois for advice and support, still did not stop the two men continuing to work together. Early in 1913, the school board required the new teachers to obtain the Canton Teaching Certificate if they wished to remain in their jobs; the board and the old school staff were continuing their campaign to close La Nouvelle Section.<sup>75</sup>

In May of 1913, the situation seemed desperate to Jeanneret. There was no work in the town; a world wide slump in the watchmaking industry was having its effect.<sup>76</sup> In a letter to Ritter, at this time, he expressed his discontent in La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>77</sup>

In June he obtained leave from the school board to visit a building exhibition at Dresden.<sup>78</sup> On the trip he also included a visit to the Leipzig Building Fair and the unveiling of Le Monument à la Bataille des Peuples, designed by the architect Bruno Schmitz and the sculptor

Frantz Metzner.<sup>79</sup> While away he sent two articles to the La Chaux-de-Fonds paper Feuilles d'Avis under the general heading Lettres de Voyage. In the first, entitled 'Le Monument à la Bataille des Peuples', he gave a rather mocking report of the nationalistic monument. Although he had found it impressive, the human vigour behind the unveiling had somewhat frightened him and he had felt the power symbolised in the monument. He much preferred the atmosphere at Hellerau, where he had gone to visit his brother on the way to Dresden.<sup>80</sup>

Jeanneret's last paragraph of these two articles was:

"Ce qui fait que chaque an, d'Hellerau partent des pionniers en chaque ville toujours davantage. Et L'Allemagne débrouillera, pour sa gloire, le conflit de la larve, du crapaud et de la chouette, au profit de la culture venue des terres latines. Le VOLKERSCHLACHTSDENKMAL contre l'idéalisme renaissant".<sup>81</sup>

In the autumn L'Eplattenier set up with Jeanneret, and some other like minded artists, a committee to establish a movement in Switzerland similar to the Werkbund in Germany.<sup>82</sup> Jeanneret's report d'Art Découvert, Etude du Mouvement had been widely distributed and had contributed to this idea, even though the immediate re-action had been almost unnoticeable. It was not a suitable time for the launching of such an enterprise;<sup>83</sup> events were leading up to the First World War. A general assembly for those interested in the standard of Swiss design was called at the Hôtel-de-Ville, Yverdon, on the 9th November 1913, and the title L'Oeuvre Association Suisse-Romande de L'Art et de L'Industrie given to the resulting society, with a journal to be called L'Oeuvre.<sup>84</sup> The response was not enormous, particularly from businessmen and industrialists. The society was largely preaching to the converted; patronage was going to be a very difficult problem.

The second issue of L'Oeuvre came out in Spring 1914. It contained an article by Jeanneret entitled Le Renouveau dans l'Architecture. In it he advocated the use of new materials to solve structural problems and gave comparison between the Dôme des Invalides and Perret's Grande

Salle du Théâtre des Champs Elysées, and quoted the Gothic builders as having lived up to the technology of their age. On housing he criticized the use of unnecessary ornamentation which was completely unrelated to the form and use of the building :

"Is it that we have reverted to savages after twenty centuries of culture and that we have taken up once more the craze of tatooing; are we not sufficiently civilized to enjoy the beautiful proportions of the material alone in a shape, simply and rationally adapted to serve its purpose". 85

A modern style could emerge, he wrote, but not from copying styles of the past, although at the same time being aware that he himself was at a loss to produce such a style.

He used Karl Moser's building for the University of Zurich as an example of a modern undecorated style that was emerging. He advocated :

"The debate presents itself thus: bring about changes by bringing about a union between our present way of living and the things we use for this. In Architecture make facades and buildings which are not merely masks, banish the harlequinade from this sector, stop paying attention for several years to the protests of the reactionaries". 86

This was the first real statement about the contemporary architectural scene that he had made up to this time.

In the same issue of L'Oeuvre was published the result of a design competition open to school-children and apprentices from all over Switzerland. There was a large entry, but the standard of design was not considered high by the jury.<sup>87</sup> Jeanneret as one of the judges gave short shrift to <sup>the entrants,</sup> criticizing their lack of constructional knowledge, understanding of plan form and their copying from <sup>the</sup> pattern books of their patron's work.

The jury which also included L'Eplattenier, recommended a new approach to the teaching of art and design in the schools and colleges before any real improvement could take place in the standard.<sup>88</sup>

At Christmas in 1913, Jeanneret visited Paris again, spending some time in the Bibliotheque Nationale on history and town planning studies,<sup>89</sup> returning in the new year to an improvement in his practice work but an increased tension over the future of La Nouvelle Section. In March the newly elected school board officially closed the course.<sup>90</sup>

Jeanneret described the decision to close the course as follows :

"En Séance de Commission de direction du 12 mars 1914, les conclusions du président de la Commission de L'Ecole d'Art, M. Hirschy, et du secrétaire, M. Graber, malgré les protestations du troisième membre présent, M. Albert, visaient à la suppression des cours institués en 1911 et unanimement acceptés par la Commission d'alors, et sous prétexte:

a ) que la Nouvelle Section n'avait plus d'élèves.

b ) que le but envisagé n'était qu'une utopie, qu'une chose de luxe (M. Graber): La Commission de l'Ecole d'Art est un rouage administratif de la commune, qui reconnaissant qu'un organe n'est pas utile, envisage de son devoir de le supprimer".<sup>91</sup>

L'Eplattenier's response to this move was to hand in his resignation, almost immediately to be followed by those of his three assistant teachers, Jeanneret, Perrin and Aubert. The three young men then made use of their unexpected free time under Jeanneret's direction, to prepare a leaflet on the history of La Nouvelle Section and the reasons why it should continue. The production was a well organised affair, carried out in a remarkably short space of time and cost 30 centimes. It was entitled Un Mouvement d'Art à la Chaux-de-Fonds à propos de la Nouvelle Section de L'Ecole d'Art.<sup>92</sup>

Jeanneret, by then, was well aware of the value of publicity and he obtained many letters of support from internationally famous architects and designers that he had come to respect and know in his student days. These included M.E. Grasset, M.K.E. Osthaus, Professor P. Berhens and T. Fischer. These, together with a group of concerned citizens of La Chaux-de-Fonds, had been sent a letter and a set of photographs of students work, describing the aims of the course and a

short history of its development. It was signed by the opposition members and ex-members of the school board and some of the town's citizens. All but one replied, strongly supporting the retention of the course. The reply from Oetthaus was typical :

"Après un examen approfondi des documents représentatifs de votre enseignement que vous m'avez envoyés, j'ai acquis la persuasion que les nouveaux cours institués par vous sont en accord intime avec ceux qui sont aujourd'hui en valeur dans les écoles d'art industriel d'Allemagne. Pour autant que je le sache, on aspire actuellement, en France, à des réformes semblables à celles que vous avez réalisées, parce qu'il a également été reconnu là-bas que les anciens principes d'enseignement ne répondent plus aux besoins des détenteurs de l'industrie contemporaine. Une persistance dans les modes d'enseignement qui faisaient foi dans votre ancienne école signifierait, pour vos élèves, l'exclusion de toutes les meilleures places dans la vie industrielle. J'espère donc que vous réussirez à convaincre les autorités compétentes de l'importance de vos bases d'enseignement et je vous souhaite la meilleure réussite dans cette voie". 93

The leaflet was an energetic appeal to the town to recognise that La Nouvelle Section had been the beginning of a La Chaux-de-Fonds modern art movement. In the conclusion Jeanneret and his friends put the blame on the school board. The publicity aroused a considerable amount of discussion and after investigation L'Eplattenier was offered back his post but the course was not reinstated. The three young teachers were given a chance to withdraw their resignations.<sup>94</sup>

Perrin was the only one to return to the school to take over the running of the new combined design class at the end of April. L'Eplattenier, Jeanneret and Aubert turned down the Board's offer and left in May. Jeanneret confirming his resignation, wrote to the board that he no longer had any interest in teaching engravers or jewellers.<sup>95</sup>

Nevertheless, despite the start of World War One in August 1914, Jeanneret was to be kept very busy in his practice for the rest of the year, principally working on a large housing scheme design in the town and the development drawings, with Du Bois, for the Domino project. He had

abandoned, for the time being, Ritter's assessment of the artist in him, made in a book inscription at the start of the year :

"A Charles-Edouard Jeanneret l'aquarelliste,  
le dessinateur et l'écrivain si décidés et  
sommaires l'architecte si n'ayant en tous  
domaines l'artiste tres sincère qu'estiment tant  
ses vieux amis de Munich.

William Ritter  
27 janvier 1914 " 96

The next two years saw an increase in his journalism, the start of two books and a certain amount of architectural work but almost no development in painting, apart from some sketches when travelling or staying with Ritter. He had very little time to spare for his other activities.

In November 1915, Jeanneret complained to Max Du Bois that another writer had stolen some of his ideas from the article he had published the previous year in L'Oeuvre.<sup>97</sup> This may have been the case, but the ideas were fairly common and several people in different countries were starting to write on the same theme. Because of the pre-war spread of ideas by the large number of art magazines and the allocation of considerable column space to art in newspapers, it had become increasingly difficult to attribute them to any one source. Jeanneret had certainly obtained many of his ideas this way. He was a keen reader of journals on art and architecture and they had provided him with a necessary contact with Paris which he and many others considered at that time still to be the centre for new ideas.<sup>98</sup> It was his understanding of these elements of change that was important at this stage rather than originality.

The winter of 1915-16 was a very frustrating period. Jeanneret felt cut off in La Chaux-de-Fonds and it seemed that, for him, the Domino project had lost its momentum.

He carried on working on his town planning book in the spring of 1916 and considered that it was nearly ready for publication,<sup>99</sup> but was unable to complete it that year;<sup>100</sup> travelling between La Chaux-

de Fonds and Paris to organise his new practice and the Scala Cinema and Schwob house project kept him fully occupied.

William Ritter, like L'Eplattenier, was aware that Jeanneret's interest and enthusiasm was turning towards working in Paris. Jeanneret's long serial letter to Ritter, written from 23 November 1916 to 27th January 1918, a period which included the difficult first year in Paris, shows his increasing maturity and independence. When Jeanneret wrote of his meeting with Ozenfant in January 1918 it brought the letter to an end. Ritter must have realised that his mentor-like relationship would never again be the same and he was to suffer the same feelings of neglect as many others in La Chaux-de-Fonds, but without so much resentment,<sup>101</sup>

the correspondence was to continue between them for a number of years but not to the same intensity.<sup>102</sup>

Up till the age of seventeen, Jeanneret had been brought up to believe he would enter the family business of watch engraving and his education had been geared to this end. His formal academic training had stopped when he left school at thirteen and a half years of age to join the engravers course at the La Chaux-de-Fonds Industrial Art school. He had had no early ambition to become an architect and had not contemplated such a radical change in profession until 1904 when L'Eplattenier suggested it to him when he was seventeen and near the end of his engravers apprenticeship.<sup>1</sup>

L'Eplattenier was in no doubt that Jeanneret had the necessary design ability and intelligence to become an architect. The boy himself was under the spell of L'Eplattenier and was not very enthusiastic to assume the role his father had prepared for him.<sup>2</sup> To become an architect meant Jeanneret would have to continue studying and drawing, and stay on at art school in the new Course Supérieure. The problem was to obtain his father's consent and to find some means of financial support: his mother was behind the change to architecture. She was ambitious for both Albert and Charles-Edouard and possibly persuaded her husband to accept the fact that there would be no-one in the family to take over his business. His disappointment in both his sons was to last for a number of years.<sup>3</sup>

As L'Eplattenier's architectural experience was limited to designing interior schemes, he persuaded an architect friend, René Chapellez, to let Jeanneret observe the work of the assistants in his office and to carry out some drawing under their supervision of the house Chapellez was designing for L'Eplattenier.<sup>4</sup> It is very unlikely, as Le Corbusier was later to claim, that he had anything serious to do with the design or construction other than the exterior wall murals. The design is in the style of Chapellez' vernacular mountain chalet<sup>houses</sup> and at that time Jeanneret had no experience in architecture or building.



He would have learned a great deal by observing and doing the simpler tasks in the office and on the site and thereby contributing towards or even earning his keep.

In 1906, the Course Superieur received a commission for a house including the interior design and furniture from M.L. Fallet, a member of the school board.<sup>5</sup> The site was situated in the same area of La Chaux-de-Fonds as L'Eplattenier's house. Though this scheme was also carried out in Chapellez' office, Jeanneret was capable of contributing more to the design work,<sup>6</sup> but still strictly in line with the same style. Students from the course helped to decorate the walls and paid frequent visits to the site when the house was under construction. Jeanneret would have learnt a great deal in Chapellez' office about timber frame construction, a system ideally suited to the very cold snowy winter climate of La Chaux-de-Fonds.

In 1907, two similar houses were commissioned by two cousins, M. Stoltzer and M. Jacquemet, for another neighbouring site.<sup>7</sup> The sites of the two houses were adjoining the rue de Pouillerau on the same side of the road as L'Eplattenier's house. The area must have been completely undeveloped in 1908, a very pleasant, pine-wooded site, perched on the mountain side above the town.<sup>8</sup> This time Jeanneret knew enough to carry out the working drawings without close supervision and the work was while he stayed in Vienna with Léon Perrin during the winter of 1907-08.<sup>9</sup>

For style, both the Stoltzer and Jacquemet houses are deeply indebted to Chapellez. In detail, they are different from the earlier schemes, and show an improved understanding of three dimensional form in the treatment of the balconies and windows, which may well have been a genuine Jeanneret contribution.

None of Jeanneret's later schemes in La Chaux-de-Fonds and Le Locle bear any resemblance to these three houses, as Le Corbusier was to place no significance on these first projects, never even acknowledging them in any of his numerous writings on his own work.

Chapellez, towards the end of his life, strongly resented Le Corbusier's lack of acknowledgement of the part these houses had played in his very early training as an architect.<sup>10</sup>

The time spent travelling and working during 1907 and 1908 in Italy, Austria and Germany was a revelation to Jeanneret and his friend Léon Perrin. When he finally arrived in Paris in July 1908, he fully realised the importance of broadening his knowledge, and was grateful for the chance to work in the Perret brothers' practice while having time free for personal studies.<sup>11</sup>

As Jeanneret had few architectural preconceptions at this time, it is probable that the Perrets' use of concrete frame-work and infill panels would have seemed to him a logical and acceptable method of architectural design and he probably found the antagonism to its use amongst architects at L'Ecole des Beaux Arts incomprehensible.<sup>12</sup>

With money from his first month's pay packet from Perret's office, Jeanneret purchased a second-hand copy of Violet-le-Duc's Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle, 1854.

He inscribed the following on the fly-leaf of book one :

"J'achète cet ouvrage le 1 août 1908 avec l'argent de ma première paye de M. Perret. Je l'ai acheté pour apprendre car sachant, je pourrai alors créer".

The choice of book was probably on the recommendation of Auguste Perret, whom Jeanneret during the time in his office came to know and admire as a person and architect. Violet-le-Duc's advocacy of the development of a modern style which, like gothic, would take advantage of contemporary technology was important to Perret, and later was to be an important principle of Corbusier's theories.<sup>13</sup>

When Jeanneret returned to La Chaux-de-Fonds in October 1909, L'Eplattenier gave him the problem to design a building for 'La Nouvelle Section' that he had been trying to start in association with the art school.<sup>14</sup> L'Eplattenier considered that it was necessary to have a

building specifically designed to facilitate the workshop principle on which he had based his course. The brief for the school required that a number of practical workshops should be arranged around a large central studio, the individual form depending on the specialist requirements of the different crafts, encouraging an understanding of specialist skills between the designers, apprentices and craftsmen to their mutual benefit.<sup>15</sup>

The first studios to be built were to be for sculpture in wood and stone, furniture, casting, welding and pottery; later more studios would be added for enamelling, mosaic, stained glass, decorative painting, plastic (bakelite), embroidery and blacksmithing. An architectural studio was not in L'Eplattenier's original brief but was nonetheless included in Jeanneret's scheme. Each individual studio would be in the charge of a particular studio leader, a master craftsman, who, in turn, was responsible to the Art School board, the craftsman being paid by the sale of his own work and apprenticeship fees.

L'Eplattenier had drawn attention, in his earlier (1908) report to the school commission, to the fact that his students, though still studying, had earned 24,500 francs in fees from work already undertaken, and in the near future the possibility of several large projects. L'Eplattenier felt that they could look forward with confidence but that the need for accommodation was urgent.<sup>16</sup>

The School Commission was favourably inclined towards the idea but wanted time to think about it. The project was not spoken of again until a meeting in October of 1908 when L'Eplattenier was told that the School Commission was unable to meet the expense at the time. He made a plea for the decision to be reconsidered. Several of his students were awaiting the Commission's approval for the project, otherwise they would have to look for work outside the town. The plea was unsuccessful.<sup>17</sup> Jeanneret and Perrin would possibly have returned to La Chaux-de-Fonds earlier had the course been approved and a new building permitted.

L'Eplattenier had based his plans for his course on that run by the Ecole de Nancy,<sup>18</sup> founded in 1901 for craftsmen, artists, industrialists, apprentices and teachers under the direction of Victor Prouvé.<sup>19</sup>

Jeanneret's art school scheme was produced by January 1910, and contains a logical planning solution with the workshops arranged symmetrically around a central studio. The roof form and layout have a strong resemblance to Bernhard Pankok's stark studio building of 1905-1906 in Stuttgart, based on similar craft workshop intentions.<sup>20</sup> Later Jeanneret was to say that the design had been inspired by the form of a Carthusian monastery at Emma near Florence.<sup>21</sup>

The actual graphic presentation of the scheme is naive and resembles the work of a second year student on his first complex architectural scheme, which was around the level of Jeanneret's design experience at the time. It was a single line drawing done with little comprehension of structure or detailed functional requirement. Roof terraces appear for the first time in Jeanneret's work.

It was during the winter of 1909-1910, that Jeanneret had had the good fortune to become re-acquainted with Max Du Bois.<sup>22</sup> The Jeanneret and Du Bois families were friends and when very young, the two boys, Charles-Edouard and Max, knew one another. The Du Bois family lived in nearby Le Locle and the Jeannerets in the neighbouring town of La Chaux-de-Fonds. Du Bois was born in 1884, three years before Jeanneret, and can recall when he went to the Gymnase de Neuchâtel in 1901 he stayed in La Chaux-de-Fonds with the Jeanneret family for part of his holidays, where they went ski-ing and climbing together. Then in 1903 Du Bois left Neuchâtel to study civil engineering at Zürich Polytechnic (E.T.H.).<sup>23</sup>

While at Zürich, Du Bois took a course in reinforced concrete design under Professor E. Mörsch who was also a director of the firm of Wayss and Freytag of Neustadt in Germany, pioneers in the use of

concrete and steel.<sup>24</sup> Though Du Bois was most impressed by the wide possibilities that this relatively new construction technique offered, his main field of study lay in railway engineering. Upon qualifying in 1907 he obtained a post with the French firm of civil engineers Geros et Loucheur, in Paris, and from there he was sent to work on a new barrage scheme in the Auvergne.

In his free time Du Bois undertook the translation into French of a book by Mörsch, the first of its kind, on the theory and practice of reinforced concrete structures. It was published in German under the title Eisenbeton Bau in 1906. The Du Bois translation was published by Bérangers in 1909 as Le Béton Armé.<sup>25</sup>

In the book Mörsch discussed the theory and practice of several reinforced concrete frame systems for factory construction then in use in Germany. He emphasised the advantages of these systems, namely, the achievement of lightness of structure, small columns, unobstructed interior spaces, the free façade and high resistance to fire. Mörsch employed the word monolythe to describe the integral nature of reinforced concrete.

Some time in the winter of 1909 Du Bois finding Jeanneret was already aware of the possibilities of reinforced concrete, gave him a copy of Mörsch's book.<sup>26</sup> Jeanneret was so impressed by the ideas it expressed that he evidently sought work with Mörsch's office in Neustadt. In a letter to Du Bois of early 1910 Jeanneret writes that he has been unsuccessful in obtaining a job in Mörsch's firm and expressed regret at not accepting a position in either of Considère's or Hennebique's offices - both of which were French structural engineering firms working in reinforced concrete.<sup>27</sup> In the spring of 1910 he visited London, possibly still in search of a suitable office to increase his experience, but did not enjoy his stay.<sup>28</sup>

In the summer of the same year, L'Éplatténier obtained permission from the school board to examine decorative art education in Germany,

and he asked Jeanneret to carry out the study.<sup>29</sup> It was on this tour that Jeanneret came into contact with an impressive number of prominent German architects.<sup>30</sup> Dr. Jacques Paul in his thesis, has demonstrated that these contacts were to provide him with his first introduction to a relevant architectural design theory.<sup>31</sup>

During the nineteenth century the individual states that constituted what is now called Germany were governed by ambitious families keen to establish their individual regimes and aware of the importance of an educated elite in both the arts and sciences. They established architectural and engineering schools to train men to build solid symbols of their power and increasingly the specialised constructions of what was rapidly becoming an industrial society. The mystical and purist, classical attitude that had been absorbed by architects from painters like the Nazarenes at the start of the nineteenth century in Europe, had provided the basis of a theory of design that proved applicable to resolving the design problems in the new building types. Karl Schinkel in particular, had demonstrated in both his drawings and architecture the spirit of this new classicism in the first half of the 19th century.

Through the schools, ideas on planning, structure and proportion were developed and a continuity of classical principles maintained alongside technical expertise. Courses were developed under professors who were also practicing architects and handbooks produced by them provided detailed information on all aspects of architectural design. The interest and backing from the states and the expertise available resulted in a widespread high level of design in all types of building, particularly noticeable in industry and education, areas which did not carry a great deal of prestige in France and England during the 19th century. This approach continued into the united Germany of 1871.<sup>32</sup>

The architects Jeanneret met had been brought up in this tradition, and while sometimes abandoning the clearly recognisable classical detailing, they embodied the elements of classicism in their design

approach and form, together with expertise in the knowledge of structures and construction. He was impressed by them and their architecture.<sup>33</sup>

Jeanneret asked many questions of the men he met, one of whom was Karl E. Osthaus in Hagen, whose ambitions for the construction of an ideal community were on a much grander scale than L'Eplattenier's Utopian<sup>34</sup> dream for the Pouillerau hillside above La Chaux-de-Fonds.

Though aware of the use of proportion through his prior knowledge of the work and theories of the 'Beuroner' artists, Jeanneret was not yet, in 1910, sympathetic or knowledgeable of its practical use in architectural design.

In Hagen Jeanneret had seen a house for Lauwericks designed by the 'Beuron' inspired stained glass artist Jan Thornprikker. It had attracted Jeanneret by the evident use made of a proportional system in its design.<sup>35</sup> The Munich architect, Theodor Fischer, demonstrated to Jeanneret the proportional design method used in his own office when he met him later on in his tour. Jeanneret was impressed by Fischer and his architecture.<sup>36</sup>

The reason for the trip was the study of the decorative art movement in Germany, and this aspect was well covered by Jeanneret. The predominance of notable architects he visited was not entirely due to his own personal preference or from outside advice. The architects had played a very important part in the realisation that it was necessary to look at society as a whole in order to study the means to improve the standard of design and thereby the quality of life. It was largely through their activities and some enlightened manufacturers that the Werkbund movement had been founded in 1908<sup>37</sup> and had effected a demonstrable improvement in some fields of design for mass production.

Jeanneret organised the report on his study tour presented in February 1912 to the School Commission in La Chaux-de-Fonds, under two main headings, the first, L'Art au Service du Commerce, covering aspects of manufacturing, marketing and typography, he had been

particularly impressed by Peter Behrens' designs for the A.E.G. Company; the second, L'Art au Service de la spéculation, Les "Cités - Jardins" was to prove the most illuminating for his future route through architecture.<sup>38</sup> He had found the Berlin housing projects under construction in the suburbs interesting in all their aspects, including the promotion and method of financing. While in Berlin, he had sent Ritter a long letter about the Stadtbau - Ausstellung Exposition which was on at that time. He sent the following account of the town planning section showing that he had a very thorough knowledge of the subject :

"I come immediately to the facts; Exhibition Stadtbau, very tiring but very interesting. Art brought into the street, and therefore into daily life. Germany especially gives a lot then Austria and England with its garden cities (Hampstead, Bournville and Port Sunlight), Holland, Sweden, Belgium, Zurich and American cities which persist in their geometric outlines.

Vienna show the results of the contest for Karlsplatz, av. La Schwarzenbergplatz. Vienna developed in concentric circles. Berlin adopts the best design, radiating, allowing entire forests to penetrate up to the heart of the city. This is what was shown in the exhibition of the projects of Grosse-Berlin, the practical project of Jansen and the more utopic character of Bruno Schmitz who has as a motto 'where there is a will, there is a way', but with architectural solutions tending towards the grandiose. Worth noting the exhibition of the contest for the city of Gothenburg (Sweden), the arranging of the Hamburg park (by Schumacher of Dresden), the arranging of the cemeteries. Various Fischer propositions, City of Hellerau (Riemschild), Darmstadt, Stuttgart, etc. 39

While there he attended some of the talks and discussions and was impressed by the important role of the developer in housing and town planning. He was also interested by the Germans' use of the English garden city idea, and the construction of large lettable estates for the lower middle classes on train routes in the suburbs of Berlin.

At a Werkbund Conference Meeting he had listened to a talk on the future use of asbestos cement products that until then had been



restricted in type to tile and sheet form. With the ending of old patent rights in 1909 the material was available to anyone to exploit<sup>40</sup> but to do this would require a completely new approach to construction design. This must have been Jeanneret's first introduction to a product he was applying to several of his early designs. In a report on another speaker at the same conference, Jeanneret wrote :

"Ausstellung Ton-Kalk-Cement-Industrie

Ce fut la grande prise de contact des industriels du bâtiment avec les architectes et les ingénieurs. La leçon fut décisive; il n'est pas un architecte qui ne soit revenu de cette visite rêveur ou enthousiasmé, une telle transformation dans les éléments de la bâtisse étant faite pour bouleverser ceux qui ont appris à croire en telles lignes parce que les matériaux employés depuis des siècles les avaient établies comme immuables et pour donner aux rêveurs de nouvelles conceptions, aux hommes partis à la recherche de la ligne moderne, des grands champs en friche. Un air de liberté avait soufflé là.

Des conférences y étaient données à tout instant, J'entendis soulever devant les membres réunis du Werkbund la question du Heimatschutz à l'occasion de la lutte entre les fabricants de tuiles et ceux d'éternit: L'orateur demande que le Heimatschutz proclame, afin d'éclairer le public, que la seule protection des vieilles oeuvres dans leur valeur intégrale, c'est justement de discréditer la méthode dite archéologique et de marcher de l'avant.

Un industriel parla de la crise créée par les fabriques de ciment qui inondent le marché de produits nouveaux déroutant l'architecte dans ses applications et le public dans ses goûts. Il conclut, citant Fridjoff Nansen: il n'y a qu'un chemin. Vorwärts !

Un autre orateur posa cette question: L'art est-il une fantaisie qui guide le matériau, ou est-ce le matériau qui dicte la forme de l'art Il disserta et conclut que l'architecte ne doit pas créer des formes et les donner à l'ingénieur, mais il doit lui-même connaître les ressources intimes des matériaux et savoir leur donner la forme et l'emploi adéquats. Il avait montré le béton armé chassant le fer et la coïncidence de la création de nouveaux matériaux. La visite à l'Exposition qui suivit ce discours, était bien faite pour dissiper les doutes sur la transformation radicale des formes d'architecture que vont décréter les matériaux nouveaux plus pratiques, plus économiques, plus hygiéniques, incombustibles, et peut-être bien, tout aussi beaux en une application rationnelle.

Si j'ai défini avec quelques détails ces deux expositions de Berlin c'est pour bien caractériser leurs tendances d'avant-garde. Je vais, sous forme d'énumération signaler d'autres entreprises similaires." 41

He considered that England and France had lost interest in the importance of quality design as expressed by the Arts and Crafts Movement, despite the efforts of people like Ruskin and Grasset. Whereas Germany showed they appreciated these principles in the efforts of the Biedermeier and the Werkbund movements, with architects like Peter Behrens, Bruno Pankok and Bruno Paul given work of the right contemporary spirit to do. In the conclusion, Jeanneret said :

"Une étude telle que me l'a facilitée la Commission de l'Ecole d'Art, devrait être poursuivie par d'autres encore: la merveilleuse Allemagne de l'Art industriel demande à être connue. A l'heure de la concurrence internationale, l'information aussi doit aller franchir les frontières. L'Allemagne est un livre d'actualité. Si Paris est le foyer de l'art, l'Allemagne demeure le grand chantier de production. Les expériences ont été faites là, les luttes y sont devenues effectives: la bâtisse est élevée et les salles, avec leurs murs historiés, racontent le triomphe de l'ordre et de la ténacité.

La Chaux-de-Fonds, Janvier 1912 42

By 1913 his attitude towards the Werkbund was to be considerably more critical but he never lost his appreciation of their early approach to design for industry. The start of his later life consuming interest in mass housing lies in this confrontation with the activities of some of these early 20th century Germany architects, the products of the previous century's classical tradition in architectural education.

On returning, at the end of the summer of 1910 to Munich, his study tour completed, and with William Ritter's encouragement, Jeanneret decided to obtain a job in Peter Behren's office rather than return to La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>43</sup>

Behrens was away from Berlin and Jeanneret did not hear from him until late in October when he was at last offered a job; he started work in Berlin on November 1st, 1910.<sup>44</sup> Behrens' work for the A.E.G. firm had impressed Jeanneret, as had the man himself when he had met him on his summer tour,<sup>45</sup> but this initial opinion was to change during his

five months in the Berlin office. Jeanneret's German was not at all fluent and he had not studied the language, apparently on the advice of William Ritter, which he was later to regret,<sup>46</sup> so his relationships with the other thirteen assistants was not an easy one. He certainly envied them their confidence and technical ability and found their way of life totally alien, for no one appeared to him to be interested in the problems of architecture or in painting or music.<sup>47</sup>

Jeanneret was disappointed with Behrens; he appeared to him to be cold and too self-satisfied about his work. Jeanneret excused Behrens' attitude by assuming he must be ill.<sup>48</sup>

In December 1910 in Berlin, Jeanneret heard Jacques Dalcroze give a talk on his system of eurhythmics.<sup>49</sup> His brother Albert had joined Dalcroze the previous year and was now a teacher at the Dalcroze Institute at Hellerau. Jeanneret was impressed by Dalcroze's ideas, in particular, the importance of thinking and learning about the meaning of symbols, something that Jeanneret also thought was an important point for architects to follow.<sup>50</sup> That Christmas, he visited Albert at Hellerau and was attracted by the architecture Heinrich Tessenow was doing there.<sup>51</sup> He had met him previously when compiling the La Chaux-de-Fonds report and had been struck by his capacity for hard work, his honesty and modesty in his own architecture.<sup>52</sup>

Early in 1911, Behrens office in the depths of winter seemed intolerable and Jeanneret wrote to Tessenow to ask if he had a place for a designer, but all Tessenow could offer him was another draughtsman's job and advised that it would not be worth his while to move so soon after joining Behrens.<sup>53</sup>

Though he did not enjoy his time in Berlin, Jeanneret, nevertheless, learnt a great deal, absorbing Behrens' method of architectural detailing, his use of proportions<sup>54</sup> and methodical approach together with the use of models during the design stage.<sup>55</sup> The presence of Mies van der Rohe in the same office towards the end of Jeanneret's

period there, apparently went unrecorded by both of them, Walter Gropius had also been a senior assistant with Behrens but had left <sup>(a few months</sup> earlier. Jeanneret had made no friends in Berlin and was keen to get away.

Jeanneret's voyage to the Orient, with Athens as the principal objective, had its inspiration in a suggestion by Osthaus reinforced by the period spent in Berlin.<sup>56</sup> Greece, at that time was an 'Ideal', a place to be visited by any German with cultural aspirations.

The Parthenon certainly had an effect on Jeanneret, he found it an emotionally moving experience in the sense of Provencal's "Beauté Idéale" and spent many days on the Acropolis analysing why this should be so.<sup>57</sup> He had approached it with a certain amount of trepidation and had deferred his first visit for a day before climbing the Acropolis on his own.

When he finally returned to La Chaux-de-Fonds in November 1911, it was with very different eyes that he looked at his life and old ideals.

Jeanneret's teaching job, and those of Perrin and Aubert, were ratified by the school commission at the end of December.<sup>58</sup> In January 1912, Jeanneret had opened his office in the Ateliers des Artistes Réunis on the first floor of the old Convent building at No. 54 me Numa Dros.<sup>59</sup> He found it extremely difficult to settle down despite his pleasure in his new office and the two commissions for houses he had obtained,<sup>60</sup> one for his father on a site on the rue Pouillerau, the other at Le Locle for Georges Favre-Jacot, the owner and founder of one of the largest watch companies in Le Locle, manufacturing Zenith watches.<sup>61</sup> M. Favre-Jacot liked Jeanneret's scheme, which was a complete change from the chalet type design of the earlier houses and showed the influence of his time with Behrens in the rather formal simplified classical style. The Jeanneret Père house was started soon after and in a similar form. There were to be many problems throughout the construction of both houses. It was his first experience of being in sole control of a project and everything appeared to be difficult. By the end of the summer 1912, when both houses were nearly complete,

he was very critical of his own work and wrote the following in a letter to Ritter :

"The modern moment ! It is by having felt it very deeply, more and more, that I have felt myself set free. Under a vivacious flower, there is always a corpse of last year. In order to erect a tower, one must first dig a hole. On the houses I have built this year I have committed some anachronisms. I was old, out of date. I allowed myself to listen with one ear to what people say. I was scandalously improper".

62

By November he was no longer so severe with himself and felt that some of his intentions had been clearly expressed, particularly where the cubic volume of the white stuccoed building read clearly against the dark beech trees in the design of his father's house.<sup>63</sup> He had also regained the respect of his father and the pleasure of the rest of his family by the care he had taken over the design and construction of the house.<sup>64</sup> His mother, during the influenza epidemic of 1918-19, was convinced that it was the sunny aspect and hygienic design of the house that had kept them free from infection.<sup>65</sup>

Both house structures were largely in reinforced concrete and for some of the door panels,<sup>66</sup> Jeanneret used for the first time 'Eternit' abestos sheet, the material he had learnt about while in Berlin in 1910.<sup>67</sup> To investigate the material further, he visited the Swiss factory at Glaris, near Basle.<sup>68</sup> He was to make use of this material in many schemes for the rest of his life, but at this time it was almost unknown.

Jeanneret also made several sketch projects during the year, none of which came to realisation. One of these was for a house for his Munich friend, August Klipstein, in a style very similar to that of the Favre-Jacot house. Another was for the conversion of the Maison du Diable, an old Jeanneret family house where his parents were then living.<sup>69</sup>

This must have been carried out before his father made the decision to build a new house.

When Jeanneret and Max Du Bois had met again over the 1911 Christmas vacation and started corresponding in 1912,<sup>70</sup> Du Bois had

mentioned that he might have the opportunity to construct a factory in Le Locle. This aroused Jeanneret's interest and in February he sent the following advice to Du Bois in Paris :

"In fact you would do well to submit the framework of your factory to me, I have acquired the habit of making models from Peter Behrens, architect for the A.E.G. at Berlin and practising properly in reinforced concrete. I could do you a verylikeable carcass, sober and suitable, something fairly modern and perhaps not too bad. I am only speaking, it is understood of putting into architectural proportions your work as an engineer.

Try it, it might be a good thing for you. If it is not, you can send me packing without any scruples". 71

Du Bois was too busy to reply immediately but Jeanneret persisted with gentle hints that he should be made the architect for this factory and possibly also for the house that Du Bois's grandfather wanted to build in Le Locle. In July, Jeanneret again wrote to him :

"...... I will not let go of your factory it must be built with a super foundation of reinforced concrete.

Good God I pledge myself to you body and guts. We will make the factory a model one; one which smiles at the workers. The refuge of the proletariat these are words and thoughts very suitable for these times ....." 72

Jeanneret's interest in the factory was still there in December;

"......And your factory in very beautiful concrete will give grandeur to the site and will not depreciate it.

It is understood Master Du Bois God of Gods I would 'accolerai' ..... if ever you did me such pleasure. A problem of this kind is an attempt at architecture.

The grouping of large geometric prisms. Only the rhythm requires it, only the relationship is concerned. It is real architect work with new materials and the introduction of new creations. You can see that you must save the piece for me ....." 73

Despite all his pleading, the factory project was never to materialise. That autumn he had submitted a scheme in a design competition for a new Town Hall in Le Locle .... in a letter to Du Bois, he wrote :

"I had attempted a little piece of art in your mother town, a Town Hall which had been put up for competition, they black balled me on all counts. An "Old Swiss" type design was adopted and I had done everything in reinforced concrete". 74

The judges may well have been right, it was not a distinguished scheme that Jeanneret had submitted. Another competition project at this time was held for a new art gallery in La Chaux-de-Fonds which was won by L'Eplattenier and Chapellez; whether Jeanneret put in a design is not yet known. (The construction did not take place until 1920).<sup>75</sup>

For Jeanneret, 1912 had been a year in which he had little direction; 1913 was to show very little improvement. He was uncertain as to what he should be doing in architecture and the separation that had occurred between himself and L'Eplattenier had left him without a mentor and supporter for his work. William Ritter had assumed part of this role, but he considered Jeanneret as a painter rather than architect and though that role had a strong appeal, it did not fulfil the idealistic image that architecture held for him. He felt that he was meant to carry out important tasks in society, an image that did not accord with that of a water-colour artist. To Du Bois he said:

"I feel strong enough to become somebody one day. You may well laugh, but ones needs must crouch until one can joyfully spring up and act. I am haunted by the notion of the great, useful and noble building; that would be architecture". 76

The letters sent to Max Du Bois during 1913 indicate that Jeanneret wanted him to fill the gap left by L'Eplattenier. Du Bois was not such an idealist or dreamer as Jeanneret, but he was an ambitious and resourceful young man, willing to give his friend some help. He corresponded with him if somewhat intermittently. In Jeanneret's eyes Du Bois had achieved a great deal; a flat and a position in Paris, contact with new building developments and detailed knowledge of reinforced concrete and its uses.<sup>77</sup>

In 1912, Max Du Bois joined a company called the Société d'Application Industrielle as its secretary, and became far more interested in business, than the practice of railway engineering.<sup>78</sup>

Later in the same year as a sideline he registered his own company under the title Société d'Application de Béton Armé (SABA). Du Bois had founded it jointly with two engineers, to exploit a patent they had obtained for a precast concrete lamp-post system and to promote the construction of water towers, dams, hydraulic plants and other industrial works in reinforced concrete.<sup>79</sup> This rather basic type of enterprise, combining new techniques for relatively simple everyday objects, was to appeal to Jeanneret for the next few years and he was to become involved in his own right on several similar projects.<sup>80</sup> La Chaux-de-Fonds did not seem to be the right place to start such ventures and he was to press Du Bois from this time on to find him some work in Paris or provide him with the opportunity to start his own business there.<sup>81</sup>

At some stage in their discussions, Du Bois had suggested to Jeanneret that Mörsh's 'monolythe'<sup>82</sup> principle for factory construction was suitable for housing. This idea could have been inspired by an American book, published in 1912, entitled The Concrete House and its Construction, by Maurice Sloan,<sup>83</sup> a book in Le Corbusier's library in which Sloan wrote :

"in buildings which are designed on classic lines, having square parapets and flat roofs, there is probably no better construction than a reinforced roof slab". 84

Jeanneret was keen to try out this new idea and, in a letter to Du Bois early in 1913, he proposed that they should exploit Mörsh's monolythe system reinforced concrete framing for housing :

"I'm on the way up. In a week's time I shall have a comfortably established agency; even a reception hall with a certain panache, an exceptional and efficient (though demanding) employee, a clerk, etc.

But La Chaux-de-Fonds does neither give nor render. Thanks to the Socialists and the war, barely 10 houses have been built, as opposed to 80 in good years. And it looks as though it will get worse still.

So that I really must get out of here and I want to look for work elsewhere.



I therefore revert to my 'Monolythic' proposal, and rather than wait to be entrusted with the factory concerned — for which everyone is fighting and jostling now — I should like to be tested either with or without that particular factory (anyway, I shall know about it in 8 or 10 days' time), but at least with a worthy problem to solve. Here again is what I suggest :

Engineers have no sense of proportion, this being part of architecture. It is a matter over and above mere building. And I feel absolutely ready for that: your monolythic house ; perfectly well-designed factories, accurately equipped, costing the right price. Not just a good-looking factory, — but to build monolythic-type houses. To do otherwise would be simply acquiring a very rewarding specialization for one's client and an extremely useful one for publicity purposes.

And since man can only survive in this filthy society by useful contacts (and not by his intrinsic value, alas), do be my sponsor on this occasion and I shall be prepared to do the same for you with loyal good humour and the best will in the world. Please see to it; I won't sugar my request with vulgar compliments, but thank you in advance.

Ch.-Ed. Jeanneret"  
Le Chaux-de-Fonds  
January 17th 1913. 85

This idea was not taken up at the time but was never to be far from Jeanneret's thoughts.

A year and a half later Jeanneret asked Du Bois if he knew of any one who might be interested in purchasing a cement product factory that was available in Neuchâtel due to the death of the owner.<sup>86</sup> Though nothing came out of this particular proposal the two young men continued to develop their interest in prefabricated concrete buildings, sheds, factories, etc. Jeanneret continually pressing Du Bois to establish some sort of contact or business in this field that would enable Jeanneret to come to Paris.

When the newly-elected Art School board closed the La Nouvelle Section in March 1914, thereby bringing Jeanneret's teaching post to an abrupt end, he could not have been too disappointed, though it made him short of a steady income.

At about the same time, he had received an interesting new project, the interior design for the new Automobile Club in La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>87</sup> As Du Bois was already a member of such a club in Paris, he was sent a questionnaire by Jeanneret on what the function of such a club was and its environmental requirements. Jeanneret was keen to produce a good scheme as the members of the new club would all be potential clients; the ownership of a motor car then implied a certain wealth and carried considerable prestige,<sup>(sady it was not developed)</sup>. He described it to Du Bois as :

"Explication nécessaire: Le Nouveau Cercle = Auto Club de Chaux-de-Fonds le Pavé du Temple. Quoi ! avec tous les vendeurs, y compris les Hautes Finances juiv e et chrétienne des montagnes". 88

In June 1914, Jeanneret worked on the development of a large site for housing on the south side of La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>89</sup> The land had been acquired by M. Arnold Beck, a builder's merchant, estate agent and land developer living in the town. Under the terms of Jeanneret's draft agreement with M. Beck, Jeanneret was to receive a percentage of the total profit made from the sale of individual ground plots regardless of whether it was himself or Beck who effected the actual sale. The two men were to be in partnership with regard to the development. Jeanneret was also to have the sole rights to the design of the overall estate layout, together with any architectural work required by plot purchasers.<sup>90</sup>

In the two years since his return to Switzerland, Jeanneret had become very concerned at the indiscriminate development of the countryside. He felt that new buildings had been constructed with no consideration for the character of the surrounding environment.<sup>91</sup> M. Beck's site enabled him to consider the problems in practical terms. For inspiration he turned to the Hampstead garden suburb scheme, copying many of the sketches and tracing a layout plan eventually producing for Beck's site a sketch layout very similar in form and housing type.<sup>92</sup> There could have been little hope of realisation of this project and no fees were

involved as it was still only a speculative idea. It, nevertheless, gave the first opportunity for Jeanneret to put into practice his interest in the total problem of planning for the individual and society, inspired by the Berlin projects first seen by him in 1910.<sup>93</sup>

Apart from minor alterations, Beck was agreeable to Jeanneret's proposals but was never to follow them up.<sup>94</sup> It was not a good time for developers in 1914. The coming of the war in the summer was almost a welcome event to Jeanneret. He wrote several times to Du Bois heavily emphasising the importance of the engineer at such a time and repeating his long held wish to be in Paris :

"I still hope for a pied-à-terre in Paris. I'm suffocating here. The Perrets are very kind and Auguste is most friendly. As you know, circumstances will shape a man. I shall be ready on the day that much is asked of me ....." 12.6.1914

".....Well, yes, so what? When I become Mr. Jeanneret, Architect, possibly the proud owner of a car since that seems to be the pinnacle of glory — then I shall be lost. I shall belong to the radical party, to the Freemasons, and who knows what else. This war, which will give victorious France a fantastic momentum, excites me and forces me to make plans for the near future.

We are at a turning point in the history of architecture.

The Engineers have done it all (the only respectable people so far) but the impetus has begun in 1914 and modern Paris will blossom and be born anew. That is where I yearn to be: a mason in the team. I already have my materials to hand and my whole devotion is to the thought of France. And to the hundreds who will be the heroes of this new dawn.

In a pre-war paper, Auguste Perret was mentioned as becoming the undisputed head to whom should be entrusted the erection of the Grand Palais of the Arts on the former ramparts, an international exhibition hall for the beauties of art and the achievement of industry.

Paris has it made; this time she will leap over the past obstacles. Why should I not be there at this time ?" 15.9.1914.

96

In the autumn of 1914, Jeanneret managed to leave La Chaux-de-Fonds for a visit to Paris, to investigate the prospects of working there and to carry out some historical research for his book at the Bibliothèque Nationale, but he had to return home after a few weeks

as the war intensified.<sup>97</sup>

Soon after, Max Du Bois, on his own initiative, organised the evacuation by train of the Swiss community in Paris and returned to live for a short while at Les Brenets near La Chaux-de-Fonds. He returned to Paris at the end of the year at the behest of the Swiss legation to co-ordinate the wartime transportation by rail of food supplies arriving at European ports destined for Switzerland.<sup>98</sup>

The German army's advance into Belgium left behind it large areas of devastation. The great number of houses destroyed and the need to replace them as rapidly as possible aroused immediate concern in the Belgian and French governments and because it was the general European view that the war would not last more than a few months, it was thought that immediate plans for reconstruction should be prepared. The problem received a great deal of publicity at the time.<sup>99</sup>

Although industrialised systems for housing on a mass scale did not then exist, Jeanneret realised that the use of the monolythe structural system for housing was a possible solution to the problem. While Du Bois was in Switzerland (November/December 1914) they worked together on such a system using the monolythe principles of Professor Mörsch.<sup>100</sup> This event was the start of the Domino idea, later publicised by Le Corbusier, and so called because of the similarity between both its basic structural diagram and assembly method, to the appearance and juxtaposition of the pieces in the game of Dominoes.<sup>101</sup>

Du Bois' responsibilities lay with finding the necessary factual information and later with the structure, patenting procedure and the need to find a financial backer.<sup>102</sup> Jeanneret was to design several house types on the Domino principle together with alternative estate layouts. In January 1915, Du Bois, soon after his return to Paris, received the following letter from Jeanneret :

"I have two important projects in sight, but I want to keep myself totally free until Spring, by which time our study should be complete in its organisation and smallest details, and sponsored by the people to whom we are looking for support.

Which is why, as the days and the months go by, I become panic-stricken lest we get caught up and lose all the advantages of our discovery which is to establish whole villages.

May I remind you of the information I expect from you on the room plans, their suitability for everyday life, the size of the rooms. Please look up in libraries information on modern Belgian architecture and have it ready for me when I arrive.

I would also need street plans of villages showing their organisation in those regions, with their customs. I shall have an assistant for my office (and already have one here who is helpful) .....

..... I think of all this and climbing up to the top of my tower (as it were) I look out afar for news of you. Hope to hear from you soon!"

103

Jeanneret's air of indecision had gone. There was a purposefulness and certainty about his whole attitude to his work that he was never to completely lose in the years ahead.

It was clear to those concerned governments that new techniques, materials and forms of organisation would have to be developed to attempt large scale rehousing. In this, Jeanneret could see the opportunity to make a real contribution to the quality of life of a large number of people, which, he must have felt, gave meaning to his earlier training and was to become a major concern for the rest of his life.

For the details of the house types, Jeanneret referred to the work of Alfred de Foville, statistician and founder of 'L'Institut Français de Statistique'.<sup>104</sup> Foville had produced in 1894 a study of working-class housing in various regions of France, recording social details, family numbers, income, type of work and lifestyle, together with the accommodation provision. For Jeanneret this was an invaluable source of information.

Before the Spring of 1915, he had ready the elements of a system suitable for mass production that allowed for variation in plan types and cladding materials. The structure, a reinforced concrete frame

based on Mörsch's principles, was the same for all units, allowing for the repetitive use of formwork. Infill walls made use of locally available material. In the Belgian case this would be rubble from the destroyed buildings with a skin of rendering to protect it from the weather. Window designs would be standardised and much of the essential room furniture built in.<sup>105</sup>

The perspective view of the reinforced structure, illustrated in Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1928 is given considerable prominence and demonstrates dramatically the freedom from the discipline of the structural wall. This drawing almost certainly is not from this period, but from 1921 when it first appears as a very small sketch in No. ~~12~~<sup>11</sup>/13 of L'Esprit Nouveau in the article "Maisons En Series". In 1914 Jeanneret's designs show little understanding of its full potential. Jeanneret was still concerned totally with the mass production and flexibility problems of different housing types. The columns were still buried in the walls, <sup>which could equally well</sup> have been of a traditional load bearing construction. All the types had flat roofs, though only used in one version as roof garden. The flat roof was advocated in Sloan's book and was already a commonplace occurrence in reinforced concrete industrial structures. Some influence may have come from Garnier's Cité Industrielle, which Jeanneret knew of; Garnier he had met briefly in 1907.<sup>106</sup>

Jeanneret and Du Bois had planned to open an office in Lille,<sup>107</sup> to promote their project, but to no avail. Hostilities did not come to an end as rapidly as had been expected and Europe set about preparing for a long war. The main emphasis was changing to the need for munitions factories, power plants and military barracks. Jeanneret, far away from the war in La Chaux-de-Fonds, found Du Bois' lack of response to the housing project incomprehensible but Du Bois realised that new housing was no longer an immediate priority.<sup>108</sup> Jeanneret wrote again to Du Bois in March 1915 :

"Wouldn't you like to reconsider our houses of reinforced concrete? Let me know as soon as you feel the time has come, not to build yet, but to get ready  
.....

I remember your chap with the hotel and offices. Are you keeping him simmering? Find a site and we'll be off with the first plans. Paris will become the rallypoint for years not only for the triple, but for the multiple entente of nations. People from England, Italy, all over will have to come to Paris for talks. A building will be needed for them — a superb edifice of reinforced concrete, What? !

It will be enough to reach a seventh heaven of culture and sink Boche progress !

Lay the foundations, Du Bois, seize the opportunity please. I need say no more". 109

For the next year Jeanneret continued to urge Du Bois to action on the Domino project, but his letters became less pressing and he evidently began to recognise the logic of investigating other building types :

"I went to see Auguste Perret in the south of France. I submitted my plans of reconstruction to him and he found them very good. He made no objections other than to say that our moulding process could also be used for the factory, the school, the public buildings, etc.". 110

None of the Monolythe housing work was earning Jeanneret any money, nor were his services greatly in demand. His reputation of being an avant garde designer and somewhat dictatorial in attitude towards his clients, did not encourage those with money for new houses to come to his door. The Auto Club commission had produced no more clients, though, oddly enough, and possibly because of his stand in 1914 against the socialists on the School Commission, he was asked to do the interior design for a new house for two brothers, Ernest Albert and Herman Ditscheim.<sup>111</sup> They were well established watch manufacturers, with a large factory in La Chaux-de-Fonds producing Vulcain watches. A girl from the family was attending Mme. Jeanneret's piano classes,<sup>112</sup> a connection which may have been another contributory factor as her parents would have become familiar with the Villa Jeanneret Père built in 1912. Jeanneret certainly took a great deal of trouble over the

interior designs but was to find the Ditisheim brothers difficult and exasperating clients. Wartime problems and the antagonism between himself, the builders<sup>113</sup> and the architect of the house did not help.

In January 1915, Jeanneret, together with Max Du Bois and Juste Schneider, a Swiss engineer working with SABA, submitted a scheme for a competition for the design of the Butin Bridge in Geneva.<sup>114</sup> A prohibition on the use of reinforced concrete meant that any design had to be of very heavy stone construction, a condition they did not agree with but nevertheless complied. Their submission, a multi-arch stone structural solution, had no success. Later it was found that the winning design would be almost impossible to construct and the bridge that was eventually built made good use of the forbidden material.<sup>115</sup>

Du Bois was still mindful of his friend's long felt and earnest wish to join him in Paris and he now provided him with this opportunity by offering him in July of 1915 the post of consultant architect with SABA working together with Schneider.<sup>116</sup> Far from expressing delight, Jeanneret replied critically on 28th July 1915 :

"Your letter reached me safely. I await Schneider's visit; I imagine he has enough information to come and talk to me. I'll answer you after seeing him.

In principle I think we should find someone to organize this business even though I might then describe myself as Advisory-Architect for all architectural matters.

The suggestion that I should move to Paris for 250 francs per month is hardly possible, as you can well imagine.

I am working here on a Variety Theatre with 1200 seats, to be built within  $3\frac{1}{2}$  months; furthermore a very eccentric villa in reinforced concrete. Also two large blocks of flats are being considered. Finally a seaside villa in the Maure Hills. In other words, a hell of a lot of work, hardly a second in which to relax.

But business in Paris will have priority. All the same, the thing must be worked out with a modicum of dignity. We'll be in touch again soon, after Schneider's visit.

Ch. Ed. Jeanneret

See things on a large scale: there will be deals other than our houses; factories, residential streets in large cities".



However in the August of 1915 Jeanneret travelled to Paris to discuss the possibility of his consultancy work for SABA and pressed Du Bois for better conditions.<sup>118</sup> He also wanted him to reactivate the Domino project as a going business proposition and find a publisher for a completed book on "Construction des Villes".<sup>119</sup> Jeanneret's plan, set out in his 1915 sketch-book called for Du Bois to obtain the necessary patents for the structure of Domino, for which the applications were to be submitted by September. He himself was to be responsible for the production of an illustrated brochure, ready for the printers by December 1915. The headquarters for Domino were to be established in Paris by January 1916. The expectation is clear :

"Si ça marche, Jeanneret s'installe définitivement à Paris". 120

These words, indicating Jeanneret's intention of settling in Paris, place considerable doubt on the apocryphal stories of his agony of indecision in the Frankfurt railway station.

By September 1915, Jeanneret had written the copy brochures called Constructions Economiques Extensibles en Béton Armé and Maisons en Béton Armé-Systems, stressing the self-build aspect once the framework was in place. A cost and a profit analysis was appended.<sup>121</sup> Du Bois had already obtained a patent, No. 81490, for the system.<sup>122</sup>

In the 1915 August trip Jeanneret also continued his research, at the Bibliothèque Nationale. On this visit he must also have talked over very seriously with Du Bois the possibility of working permanently in Paris but on terms more to Jeanneret's liking. Du Bois was still sympathetic and they made provisional plans for Jeanneret to come in January 1916 to work with SABA on the expectation that the situation would have improved for the Domino project. But a deterioration in the war for the allies and the lack of interest from investors, meant that there was no work for Jeanneret and he had to remain all that winter in La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>123</sup>

In the winter, a few weeks after his return to La Chaux-de-Fonds, Jeanneret sent Du Bois the following :

"By conferring together we have found last year the path to follow. I have since found the solution and offer you the work I am presently doing (see below) so that you should benefit from it just as I do.

You are the string-puller -- admittedly a less taxing job than mine, but nonetheless essential. Our collaboration gives you this role. Play it. I play mine, that is to say that since my return I have for weeks prepared the illustrations.

I have gone into the matter at some length and found certain solutions which I claim to be staggering.

Thus, last week I have designed a large villa using our process, a really grand villa costing per unit (of cubic metres) exactly the same as a middle-class house or a worker's cottage. Isn't that amazing?

I have examined again the garden-cities I had studied earlier and have found many unchanging symptoms of concordance with the most ingenious inventions.

I have studied the question of 'standard' windows, doors, bannisters, balconies, fences, cornices.

One can produce, using this method (i.e. building at the lowest price imaginable) interior dwellings such as I should like to have for myself.

Order, rhythm, and unity reign in our invention. These are qualities that it would take others a mighty long time to find. Well Du Bois, all this is made to be used ! A word to the wise is enough !"

Le Chaux-de-Fonds  
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In January 1916 Jeanneret was still in La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>125</sup>

He and Du Bois had decided to postpone their main promotion for a year though the Domino patent drawings were complete and a patent obtained, there were still some details in the proposed SABA company agreement that Jeanneret felt needed resolving.<sup>126</sup> Du Bois was slow to reply to Jeanneret's letters which caused him some concern in case the scheme should be pirated and its principles exploited by others, for they had spoken freely to many people during the scheme's development period. Jeanneret was frustrated at being so far from the events at the centre of his interests. Something, he felt should be happening.<sup>127</sup> In March he wrote a long letter to Du Bois, chiding him for not getting

something done in the way of promotion or capital which he saw as his responsibility.<sup>128</sup>

Jeanneret had very little practice work to do, apart from writing to anyone whom he thought might conceivably sponsor Domino. He did write enthusiastically to Du Bois about an exhibition to be held in Paris at the 'Jeu-de-Paume' some time in the summer of 1916, which was to be entitled La Cité Reconstituée. He proposed that SABA should erect a Domino house to demonstrate the variety of room arrangements possible within the system, for a building cost of between 3,000 and 4,000 francs.<sup>129</sup>

A few weeks later Jeanneret was to change his mind about the value of exhibiting Domino. He had heard that Perret would have nothing to do with the exhibition, objecting to the fact that it was being promoted by Jourdain & Co., a leading Paris construction firm. Perret believed that one unified building company should be formed to carry out post-war development with a fixed price contract system. Architects, in his view, ought not to have to peddle their wares for whatever fee they could obtain, but receive an agreed fee for a particular commission. Jeanneret was now in agreement with Du Bois who all along had felt that it would not be worthwhile for SABA to take part merely to exhibit its ideas to all comers.<sup>130</sup>

In the summer of 1916 Jeanneret visited Du Bois to see La Cité Reconstituée exhibition staying in the small flat that Du Bois had rented in the Avenue du Trocadéro.<sup>131</sup> Though the job with SABA did not seem to offer enough financial inducement to Jeanneret and no promoter had appeared for Domino, he was still very keen to settle in Paris. The manager of SABA, a builder called E.L. Bornand, was willing, with Du Bois, to back him in forming a Paris practice;<sup>132</sup> in consequence a partnership agreement was drawn up between Jeanneret, Du Bois, and Bornand.<sup>133</sup>

The purpose of the agreement was to set Jeanneret up in a new practice in Paris to undertake research, civil engineering projects, factories, housing and town planning schemes. The conditions required each partner to contribute 10,000 francs as capital when called upon to do so. Jeanneret was to have sole control of the practice and management of the business presenting an annual account to his fellow partners. Profit was to be equally shared and Jeanneret, who would receive a salary of 500 francs a month from the partnership account, could keep his practice in La Chaux-de-Fonds completely separate.<sup>134</sup> In Paris he would have a small office at the headquarters of SABA, in the Rue Belzunce, a narrow street near the Gare Du Nord, available from October 1st 1916.<sup>135</sup> Returning from Paris, Jeanneret found several commissions waiting for him in the La Chaux-de-Fonds office,<sup>136</sup> so that, although he had hoped to return to Paris and to settle there by mid-September, he was unable to do so until February 1917. He was to defer his departure several times because of the pressure of work in his office. The next letter, sent in September 1916, was one of a number received by Du Bois during the next few weeks :

"My dear Du Bois  
Your last letter of 29th August has reached me safely.  
I have read it but not studied it in depth yet.  
I have ready for you a whole series of files concerning  
the Domino houses; these were prepared for the  
prospectus we shall have to issue some time; I will  
send them to you on Monday.

I am delighted to hear that you are able to set the foundations for the use of our ideas. Thank you.  
I am so overflowed by work at the moment that I must ask you to let me have a longer period of grace than until 15th September before I come to Paris. I need just a little time to send off indispensable plans for a villa which we are starting to lay down on Monday and the framework of which must be erected within a month. My Cinema is progressing snappily; the idea was to establish over the mediocre terrain involved an umbrella under which all could work. This has been done and all labourers are getting on with their work under shelter.

So I shan't answer your suggestions today, but shall examine them at leisure in five days' time and write to you then.

I should be able to come to Paris for a final agreement in 15 or 20 days' time. There are four of us at the moment in my office.

All the best, on this 8th day of September 1916. "

Ch. Ed. Jeanneret

La Chaux-de-Fonds  
September 8th 1916

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The origins of the Scala Cinéma project are still somewhat obscure. It would appear to have been a job originated in 1915 from Chapellez' office, as the plan drawings carry his signature.<sup>138</sup> On July 3rd 1916, in the Feuilles d'Avis, there appeared a notice for a competition for the design of the facade of the cinema, open to pupils past and present of the art school, with a handing in date of July 15th. One of the three judges was René Chapellez. The developer behind the scheme was M. Alfred Riva.<sup>139</sup> It would appear that Jeanneret won this competition and took over the project from Chapellez. Jeanneret was described, in the report on the cinema's opening four months later, as the architect. The structure was entirely in reinforced concrete and great attention was paid to its incombustibility, and to the fact that the roof was built first and acted as an umbrella for work on a difficult site.<sup>140</sup>

The facade design is probably indebted to the influence of Theodor Fischer,<sup>141</sup> but the interior could be any cinema of the period. The important factor was the clear span and short building time possible through the use of concrete, something which Jeanneret may well have persuaded Chapellez to use and which eventually allowed him to take over the scheme.

Unfortunately, soon after opening, after the first winter falls of snow, problems occurred with the roof drainage, due, according to Jeanneret, to changes in plan by Riva and the contractor ignoring his detailing and not observing the regulations.<sup>142</sup> Whatever the cause, Riva refused to pay Jeanneret's fees and a long wrangle began that was to last for several years,<sup>143</sup> with no satisfactory conclusion.

The concrete structure for the cinema had been erected very quickly; its speed of construction had impressed the owner of the Cyma Watch Company, Anatole Schwob, uncle of Lucien Schwob a friend and fellow student of Jeanneret.<sup>144</sup> Schwob, like the Ditisheim brothers, came from La Chaux-de-Fonds' Jewish community. He was one of the more recent arrivals and, according to Léon Perrin, was very keen to make an impression in the town. He must have considered that a house constructed on the same method and by the same architect as the Scala Cinema would make a similar impact. Jeanneret was commissioned early in September 1916 to build him a house on a site in the rue Numa Droz to be completed by the end of February 1917.<sup>145</sup> During the design stage, both men were carried away by their own enthusiasms and little attention was paid to analysing the cost of any items or variations. When the time came to present the construction costs, the total amount was almost three times the original estimate of 100,000 francs. Schwob was furious and in a confrontation with Jeanneret, accused him of taking a percentage of the builder's fees.<sup>146</sup> In Switzerland, as in France, the architect was in the position of general contractor and did not, as in England, act as a disinterested party to settle disputes between the client and builder. Jeanneret was extremely indignant that such an accusation should even have been thought of and stormed away from the meeting. He continued right out of the town taking the first train he could catch to Paris, only stopping long enough to collect his clothes, say goodbye to his family and give Léon Perrin the job of supervising the completion of the last details of the house.<sup>147</sup>

This dispute, together with the argument over the cinema, meant that Jeanneret received only part of his fees, and Perrin possibly no payment at all and no commission for providing relief sculpture for many of the blank panels in the house.<sup>148</sup>

Neither the Scala nor Schwob project fees<sup>149</sup> were ever to be satisfactorily settled and the supporters of the different sides were

to continue the arguments for several years. Jeanneret, from that time on, only returned to the town for short visits to his family, who eventually in 1921 moved away after his father had retired from work.<sup>150</sup>

The Schwob house made use of the Domino concrete framework, brick only being used as a cladding material. The plan was similar in form to his father's house but the facade designs are the first indication of his own design ideas using a proportional system. It was a big house, well built and probably worth the money. The family liked the house and some years later, Jeanneret received an enquiry from the brother of Anatole Schwob, to design a home for him on an adjoining site.<sup>151</sup> The house today is well cared for and still has a connection with the Schwob family.

Jeanneret thought of this scheme as his first real architectural statement and it was the only project from this period to be acknowledged by him in L'Esprit Nouveau, and Vers une Architecture.

The house design itself is uncoordinated and lacks three-dimensional understanding; there is still no real evidence of any use of the design potential inherent in the Domino structure principle. The Golden Section angle system of proportion<sup>152</sup> was used to place elements of the facade, but like the Domino system, it was still just a technique.

PART 2  
PARIS 1917 - 1925



Jeanneret made the train journey that was to take him finally to Paris on February 9th 1917.<sup>1</sup> He had already been on one of his flying visits there in January but possibly had had to delay his final departure from La Chaux-de-Fonds until he could secure sufficient of his outstanding fees to complete his part of the Paris practice partnership with Du Bois and Bernand. Unfortunately, the disputes over the construction costs with both Schwob and Riva had delayed the settlement and Jeanneret had had to borrow money on account from a bank in La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>2</sup> His final meeting with Schwob must have been very frustrating. Not only were his feelings hurt but his future prospects in Paris were very much in the balance.

Du Bois put him up in his flat<sup>3</sup> until Jeanneret could take over the lease of a small apartment in 20 rue Jacob, belonging to a Professor Levy who was moving to Strasburg.<sup>4</sup> He was lucky to find a place of his own, accommodation was becoming desperately short.

Jeanneret knew few people in Paris. His painter friends from La Chaux-de-Fonds had returned home at the start of the war, so that Max Du Bois's introductions to people like Raoul La Roche<sup>5</sup>, a Swiss banker working in Paris with an interest in contemporary art, were very important to him.

Perret also helped him to make contacts. He invited Jeanneret to some of the thursday luncheon meetings of artists, writers, musicians and actors that he organised,<sup>6</sup> despite the grim conditions under which Paris was existing at the time. The German artillery was bombarding Paris and the German Army was within striking distance. Morale in the Allied Army was at a very low ebb. The winter was a particularly hard one, no fuel and very little food. Jeanneret found the first few months very cold and lonely. To help, he painted a sunlit palm tree landscape on the wall of his room at No. 20 rue Jacob, to give some illusion of warmth.<sup>7</sup> He missed La Chaux-de-Fonds and his family and friends<sup>8</sup> but

his pride kept him away from home for the next two and a half years with only a few letters to his family; it was a complete severance and was to result in many hurt feelings amongst his friends.<sup>9</sup>

During the day Jeanneret worked hard at the new task of businessman and developer plus what little architectural work that was to come his way. In the evenings and weekends he drew and painted, sometimes taking trips out of Paris on his own or with Du Bois' Swiss Sunday group.<sup>10</sup> He had time to think and became increasingly dissatisfied over the year with his paintings. Water-colour no longer provided any satisfaction, but any alternative was difficult.<sup>11</sup> He had no quarrel with William Ritter and kept in regular correspondence with him during 1917. He was still dependent on him as the only person to whom he could communicate his emotional feelings and ambitions. Due to the war letters from Ritter were infrequent. He also possibly resented Jeanneret's independence of action despite his earlier encouragement before the war. ~~Moreover~~ Ritter was not interested in cubism and did not consider the movement had any real value.<sup>12</sup> It was this attitude that was to separate him from Jeanneret who, through his friendship with Perret, was coming into regular contact with a reviving artists' community in Paris. War-wounded French painters and foreign artists were returning to the city and taking up their work. New movements were springing out of the roots of pre-war cubism.

In May 1917, Jeanneret went to the first performance of Eric Satie's 'Parade'.<sup>13</sup> He heard Apollinaire calm the shocked and annoyed audience who were shouting 'Sales Boches' and threatening to destroy the interior of the Theatre du Châtelet. Apollinaire used the phrase 'L'Esprit Nouveau' as he had used it in the programme introduction to draw people's attention to the possibilities of a new way of life that 'Parade' represented; at the end of his impromptu performance the audience departed peacefully.<sup>14</sup> 'Parade' was designed to shock. There was no calm intellectual content, it was an occasion when art became involved with political life; its total irrelevance to the war situation

had apparently aroused a crowd of war-tired people to unite and they vented some of their frustration on the seemingly frivolous performance.<sup>15</sup>

Ozenfant, who had been friendly with Perret for a number of years,<sup>16</sup> recalls meeting Jeanneret for the first time in May 1917 at Perret's studio, possibly to discuss the performance of 'Parade'. Perret had been suggesting, for a considerable time, that Ozenfant should meet this young Swiss architect.

Another friend Jeanneret made at this time, possibly through Perret's luncheon group, was Charles Vildrac, a poet and owner of an art gallery, Galerie Vildrac, and a man of some standing in Parisien cultural life. Jeanneret became a friend of the family and later carried out some architectural work for them.<sup>17</sup>

In June 1917, the first issue of the journal of the De Stijl group in Holland was produced by Piet Mondrian, Theo van Doesburg, Vantongerloo, Vanthoff and Oud. Their emphasis was on the importance of architecture and the need for the Engineer Architect to construct logical rectangular forms using a proportional system.<sup>18</sup> These ideas were available directly in Paris through an essay in two parts in Mercure de France by Gino Severini, a member of the group.<sup>19</sup> It is possible that Jeanneret had read of their work by December 1917, when he designed a large abattoir scheme for a competition, using the Domino-Monolythic system.<sup>20</sup> There are certainly many De Stijl principles inherent in his project which bears no resemblance to earlier work and definitely acknowledges the inter-relationship of engineer and architect in the final form.

Jeanneret was well pleased with his scheme and considered it his first real piece of architectural design.<sup>21</sup> With his new eyes there was little hope for the water-colour landscapes. On January 24th, 1918, he had lunch with Ozenfant and listened to what he had to say with growing interest and enthusiasm. The same evening he wrote to Ritter :

"Lunch yesterday with Amédée Ozenfant, doors are opening in Paris on all types of future. At last a contemporary of my own age; whom I value greatly. His painting is that of a mystic in the sumptuous fashion of the most beautiful paste supple and as if burnished.

Cubism bears its fruits; absolute plasticism, truly beautiful; an impeccable technique and a formal plasticism that supports all noble ideas. What strange lessons one learns in Paris. What progress in achievement ..... the positive force today; modern painters have a touching sincerity, of an ideal, of a spirituality which leads towards a better expression, a genuine light after so much brouhaha. Science with which we live always finds its own expression in art, it has a noble desire ... "

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He was never again to need Ritter's support; that period of his life was over; *he felt he now had an objective* . The main problem was achieving what he knew he must do and having sufficient financial backing to do it. His activities in business and industry, while not being greatly successful, were to supply a considerable amount of the necessary finance to develop his ideas and provide a means for publicising his work over the next five years.

Amédée Ozenfant was born on April 15th, 1886 at St. Quentin. His father was a building contractor with his own firm principally employed on large industrial schemes<sup>23</sup> and had worked with the structural engineer François Hennebique on a large abattoir at St. Quentin. He was also a friend of the Perret family. Ozenfant was expected to join his father's firm and in 1905 was sent to study architecture in the Paris atelier of Guichard et Lesage. At the same time he studied painting and very soon abandoned architecture completely. He went to the studio known as La Palette in the rue du Val-de-Grace. There he was taught by Jacques Emile Blanche, born in 1861, the son of a fashionable psychiatrist, Esprit Blanche, who lived in a so-called English cottage in Paris. Blanche and Ozenfant became good friends.<sup>24</sup>

The garden of this English cottage was later sold for development and the La Roche and Albert Jeanneret houses were built on one of the plots.

Ozenfant also met the Russian girl, who was to become his wife, at La Palette, Zina Klingberg, a friend of Sonia Terk (later to marry Delauney), as well as two other painter friends, Segonzac and La Fresnay, both of whom were to influence his work. He studied for two years at La Palette and produced an exhibition in 1908, before travelling to Russia to be married. Before the first world war he was to go on three trips to stay with his wife's family, the last was for three years, they returned just before / the war. He liked Russia very much and was impressed by the treatment he received there: his father-in-law was a Judge in a province that had formerly been in Slovakia. Through his wife, Ozenfant got to know the Russian community in Paris. His other interest, which he shared with his younger brother, was machinery and engines, and a passion for cars. They submitted a design for the bodywork of a Hispano Suiza in the 1912 Salon d'Automne. In the summer of 1914 he had been particularly impressed by the efficiency of the German Mercedes racing team, who surprised everyone by completely defeating France in the Grand-Prix held at Lyon. Ozenfant commented:

"This lesson of planning and of good execution struck me enormously and I promised myself to follow this example with my paintings". 25

Because of frequent bouts of pneumonia and bronchitis, he was not called up and spent the first part of the war in Paris and Antibes where he met and became friendly with the painter Signac.<sup>26</sup> By the summer of 1915 he had a studio at 34 de la rue des Vignes à la Muette in Paris, and attended Perret's Thursday luncheon meetings with Picasso, Lipchitz, Matisse and other artists at a nearby cafe. Towards the end of 1915, Ozenfant had become dissatisfied with the decorative trends in Cubism and, in an attempt to make his point of view known, he produced a folding sheet of articles and comments on art under the name of L'Élan, in which he advocated the beauty of the machine and geometric forms quoting Plato in 'Philebus'. Ozenfant's own personal outburst, called for a more rigorous approach to cubism and art; others of like feeling also contributed, inspired by the classical and

intellectual approach to cubism that Gris and Severini were developing.<sup>27</sup> It was practically the only paper of its kind to be produced in Paris during the war and showed considerable enterprise and organisational ability. Ozenfant managed to produce about 15 editions finally stopping at the end of 1916. When he got to know Jeanneret he presented him with a whole set of L'Elan.<sup>28</sup> Ozenfant was one of the few painters with the finance, time and energy to keep in contact with the art life that there was in Paris and was a visitor at most gatherings of any note. This situation was to change dramatically in the autumn of 1917 when his father died very suddenly, leaving Ozenfant and his mother to carry on the management of the firm which at that time was involved in the construction of a large munitions factory extension at Toulouse. Through his mother's mismanagement, Ozenfant could see all the family investment being lost and was forced to take over the supervision of the factory project. He encamped right in the centre of the site in a small hut where he worked on his new theory of purism at the end of the day. This amazed the workmen, who could not understand anyone staying longer than necessary alongside a large amount of high explosives. Despite his efforts, the company failed and he was to find himself without any capital by the end of the summer of 1918. Relationships with Zina had not been happy for some time, possibly due to conflicting opinions on the 1917 revolution, and they were divorced in July 1918.<sup>29</sup>

Ozenfant moved to a new studio in La rue Godot-de-Mauroy, so that when he met Jeanneret he was going through a traumatic period in his life. Jeanneret impressed him, the two men found they had a great deal in common, even an unfashionable knowledge and appreciation of Puvis de Chavannes.<sup>30</sup> Both were at the start of a period of change in their lives, and though they were occupied with the problems of survival in Paris, they found time to meet regularly to discuss what art and cubism meant to them. The single-mindedness of Jeanneret, his lack of preconceptions, his questioning attitude, together with no

previous cubist painting experience, must have been a useful asset to Ozenfant in helping him to disentangle what he was trying to say. Here, much of Jeanneret's very early education was to come to his assistance. Cubism contained the means of carrying out some of the ideals expounded by Owen Jones, Ruskin, Seurat, Denis and the Beuroner Artists.

By June 1918, Jeanneret was completely obsessed with the ideas of his new friend. He wrote to Ozenfant to say that he had order in his business but none in his head and that Ozenfant was the reason.<sup>31</sup>

In September, Jeanneret went away for a few days into the countryside at Andernos to stay with Ozenfant. On this visit Ozenfant gave Jeanneret his notes on his new theory of purism and suggested that they develop them together in the form of a book and an exhibition. In the book Ozenfant's name was to come before Jeanneret's on the title page since he was the initial promoter and already a well known figure in the Paris art scene. Jeanneret was still an unknown Swiss immigrant, worried in case his job as an architect should be prejudiced by him becoming known as a painter.<sup>32</sup>

Ozenfant offered to teach Jeanneret to paint in oils, something he had never attempted before. That autumn all Jeanneret's spare time was spent in Ozenfant's studio, his first drawings copied those of Ozenfant,<sup>33</sup> though he is likely to have made more of a contribution in the writing of their script which was entitled Après le Cubisme. Apart from the architectural comments, there is clear evidence of a similar logical organisation to that shown in Etude du Mouvement d'Art à La Chaux-de-Fonds. Ozenfant, apart from producing L'Elan, was not a writer and had little journalistic experience. He was more at ease in the design of the typography and layout, so that it seems that it was undoubtedly a joint effort even though the initial inspiration had been Ozenfant's. Many of the principles embodied in the movement originated in the earlier writings<sup>34</sup> of Ozenfant though, possibly

because he lacked the creative ability to exploit them so well as Jeanneret, the latter was apt to assume them all as his own and unaided inventions.

This fault is not as deliberate as it might appear. Purism contains the essence of many theoretical ideas to which Jeanneret had been first introduced, when still a teenager, by L'Eplattenier, and later by William Ritter and contact with German and French artists and architects. Other, no less important, influences had come from his family, the musical ability of his mother and brother was of a high academic level and the necessity in good music for an underlying rhythm and mathematical pattern would have been obvious to him.

Jeanneret had not carried on since leaving La Chaux-de-Fonds with any writing or journalism until the production of Après Le Cubisme with Ozenfant the autumn of 1918. The lapse was not entirely due to the pressure of his new life in Paris, but because of the restructuring of the theoretical basis that he felt was so essential for his work. The confrontation with other interpretations of the same ideals that he and his mentors had felt were important, threw him into confusion. Many of the principles were the same, arising in many cases from very similar backgrounds, but the urgency of a fairly widespread search for a contemporary form of expression, in writing and art to echo the technological development brought about by the war, forced Jeanneret to reappraise his ideas and to look for some sort of order. The effort made him very dissatisfied with anything he produced, though he had left La Chaux-de-Fonds to get away from the static situation that made any further development on his part impossible, he was not a solitary artist, he very much needed guidance, inspiration, confirmation and encouragement from life and his contemporaries, and sorely missed this part of his old life.

Ozenfant had chosen the term Purism because it represented strength and purity, qualities they both considered essential for the



new art movement, to represent the modern spirit that was coming.<sup>35</sup>

Both were interested in the recent new developments in industry and the rapidly developing means of transport, speed and engines were still a particular passion with Ozenfant. Auguste Perret had also contributed to Ozenfant's theory, he was in sympathy with the principles and frequently discussed them with him and later Jeanneret.<sup>36</sup>

Helping Ozenfant to organise and express his ideas of Purism for the book had provided Jeanneret with the necessary knowledge to resolve his own ideas, the reassurance that they had sufficient form and content to be taken seriously. The chapter, L'Esprit Moderne, is an introduction to the later confident writings of Le Corbusier and is certainly a contribution by Jeanneret to the original Ozenfant theme: factories and reinforced concrete are given as the new ideal. For the chapter on laws, Jeanneret and Ozenfant had much in common, ~~for~~ as with many young artists of that period, the theories of Ruskin, Seurat, Ingres, Cézanne and Beuroner artists had all been embodied in their backgrounds. Several more such as Loos, Denis, Verkade, Sérusier and Apollinaire, were more recent joint influences. Because of the abundance of well circulated journals on art, publishing work on or by these artists, they provided a common vocabulary, a very important factor in the progress of any theory. For some reason the general public was prepared to read and pay for enormous journalistic coverage of the world of art. Daily newspapers gave over many feet of column space to the arts.

During that autumn Ozenfant reorganised his affairs, simplified his apartment and studio, selling any unessential items, and painted the walls white. He said he felt he was entering a new and more rigorous way of life uncluttered, with nothing but what was absolutely essential and in sympathy with his reduced financial circumstances, a fact with which Jeanneret had lived for most of his life.<sup>37</sup>

Après le Cubisme was published on the 9th November 1918, a little late for the start of the Salon d'Automne as intended and, sadly, on the same day as Apollinaire's death, and two days before the Armistic was declared. Ozenfant said he felt they were really at the start of a new epoch.<sup>38</sup>

Inside each copy of Après le Cubisme was an invitation to an exhibition of the work of Ozenfant and Jeanneret, to be held in a local fashion-house, Maison Jove, converted into a gallery for a time over Christmas and re-christened Gallery Thomas.<sup>39</sup> The owner of Maison Jove was Madame Germaine Bongard-Poiret,<sup>40</sup> the wife of Paul Poiret, a well known Paris fashion designer and a friend of Perret and Ozenfant. Poiret was a member of a committee set up by Perret and Jeanneret in October for a new society to be called Art et Liberté. Their headquarters was Perret's apartment in 25b rue Franklin, Perret was the chairman with Fernand Divoire and Gino Severini as the other two committee members. A letter was issued introducing the aims of the new society in January, 1919. Members of the society were to defend and support modern works of Art and Literature by giving moral and material support and organising collective artistic manifestations.<sup>41</sup>

It was the intention of Ozenfant and Jeanneret to collect a group of supporters and practitioners of purism and to start a style or movement similar in form to that of the Dadaists who were, at that time, in the process of transferring the centre of their activities from Zurich to Paris. Their publicity indicates that Après le Cubisme was to be the first of a series of documents to be published by them.<sup>42</sup>

Unfortunately, the paintings for the exhibition in the Gallery Thomas were a long way from the ideals of their authors., They had been somewhat premature in displaying the, as yet, inconclusive results that they had so far obtained. The essence was there, but Jeanneret's work was so clearly a version of that of Ozenfant that it carried little weight, especially as Ozenfant's work was by no means representative

yet of their main intention. They were to receive some rather harsh criticism, particularly from the art critic, Leon Vauxcelles, who was constantly, from that time on, to attack their ideas and work.<sup>43</sup>

Jeanneret commenting on his first efforts at painting, said that his second, third and fourth efforts were all copies of the first in an attempt to find some order. He considered the fourth showed some improvement and was almost good, so he was only too well aware of his own inadequacies at the time but, nevertheless, felt himself to be working in a worthwhile and acceptable direction.<sup>44</sup>

Purism advocated a need for discipline and in line with the general feeling of that time for the use of geometry as a basis, citing the machine and industrial constructions as examples of what can be done when there is an underlying formal framework producing an object with a beauty of its own. Purism also stated that it was not just science and logical thought, proportions with particular reference to those of the human body must be studied and revived as a guide. The smallest part of any picture or designed object must relate to the whole and the whole should not work if such a part was removed; they were to be totally independent they wrote :

"The highest delectation of the human mind is the perception of order, and the greatest human satisfaction is the feeling of collaboration or participation in this order. The work of art is an artificial object which lets the spectator be placed in the state desired by the creator. The sensation of order is of a mathematical quality. The creation of a work of art should utilize means for specified results. Here is how we have tried to create a language possessing these means:

Primary forms and colours have standard properties (universal properties which permit the creation of a transmittable plastic language). But the utilization of primary forms does not suffice to place the spectator in the sought-for state of mathematical order. For that one must bring to bear the associations of natural or artificial forms and the criterion for their choice is the degree of selection at which certain elements have arrived (natural selection and mechanical selection). The Purist element issued from the purification of standard forms is not a copy, but a creation whose end is to materialize the object in all its generality and its invariability. Purist elements are thus comparable

to words of carefully defined meaning; Purist syntax is the application of constructive and modular means; it is the application of the laws which control pictorial space. A painting is a whole entity; a painting is an artificial formation which, by appropriate means, should lead to the objectification of an entire "world". One could make an art of allusions, an art of fashion, based upon surprise and the conventions of the initiated. Purism strives for an art free of conventions which will utilize plastic constants and address itself above all to the universal properties of the senses and the mind". 45

Ozenfant and Jeanneret followed very closely the classical cubist theories that Gris had been developing since 1915. He believed that the objects would emerge from an artist's construction of the picture.<sup>46</sup> Purism did not leave these objects to chance. Ozenfant and Jeanneret stated that the objects an artist should use in his work must come from the ordinary manufactured things in use every day in life, whose principal forms embodied the basic geometric shapes.<sup>47</sup>

The subjects for their first paintings for the new theory were based on a book, wine glass and pipe, objects that were to constantly reappear in later work; their style was precise and crisp. The pencil drawings were very similar to those of the painter, Fernand Léger, a friend of Ozenfant and Gris. Léger had been wounded and invalided out of the army in 1917, and had acquired a considerable commitment towards politics during his time as a soldier, and an interest in machinery and its form. He was in sympathy with Gris' synthetic form of cubism and evolved his own ideas on the cylindrical forms of gun barrels. He joined in the discussions with Ozenfant, Gris and Jeanneret on their work. He was also, at the same time, attracted to Mondrian and the work of the De Stijl group, particularly when Mondrian settled in Paris in 1919, even though he was not in sympathy with the abstract forms used by him.<sup>48</sup>

Both he and Gris provided the necessary guide upon which Jeanneret developed his painting. Ozenfant gave him the framework, impetus and encouragement but the other two painters showed him how he was to achieve these aims. The development in his work from 1919

to 1925 was phenomenal, from the first stilted oil painting through experimenting with the forms and colours used by Gris and Leger to the end of this period when he was producing work quite clearly his own and of a very high quality, but within the spirit of the purist movement.

Hitchcock in Painting towards Architecture comments that Le Corbusier's early architectural work showed a close resemblance to his early paintings :

"Neither in plan nor elevation were his architectural compositions allowed to ramble, rather they are compactly ordered inside rectangles, as if within the frame of a picture". 49

He goes on to say :

"In relation to modern architecture, the central meaning and basic value of abstract art, whether painting or sculpture, is that it makes available the results of a kind of plastic research that can hardly be undertaken at full architectural scale. The visual forms of a new architecture, founded on new methods of structure and dedicated to the fullest service of human needs, were implicit in a certain characteristic of directness of structural and functional approach in the work of various precursors before abstract art began. But these forms remained generally invisible (except in the work of Wright) unrealized and merely imminent until catalytic contact with the experiments of the advanced artists of a quarter of a century ago brought them to crystallisation". 50

Ozenfant and Jeanneret wrote a great deal about the benefits of the ordered system of the machine in Après le Cubisme and included the possibilities of new methods of construction :

"The suburbs of towns are in a chaos through which one must know how to be selective, show us some factories where the purity of the principles which governed their construction realises a certain harmony which seems to us to be approaching beauty. Reinforced concrete the newest form of technical construction allows, for the first time, the strict achievement of mathematical calculations; the Number which is the basis of all beauty can find from now on its expression". 51

They were certainly not thinking of the use of reinforced concrete just as a means of utility, but in the sense that Ruskin had meant, of the combination of architect, sculptor creating architecture and Provensal in his sense of 'Beauté Idéale'. In these new methods

and materials they felt that there was a way to make this available to everyone in their daily life.

Jeanneret had the detailed knowledge of the strength <sup>(of concrete)</sup> but had been lost as to what form it should take with an intellectual content of sufficient depth <sup>(to provide)</sup> a satisfactory basis for a new architecture to develop while satisfying the essential ideals of human enjoyment and appreciation. In painting he could apply the theory to forms that had a strong connection with those he admired in industry and classical architecture together with the use of the proportional theory of the human body to give scale and sympathy. His development in the terms of a building was not to be long in coming. Other architects had already produced cubical forms stripped of any noticeable previous architectural symbology, but their results were, on the whole, unappealing for any length of time and too easy to copy, so that they had hardly made any lasting impact. Certainly, there had been no further developments and today are purely of historical interest having little real architectural value.

Mondrian, when he settled in Paris in 1919, produced a statement of his theories of neo-plasticism which had attracted a number of the young painters, including Léger. In it he said :

"A tangible reality is in no way prevented from being an abstract reality. A painting too is tangible in a sense. Neo Plasticism is achieving today in painting what later on we shall see around us in sculpture and in architecture .....  
..... it is becoming possible to create buildings that are pure expressions of what is unchangeable, of what remains identical for each generation !  
Construct buildings of such a kind that very many generations could utilise them". 52

This had a close affinity with Purism. Ozenfant and Jeanneret certainly knew of De Stijl theories and Mondrian's particular form of Neo-Plasticism, if not directly, certainly through reading and their friendship with Léger, who was particularly fascinated by Mondrian, even though he shared with his two friends their dislike of completely abstract art,<sup>53</sup> a feeling Jeanneret was to overcome in his architectural work where he

probably felt it was logical to use pure form, as had the Greeks.

Late in 1919 Jeanneret had some success with his business deals in war stock and<sup>54</sup> had sufficient finance to go ahead with Ozenfant on the founding of L'Esprit Nouveau, the magazine of the Purist movement, the first copy of which appeared in October 1920 at the same time as the Salon d'Automne, where Jeanneret had exhibited one of his first designs that show evidence of his new-found ability in the use of basic forms in design, combined with the essence of the Domino structural system. The scheme was called 'La Maison Citrohan',<sup>55</sup> another name pun indicating the intention of the machine aesthetic. Another house from this period, a sketch design, for a seaside house for Paul Poiret<sup>56</sup> indicated the effect that his painting ideas were having on his architecture with a flexible plan that at last showed the architectural possibilities of the Domino structure. From then on, they were to very closely inter-relate with one another so that within the next three years it was to become difficult to work out precisely whether a form originated in painting or from a building.

In June, Daniel Henry Kahnweiler asked Jeanneret if he could find him an apartment;<sup>57</sup> whether he found one is not known, but he certainly must have helped to arrange for Kahnweiler to restart his gallery on the ground floor of the building where his newly acquired office at 29, bis rue d'Astorg was situated, in a space opening off the interior courtyard. Kahnweiler restarted his business there with twelve paintings he had been able to repurchased and called his gallery, Simon, after his Jewish associate. His sister-in-law also helped by sitting and keeping it open. Gris, Leger and Braque again became solely attached to his gallery, but there was a general financial depression and cubism suffered, there were very few buyers and the situation was made worse by the auctions held in May 1921 of Kahnweiler's confiscated pre-war collection of cubist work.<sup>58</sup> Kahnweiler was almost the sole means of support for

his artists during this period, though later they were to have to move.

With the publication of L'Esprit Nouveau , Jeanneret was no longer an unknown Swiss architect working in Paris even though he was still a little bothered by the combination of his business and artistic life and was in agreement with Ozenfant on the use of pseudonyms for some of their joint articles on engineering and architecture in L'Esprit Nouveau , using their real names for painting and general aesthetics. According to Ozenfant, he provided most of the material for their earlier joint articles but Jeanneret drafted them. The interest in engines and cars certainly came from Ozenfant, Jeanneret's mechanical interests lay more in factories and civil engineering.<sup>59</sup>

Their joint name of Le Corbusier-Saugnier was devised by the use of Ozenfant's mother's maiden name, Saugnier, and the name of a cousin of Jeanneret, called Le Corbézier. He did not want to use his mother's name of Perret because of the confusion it would cause with that of Auguste Perret. Ozenfant was delighted, he said for the following reasons :

"In the churches in the middle ages, together with the priest, the sexton and the bell-ringer, there was a CORBUSIER who, fired a crossbow, like your William Tell, at the crows who settled on the cross of the belfry and made messes below; your role is exactly the same to demolish architecture and since you have the head of a crow, this name will fit you like a glove". 60

Le Corbusier did not remember this tale and attributed his name to an earlier ancestor of more prestigious repute.<sup>61</sup>

An article on Seurat and the first colour reproduction of one of his paintings, La Poudreuse was in the first edition of L'Esprit Nouveau together with one of Picasso's works. They considered that Seurat was almost unknown at that period and that his ideas had a great deal to contribute to Purism and that he should be credited with the ideas he had developed that had led to their theory. Apart from Signac's book<sup>62</sup> and the popularity he had attracted in the last decade of the 19th century, Ozenfant found that no more than a dozen articles



had been published about the painter and that his works were then available at a very low price.<sup>63</sup>

Both Jeanneret and Ozenfant carried on painting, working for a second exhibition, which was held in January 1921, at the Galerie Druet, a well-established exhibition place for Matisse, Bonnard, Marquet and their friends. It was then run by the widow of the man who had started it and she was persuaded to agree to the exhibition of Jeanneret and Ozenfant's work even though she had not seen it. When it was hung she took a brief look and retired to her office staying there for the duration of the show.<sup>64</sup>

Their work, this time was much more impressive and nearer their ideals. Jeanneret still acknowledged the contribution Ozenfant made to his work but<sup>65</sup> there was also very clear evidence of the influence of Léger and Gris. The show attracted a reasonable amount of attention this time and much criticism. However, they did please the eye of Maurice Raynal a well-established critic of cubism and friend of Picasso. He wrote in an essay that they were to publish in L'Esprit Nouveau, No. 7 :

"As opposed to fashion, art should give birth to constant manifestations on which time has no bearing ..... it appears ..... that the work of Ozenfant and Jeanneret may be considered a recall to the respect and the absolute cult of the vital and primordial elements of the plastic ..... It is a recall to the pure and simple order of human nature ....." 66

Raoul La Roche bought some of their paintings from the exhibition and,<sup>67</sup> later that year, asked Jeanneret and Ozenfant to purchase on his behalf some of the work on sale in the auctions of Kahnweiler's pre-war collection that had been expropriated by the government.<sup>68</sup> These works were to form the start of La Roche's now famous painting collection. Ozenfant also purchased a number of paintings on behalf of shareholders of L'Esprit Nouveau.<sup>69</sup>

During the next four years, an increasing amount of Jeanneret's time and energy were spent on architecture, principally arising out of

his work for L'Esprit Nouveau and architectural exhibitions in the Salon d'Automne. Most of his first clients were painters attracted to him by his obvious increasing ability as a painter in his own right as well as being in the forefront of architectural ideas. These projects were helpful in enabling him to work with sympathetic clients but to a great extent they alienated him from the more down to earth circles of officials who were responsible for government housing contracts and developers of industry, fields at which his architectural theories were aimed.

The men who distributed the finance for these affairs were certainly very rarely sympathetic to anything strange, even if it was a development using materials familiar to them but in a different context. Jeanneret was finding, in his development work, it very difficult to raise any money, the combination of architect, artist and entrepreneur, contractor and engineer in one package deal just did not attract funds, and did not help in what was already a very difficult period for developments and business of any sort.

In L'Esprit Nouveau Jeanneret included several articles on proportion and its use in painting and architecture, gradually building up his own knowledge and ideas that were later to lead to the Modular and had their roots back in his very earliest design education.

Ozenfant and Jeanneret's work together, with that of Gris, Picasso and other cubists, continued to attract very malevolent criticism from the critic Louis Vauxcelles. Ozenfant remarked in his Mémoires that art journalists of that period were given a great deal of column space compared with the post-second world war allowance of a few millimetres, if at all. Vauxcelles frequently wrote articles in the Carnet de la Semaine condemning artists who were working in the new movements.<sup>70</sup> Ozenfant and Jeanneret were upset and annoyed by such attacks and fought back,<sup>71</sup> but the opinions of Vauxcelles and later others like

Camille Mauclair did contribute to influencing popular taste. The modern movement ideas in painting and architecture were a long way from being generally accepted by the ordinary French public.

In 1922, Ozenfant received some money, at last, from his father's estate, and commissioned Jeanneret to design a studio for him, the first of his artist studio houses designed under the name of Le Corbusier, the site adjoined a house recently built for the painter Georges Braque by Auguste Perret. Juan Gris had also enquired about the cost of a studio house on the line of the Citrohan design.

Ozenfant felt that Purism had started on a natural decline during 1923. Following a third Purist exhibition in Paul Rosenberg's gallery,<sup>72</sup> he went on a trip to Spain with La Roche,<sup>73</sup> returning to find L'Esprit Nouveau in severe financial situation, they had been unable to produce a regular edition since No. 16 had appeared in September 1922. Ozenfant was aware of the situation before going on his travels and he was certainly not very enthusiastic to carry on after his return, despite a reasonable new contract with a good publisher in 1923, and the reappearance of L'Esprit Nouveau in October.<sup>74</sup> Later, during 1924, he was very disturbed by Jeanneret's almost total commitment to producing a pavilion for the 1925 Exhibition des Arts Décoratifs not helped by an increasing disillusionment with his friend as an architect, due to various problems over his house construction.<sup>75</sup> Their relationship showed signs of breaking down, painting was no longer the main-spring of their meetings. Jeanneret was now independent of Ozenfant's opinion and advice on his pictures, he was self reliant and confident of his own ability in architecture, painting and writing. He was totally absorbed in the certainty of what he was doing and had very little need for the personal reassurance he had always previously sought from the friend who was his mentor for that time. This attitude was extremely hurtful to Ozenfant and small differences were to be blamed for<sup>76</sup> the apparent rejection by Jeanneret of Ozenfant now that there was nothing further

that their relationship could contribute to his relentless and ambitious genius. Ozenfant was proud of their work together, he was also fully aware, as many others were, of the contribution he had made to Jeanneret's success, and found the brutal and somewhat impersonal rejection painful but was remarkably unvindictive towards Jeanneret in his 'Mémoires'. Shortly after their separation he left France and started a new life in America.<sup>77</sup>

A book they had both worked on before their separation was published early in 1926. It was called 'La Peinture Moderne' and contained much that appeared earlier in 'L'Esprit Nouveau', but also showed clearly how they had not altered from their original premises but had become more certain and informed of the philosophy behind Purism and its wider relationships. Though Ozenfant was to develop very little further along the route indicated by this book, and it seems reasonable to assume that the impetus and belief in the theories lay, at this time, principally with Jeanneret, or Le Corbusier as he was becoming known, the adoption of his pseudonym having been completed by this time in his mind. Le Corbusier was to continue to develop the principles of purism in his future work, particularly architecture,

and shows the extent of his commitment to the theories first laid down in 'Après le Cubisme' and the belief that they were, the essence of good art, timeless and transmittable to a wide range of people and situations in any country.

In 'La Peinture Moderne', great emphasis was placed on the importance of the right angle and its human quality and relationship to contemporary life. The chapter entitled 'Formation de l'optique moderne', put the case for geometry in modern life as :

"Painting can only reach our mind by way of our eyes, our eyes are singularly attracted to the intense spectacle of modern life. Geometry by development of mechanisms installed everywhere, our senses are accustomed now to spectacles which are governed by geometry, our mind itself satisfied to find geometry, its own

creation; everywhere has rebelled against those aspects in painting which are often inconsistent with geometry and particularly to the incoherence of impressionism.

The real spectacle is essentially geometric. Our senses and our minds are impregnated with it, man is a geometric animal animated with a geometric mind, his artistic needs have been modified. Art today should take cognisance of the existence of these fresh needs, already an enormous amount of work has been done during the last fifty years. From Ingres to Cubism many certainties have been acquired".

78

In the chapter entitled 'Idées personnelles sur 'La Beauté' the emphasis is on the existence of the confusion between the word beauty and pleasure. Beauty is regarded in the way Provencal stated in Beauté Ideale, as a very strong emotion that stops us and moves us, not necessarily giving pleasure. Pleasure is an individual emotion but beauty is a quality that can be appreciated universally.

- a. Trade
- b. Publishing
- c. Development

a. Trade

Though Jeanneret had until 1914 no professional experience outside of architecture or teaching, many of his childhood and college friends were the children of successful businessmen and industrialists.<sup>1</sup> Status in La Chaux-de-Fonds was acquired by achievement in the manufacturing and selling of timepieces. Business and industry would have been a logical career for Jeanneret if he had wished to follow the recognised path to success in his home town.

Another reason for Jeanneret to direct his interest towards business affairs had been the tour he made in 1911 for the Art School Board to study art and design in Germany.<sup>2</sup> He had been sent on the tour at the instigation of L'Eplattenier to see if there were any developments in Germany that could be incorporated in the La Chaux-de-Fonds art school courses.<sup>3</sup>

Jeanneret had been impressed by the extent of industrialisation in Germany<sup>(by)</sup> the 'Cité Jardin' speculative developments, and<sup>(by)</sup> the fact that the majority of the industrial designs produced by the followers of the Werkbund movement were not trying to imitate traditional hand-made objects but were based on the function of the article and the requirements of mass production.<sup>4</sup>

Jeanneret was an ambitious young man, with a very strong urge to be successful. In his chosen career as a painter/architect he was very far from achieving fame, ~~or financial success~~ and he had to explore other opportunities<sup>he thought might satisfy these needs.</sup>

In 1912 Jeanneret expressed in a letter to Du Bois an interest in business and added that since his trip to the Middle East he had learnt that the ability to lie seemed to be an essential part of modern business.<sup>5</sup> He was later to say that he regarded his business personality as apart from himself.<sup>6</sup>

As living away from La Chaux-de-Fonds became more and more of an attraction to Jeanneret, he grew very envious of Du Bois/ who was working in Paris 7. In the autumn of 1912, Du Bois and Jeanneret had formed an association to deal in glass crystal for light fittings.<sup>8</sup> The suppliers were in Paris so that Du Bois's office was used as the headquarters for these negotiations and Jeanneret was the sales outlet in Switzerland; he was under the impression that he would receive 10% of any deals but was soon to find out that not all dealers kept to their initial statements. The business was not large but kept going for the following three years, in association with a cousin, Herman Jeanneret, a designer and craftsman in wrought iron work.<sup>9</sup>

In 1914 the Domino project was started by Jeanneret and Max Du Bois. It was intended to be a commercial venture and planned as such but due to circumstances, such as Jeanneret's isolation in Le Chaux-de-Fonds and lack of experience in business affairs, the financial organisation initially was Du Bois's responsibility. The continuation of the war brought any further development on these lines to an end and though Du Bois eventually arranged for Jeanneret to work in Paris in his company Société d'Application de Béton Armé and set him up in practice, their next serious attempt at the construction business was not until December 1917, when through one of Du Bois's acquaintances, Jeanneret was eligible to submit an entry in a limited competition for a new abattoir and refrigeration plant at Bordeaux. Though Jeanneret's scheme was not selected, his design incorporated the Domino structural principles, but it was a very important step in his architectural career, as the project was by far the largest and most complex planning problem that he had attempted. They had both hoped that the scheme, even if not successful, would provide them with an introduction to a new area of industry and business. To cope with this possible contingency, they had started on the formation of a subsidiary company to be known as Cie Industrielle Le Froid for the investigation of the preservation of

foodstuffs by refrigeration.<sup>10</sup> Early in 1918 Jeanneret arranged to purchase C.I.F. shares from S.A.B.A.;<sup>11</sup> Du Bois was involved in the same deal,<sup>12</sup> they each agreed to purchase 5,000 Francs worth of shares over the next year in four instalments.<sup>13</sup>

At the end of 1919, S.A.B.A. was under the direction of M. Cartier, who was also the managing director of another Du Bois inspired firms called Cie Francaise de Constructions Industrielles.<sup>14</sup> The headquarters of S.A.B.A. had moved from the rue Belzunce via 29 bis rue d'Astorg, to Cartier's office.<sup>15</sup>

Jeanneret had raised the money for the C.I.F. shares by using his S.A.B.A. shares<sup>16</sup> as security with the bank.<sup>17</sup> Presumably selling these to Cartier (a deal he was to try to carry out with another company in 1919) S.A.B.A. eventually went into liquidation in March 1924, following the loss of an appeal in 1923 against an award made to Jeanneret and Du Bois over their C.I.F. shares.<sup>18</sup> Whether they actually received any money is not very clear; Du Bois suffered the worst financial loss as part of Jeanneret's award was to have gone to him as partial settlement for the sum invested in the Jeanneret practice.<sup>19</sup> Du Bois considered Jeanneret had behaved dishonourably over their partnership agreement by working with Pierre Jeanneret and neglecting the original agreement.<sup>20</sup> He made one attempt some years later to obtain some financial compensation for the money he had invested in the practice, but though he won the case, there was no money available as Le Corbusier was bankrupt at the time.<sup>21</sup>

The reinforced concrete advisory consortium (S.A.B.A.) had been a starting point for Jeanneret's business interests, providing him with office space and contact with experienced businessmen.<sup>22</sup> He had arrived in Paris with as much money as he could raise, a sum of about 20,000 Francs,<sup>23</sup> made up of money borrowed on account from the bank for fees owing to him, and some investment capital from three La Chaux-de-Fonds businessmen.<sup>24</sup> There may well have been others apart from Du Bois and Bornand willing to back Jeanneret, some with investment sums, as at that



time Switzerland offered little in the way of investment prospects, particularly in the areas of the declining watch industry. In 1917, 1918 and early 1919 there were very real advantages to be gained by the Swiss in investing outside their own country, in an area with a relatively stable, high value currency.<sup>25</sup>

The French Franc had a high exchange value during the last two years of the war, it had been kept stable by financial support from the United States of America and Great Britain.<sup>26</sup> In the winter of 1918, the aftermath of a thriving wartime industry, post-war deals in surplus stock and a supply of goods from the U.S.A. kept the value of the Franc artificially high until March 1919, when America withdrew her support and the financial depression, that already existed in the rest of Europe, took effect in France.<sup>27</sup>

In wartime, any investment was an uncertain prospect. Jeanneret with Du Bois's help had given considerable thought to the problem before deciding to invest his capital in the construction of a factory to manufacture concrete blocks. This was a relatively new product in the construction market, only requiring cheap materials, simple machinery and a small unskilled labour force to produce. For a number of years a considerable amount of information on the manufacturing and use of these blocks had been published in engineering and construction magazines.<sup>28</sup> The concrete block was principally used in civil engineering projects, though its potential for more modest construction had not gone unnoticed. In July 1914 the English magazine Concrete, aware of European developments, held a competition for the design of a workers cottage, the cost not to exceed £125, the construction to be in concrete<sup>29</sup> in the hope of popularising its use.

Towards the end of the war the quantity of domestic building, making use of concrete, had increased.<sup>30</sup> The shortage of traditional materials and the newly acquired familiarity, with techniques required in the construction of factories, made this possible. Building and engineering magazines carried numerous advertisements for a variety of

blockmaking machines and articles on the use of different types of concrete block were published.<sup>31</sup>

All this information did not go unnoticed by either Du Bois or Jeanneret as it complemented their already considerable knowledge of the subject. Jeanneret sent for the machine catalogues and designed a number of related concrete block units suitable for use in several types of building constructions.<sup>32</sup> He had been a keen visitor at international building fairs and exhibitions making a particular point of investigating the latest construction techniques. Block manufacturing equipment, cement mixers and rendering machines were to receive his close attention for the next few years.<sup>33</sup>

In the spring of 1917 Jeanneret rented a site for his factory from the company Du Bois worked for. It was situated in an area, to the south-east of Paris, known as Alfortville, then a rapidly expanding industrial district. The site was part of a power plant known as Sté. Lumiere at 15 rue des Peupliers, Quai Blanqui, on the banks of the Seine near its junction with the river Marne, well placed for removal of the finished product by boat.<sup>34</sup> The ash aggregate came from the furnaces of the Sté. Lumiere power station.

Today the area is very heavily industrialised, the rue des Peupliers no longer exists and a new road layout has been constructed, but the factory site can still be established from a sketch made by Jeanneret, at the time of the factory construction, to explain the view from the river frontage to William Ritter.<sup>35</sup>

When the site had been acquired, Jeanneret ordered the machinery and moulds for the block manufacturing process. Men were employed to construct the necessary sheds and storage bays.<sup>36</sup>

Work continued on the factory throughout the summer. Jeanneret enjoyed visiting the site and instructing the workmen; he frequently spent an evening in the local bar with them after work and grew to like the people of the area<sup>37</sup> (which is today a strong-hold of the French Communist Party). This must have been his first real

confrontation with an industrial working-class community. The contact established with this group of workmen was the start of many such friendships that he was to make throughout his architectural career. Jeanneret appeared to be able to conduct a much happier relationship with the constructors of his buildings, than with the actual clients.

The products of this factory, modular concrete blocks were to be marketed under the trade-name Plot<sup>38</sup> through a new company founded by Jeanneret with backing from Du Bois, called Société d'Entreprises Industrielles et d'Etudes; it was a subsidiary of S.A.B.A.<sup>39</sup>

In expectation of increased work due to the formation of S.E.I.E. and the production of Plot, Jeanneret leased a new office for himself, larger and more in keeping with his new image. The office was situated at 29 bis, rue d'Astorg in the eighth arrondissement, a considerably more affluent area than that of the rue Belzunce.<sup>40</sup>

During the next four years this office was to be the headquarters for several Jeanneret inspired enterprises,<sup>41</sup> the second editorial office for L'Esprit Nouveau and<sup>42</sup> the office of Jeanneret Architecte.<sup>43</sup>

The letter heading for Jeanneret's practice at that time states that the firm would undertake the design and construction of factories, bridges and workers cities.<sup>44</sup> A letter was sent to all his business acquaintances informing them of the new address together with the information that the La Chaux-de-Fonds office was now no longer in existence.<sup>45</sup>

The office was occupied by Jeanneret at the end of October just before the factory at Alfortville went into production.<sup>46</sup> He found the interior design of his new office very difficult to come to any conclusion over; he was very bothered by the emptiness of the rooms<sup>47</sup> and whether he would have enough work to make use of them. In a letter to Ritter, Jeanneret wrote :

" I must have had fantasies. This time with 150 sq. metres of space, 3,500 francs rent it is necessary to have building sites and factories, we shall get them".

Apart from a project in May for a scheme to provide housing for the workers of a watch manufacturing firm in Normandy,<sup>49</sup> there had been little to distract his attention away from the construction of the blockworks during the summer. Of the Normandy housing scheme which was originally for thirty units, only two were ever built, but the scheme did provide Jeanneret with the opportunity to make further contact with the manufacturers of the block making machines.<sup>50</sup> The factory owners, Duverdy and Bloquel, were keen to keep costs as low as possible and were interested in a self build type of construction.<sup>51</sup>

The firm had a sales branch for their watches in La Chaux-de-Fonds (amongst several others in various parts of the world);<sup>52</sup> this would explain the selection of Jeanneret for the work, together with his interest in the type of community housing.

May 1917 possibly saw Jeanneret's first meeting with Ozenfant.<sup>53</sup> Through this new friend, whose father was a well-established builder of factories, Jeanneret may well have received an enquiry concerning the design for an arsenal at Toulouse, for which he produced a sketch,<sup>54</sup> though there is no evidence that this project developed any further. M. Ozenfant senior had been undertaking a considerable amount of work in this area<sup>55</sup> and it is unlikely that Ozenfant's background would have gone unnoticed by Jeanneret at this time, though he was not to become more closely involved with Ozenfant until January 1918.<sup>56</sup>

When the Alfortville factory was complete and production ready to start in November 1917<sup>57</sup> the expected orders were slow to appear. Jeanneret was very worried<sup>58</sup> as he had hoped for a prompt return of his capital, particularly as the time had arrived to pay back the Swiss bank loan. His clients, Schwob and Riva, had not as yet completed the payment of their outstanding fee accounts and as matters stood in

La Chaux-de-Fonds it did not appear very likely that they would be inclined to do so for some time if at all, Jeanneret had put the matter of collecting the fee into the hands of a solicitor in La Chaux-de-Fonds, Tel Perrin.<sup>59</sup> This dispute was to spread over a number of years but no satisfaction was obtained.

Paris was undergoing bombardment from 'Big Bertha'. The war situation at that time was extremely depressing for the French. There appeared to be little hope of rapidly reaching a favourable conclusion for the French and their Allies.

Jeanneret, on completing his accounts for 1917, wrote the following complaint to Ritter :

"I have drawn up a balance sheet for this year. I can just about pay everyone. As to my fortune which perhaps was almost twenty thousand francs - evaporated; these figures are full of mysteries". 60

The last of his funds were spent on the then obligatory New Year gifts of money which he delivered himself to his business associates.<sup>61</sup>

Bankruptcy continued to threaten the Alfortville factory :

"Alfortville all kinds of ghastly coldness. Nothing goes well for me, above all a blockworks where one sinks one's poor little money". 62

Jeanneret was only too aware of the responsibilities involved in managing such a concern; in December he had confided to Ritter that he now felt he had the ability to take on such a burden.<sup>63</sup> He might not have said this if he knew all the problems that were to be in store for him in connection with the blockworks.

Very few records are available so far for this period and it is almost certain that Jeanneret had very little commercial work to do that winter apart from the sale promotion of Plot.

In July 1918, Jeanneret received a letter from his mother who was very worried as there had been no news from Paris for some months.<sup>64</sup> She had been wondering if her letters had been delivered and no doubt about the effect of the very virulent form of 'flu that had attacked people in Europe and was rapidly reaching epidemic proportions amongst

populations in no physical condition to resist the virus, coming as it did after a long, cold winter and insufficient nourishment. Many people did not recover, the death toll was very high. In La Chaux-de-Fonds there had already been several deaths from 'flu.

Jeanneret replied to his mother's letter in August. He reassured her about his health and gave her his latest piece of good news: the blockworks had obtained a substantial order from the government.<sup>65</sup> Bankruptcy had been averted for a while and Jeanneret's future in industry looked somewhat brighter. Though he was not too pleased with the conditions of the government contract which left little margin for profit.<sup>66</sup>

Jeanneret's reticence in communicating with his family and colleagues in his home town, must have been due to his lack of any sort of success, as much as resentment of his treatment by Schwob. The poor communication system provided a very convenient excuse.

When Madame Jeanneret finally received her son's good news, she wasted no time in telling his friends and visitors to the house, one of whom, Charles Picard, a watch manufacturer and friend of Max Du Bois, was impressed by Jeanneret's success and wrote to congratulate him.<sup>67</sup> A.M. Tribaudeau, another watch manufacturer, also wrote, he was seeking advice on investing in a brickworks in the Auvergne.<sup>68</sup> Tribaudeau had no wish to sell any of his Swiss shares at such an unprofitable time, but wanted financial security by investing in a stable concern outside Switzerland.

Jeanneret advised him to choose an area which had suffered considerable damage in the war, as there would be no shortage of demand for bricks when the war ended and rebuilding commenced. This advice was acknowledged but not followed. M. Tribaudeau preferred to stay with the brickworks he had already found.<sup>69</sup>

In the autumn of 1918, Jeanneret spent more time with Ozenfant,<sup>50</sup> learning to paint and assisting in the preparation of

their manifesto on Purisme,<sup>71</sup> which was published in November, in time for a joint exhibition of their work at Christmas.<sup>72</sup>

The manifesto was entitled Après le Cubisme and was printed by a colleague of Jeanneret's from Neuchâtel, Dan Niestlé, the son of the owner of a large educational publishers and printers in Neuchâtel.<sup>73</sup>

Dan Niestlé, like Jeanneret, left his home town to live in Paris and founded a small publishing and printing house of his own under the title Les Editions de L'Avenir Féminin.<sup>74</sup>

Jeanneret introduced him to Ozenfant with the idea that the three of them might start a publishing company together at some future date.<sup>75</sup> Ozenfant at this time was having to find work to support himself, the family business having finally failed.<sup>76</sup> Niestlé was interested but had no spare capital for such a venture as he was fully committed at that time to his own firm. He was impressed though by the quality of Ozenfant's typography and layout for Après Le Cubisme but said that his own firm had no work to justify such expertise and could not offer him any work.<sup>77</sup>

When L'Esprit Nouveau, the journal founded by Jeanneret, Ozenfant and Paul Dermée in December 1919, underwent some early management problems,<sup>78</sup> Jeanneret asked Niestlé to become a member of the management board. He remained with the magazine until its closure in 1925 and played a very important role in the five years of the journal's existence.<sup>79</sup>

Après Le Cubisme was published a few days before the Armistice was declared.<sup>80</sup> Jeanneret must have felt reasonably pleased with himself, though the end of hostilities did not bring any immediate prospects of relief to his financial problems. The European currency situation was very unstable and was to remain so for some months to come.<sup>81</sup>

Jeanneret's competition entry for the abattoirs had not met with any success but it had revived his interest in the Domino structural system. During 1918 he worked on the development of a

system of permanent shuttering using preformed asbestolux sections for the columns and cladding.<sup>82</sup> This system overcame one of the previous problems, the necessity to set up timber shuttering, which was in extremely short supply.

Patents were applied for but no mention was made of Du Bois though he must have had some interest in the system. The patents were awarded in the spring of 1919, for two systems making use of the permanent asbestos-cement sheet shuttering.<sup>83</sup> The first was for a direct development of the Domino column and slab principle for use in industrial buildings.

The second system was for a domestic unit and was constructed from a series of asbestos-cement preformed panels bolted together to make a double skinned wall into which was poured concrete (the roofs were semi-arched).<sup>84</sup> The house types were both single and double storey, and included the first appearance of the now famous semi-circular water closets.<sup>85</sup> The system was registered under the name of Monol, the plan types formed the basis of several later schemes and showed a considerably increased understanding of the complex problem of combining the plan form and structure.<sup>86</sup>

Jeanneret had known of asbestos-cement sheet through a Werkbund Conference he had attended in 1911. Soon after he visited the Sté Suisse des Usines Eternit at Nideruren in the Canton of Glaris, Switzerland<sup>87</sup> and thereafter had used Eternit asbestos-cement sheet material on the garden doors of the Favre-Jacot house at Le Locle, constructed in 1912 and his parents' house front door.<sup>88</sup> He had very likely also come across the existence of asbestos-cement and its properties while working for the Perret brothers in 1908-1909. At this time, following a high court case in England in 1907, the manufacturing patents for asbestos-cement had been released for wider use by the Austrians and Germans for general production.<sup>89</sup> These two countries had held sole rights for the production of asbestos-cement sheet and



tiles under what were known as the Hatscek patents, which had severely restricted the development and use of the material.

A great deal of information on the uses of asbestos-cement sheet and tiles had been published in technical journals since 1908, but it was not until the demands of a war-time construction situation and associated shortages and temporary requirements, forced themselves on the materials market that the potential of asbestos and cement was to be realised to the full. <sup>This was</sup> very similar to the expansion in the use of the concrete block as a building material during the 1914-18 war.<sup>90</sup>

Asbestos-cement sheet proved to be an ideal cheap light material for the rapid construction of army hospitals, barracks, stores and factories. It lent itself to prefabrication and provided standards of enclosure very near to those achieved by more permanent and traditional materials and it had the additional advantage of being fire-resistant.

On the 6th May 1919, Jeanneret in his position as consultant to S.E.I.E. wrote a letter to the directors of S.E.I.E. (presumably to himself as the letter was sent from 29 bis rue d'Astorg to the same address).<sup>91</sup> The subject was the interest that a Belgian businessman, M. Hobe,<sup>92</sup> had shown in the asbestos patents that Jeanneret had obtained for his two projects. He informed Hobe of the conditions under which manufacture could be undertaken, this included a licence fee directly payable to the Swiss Eternit company and any design work had to go through the Jeanneret office; any supervision of construction work also came under Jeanneret's direction.<sup>93</sup>

M. Hobe would have appeared to be somewhat deterred by all these conditions because he was very slow to reply, despite several letters from Jeanneret informing him of the urgency of the need to reach a decision before Jeanneret visited the factory in Switzerland in August 1919.<sup>94</sup> All to no avail, no contract, apart from a few fees in 1920 for the use by Hobe of some of the patents.<sup>95</sup>

In September 1919, when Jeanneret came back from his first return home to Switzerland since February 1917, there was very little time left for the persistent following up of enquiries.<sup>96</sup> He was kept very busy negotiating the formation of a French Eternit Company, on similar lines to the proposals he had made to Hobe.<sup>97</sup> Jeanneret had obviously hoped to enter into discussions with the Swiss firm on the basis of starting two companies, one in Brussels, the other in Paris.

In these negotiations Jeanneret showed considerably business acumen in promoting the basic asbestos-cement material, his own patents and the rights to any associated design and construction work. He ensured that the details of organisation were clear and that his interests were stated in the same meticulous manner that he used for his architectural contracts.<sup>98</sup>

The French Company was to be known as Sté Française de L'Everite, to market products based on Jeanneret's patented shuttering system for industrialised buildings and Monol, the pre-fabricated house structure. Both made use of the Swiss Eternit manufacturing process for the asbestos-cement parts. Ordinary sheet and tile products were also to be produced under patent from the Swiss company.<sup>99</sup>

The company directors were Jeanneret, M. W. Bale and M. Keller, two Swiss businessmen, based in Geneva. Keller travelled extensively, he was principally concerned with organising the financial backing for the new company.<sup>100</sup> Jeanneret became increasingly worried over the part Keller was playing,<sup>101</sup> capital appeared to be very difficult to find. Keller's absence from important meetings led to Jeanneret taking over the complete organisation in an attempt to improve on Keller's efforts to raise the necessary finance,<sup>102</sup> a subject with which Jeanneret was by now very familiar, if not successful.

In November 1919, Jeanneret approached the new director of S.A.B.A., M. Cartier, to see if he would be interested in putting capital

into the Everite scheme.<sup>103</sup> Cartier was only interested in purchasing shares if his company could acquire sufficient numbers to give it the controlling interest. If the deal did take place, Jeanneret was to receive an introduction fee and further fees for the use of his patents.<sup>104</sup>

At the same time as these negotiations, alternative means of financing were proposed by the other directors of Everite, Bale and Keller. These had to be investigated and it took some time to find out that all the new backers would require from Jeanneret was nothing more than the work of a technician. This was unacceptable to him.<sup>105</sup> Unfortunately, by the time Jeanneret had found out the relevant information, Cartier was no longer in a position to carry through his merger proposals.

Jeanneret continued to resist the alternative bid for the company,<sup>106</sup> subsequently losing his initial enthusiasm; a holding company was set up by the other directors to ensure that there was some return on the investment already made.<sup>107</sup>

During the next few months nothing further developed with the French Everite concern until September 1920 when Jeanneret once more took an interest. This time he had taken out patents for asbestos-cement underground conduit, pipes and tubes.<sup>108</sup> He had discussed his proposals with M. de Pury, the chief engineer responsible for cable communication in the Swiss Post and Telegraph Service.<sup>109</sup> De Pury had expressed considerable interest in the conduit and had asked for some samples for testing purposes.<sup>110</sup> If they had been suitable the saving in production and laying costs would have been considerable due to the light weight and cheapness of the basic material compared with the traditional but well proven cast iron product.

On the strength of de Pury's expressed interest, Jeanneret asked the Swiss factory to make up samples of conduit to his design and he started to renegotiate the founding of the Everite company.<sup>111</sup>

This time Jeanneret visited the office of M. Plain, director of Cie de Matériaux Industriels, to put forward a case for a factory to manufacture Eternit in France to exploit his conduit patents.<sup>112</sup> Jeanneret said that he could provide the liaison with the Swiss firm, production information and the services of an experienced factory manager, trained in the Everite process. To carry out the proposals would have required an additional 2,000,000 francs added to the existing companies capital of 1,500,000 francs.<sup>113</sup>

Unfortunately, the first sample pipes were not strong enough for the test requirements, de Pury would not accept them and was not interested in trying out any re-designed conduit.<sup>114</sup> There is no evidence that Jeanneret persisted any further with these projects apart from the use he made, as Le Corbusier, of Eternit asbestos-cement cladding panels on many of his buildings.<sup>115</sup>

Part of Jeanneret's efforts to set up an asbestos-cement factory in France included the necessity to find sources of raw material for the supply of cement and asbestos fibre. In June 1921, Jeanneret was involved in the investigation of a site for a cement factory in the Dordogne as a source of one of the basic materials.<sup>116</sup> A Berlin firm under the direction of M. Greuber was interested in this enterprise. Greuber had already asked S.E.I.E. to act as his firm's representative in Paris, as the situation in France was still not sympathetic to direct contact with German interests.<sup>117</sup> Greuber, however, did not consider the scheme feasible any more than two other firms who had been invited to look at the project.<sup>118</sup>

Once again a scheme had come to nothing and the factories Jeanneret hoped to build as his part of the contract never reached the design stage. The lack of success was certainly not due to a shortage of ideas on his part or enthusiastic effort, but as stated earlier it was the start of a serious economic depression and the projects were possibly too enterprising for the still very cautious French business world.

Following the war-time experience gained in industry, France had made

large strides in improving her productivity in business and manufacturing processes but there were still many changes to be made.<sup>119</sup> The combination of architect, entrepreneur and industrialist must have been an unusual experience, package deals are a common occurrence today but were not in 1920 France. The ideas for Jeanneret's projects had their source in schemes by German idealists such as Karl Osthaus, who did concern themselves with all the aspects of industry.<sup>120</sup> These people Jeanneret had admired and they provided him with standards for the work he undertook in the post-first world war period of his life.<sup>121</sup>

During 1919, Jeanneret corresponded with Tony Garnier (he had first contacted him in 1907), writing at the time of the appearance in Paris bookshops of La Cité Industrielle by Garnier.<sup>122</sup> Jeanneret complimented him on the ideas in the project and expressed regret that they were offered to such an unappreciative public.<sup>123</sup> In the same letter, Jeanneret explains what he had been working at since he last met Garnier in 1915. He wrote :

"Since my last trip to Lyon , I have had the opportunity to weed out and clarify more and more of my ideas, my feelings, and my work methods. I manage Sté d'Entreprises Industrielles et d'Etudes because I reckon that an architect should accept both financial and technical responsibility for work that he has originated. I have built a factory using materials that I am developing and I have set up a section in my company to make calculations for reinforced concrete which will be of great usefulness to contractors and in which I can bring more use for reinforced concrete than is generally done by ~~hemebique~~ and others like him.

I have also set up a section Industries de l'Alimentation where thanks to the collaboration of one of the greatest specialists in refrigeration in France we will study the complete organisation of the provision trades by the building of production factories, selling points and warehousing using artificial refrigeration.

I am the promoter with my friend M. Reeh, who is an engineer of a company with a capital of 5 million francs which will carry out the commercial exploitation of buildings that we have designed and built".

124

Through the abattoir scheme, Jeanneret had become acquainted with a new type of mono-rail system (for moving heavy goods) that was manufactured in England. He had ordered one for the blockwork at

Alfortville to reduce the labour needed to do the job as costs were getting very tight.<sup>125</sup> Later in the letter to Garnier, Jeanneret explains the mono-rail system, and recommends its use in the abattoir that Garnier was designing for Lyon.<sup>126</sup> He offers to introduce Garnier to the salesmen concerned; from the effort Jeanneret puts into effecting this introduction, it appears that he would have been eligible for a reasonable fee if a sale took place. In another letter on November 21st 1919, Jeanneret tried to interest Garnier in a new type of concrete mixer.<sup>127</sup> Both these sales efforts are part of another side of his business career that involved the buying and selling of goods and machinery of all sorts.

Jeanneret's blockwork factory, at Alfortville, had considerable difficulty in meeting the tough government contract which made little allowance for rising costs due to the depression. Though the factory was kept in production during 1919 it did not prove economical to continue any longer. It was brought to a halt, to be eventually liquidated in 1922.<sup>128</sup>

Du Bois considered that Jeanneret spread his interests too widely during this period and did not pay sufficient attention to getting his projects established, most of which he thought should have had a good chance of surviving the depression and becoming successful.<sup>129</sup>

Asbestos-cement factories and industrialised building systems were certainly not Jeanneret's only business interests during this post-war period. In May 1919 he wrote another advisory letter to the board of S.E.I.E. This time he advised that S.E.I.E. should undertake a study of the use of tractors for ordinary agricultural use together with that of wine growing.<sup>130</sup> The objective was a possible deal in American tractors and the eventual construction of a factory for their manufacture in France. This idea was shortly to be followed by another letter suggesting that a study should be made of a watering place at 'Source le Boulon' near Perpignan with a view to the development prospects.<sup>131</sup>

According to Jeanneret, in his role of consultant to his firm, for which he charged fees, the site was an ideal place for a new hotel and casino, together with the possibility of setting up a mineral water bottling plant. He was in contact with the owner of the land, necessary for such a scheme, but apparently with no capital. Neither scheme was acted upon.

In April 1919, Dan Niestlé asked Jeanneret to try to obtain a particular type of paper, known as 'Jésus',<sup>132</sup> for him. The paper had to contain a watermark of a certain pattern to meet a client's requirements. Jeanneret went into the matter with considerable care and found it was a difficult order to meet, but with the help of a dealer, Pilate, it would not be impossible. In his reply to Niestlé,<sup>133</sup> Jeanneret made it very clear that before he would undertake such an order, the money for payment must already be in a bank account agreed to by both of them. Not even friends were to be trusted in business. M. Pilate, as well as being able to supply Jeanneret with 'Jésus' paper also had supplies of wine bottles and typewriters available for sale,<sup>134</sup> objects that Jeanneret had apparently dealt with before. When thanking Pilate for his information, Jeanneret takes the opportunity to inform him of a new branch that S.E.I.E. was hoping to add to its organisation. This time it is a service to deal in foodstuffs, the name of the company Ravitaillement Frigorifique, in collaboration with the Dreyfus Group.<sup>135</sup> Jeanneret and Reeh, the engineer who had assisted with the research for the scheme, were to have been paid with shares in the new company together with a M. Lapton and M. Bornand who had effected the introduction of the Dreyfus group.<sup>136</sup> It would have appeared that the effort put into the abattoir scheme was at last showing some return.

In June 1919, Jeanneret offered a right he had to purchase shares in Sté de Grands Travaux de Marseille to Sigmund Marcel.<sup>137</sup>

Whether this offer was taken up is not yet known but it is the first mention of Marcel in Jeanneret's affairs, a man who was to become an important financial backer for L'Esprit Nouveau.<sup>138</sup>

During the summer of 1919, Jeanneret was also concerned with the disposal of his 250 founder's shares in S.A.B.A. These were to be purchased by the new management of S.A.B.A., payment was due at the end of June. On the strength of their sale value, Jeanneret used the shares as security on a 5,000 franc loan from the Industrial Bank of China,<sup>139</sup> the money to purchase C.I.F. from S.A.B.A. to form the foundation for the latest company Ravitaillement Frigorifique.<sup>140</sup> At that time the Bank of China was a reasonably stable financial institution by comparison with the European banks. China was still on the silver standard, which meant it was not affected too seriously by the European financial situation.<sup>141</sup>

In October of 1918, Jeanneret had received a brief postcard from Jean-Pierre Montmollin, in an army Camp at La Batie Rolland, near Montelimar. He writes :

"I no longer know anything. I no longer see anything. I am no longer attentive to anything but the front. I have already partly forgotten what you do in Paris, it is very complicated this brick merchant and this artist".

142

Montmollin was another of Jeanneret's friends from Du Bois's Swiss group, who found his numerous activities confusing and difficult to keep account of.<sup>143</sup> When Montmollin left the army he joined a Paris branch of Credit Commercial and acted as Jeanneret's banker and financial advisor, a service he carried out until the end of Le Corbusier's life.

During 1920 and 1921, Jeanneret undertook a number of business deals that involved a great deal of financial work, nearly all of which went through Montmollin at the Credit Commercial.<sup>144</sup> Another part of Montmollin's work, was the banking and shareholding side of the L'Esprit Nouveau organisation, together with the frequent need to raise loans and financial support.<sup>145</sup>



The major part of Jeanneret's business deals from this period involved the buying and selling of war surplus material, in particular steel reinforcement bars and steel sheet.<sup>146</sup> The amounts were considerable, transportation the chief problem.<sup>147</sup> In an attempt to solve the shortage, S.E.I.E. was instructed to carry out an investigation into building and equipping barges for the work. Both steel and reinforced concrete hulls were considered.<sup>148</sup>

To obtain permission from the government to carry out deals in war surplus goods, Jeanneret had to sign certificates agreeing to a limit on the profit that he could make on the resale of the stock, approximately 25 percent of the purchase price.<sup>149</sup>

Jeanneret purchased his stocks through an agent in Bordeaux, M. Russier of Sté Lyonnaise de Navigation.<sup>150</sup> Apart from the steel, there was a wide assortment of goods passing through their hands. (Russier was also to become a financial backer for L'Esprit Nouveau).<sup>151</sup> The steel reinforcement went to a variety of concerns including that of M. Cartier, director of S.A.B.A.<sup>152</sup> Jeanneret certainly made a substantial sum of money from these negotiations which went towards financing L'Esprit Nouveau.<sup>153</sup>

The only evidence so far that exists for any further business enterprises outside of publishing and building development, is two advertisements in L'Esprit Nouveau for La Société Générale de Cartage d'Assurance a form of insurance company with headquarters that were based in Jeanneret's office in the rue d'Astorg, telegraphic address BIENASSUR-PARIS rather than JEANNARCH-PARIS.<sup>154</sup> In this case, Jeanneret was more likely to have been acting as the agent for a large firm.

As Jeanneret's activities in the financial management of L'Esprit Nouveau and speculative housing association projects increased, <sup>(may superseded his other business activities)</sup> Both of these concerns made use of the experience he had gained in the earlier companies.

No doubt, if Jeanneret had persisted through the difficult post-war years, some of the business ventures would have been developed and his appetite for success may have been satisfied by organising and building large-scale industrial projects.

b. Publishing: Management, sales subscribers and advertisers

### Management

The contemporary manifestos and theories of the post-war period had a strong similarity: there were many small groups of artists and writers discussing similar problems. Most only survived just long enough to allow for the crystallisation of a new attitude before the members went on their own paths or joined new movements.<sup>1</sup> Purism was to survive this initial period and to develop more as a theoretical way of life rather than a school of painting. It did this because the instigators, Jeanneret and Ozenfant, believed in the need to publicise their discoveries in a manner that would clearly demonstrate their theory in application, not only in art, but all other spheres of human life, particularly industry and science.<sup>2</sup> Their reasons for this were probably different: Ozenfant was following a natural interest and recognised activity for a painter but it would appear from this study that, Jeanneret was fulfilling a destiny in life, one where it was a necessity to communicate new ideas and discoveries. He was well familiar with the importance of publicity and showed extraordinary persistence and tenacity in keeping their journal, L'Esprit Nouveau, in publication for five years.

In 1919 Jeanneret had turned down an offer from 'Maison Payot', Paris, to publish his proposed book on Town Planning and another on Industrial Art.<sup>3</sup> Jeanneret did not consider the time was right for that type of book, but it was more likely that the scripts, written some years earlier, were not attuned to his new attitude and he would have to do a great deal more work before he could express his ideas satisfactorily.

The original intention of Ozenfant and Jeanneret had been that their book Après Le Cubisme should be the first edition of a series to be entitled "Commentaires" and that the Galerie Thomas should produce a series of exhibitions with a bulletin describing each one,<sup>4</sup> but they made no immediate follow up and concentrated on painting for the first

part of the year. However, the urge to produce a regular journal was strong in both of them, though neither felt they had the time or sufficient knowledge to manage a magazine on the scale on which they wanted to produce.<sup>5</sup> A member of Perret's committee for Art et Liberté, Fernand Divoire, a literary journalist, told them of Paul Dermée, a poet, who was proposing to start a journal for the rising generation entitled Montante, La Revue des Deux Mondes.<sup>6</sup> Divoire thought they might profitably combine, as Dermée had considerable experience in financing and managing journals of the type they wanted to produce and, at their request, approached him with the suggestion.<sup>7</sup> Dermée was agreeable to the idea, and Jeanneret arranged a meeting for some time at the end of December.<sup>8</sup>

Ozenfant and Jeanneret had decided to call their new review L'Esprit Nouveau, a name inspired by an essay of Apollinairés published in Mercure de France on December 1st, 1918, entitled 'Esprit Nouveau' et les poètes.<sup>9</sup> He had also used the phrase in a lecture twenty-two months earlier and in the introduction to the programme for 'Parade'.<sup>10</sup> It was to become a post-war phrase, and was an excellent choice of name for their journal, symbolising the intentions of its two enthusiastic founders.

In December 1919, Ozenfant travelled to Geneva, Berne, Zurich, Basle, La Chaux-de-Fonds and Strasbourg in the search for financial backers for the project and for a suitable printer, as they had been turned down by the well-established Paris Fine Art publishing house of Grès, and thought they would have better luck elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> Everything was still in very short supply in Paris, so that even finding good quality printing paper proved to be difficult.<sup>12</sup>

Jeanneret started on the task of raising the necessary capital from Paris. Montmollin, his Swiss banking friend, had advised that they should have at least 100,000 francs to start with and be prepared to lose that amount to ensure the firm establishment of the review over the first year. <sup>However/</sup> raising this figure was <sup>to prove/</sup> a considerable task.<sup>13</sup> Ozenfant

had had very little capital since the death of his father and could only afford 6,000 francs in shares. Jeanneret had amassed 14,000 francs, from his business deals and loans, sufficient to become the second major shareholder, with Dan Niestlé holding 15,000 francs, then the Swiss businessman Sigmund Marcel with 10,000 francs, and 5,000 francs each came from four more members of the Swiss community, Raoul La Roche, Hughes Jequier, Ernest Spieser and Ernest Gutzweiller. Within one week Jeanneret had collected 75,000 francs of shares, the rest was amassed over a much longer period with help from Montmollin coming from 1,000 franc holders drawn principally, like the major contributors from Jeanneret's business world. Paul Dermée had 1,000 francs invested, 12,000 francs had been donated and there were a few other artists and writers willing to risk their money.<sup>14</sup> A new review in the best of times is never a strong financial investment. These people were to be commended for their faith in such a venture, particularly in such a money-scarce post-war period.

As soon as a company had been formed for the production of L'Esprit Nouveau and associated publications, one quarter of the shareholders' money could be called in and the remaining quarters when needed, over the first year of production.<sup>15</sup> At this time, Ozenfant, Dermée and Jeanneret hoped to issue the first edition in March 1920, but because of the difficulty in raising the last 25,000 francs of shares this was deferred until October.<sup>16</sup>

Dermée had been given the responsibility of preparing the contents of the first edition for publication in April and, for that purpose, Jeanneret arranged a publication meeting for all of them in January.<sup>17</sup> Though they had not known Paul Dermée before Divoire's introduction, they both must have felt he was somewhat in sympathy with their ideas as he had already published an article on their painter friend, Fernand Léger,<sup>18</sup> despite his close association with the Dada artists.<sup>19</sup> It was to develop over the year that they had made an *informed* assumption,

but in their enthusiasm to start, neither of them took enough time to really get to know their new associate.

During January and February, the three held several meetings and decided to draw up a secret agreement between themselves which included some items that were not normally included in company statements.<sup>20</sup> It also provided a partnership agreement until the Limited Company was formed. In this document, Dermée was put in charge of the production and editing with an annual allowance of 7,000 francs, paid in monthly sums, to allow him sufficient time for this task. It was also his responsibility to represent the magazine and advise on literary matters, with Jeanneret and Ozenfant on the artistic side.<sup>21</sup>

One other very important clause, No. 5, covered the individuals' freedom to take part in whatever aesthetic activities they wished, the only restraint being an undertaking not to found or encourage any similar rival enterprise. This document was signed on February 25th 1920. They all had an equal right in the management and agreed to stand together in any future company meetings, even to arranging pre-meeting meetings to ensure that what they intended would take place. At the same time, they drew up a contract document for Paul Dermée, which quite clearly put Dermée in the position of Director for a period of ten years. The agreement set out the format of the Limited Liability Company that would be formed to run an art review and associated productions. The principal administration was to be by a council consisting of five members, Dermée, Ozenfant, Jeanneret and two others from the principal shareholders. The council would be responsible for administration, sales and the intellectual and moral standards. Dermée would be in charge of production. His office, for the time being, was to be at No. 40, rue de Seine and No. 13 Quai de Conti, his own office. All of this was to come into full force when the new company Editions L'Esprit Nouveau, came into being<sup>22</sup> and was to prove to be a very serious mistake. (The original date in March for publishing was eventually deferred to October 1920).

Possibly the earliest sign of any problem was Dermée's proposal that one of the first books to be published should be an edition of poems by Dada writer, Céline Arnould,<sup>23</sup> who was living with Dermée.<sup>24</sup> It was agreed that L'Esprit Nouveau Publications would undertake this project and Jeanneret was designated to find a backer but was somewhat slow in setting about his task, to Dermée's polite disapproval.<sup>25</sup> This would appear to be the best that their relationship would ever achieve. The summer was taken up with the search for capital and meetings. Jeanneret was kept busy carrying out Dermée's instructions and answering his queries on the advertising sales which were proving very difficult. He was also responsible for the organisation of the registered office at No. 95 rue de Seine which gave rise to another stream of instructions from Dermée.<sup>26</sup>

Jeanneret, at this time, was also very busy in his business life trying to organise sufficient finance for his share in the company, to repay long-standing debts and keeping the Alfortville blockworks in business, a task not helped by the protracted dispute of the fees for the La Chaux-de-Fonds projects.

Initially L'Esprit Nouveau was to cost 5 francs a copy and 55 francs for a year's subscription for twelve copies. This was later increased to 6 francs and 70 francs for a subscription.<sup>27</sup> By July, they were advertising the journal and chasing subscriptions as well as shareholders. Full page advertisements were planned for submission to Neue Revue, N.R. Français, Mercure, Monsieur, Revue de Paris, Bibliographie de France and a half page for Feuillets d'art, Burlington Magazine, etc.<sup>28</sup> These plans were later trimmed to meet the financial restrictions set by their lack of ready capital.

At the end of June, Ozenfant sent Dermée a formal letter gently rebuking him for taking decisions regarding the title typography without consultation with his partners and recommending him to leave those problems with Ozenfant, whose responsibility it was. Dermée should have been

getting on with his own work which was only progressing very slowly which meant that, because of the approaching holidays, they would not be able to issue the first copy until October.<sup>29</sup>

Towards the end of July, Jeanneret sent Montmollin the draft for the company articles and an invitation to become a director. It had been revised on the basis of Montmollin's observations, but before the company could be formed, 25,000 francs was still required to meet the capital figure of 100,000 francs.<sup>30</sup> Jeanneret had had great problems in raising this last figure. He asked for the bankers help in achieving it as he was under considerable financial pressure at that time and very tired of the situation. The capital had to be complete before it was possible to claim the second quarter of the agreed four parts of the investors' share money and this was urgently required for printing the first edition in October.<sup>31</sup> Somehow Montmollin and other supporters obtained the necessary funds and the company was officially formed in time, but this was to be a forerunner of the financial problems that were to dog the life of the Revue and occupy a great deal of the administrators' time.

In August the differences between Dermée and the other two came to a head. Dermée had, throughout the year, been taking an increasing part in Dada activities. The movement had become well established during the past year in Paris under Tristan Tzara and André Breton. Several publications had been produced to which Dermée contributed, and he even produced one edition of a Dada journal of his called 'Z' in March 1920,<sup>32</sup> which had come to a halt after complaints from the two purists. It would also appear that he offered a similar service to some Dada writers to that offered to the two purists, as his name appears as manager or director on several small Dada reviews produced in 1920.<sup>33</sup> The final straw was the publication, in July, of Producteur which was another Dermée-inspired journal and not at all in sympathy with Purist principles.<sup>34</sup> This followed a large Dada happening held on May 26th, at the Salle Gaveau, where the angry audience



joined in the sketches, hurling missiles at the participants in the form of tomatoes, eggs and meat. Dermée, as a presenter, was one of the recipients of such appreciation.<sup>35</sup> This affair and Dada activities in general had aroused considerable indignation amongst the Paris middle classes, thereby achieving its intention.<sup>36</sup> Such laughter at the expense of any form of recognised standards, did indeed provoke strong reactions. Not least were those of Jeanneret and Ozenfant, who were not at all in agreement with the lengths that the Dada followers took to assault preconceived standards while offering nothing in their place. They wanted a revolution, but felt they knew what should take the place of the old ways which they considered disordered. Purism, they felt, offered a way to a new, ordered and better existence.<sup>37</sup>

When Dermée sent a copy of a memo he had sent to Ozenfant, to Jeanneret early in August, concerning the delays in moving into the new office, with an accompanying letter complaining of Jeanneret's behaviour, the difficulty in contacting him and asking for some urgency to get things done for an October publication date, he received no immediate reply.<sup>38</sup> Jeanneret was on vacation but he had already received a letter from Ozenfant explaining the situation and sending him Dermée's journal, Producteur, for his opinion.<sup>39</sup> Ozenfant was somewhat more sympathetic than Jeanneret to the Dada idea but realised that there were very serious problems in continuing under Dermée's guidance. He also suggested a possible partnership with <sup>(the review)</sup> Sirene, a similar journal to L'Esprit Nouveau, that could lead to the formation of a new publishing house, and even, eventually, the start of an intelligent daily paper, a thought he said that he had had for a long while.<sup>40</sup> They both stayed out of Dermée's way for the whole of August.

Dermée, when he received no reply from either of them, wrote a very long letter to Ozenfant which started :

"My Dear Friend,

I am very astonished at not having any answer to my letter for 10 days, perhaps you are also on holiday in which case my friendship is hurt by not having received one of these nice little greetings that one sends of picture postcards of the beautiful places one visits. Our friend Jeanneret has not sent me one either and I am completely deprived of any contact with you. But if you are still in Paris I must insist, in the major interest of our mutual work, that you arrange a meeting with me at any hour convenient to you".

41

He went on to stress the problems of accommodation, payment and Jeanneret whom he called the great 'financial director'. Their relationship had obviously broken down though it is very doubtful if there was much to destroy. Dermée's continual demands for action and payment combined with his Dada activities and lack of action on the part of L'Esprit Nouveau, did little to put him in favour with Jeanneret but, nevertheless, things had gone too far to halt and, in September, they carried on with preparing the first issue.

What favour Dermée had with Ozenfant was to vanish when it came, early in October, to the printing of the first edition of L'Esprit Nouveau.<sup>42</sup> Ozenfant had the responsibility of the typography and printing so it was his job to take the presumably finished, copy to a printer they had selected in Orléans. On arriving, he found that the copy had by no means been checked and was full of all kinds of stupid mistakes impossible for the printer to remove, so that Ozenfant had had to work solidly for three days to do the necessary corrections.<sup>43</sup>

Despite the problems, he was delighted with the result and wanted a hawker hired to sell copies of L'Esprit Nouveau at the door of the Salon d'Automne and to distribute leaflets when the copies were exhausted. For the next edition he realised they must be ready earlier, and maybe print in Paris. At the end of the letter to Jeanneret containing all the news, he said :

"Dear Friend,

If you are bored stiff and messed about in Paris, Orleans is murderous, dirty hotel, aged room, view of the cathedral in ladies embroidery, a yellow mist in the sky the whole blessed day. A church bell and to make me remember sadly purism an enormous poster with a gigantic bottle of Chartreuse (2m) on the wall.

Your friend Ozenfant.

P.S. On the whole everything is going well this time, October 8th, Orleans."

44

Unfortunately, this air of progress was not to last. There were again many problems with the No. 2 issue, which caused Ozenfant to send Dermée a list of complaints of his behaviour, particularly with regard to keeping records of meetings, finance and communication with contributors.<sup>45</sup> Dermée retaliated with complaints about the administration and a demand for a shorthand-typist!<sup>46</sup> There certainly was an ungainliness about the whole organisation that such letters should have been necessary, and it is apparent that there was very little personal contact. It had been Jeanneret and Ozenfant's intention that most of the day to day affairs would be run by Dermée, leaving them time for their own work, together with the responsibility for over-all policy and their individual tasks regarding typography and finance. As it turned out, keeping Dermée to his allotted task was taking more and more of their time, particularly as they then found that what he had produced was not in line with what they wanted and then was not even completed.

On December 1st 1920, the council of administration for L'Esprit Nouveau Publications held its first meeting. Dan Niestlé had been made a member of the board but could not make the meeting, held in a room at the Institute of Civil Engineers. Ozenfant, Dermée and Jeanneret were present. Jeanneret was appointed President and Niestlé Secretary, thereby re-allocating what were originally the responsibilities of Dermée. A sum of money was allocated to the administrators, the amount partly governed by attendance, and authority given to call up the third quarter of capital from the shareholders. Jeanneret was put in charge of all

the financial affairs. Montmollin's bank, Crédit Commercial de France, was designated to keep the accounts of the society and the registered office, to be at 95 rue de Seine, Paris, despite Dermée's complaints about the size.<sup>48</sup>

The third issue of L'Esprit Nouveau was produced before Christmas, but again in a very unsatisfactory manner. The whole situation was brought to a head when Dermée submitted one of his own articles directly to the printer for the January edition, without first obtaining his partners' approval. Ozenfant discovered the work at the printers and removed it from the copy.<sup>49</sup> It was entitled "Si c'est une question de mode . . . ." a critical comment on the use of preconceived ideas in art, which they considered would cast doubt on their theories which were being given particular attention in the January edition, in the article "Purisme". Dermée was very annoyed by this action and, in a letter to Ozenfant, complained of his noisy cramped office, which was apparently still under construction. He added a postscript saying that as he always passed their articles without comment, he did not consider that they would have anything against his.<sup>50</sup> It was this statement that must have, at last, made Ozenfant and Jeanneret face up to the problem of Dermée and the Dada movement. They had already, in the first edition, had a similar problem with a somewhat anti-purism article that Dermée had tried to include. Both had told him that they did not want this type of article in the Revue, so Dermée had no grounds at all for giving such an excuse.<sup>51</sup>

Ozenfant and Jeanneret received his letter on the 27th December and immediately drew up a long and detailed letter removing Dermée's major responsibilities to the Revue and cited the following reasons for doing so :

1. Production of the Dada revues "Z" and "Producteur".
2. Taking part in Dada manifestations.
3. Ignoring warnings that such activities could not be tolerated in a Director of their Purist revue, L'Esprit Nouveau.

4. Causing harm to the subscriptions by such activities and putting doubts in the minds of the shareholders, who principally came from the Dada affronted middle-class.
5. Management incompetence, now necessary for them both to devote most of the day to make up for Dermée's deficiencies.
6. No minutes kept of board meetings and many points ignored.
7. Collaborators not given any guidance, payment delayed and kept from meeting Jeanneret or Ozenfant.
8. Very little time spent in the office and correspondence almost non-existent, despite constant complaints about the pressure of work. This had resulted in missing advertising dates and subscriptions.
9. Staff issued their instructions in written notes.
10. Removal of contributors work from the office unrecorded.
11. Opposition to distribution by bookshops and almost non-existent sales service.

52

In their summing up they said :

"We judge that the quality of the editorial work is insufficient and does not correspond with the programme that you fully supported; this programme is a solid programme that you had told us you would make your own but your present actions like your past seem to prove that you only supported this programme to obtain some advantages and then go your own way.

We have assumed responsibility so far as the shareholders and the public are concerned. We want to create a constructive review and not a review of academic or anarchistic debates. We want clarity not confusion, we want unity and not dispersal.

It is with regret that you find us in the painful obligation of writing you this letter because of the responsibility that is incumbent on us".

53

They had also seen it necessary to turn down another article submitted by Dermée, on his own work, written by Céline Arnould.

The reason for the refusal was given as the close relationship that existed between Dermée and Céline Arnould. They had considered that a reasoned assessment would not be produced from such a position, an attitude they carefully forgot when writing about one another under the cover of a pseudonym.<sup>54</sup> It is possible that Jeanneret's moral upbringing

still could not cope with the freer Paris art community attitudes towards personal relationships, however much he might be in sympathy with them.

Ozenfant and Jeanneret's letter was sent by registered mail and drew a formal typewritten reply from Dermée who usually communicated in scrawled handwritten note form. He strongly denied their criticisms in his reply :

"Registered Letter

29th December 1920

Dear Friends,

I had stretched out an olive branch in the note you found on Tuesday morning. You answered me in a different tone in your registered letter received on Wednesday morning, the 28th.

There is in this letter that I will answer point by point a whole series of criticisms on :

- A. Administrative matters;
- B. Editorial matters.

I have once again to appeal to the spirit of agreement. I invoke very strongly the major interests of L'Esprit Nouveau in asking you to agree with us on the essential points.

Many difficulties could be avoided if we had feelings of goodwill. For example, if you had asked me to hold back my article for such and such a reason, be sure that I would have done so with pleasure.

But you used force. I shall do my utmost so that the mutual work in which our shareholders have so much confidence, does not suffer by our differences.

Help me with a feeling of conciliation and settle a meeting as soon as possible where we could come to agreement.

Remember there is something above all three of us :

L'Esprit Nouveau.

Wishing you well".

Paul Dermée

55

Only too willing to comply, Ozenfant and Jeanneret organised a council meeting for the 31st December at which all four administrators were present.<sup>56</sup> It was held in the office of the Review on the afternoon of New Year's Eve. The agenda was :

- (1) Reading of the previous minutes;
- (2) Declaration of powers (Jeanneret);
- (3) Administrative matters.

The minutes were agreed and Jeanneret started immediately on the new arrangements that he and Ozenfant had organised to overcome the limitations of Dermée as business manager and editor. This was necessary because their previous agreement had made no allowance for such a situation, so they could not just ask him to leave. Firstly, was the setting up of a reading committee to be made up of the three original partners and only material that had been passed by the committee could be published in the review. Any two members could constitute a quorum and form a committee, decisions would be subject to a majority vote. It would also be responsible for payment of contributors and the keeping of accurate records. Dermée requested that the direction of the Review should follow the "spirit of the programme published in the last number without taking account of the various groups of thought". His amendment was not approved and the resolution was adopted by three votes: Dermée abstained. The second resolution allocated total responsibility to Ozenfant for the production and contacts with the printers: Dermée again abstained.<sup>57</sup>

The third resolution delegated entirely the financial and commercial administration to Jeanneret, with Niestlé to take over in his absence: Dermée again abstained. It was also noted that regret was expressed at the considerable divergence in interpretation that had appeared between Dermée's approach and that of the other two founding directors, which had made the recommendations necessary.<sup>58</sup>

At the next meeting, held early in January, all four administrators attended and they discussed a proposal by Ozenfant to change part of the sub-title of the Review so that it would read Revue Internationale Illustrée de L'Activité Contemporaine, instead of Revue Internationale d'Esthétique.<sup>59</sup> The term aesthetic had deterred many buyers according to the booksellers and their movement was certainly not intended to be confined just to the fine arts. The revue would appear on the 15th of each month and cover Arts, Letters and Sciences. 145

The section headings would read Literature, Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, Music, Pure and Applied Sciences, Experimental Aestheticism, The Aesthetics of Town Planning, Sociological Philosophy, Economics, Moral and Political Sciences, Modern Live Theatre, Spectacles, Sports and Deeds. This received a majority vote and the new title appeared on edition No. 4, with Paul Dermée's name no longer as director on the cover. He had abstained from voting on the new title, wanting more time for thought, so his opinion was deferred for a later meeting. The premises at 95 rue de Seine, it was decided, were inadequate but the problem was the lack of finance to rent larger premises. Here Jeanneret came to the rescue and offered part of his new offices at 29 bis rue d'Astorg for the sum of 450 francs a month including heating, telephone, etc. This proposition was accepted at the February meeting, not attended by Dermée, and the office transferred there in April. Jeanneret kept the right to use some of the space on occasions for a draughtsman, a very convenient arrangement and a considerable contribution to his practice costs as the architectural work he had expected when first leasing the office had not yet appeared, so much of the space was under used.<sup>60</sup>

The March meeting discussed a request from the major shareholders to be represented on the council, which was accepted and arrangements were made for another administrator to be selected by the shareholders from amongst their numbers.<sup>61</sup> The only other business was from Dermée who raised objection to the reading committee's irregularity of meeting, but was informed that this was not the case. He also threatened to take the review out of their hands. Jeanneret and Ozenfant had been holding their own meetings and arranging personally with the review contributors as to the content of their articles.<sup>62</sup> Dermée was quite legally being cut out of the system; there was little else they could do, being bound by the earlier agreement. His presence at the council meeting, they considered very irregular, as Dermée had already sent writs to all of



them with the intention of taking legal action against the Revue, so he was formally informed that, because of his action, his presence would no longer be welcome at either the council meetings or at the reading committee.<sup>63</sup>

With Dermée out of sight, if not out of mind,<sup>64</sup> the council at its April meeting, finally got down to the purpose for which it was intended and the progress of the Revue was considered.<sup>65</sup> Sales were increasing steadily in France and abroad and, judging by the press notices that it had been receiving, they were achieving their aims, but the income as yet was not very good. Subscription money was slow in arriving and there was a problem in getting their book-stall sales paid. The post-war depression had stopped firms using advertising and the expected funds from this source had nowhere near reached expectations; there had been a total loss of 30,000 francs. All this meant that it would be necessary to call in the third quarter from the shareholders, providing them with another 25,000 francs.<sup>66</sup> The Revue was proving to be a very expensive concern.

A request had been made for an American Edition to be produced but more capital would be required for such an enterprise. On the bright side, they had received 8,000 francs in grants form from several official bodies which they had approached for help. The final resolution at this meeting was to, at last, take action against Paul Dermée whose attitude they considered was no longer in line with his duties as an administrator.<sup>87</sup>

It is incredible that, despite the dispute with Dermée, six editions of 2,500 copies of L'Esprit Nouveau had been produced.<sup>68</sup> The dispute was more on interpretation rather than basic principles and there had been a great deal in common, so the content had been little affected and had already attracted a fair size following. It was considered as one of the more sober publications, somewhere in the second rank of the large mass of publications that flourished for a

short while in the period after the war.<sup>69</sup> It was certainly not difficult to appear relatively orthodox in the plethora of Dada journals that were produced in 1920 and early in 1921. The typography the Dadaists used attracted the eye by the deliberate contradiction of rules, where L'Esprit Nouveau's format, while contemporary in feel, was based on recognised usage, and was acceptable to a wider field of reader. Dermée, Jeanneret and Ozenfant, using their own and their newly acquired pseudonyms, plus one or two others, wrote approximately a third of the script.<sup>70</sup> Albert Jeanneret, who had moved in Paris in 1919 to start his own school of dance and eurhythmics,<sup>71</sup> was a regular contributor and friends like Elie Faure, Francois Divoire, Waldemar George and Maurice Raynal made up another third. The rest were special contributors who they felt expanded the principle of Purism. In the first issue was Notes sur l'Art de Seurat by Bissière, Ornement et Crime by Adolphe Loos in the second issue, Marinetti on futurist dance in the third, Ingres by Bissière in the fourth, Juan Gris by Maurice Raynal in the fifth, (La Lumière, La Couleur, La Forme by Charles Henry in E.N. No. 6); all important contributions to aesthetic literature.

In April 1921, the second Purist exhibition was held in the Galerie Druet. Maurice Raynal wrote a review of their work for L'Esprit Nouveau No. 7. The work they had produced was certainly much closer to representing their aims than the earlier paintings had been. Their technique was far more competent and Jeanneret, in particular, had benefited from contact with Juan Gris and Fernand Léger; but, though it was thought to have been a good exhibition, it had very little impact. Raoul la Roche purchased some of their paintings, the first purist paintings that Jeanneret was to sell.<sup>72</sup>

At the June council meeting, all but Dermée were present, despite the fact that he had been sent a registered letter informing him of the date, time and place of the meeting, as he had complained that he had not been informed of the previous meeting.<sup>73</sup> It was a very

difficult situation for Niestlé, Ozenfant and Jeanneret as his company was certainly not wanted but legally he still had the right to attend. They decided that, if within ten days he had not done the honourable thing and resigned, the only way that they could rid themselves of the awkward presence of their ex-chairman was to call a general meeting at which they would all resign, explaining their action to the shareholders, and put themselves up for re-election while asking for the exclusion of Paul Dermée.<sup>74</sup>

At the same meeting, they decided to undertake the distribution of the Revue themselves and cancelled their contract with Hazard, a Paris firm of booksellers, who had been delaying payment.

Jeanneret presented a favourable report on the negotiations with Inter-allied Press for an American edition of L'Esprit Nouveau, which would relieve the management of a large amount of the running costs involved in its production. Unfortunately these negotiations were to drag on for some time, but nothing was ever to be resolved.

The next meeting, following the summer vacation, was attended by Dermée who had ignored the directors' offer to accept his resignation, and told them that, as an elected member of the administration council, he had a right to take his place in the management of the Revue, but he was agreeable to the calling of a general meeting, as long as the reason for the council's resignation was presented to the shareholders. Dermée agreed to stay away until this meeting took place.<sup>75</sup>

After his departure the discussion centred on problems of distribution. They had reached an annual subscribers list of 600 and had arranged for distribution in Italy under the direction of Valori Plastici an Italian art review. Their main problem lay with the lack of advertisers. The cost of the review had been estimated on the basis of selling a considerable amount of space for advertising. All they could manage so far had been four pages of paying space and six or seven pages of free advertising for some of the big Paris firms, to

encourage them to take up a contract. Altogether they were losing 5,000 francs an edition, a total of 60,000 by the time the double copy of L'Esprit Nouveau No. 11/12 appeared.<sup>76</sup>

So far, they could cover their costs, as the capital had been subscribed to allow for such a contingency, but the problem would come in the future as by this time they should have built up a regular list of paying advertisers who should have made up for the discrepancy and some extra, as well, to replace the capital.

At the October meeting,<sup>77</sup> the three remaining administrators agreed to try to raise an increase in capital, raising the total figure to 150,000 francs, as it was becoming very clear that, due to allowing large credits to the book-sellers and the low number of advertisers, they would be forced to stop publishing without further funds and would have to cease negotiations for the, then still viable, American contract. There was also the possibility of a grant from the Czechoslovakian government, but due to a change in government, the certainty of this arriving was now very slight.<sup>78</sup>

An Extraordinary General Assembly was called for the 19th October, which nineteen shareholders attended with just over the number of votes between them required for a quorum.<sup>79</sup> The problem of Dermée was postponed and the necessity for inviting more capital was discussed and agreed upon. At the council meeting,<sup>80</sup> a few days later, they decided to send a circular letter round the known supporters of L'Esprit Nouveau and any others who they considered would be interested. A letter making this new offer of shares would be sent out with the reminders for subscription renewals.<sup>81</sup> The administrators were charged to do everything in their power to do their best to raise more capital in any way they knew. By December, their gloom had not lifted.<sup>82</sup>

Niestlé, because of the non-settlement of a loan he had made to L'Esprit Nouveau, wrote to Jeanneret and Ozenfant resigning his directorship.<sup>83</sup> This they refused to accept and managed to settle the

debt after which Niestlé agreed to continue as a director.<sup>84</sup> Many subscriptions had not been renewed and required individual canvassing so that funds from this source were only coming in slowly. Book-sellers settled their debts quarterly, so nothing from this source would be available until January 15th, and Hazard, the previous dealer, refused to settle his 7,000 franc debt until enough copies had been sold to make some sort of profit.<sup>85</sup> La Roche had offered them a loan of 5,000 francs, as long as proper accounts were to be kept, but was not too happy at only having Jeanneret and Ozenfant paintings as security. He requested an IOU for repayment by the end of December when the new subscriptions came in.<sup>86</sup> Only 11,000 francs had so far been received on the new shareholder scheme; the rapid devaluation in the franc and the accompanying economical depression made this particular task extremely difficult.<sup>87</sup>

The publicity handouts contained a free offer of a Juan Gris print and a request to pay, by postal cheque in Swiss francs, to a Swiss address. Any subscriber who brought in three new subscribers would be entitled to a deluxe copy of a L'Esprit Nouveau publication.<sup>88</sup>

Lurcat and Perret became shareholders on this second offer and a property owner, Rolf De Maré, contributed a very substantial figure but, despite all these efforts, the end of the year accounts did not look hopeful.<sup>89</sup>

In January 1922, there was a complaint from a shareholder about the lack of information provided for the Extraordinary General Meeting. Jeanneret gave the following reasons why this had happened: no accounts were available as they had not been finalised; lists of subscribers were kept secret for commercial reasons and they had not expected any profits from the first year's publication. In fact, there was a loss of 54,000 francs at least, and the accounts were in a mess.<sup>90</sup> The man hired for the work had barely attended the office and a new accountant had to be found for the work.<sup>91</sup> It was now painfully clear that a

considerable loss was still being made, despite several more appeals to influential and wealthy citizens who could be considered supporters of the arts. Amongst these were the Marquis de Polignac whose wife was later to give Jeanneret the work for the Salvation Army in Paris.<sup>92</sup>

By February 1922, a joint production with the review Sirène had been considered and accepted.<sup>93</sup> They had reached their target of the extra 50,000 capital by April with some help coming from Sirène.<sup>94</sup> To counteract the still persistent deficit each month, the council undertook to reduce the staff by two, only open the office in the afternoon, reduce the size and format of L'Esprit Nouveau and consider amalgamation with a Building Society who wanted a monthly magazine on housing.<sup>95</sup> All this should have helped them through the dead season, together with a reduced production of reviews but this was not to be. L'Esprit Nouveau No. 15 was further delayed and only emerged in June, after a gap of four months and No. 16 did not appear until September.

Dermée, as he had refused to resign,<sup>96</sup> had been removed from the council at a special general meeting held on the 27th May when the rest of the council resigned, and he had left to continue his court case. Rolf de Maré, a newly acquired major shareholder, joined the re-elected committee replacing Dermée.<sup>97</sup>

Publications L'Esprit Nouveau combined with a Russian exiled artists' magazine Oudar at this time.<sup>98</sup> In the summer, the remaining capital had been called in but to no avail and L'Esprit Nouveau ceased publication after the issue of No. 16 in September 1922. In the late summer Jeanneret had been asked to submit a town planning project for the Salon d'Automne in October and he was very busy preparing, with Pierre Jeanneret, his idea for "Une Ville Contemporaine" which he must have hoped would be able to revive his flagging practice, business and review and he put all his energy into this and the Maison Citrohan.<sup>100</sup> When they were exhibited the schemes certainly attracted a great deal of attention and provided his practice with the initial impetus it needed: 152

enquiries started arriving, but funds were still short. It was nine months before the next issue of L'Esprit Nouveau No.17 appeared in June 1923, the result of a new contract with Budry, a Paris publishing house, who would take over the distribution of twelve editions of L'Esprit Nouveau.<sup>101</sup> The council of L'Esprit Nouveau had carried out a considerable number of accountancy exercises to prove that it was a sound financial enterprise but they did this without Dan Niestlé who had resigned due to ill health.<sup>102</sup> Each edition would be for 2,000 copies of eighty pages. The monthly cheque from Budry would cover all but 600 francs of the production costs and would relieve the council of a large number of problems. L'Esprit Nouveau office would move into some space available for rent in a publisher's premises.<sup>103</sup>

Ozenfant and Jeanneret produced a number of documents to present their case to the publishers, shareholders and subscribers, their own statement being :

"M.M. Ozenfant and Jeanneret, Administrateurs de la Société des Editions de L'ESPRIT NOUVEAU, et directeurs de la Revue L'ESPRIT NOUVEAU consentent à continuer leur concours à un nouveau groupe et admettront volontiers la présence d'un représentant de ce groupe en tant que Co-directeur.

Ils estiment pouvoir apporter à la nouvelle organisation de nombreuses idées tant à la Revue et Panorama qu'à l'encyclopédie, ainsi qu'aux éditions en général.

Ils apporteront également le concours de toutes leur connaissances du milieu parisien et international en vue d'aider à l'entreprise.

Ils seront disposés à entreprendre, le cas échéant, des conférences à l'étranger et à aider à toutes manifestations utiles au développement de l'entreprise.

Paris 13 15 Janvier 1923"

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Ozenfant took a lesser lead in the activities and the management became almost solely a Jeanneret affair.<sup>105</sup> The Dermée court case came up in June, when he lost his case against Ozenfant and Jeanneret and had to pay the costs.<sup>106</sup> The early, if somewhat tedious actions of the council, bore fruit and Dermée was shown to have broken his agreement.<sup>107</sup> He was to continue to contribute to L'Esprit Nouveau, but was not to forgive them and even went as far as attempting to produce his own review entitled Esprit Nouveau No.1.<sup>108</sup>

Jeanneret's book, Vers une Architecture, a collection of articles from L'Esprit Nouveau, was put on sale the same month as L'Esprit Nouveau No. 18 in October 1923 and No. 19 appeared, on schedule, the next month. However, no further copies were produced until February 1924. Then followed six more editions at reasonably regular intervals over the year. L'Esprit Nouveau No. 28 appeared in January 1925 and the cover and contents were prepared for the next edition, No. 29<sup>109</sup> but it was never to be produced and Budry's contract for twelve copies was never completed.

The cause this time was not so much finance, as the natural end of a happening. There had been several breaches of understanding between Jeanneret and Ozenfant which led to the end of their partnership. During the year, the preparation of the 1925 exhibition pavillion for L'Esprit Nouveau absorbed all Jeanneret's resources and energy. He was, by then, an established avant-garde artist and architect in the eyes of the select world of art in Paris and had achieved, through L'Esprit Nouveau, a considerable name for himself as Le Corbusier abroad. He no longer relied on the Review as the sole means to promote his ideas. There were still, however, a considerable number of financial problems to sort out, some of which contributed to his eventual bankruptcy at the end of the year.

The funding and management of a cultural magazine is a very precarious business in any circumstances and extraordinarily hard in a period of post-war economic depression. The number of reviews and journals launched was large; only the smallest handful ever established themselves and few achieved the numbers or time span of L'Esprit Nouveau. The persistence of the Review was almost entirely due to Jeanneret's refusal to accept financial defeat and the lengths to which he was prepared to spend his own and other people's money. Enormous energy had to be expended in the thousands of letters written and hours spent on talking to prospective backers and contributors. He believed



sincerely, and somewhat ruthlessly, in the need for the review as an instrument to spread his and like minded persons' ideas but, in other fields, his was almost the only architectural voice. There were not many people in France promoting anything like his work, and ironically, though the review served the purpose excellently of spreading Jeanneret's (Le Corbusier) theories, they became irreparably linked with the elite world of avant-garde painters, a very international group who were not held in high favour with the respectable French businessman, industrialist, politician or academic. They were never to accord any obvious approvals, close interest or support to Le Corbusier's architectural work particularly as, in their eyes, he was not qualified. This continues today and it is his painting and sculpture which now has status in France, but his architecture is still basically unacceptable, an attitude that was always to prove very frustrating for him.

Sales, subscribers and advertisers.

During the first year of its publication, L'Esprit Nouveau attracted approximately 600 annual subscribers, of whom 250 came from abroad. The total numbers printed for each edition were in the region of 2,000 - 2,500 copies; of these, about 1,000 were, for the first few months, on a contract sale basis to Hazard, a Paris based bookseller, not a very successful arrangement as it limited the sales; other agents could not carry the Revue. An unknown number went to book-sellers abroad and many were distributed free as a means of advertising or exchange with other similar reviews. The remainder were available for sale from the editorial office.<sup>110</sup>

L'Esprit Nouveau No. 1 had to be produced for a very high cost because of the large number of copies distributed free to attract subscribers. An annual subscription for twelve editions cost 70 francs in France and 80 francs abroad; bought at a bookstall each edition cost 6 francs. The booksellers took between a third to a half of the selling price. This was not to change for the whole period that L'Esprit Nouveau

covered despite the depression, though when it reappeared in 1923, the pages had been cut by a third.

The Revue contained 132 pages for the first sixteen editions of which at least ten pages should have been sold for advertising, but sales were not to come anywhere near expectations. The cost of production averaged between 3.50 and 4.00 francs a copy. At the end of this first phase, they were left with 11,000 and 12,000 copies unsold, several debts and an overall loss of 56,000 francs.<sup>111</sup> This was very disappointing for Ozenfant and Jeanneret who had both put a phenomenal amount of time, energy and money into the project. Compared with similar journals, they had set their aims high, the circulation figures looked at in comparison, were better and L'Esprit Nouveau was read by a far wider public than most of the others.

The foreign subscriptions were obtained from a campaign of letters and visits by the directors.<sup>112</sup> Any foreign contacts were besieged with propaganda, and foreign journals sent details of L'Esprit Nouveau activities and offers of collaboration. At least twelve French Consulates abroad were persuaded to become subscribers, also the Czechoslovakian Consulate in Paris and London.

Advertising contracts proved much harder to attract, not even trial periods with free space proved successful. The large car manufacturers were high on the list of firms to be approached.<sup>113</sup> Ozenfant's fascination with the automobile was a major influence here and it was in an attempt to interest M. Citroen to use the pages of the Revue to advertise his machines, that Jeanneret called his prototype mass production house for the 1921 Salon d'Automne, Citrohan, later published in L'Esprit Nouveau No. 13. M. Citroen gave the same reply as he had when first approached, Citroen did not advertise in literary or art magazines.<sup>114</sup> He did change his mind in 1923 and had a short advertising contract but he was never substantially to contribute towards L'Esprit Nouveau finances. They had no better luck with the Voisin company until 156

the later period when they did take out a substantial contract for twelve editions together with Pleyel, Printemps and Pagnes, altogether worth 11,350 francs which, together with the guaranteed sum from Budry, covered their costs for a year.<sup>115</sup> The Voisin Company, at the end of this period, contributed 50% towards the cost of the pavillion for L'Esprit Nouveau at the 1925 exhibition and had Le Corbusier's plan for Paris called after the firm.<sup>116</sup>

There were a number of smaller advertisers like Albert Jeanneret's School of Eurythmics, 'Roneo' (office furniture), 'Jove' (dress designers), 'Niestlé' (printing), and several of the Jeanneret enterprises that took advantage of the pages. The Jeanneret enterprises included Alfortville brickworks (PLOT) Insurance Schemes and building sites, though the latter were in the name of Pierre Jeanneret.<sup>117</sup> Some of the smaller advertisers may have paid by exchange of services.

Special pamphlets were written by the directors to send to possible advertisers, drawing their attention to special features and articles in forthcoming reviews that would be relevant to their merchandise.<sup>118</sup> The thought and care put into attracting manufacturers by Ozenfant and Jeanneret was considerable, not only to support the magazine by purchasing space, but also to appreciate what they were trying to do for the improvement of the quality of life. Only manufacturers whom they considered produced goods on the lines of their principles were approached.

Content.

L'Esprit Nouveau was an ambitious enterprise for the period.<sup>119</sup> Ozenfant and Jeanneret had set themselves to attain a high standard and had one hundred and thirty-two pages in which to carry it out.

The review was a competent production printed on as good a paper as they could obtain. To attract attention, at least one coloured reproduction of a contemporary or relevant painting was included in each

issue, the appearance of which was still somewhat of a rarity in the early twenties. Attention was drawn to these special items on the front cover together with the number of line and photographic illustrations. At six francs a copy it was not cheap but gave value for the money.

As the journal was aimed at a wider audience than just the Paris art and literary community, it was necessary to have a reasonably established and acceptable image to encourage the members of the professional and business communities both home and abroad to purchase a copy. The two 'purists' wanted their magazine to spread their ideas as widely as possible, and particularly to people in positions of influence. They wanted to start a new movement in society at large and recognised that there was very little future in preaching to the converted.

Because of the wide range of subjects that they had set themselves to cover and their limited financial resources, it was difficult for them to provide and pay for the number of contributors and experts necessary to fulfil such a programme, even though most contributors gave their services freely to the magazine and only occasional by writers received a fee.<sup>120</sup>

To overcome the problem, they wrote many of the articles themselves, making use of pseudonyms to disguise the fact. The joint Le Corbusier-Saugnier signature was allocated to architectural subjects;<sup>121</sup> in this case Jeanneret wrote the article and in the earlier copies (1-16) Ozenfant said he supplied most of the illustrations. The Ozenfant-Jeanneret combination went to articles on painting, purism and a variety of subjects in the last editions. These can largely be attributed to Ozenfant but with fewer articles to its credit than the first joint name.<sup>122</sup>

Ozenfant wrote most of his material, not under his own name, which only rarely appears, but under that of Vaucrecy. Using this name he covered exhibitions, literature, music, current events and all

kinds of assorted small items.<sup>123</sup> The name may well be a joke on the name of Louis Vauxcelles, the Paris art critic, who had proved to be a particularly vicious critic of cubism and purism. In the article on the Schwob house, Ozenfant used another family name, Julien Caron,<sup>124</sup> (Caron also means 'sham' in French, they both had a weakness for double meanings). In the article, Jeanneret is referred to as Le Corbusier, the architect, for the first time. Saint-Quentin, De Fayet<sup>125</sup> and possibly some more names were put to use by Ozenfant before the review finally closed.

Jeanneret rarely wrote under his name alone; the Le Corbusier title was increasingly used, with and without Saugnier. He contributed under these names, far more basic theoretical articles than Ozenfant and, as far as can be ascertained, only made use of one other pseudonym, Paul Boulard, mainly for comment and criticism.

In the months leading up to L'Esprit Nouveau No. 1, during the several deferments of production, Jeanneret and Ozenfant prepared most of their own material for the first twelve issues.

Ozenfant's and Léger's passion for motor cars, any new form of transport and mechanical devices, infected Jeanneret, who until that time, apart from brick machines, cement guns and abattoir cranes, had been mainly infatuated with the marvels produced by the civil engineer. There is no evidence of a passion for the motor car during his earlier years other than his design for the La Chaux-de-Fonds Motor Car Club.<sup>126</sup>

Both of them had started to collect photographs and illustrations from catalogues, magazines, etc., on the products of post-war industry.<sup>127</sup>

Subjects not normally considered to be of interest to readers of culturally based reviews were included; hospital and office equipment, useful storage units, construction equipment and healthy gymnastic exercises, interleaved with articles on music and art. It was a seemingly incongruous mixture, but one that was made to appear a logical

and harmonious one by its two instigators. There has been nothing since with such an integrity and completeness of approach. Design magazines are a very pale comparison and have nowhere the impact, something which still comes over very strongly today, despite the datedness of the technology.

For the first three articles entitled 'Trois Rappels à MM les Directeurs' written under Le Corbusier-Saunier,<sup>128</sup> Ozenfant said he supplied the illustrations while Jeanneret wrote the script, the grain of the pictures being supplied by a friend of Ozenfant's, Henri Pierre Roche, who had recently returned from America.<sup>129</sup> This may be true for one or two of these illustrations, but one came from a 1915 Werkbund publication by Gropius<sup>130</sup> and others were supplied by the American Portland cement company in answer to a very detailed request from Jeanneret.<sup>131</sup> Certainly, as the consultant architect to Du Bois's 'Société d'Application de l'Art en Armée', he would have been only too aware of these types of concrete structures both in work and the professional journals and he had already designed and constructed a large concrete water tower at Polonaac in 1917.<sup>132</sup> Further industrial photographs had been obtained from a Paris Press Agency.<sup>133</sup>

For part of the basis for his first twelve articles, Le Corbusier probably made considerable use of his theory and history notes prepared during his time teaching in the La Chaux-de-Fonds art school and the later town planning research for the then proposed books. They had been developing over the years since and had been greatly reinforced by his recently acquired confidence in painting and the definition of purism.

Ozenfant and Jeanneret's intention at the start of publication, was the production of a book consisting of a variety of articles drawn from the previous years' issues of L'Esprit Nouveau.<sup>134</sup> This in the end turned into a collection solely of the Le Corbusier-Saunier articles. From the careful construction and build up of these particular articles, this would appear to have been Jeanneret's interpretation of the idea

from the outset; certainly no other production of a general selection of L'Esprit Nouveau articles was produced at this time. The set of twelve articles covered the first sixteen issues of the review before the set was complete.<sup>135</sup> Only one extra article was added to the final book before publication in the autumn of 1923, this chapter was entitled 'Architecture et Révolution', the title of a 1919 lecture by Karl Osthaus.<sup>136</sup> It had been Jeanneret's original intention to call the whole book by this title and it was known under this name during the preliminary negotiations with Grès, the publishers.<sup>137</sup> It was changed to Architecture Nouvelle on the contract signed in December 1922,<sup>138</sup> possibly because the term revolution was not a popular one at the time, too closely associated with fairly recent events in Russia which had caused a diplomatic split of embarrassing dimensions between the two countries. (The only signs of a softening of attitude by France coming at the 1925 Exposition when they permitted the Russians to build a pavilion). Before going to the printers, the title underwent the third and last change to Vers une Architecture which at least had more of a feeling of a vestige of the movement towards a new era than was contained in the first title.<sup>139</sup> Grès, while refusing to publish the review, had accepted the Le Corbusier-Saugnier collection. The book appeared for sale at the start of the 1923 Salon d'Automne and coincided with the recommencement of publication of L'Esprit Nouveau No. 18 which apart from one edition, No. 17, had been out of action for sixteen months.

Jeanneret showed a professional publisher's awareness of the necessity for good timing for publication and he had clearly put a great deal of thought into these matters, to obtain maximum publicity and coverage for his work. Dan Niestlé may well have advised him in this matter as both he and his father were experienced publishers and printers.

To illustrate Ozenfant's article on the Schwob house at La Chaux-de-Fonds for L'Esprit Nouveau No. 6, Jeanneret had asked Léon Perrin to arrange for a series of photographs to be taken.<sup>140</sup> Before

this could take place, he had to break the silence with Anatole Schwob and ask permission for Ozenfant, Léon Perrin and a photographer to have access to the house. Madame Schwob was very co-operative and allowed them to return when they wished; she appeared not to have shared the views of her husband.<sup>141</sup> Jeanneret supplied Perrin with very detailed instructions which were carefully followed and he was pleased with the results.<sup>142</sup>

Adolf Loos had been agreeable to the reprinting in L'Esprit Nouveau No. 2, of his 1907 statement 'Ornement et Crime'.<sup>143</sup> He had also promised to send them some unpublished material but, despite pressure<sup>144</sup> from Jeanneret and the friendship he developed with the directors of the review, when he moved to Paris in 1922, no new material was forthcoming from him.

The Voisin prefabricated asbestos-cement sheet houses, designed by architects Noël and Patout, that appeared in an article in the same issue of L'Esprit Nouveau as the Loos' article, had attracted Ozenfant and Jeanneret's attention when they visited the Paris Trade Fair in the summer of 1920 in the Jardin des Tuileries, where three types were on display.<sup>145</sup>

During the war, the Voisin factory had produced bombers on a production line basis. With the end of the hostilities, they were left with no work for their 1,000 employees; the peace-time use of aeroplanes had only barely started and there was nothing like the wartime demand. Gabriel Voisin had trained for a time as an architect in his youth before a childhood infatuation with flight took over his and his brothers' lives,<sup>146</sup> so that a change from producing aeroplanes to housing on a production line basis was not such an illogical development. It was too radical though for most people, and builders in particular condemned their houses,<sup>147</sup> complete homes built in a factory and transported by lorry straight on to the site within three days of an order being placed, left them with little to do. They were seen as a threat to the con-



tractor's livelihood, despite the acute shortage of homes and the lack of any organisation in the industry to cope with the demand. Voisin had met with the same problem as had Jeanneret and Du Bois when promoting their Domino system. Unfortunately, there were no improvements in sales and the Voisin Factory turned to car production with considerably more success.<sup>148</sup>

Some time during 1920 Ozenfant and Jeanneret had purchased a small prefabricated house, possibly a Voisin or similar type, for themselves as a weekend retreat.<sup>149</sup> They came to an arrangement with the Abbot of a monastery situated at Vaucresson and obtained his permission to erect their cottage in the grounds of his Abbey, conveniently sited very near Paris.<sup>150</sup> It was on these weekends that Jeanneret would have come to know the Mayor of Vaucresson and to arrange some agreement over the sale of land for individual houses. Though only one house was constructed in Vaucresson in 1922 for M. Besnus,<sup>151</sup> two other sites were advertised in L'Esprit Nouveau in 1924.<sup>152</sup>

During 1921, Ozenfant and Jeanneret had to work extremely hard; the removal of Dermée had left them with the major task of managing and producing the whole of the review themselves. At the end of the first twelve months following the production of the joint edition of Nos. 11 and 12, it was clear that they would have to severely rationalise their production to fit their rapidly disappearing capital.

Issue No. 13 of L'Esprit Nouveau was a particularly important one, containing an article entitled Les Maisons en Série signed by Le Corbusier-Saunier. It appeared at the same time as Jeanneret's Citrohan house design and model<sup>153</sup> was on display in the Salon d'Automne, where he had been encouraged to submit his work by the President of the exhibition, Frantz Jourdain.<sup>154</sup>

Realising their financial predicament, Jeanneret was making a big effort to attract the backing of M. Citroen of Citroen cars.

Jeanneret asked Dr. Brille, a personal friend of M. Citroen, to present their case which was :

1. To buy a share in the new increase in capital.
2. Take out an advertising contract as L'Esprit Nouveau readers were potential Citroen owners.
3. Jeanneret would be very happy to publish under the name of Citroen all his ideas on how the new spirit in industry should develop.

He was making this offer because the directors of L'Esprit Nouveau felt that M. Citroen had shown he had similar interests and ideals as theirs, but to no immediate effect,<sup>156</sup> despite/<sup>the</sup>relative success of the Citrohan house when exhibited at the October opening of the 1921 Salon d'Automne.

The Citrohan house project established the name of Le Corbusier as an architect. The scheme attracted several people to enquire how much it would cost to build such a house; amongst these were several of his friends.<sup>157</sup> The Citrohan design itself may well have originated from an early 1921 project to design a studio house for Ozenfant who, the following year, as soon as he received a delayed inheritance from his father's estate, purchased a site and commissioned Jeanneret as architect.<sup>158</sup>

Amongst the first of these enquiries was one from Juan Gris, for a holiday house.<sup>159</sup> The "Villa au Bord de la Mer"<sup>160</sup> for Paul Poiret and his wife also comes from this period. Jeanneret and Ozenfant had obtained, through Bornand, a founder partner in the original Jeanneret practice, access to some coastal sites at Antibes. These were promoted when replying to the Citrohan house enquiries.<sup>161</sup>

Only one of these early contacts, for a M. Gaut, a collector of modern art,<sup>162</sup> went any further than asking for approximate costs. This letter was one of the first Jeanneret signed "Le Corbusier Saugnier".<sup>163</sup> Jeanneret put a great deal of work into providing him with full details of costs and, when asked by M. Gaut, undertook to try to obtain a reduction in the price of a site he had found for himself in Le Parc Montsouris.<sup>164</sup> Jeanneret managed to negotiate a lower price but incurred Gaut's anger by asking for a commission for as selling agent. Gaut

accused him of double dealing.<sup>165</sup> He sacked Jeanneret, bought the site directly from the land owner and offered the house design to Perret.<sup>166</sup> Jeanneret was very upset by his accusations and sent an indignant letter to Gaut complaining of his attitude.<sup>167</sup>

Gaut did not reply, so Jeanneret appealed to Perret in a letter which also indicated that a public image of the Le Corbusier-Saughier personality was taking shape; one he did not like very much.

He wrote :

"I have been told on various sides that for several weeks I had effectively become the object of a serious calumny of which this is the essential part; as well as being an architect, I am a little bit of a madman who conceives impossible things which cannot last. That to achieve my follies I do not hesitate to throw my clients into adventures that could lead them to ruin; that L'ESPRIT NOUVEAU was an enterprise of personal publicity for me".

.....

"I must also tell you that it is understood around Montparnasse that everything I do is inspired directly by you that everything I write is said by you and as a point of history I have been in genuine contact with you in 1908 and part of 1910 and I was twenty years old, I am now thirty-four and between times I have travelled, studied, and built. These statements have been recorded publicly by Vauxelles who does not know me personally. I have not missed any opportunity to prove to you the feeling that I have for you and I have shown this for a long time and once more quite recently but in paying homage to you it must be understood that I did not intend to let myself be crushed completely.

.....

"In architecture I shall never be one of your competitors since for various motives I have given up practicing architecture in a general way and I have confined myself to certain particular problems which bring into play the question of shape or form. I do not think I shall earn my living in architecture but neither do I intend to give up entirely an activity for which I have the liking and even more than that a deep attachment".

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Jeanneret's last comment on his attitude to Perret's work is somewhat sarcastic, he liked and admired Perret but certainly did not feel that his architectural work went far enough. Their friendship was to disintegrate completely over the next two years.

When the Citrohan House (Les Maisons en Série' L'EN No. 13) had produced several enquiries for more information, some of them were not just for individual units, it became clear that similar publicity

for a larger project could provide the necessary introduction to organisations and government departments who had the responsibility and finance for the sort of comprehensive project Jeanneret had been trying to promote for several years, starting with Domino.

At the start of 1922, he had lost no chance in approaching companies he had some contact with, sending them a copy of L'Esprit Nouveau No. 13 and hoping that they would find some points relevant to their particular concern.<sup>169</sup>

One of these went to M. Delloyes, a director of the Saint Gobain Company, who was to take some interest in Jeanneret's ideas.<sup>170</sup>

Herriot, the Mayor of Lyon, received a similar letter, a copy of the article in L'Esprit Nouveau on "Les Maisons en Série".<sup>171</sup>

These two did not raise any firm contracts but from another source came the enquiry from an association of rent/mortgage apartment owners, who wanted Jeanneret to investigate the possibilities of this type of housing finance and to produce an outline scheme suitable for promotion.<sup>172</sup>

This particular approach to finance had become necessary due to the very restrictive rent controls which had begun in Paris as a temporary measure in 1914, and been made permanent at the end of the war. Such a control had made any investment in housing a financial disaster.

No new building had been undertaken for housing except in the wealthier areas of Paris for this reason, and ways had to be found by the government to overcome it. The existing housing became more dilapidated, as no one could afford to invest money in repairs. The population increased with returning soldiers and foreigners, and the density in the poorer central areas of Paris came near to 500 people to the acre; parks and play spaces were in desperately short supply.<sup>173</sup>

Committees had been formed to advise on the future of Paris and had been able to do little other than state the problem. It was possibly a feeling of helplessness in such a difficult situation that prompted Jeanneret to come up with such a radical solution, feeling that

anything less would have had no effect. There was certainly to be no relief to the overcrowding problem and traffic congestion in Paris, until after the second world war.

The scheme for the housing association triggered off the rest of the 1922 "Ville Contemporaine" project, and provided the "Immeubles Villas" for housing outside the central area.<sup>174</sup> Jeanneret sent the drawings of the "Immeuble Villas" project to Paul Westheim of Wasmuth Publications, together with the "Villa aubord de la mer", for inclusion in an article to be written by Westheim on housing.<sup>175</sup>

When the Salon d'Automne opened in October 1922, Jeanneret was asked by a member of the organising committee to give a series of lectures on his Ville Contemporaine.<sup>176</sup> These, together with the publicity that the project had received in the Paris press and international journals, established the name of Le Corbusier as an architectural theorist and it was from this time that he also adopted the name Le Corbusier for his practice work.

The scratchiness between Jeanneret and Perret was not to be relieved over the following year. Perret was also thinking about the town planning problems of Paris; like Jeanneret he had the outlines for a scheme. Late in 1920, Perret had been interviewed by a reporter /the journal from L'Intransigent who had obtained a verbal description from Perret of his project and on this information had published an article, outlining his proposals.<sup>177</sup>

Apart from the information available in this article, Perret was supposed to have accused Jeanneret's cousin Pierre Jeanneret, of informing him of the principles of the scheme, though there would appear to have been no drawings produced of the proposals at this time, when Pierre was working in Perret's office (1920-22). Of Perret's scheme, Jeanneret had written in January in "Trois Rappels à M. M. Les Architectes: Plan" L'Esprit Nouveau, No. 4 :

"Auguste Perret set forth the principle of the City of Towers; but he has not produced any designs. On the other hand he allowed himself to be interviewed by a reporter of the "Intransigeant" and to be so far carried away as to swell out his conception beyond reasonable limits. In this way he threw a veil of dangerous futurism over what was a sound idea. The reporter noted that enormous bridges would link each tower to the next; for what purpose? The arteries for traffic would be placed far away from the houses; and the inhabitants, free to disport themselves in the parks among trees planted in ordered patterns, or on the grass or in the places of amusement, would never have the slightest desire to take their exercise on giddy bridges, with nothing at all to do when they got there ! The reporter would have it also that the town would be raised on innumerable piles of reinforced concrete carrying the streets at a height of 65 feet (6 storeys if you please !) and linking the towers one to another. These piles would leave an immense space underneath the town in which would be placed the gas and water mains and the sewers, the viscera of the city. Perret had never set out his plan, and the idea could not be carried further without a plan". 177

In the next paragraph, Jeanneret claimed to have designed a town based on such principles in 1915, and illustrated it with a sketch that would indicate a design from a later period in his life.<sup>178</sup> In the winter of 1923, Perret wrote an article in Paris-Journal entitled "Auguste Perret Nous Parle du Salon d'Automne"<sup>179</sup> in which he apparently assumed to be the originator of many of Jeanneret's ideas. Jeanneret was not amused particularly as Perret had gone ahead with another house design for M. Gaut, despite his request. He sent the following letter to Perret :

"My dear M. Auguste Perret, 13th December 1923  
You know me sufficiently well to know that I would not omit having read your article in the Paris Journal  
"Auguste Perret speaks to us on the Salon d'Automne".  
A god from Olympus is about to speak. An elder statesman will pronounce a verdict on the efforts of a complete new generation and he is going to utter, on all these vital matters marked in the corner of science, of generosity, and of clairvoyance, a proclamation so full of matter so penetrating that it will create a sensation and will be passed on from group to group. Saint Paul has written his epistle to the Ephesians.  
One reads in Paris Journal  
"A CRY OF PHILANTHROPIC ALARM"  
I Isidore Clysompe famous doctor known for my great works and celebrated for my great activity wish to make known to the public the menace that lies in wait for it.

My neighbour a doctor full of pretensions uses methods and gives prescriptions of such a nature as to reassure those unhappy patients who confide to him their incurable symptoms, their complete blindness, and incurable wounds. I know it and I bring to this completely disinterested statement all the weight of my great experience.

You may think that the feelings of respect and the friendship I still have are painfully affected and I am sure that you had presentiments before writing, with the care for detail that I know you have, this article under your pseudonym Bader (what a heroic task this Mr. Bader who is so sympathetic, had to make, to carry out this hard professional task).

How happy you must be to be able so delicately to deprive yourself of friendships that were so spontaneously offered to you.

For fifteen years I have spoken well of you and if you are crowned with not so large errors that you have made with a great deal of noise you are entitled to keep them for yourself.

If Prague speaks well of you it is because of what I have sent home in saying that you were the architect who had done most for the advancement of our art in the last fifteen years.

If Westheim in Berlin has given you this position believe me he knew nothing about you at all and it is I who informed him of you.

You have been active in the use of reinforced concrete, a well known material in which you have excelled; in architecture you have behind you the Wagram building, the Rue Franklin building but even worse than that you have the studies for the house "Bouteille" that you have directed at the same age as I have now. At this moment you are doing Salikris then you have made Rysselberg lastly you are now finishing Gaut, and it is with this house that you are claiming to establish decisive rules of modern architecture as much aesthetic as constructional really you are blinding yourself too much, allow others to think differently and if we agree that you are a perfect engineer, we are less certain about your talents as a plastic surgeon.

I have again spoken of you quite recently, when in a few days time you receive No. 19 of L'Esprit Nouveau in which I also mention the Salon d'Automne. I do not quote myself do not even make myself admit that I have a certain amount of ability but you are praised with a cordiality which happily was finished before your article in the Paris Journal. This long letter could make you think I am very angry but not so I am only a little aggrieved, as to the remainder why should I worry.

My little road has been built with hard work and thank God without your help it would be very hard to be indebted to you also to finish on a happy note I am tempted to act like à parisian street arab (and I know how you adore the parisian street arab). I am tempted to say to you "Auguste keep yourself busy with your own backside. Forgive me it is the street arab who speaks.

I remain very cordially yours, "

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Perret had been somewhat unfair with his attitude to Jeanneret's work on the 1922 Ville Contemporaine project, a Salon d'Automne scheme produced in the previous year when L'Esprit Nouveau was out of publication. Jeanneret had crystalised many ideas which were under discussion at that time. Towers were certainly fairly common knowledge, and the problem of coping with cars and people was an international one by then. What Jeanneret and Pierre did, was to put a total way of life into three dimensions, in such a cohesive manner that it had an immediate impact, not unlike the realisation of the interconnection of continents which the first space shots of earth have given people in recent years.

A great deal of thought had been put into the practicality of La Ville Contemporaine ; it was based on capitalist economics, offices were in towers, the most impressive building type, housing (whether flats or individual houses) was to be individually owned and financed on a type of housing association basis. When it came to the quality of life, even more care had been given to the detailed attainment of what Jeanneret considered to be the main purpose of his project and architecture in general. Individual and joint facilities for leisure, eating, sport and culture had been provided on such a scale that the recently founded constructivist architects in Russia became very enamoured with his work despite his reluctance to use their terminology for his communal buildings and the not inconsiderable difference in the basic principles.

Since L'Eplattenier's attempt at a small community on the hill above La Chaux-de-Fonds and the Beck housing development, Jeanneret had developed a strong and informed interest in town planning. Through the Domino project, he had been made aware of the necessary economic and political factors that contribute to such proposals. All this was backed up by the not inconsiderable historical studies he had made for an, as yet, unfulfilled book on the subject of Town Planning. From the time



of his arrival in Paris, all his work had been placed in the context of a whole way of life from the individual living unit to a flourishing industrial city. Even his business development projects had part of this thread inherent in their makeup.

Despite the fact that L'Esprit Nouveau had not been publishing for some months, previous readers recognised his work at the Salon and he received many enquiries for articles, illustrations and talks from all over Europe.<sup>181</sup> It was at this time that the first Japanese to notice his work appeared. Teiji Sekiha of the Japanese reparation commission in Paris, visited the scheme and asked for more information for publication in Japan.<sup>182</sup> From then on, there was always to be found a steady trickle of young Japanese architects asking for work in the Corbusier-Jeanneret practice, the results of which can be seen in Japan today.

Amongst the many letters from journals asking for information, was one from Charles Tiège of Devestil 'Union Internationale des artistes d'Avant Garde Revolutionnaire'. He thanked Le Corbusier for the information on the "Ville Contemporaine" and invited him to attend a conference in Prague,<sup>183</sup> an invitation Le Corbusier was to accept. L'Esprit Nouveau had been available for sale there and had proved to be very popular.

Contact with Russian architects had not been so easy to organise. Communications and post had been very unreliable. Eventually, the 'Le Corbusier-Saugnier' articles from L'Esprit Nouveau were republished in Object a Berlin Art Review, edited by a friend of Ozenfant, Elie Ehrenbourg and available, in limited numbers, for sale in Russia. Through these his work became fairly well known.<sup>184</sup> Soon after Lenin died, in 1924, the cultural artistic community found themselves with a little more freedom and the architects association Assnova, through E. Lissitsky, contacted Le Corbusier seeking material for their journal, particularly on La Ville Contemporaine, and they also invited him to visit them.<sup>185</sup>

Ehrenbourg had already asked him to send a copy of Vers une Architecture to Josadat, the state printers of Russia, plus his terms for a Russian translation. He said, Trotsky had read it and approved of Jeanneret's ideas.<sup>186</sup> Pravda was also to ask for a short article on architecture by him.<sup>187</sup> This freedom to contact outside architects was to last for only a short while before the traditionalists once more had the backing of the government, placing considerable limitations on the exchange of ideas.<sup>188</sup>

Somewhat in conflict with the new Bolsheviki attitude was L'Esprit Nouveau's joint management of Oudar the journal of expatriate Russian artists in Paris run by Serge Romoff.<sup>189</sup>

Apart from the Italian Journal Valori Plastici which supervised the distribution of L'Esprit Nouveau in Italy,<sup>190</sup> they also collaborated with the Fascist magazine Gerarchia (whose editor at that time was Mussolini) and Popolo d'Italia.<sup>191</sup>

This widely divergent mixture of politically minded groups was to cause some problems. As Le Corbusier found himself some years later to be labelled as a member of any one of the groups, depending on who was writing. He certainly expressed sympathy with extremists and realised this was the way his work and ideas appeared to most people. Though he never became a member of any specific political group, his sole interest was to see his theories carried out in practice. As many of his ideals were fairly universal, they appealed to a wide variety of factions.

At the start of 1922 L'Esprit Nouveau had become involved in a row that developed over the months to the point when writs were being served. The row was between Louis Vauxcelles, an old enemy of Purism, and Ozenfant and Jeanneret. L'Esprit Nouveau No. 14 had contained an article by Ozenfant on the sale of paintings confiscated at the start of the war from the galleries of Uhde and Kahnweiler.<sup>192</sup> These were principally early works of the Cubists, Picasso, Braque and Gris. In the article, Ozenfant accused Vauxcelles of being in league with the dealers in impressionist art, whose work was not selling well because,

at the time of the sale, Vauxcelles had written a series of articles viciously attacking the work of the cubists, in an attempt to keep the prices of their paintings low. The articles had appeared in Le Carnet de Semaine, under the name Pinturichio, a pseudonym of Vauxcelles. Ozenfant also commented on the very curious double joke fact that, at the same time as the Pinturichio articles appeared, in another journal, La Revue L'Amant de L'Art, using his own name, Vauxcelles, and written an article in praise of cubism.

Vauxcelles denied the allegations and wrote to L'Esprit Nouveau demanding a printed apology and had, instead, his letter printed in the next edition with a reply from the two directors who confirmed their previous statement and countered Vauxcelles' accusations with a threat to sue him for calling them anti-semitic in an earlier article. Both parties exchanged writs with no result and continued the battle on paper, a seemingly childish affair but one that was to trouble Le Corbusier for a number of years and certainly damaged his reputation in the eyes of some people. He felt it was largely due to Vauxcelles that he had found it almost impossible to gain official recognition for his architectural work and it may well have been an important contributory factor.<sup>193</sup>

In January 1923, negotiations had been started with the publishing firm of Budry on the possibility of L'Esprit Nouveau reappearing. The Budry family was sympathetic to their ideas and, on the production of very detailed cost analysis of the past editions, they finally offered them a twelve month contract which came into action in October with L'Esprit Nouveau No. 18. One edition had appeared in July, No. 17, but not as part of the Budry contract.

Though there was little to do for L'Esprit Nouveau, there was plenty of practice work to keep both Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret busy. Several of the earlier enquiries on the Citrohan house had materialised. La Roche had visited the Schwob villa and had been

sufficiently impressed to commission a house from Jeanneret. Ozenfant's house was underway, together with the one at Vaucresson for M. Besnus; Lipchitz and Mietschinoff were at the briefing and site hunting stage.

Jeanneret's brother Albert was marrying a dancer from the Swedish Ballet with her own income and a desire for a house by her future brother-in-law. Negotiations and feasibility studies for several apartment blocks continued to develop, while Jeanneret tried to promote the co-ownership idea through some of the larger fashion and women's magazines.<sup>194</sup>

In an attempt to ameliorate the housing problem and clarify the situation, the government, under the Ribot Law, had specified standards for two types of housing for the middle and working class families for which there would possibly be some relief in the financial stalemate that was existing at that time in development.<sup>195</sup> The ex-director of L'Esprit Nouveau, Dan Niestlé, had commissioned a house that summer from Jeanneret,<sup>196</sup> who used it as a vehicle to demonstrate a Citrohan type house designed on the Ribot standards. A large model was made of the scheme and exhibited in the 1923 Salon d'Automne, appearing at the same time as the first copies of Vers Une Architecture were produced for sale.<sup>197</sup> It is known as the Maison de "Weekend" at Rambouillet.<sup>198</sup>

From this scheme and Vers une Architecture came the Pessac commission. The client, M. Frugès, after seeing his work, gave Jeanneret a free hand to carry out the ideas embodied in his writings and sketch designs for housing<sup>199</sup> on a scheme for low cost housing near his carpet factory at Pessac.

By the end of 1923, Pierre Jeanneret was certainly working full time with Jeanneret. It could not have been easy to stay in Perret's office while the dispute over Gaut and the Ville Contemporaine went on between Perret and Jeanneret. There was certainly enough work for him

to do and a technical assistant for to work with him was being sought for by Jeanneret at the start of 1924.<sup>200</sup> It was during this period that the first enquiries arrived from young men wanting work in the Le Corbusier/Pierre Jeanneret office, attracted by L'Esprit Nouveau and Vers une Architecture.<sup>201</sup>

Le Corbusier made sure of a wide distribution for the book; any likely and reasonably substantial client received a copy, magazines and architects were sent one, including Berlage who dispatched a letter to Le Corbusier criticising the chapter on "Traces Régulateur".

Jeanneret, in his reply to Berlage, denied that he had claimed to have invented the 'governing designs', but he had said that he had never met an architect who made use of them, a somewhat doubtful claim. He asked Berlage to submit an article on his theories for L'Esprit Nouveau and looked forward to meeting him when he made his next trip to Paris.<sup>202</sup> Theo Van Doesburg also exchanged correspondence with Jeanneret at this time.<sup>203</sup>

The recommencement of L'Esprit Nouveau in 1923 saw the beginning of a collaboration between Gropius and Jeanneret, which at the start was principally concerned with exchange of illustrations and exhibition material for the Bauhaus.<sup>204</sup> Though Jeanneret criticised the principles of education at the Bauhaus, as being too expressionist and romantic, he was quick to publish a support of the school when it was threatened with closure and many of the contributors to L'Esprit Nouveau had taught or were to teach there.<sup>205</sup>

Gropius included work by Jeanneret in his book Internationale Architecture, published in 1925.<sup>206</sup> It was a considerable show of confidence as there was still, at this stage, very little in the way of completed work by him and all of that small scale schemes.

Negotiations for the German edition of Vers une Architecture started in December 1923,<sup>207</sup> but they were to take a year and a half to complete. Professor Hildebrandt of the Technical High School in Stuttgart, undertook the translation into German after some small alterations were made to the original edition. He was also a friend

of Willi Baumeister and wrote an article on the painter's work for L'Esprit Nouveau.<sup>208</sup>

Another country to take a strong interest in Le Corbusier's work was Czechoslovakia. The furniture manufacturers U.P. Reunis of Brno invited him for a lecture tour in February 1924. He could not comply with the first date, but eventually travelled to Prague the following January.<sup>209</sup>

The Budry editions of L'Esprit Nouveau were reduced to 92 pages and contained a greater percentage of contributions from both the directors. Jeanneret again planned his articles as part of a future book.<sup>210</sup> This time the subject was the state of design awareness in Europe, the theme being supplied from the activity for the French Government's proposed 1925 International Exhibition of Decorative Arts.

The exhibition had originally been voted for in 1912 by the Chamber of Deputies. They had been impressed by the success of similar exhibitions in other countries and they planned to hold a French exhibition in 1915. War made this impossible, but the idea was not forgotten and when peace finally came, the plans were made for another attempt for 1922. It was felt, by the politicians, that it would be a show of solidarity and, politically, an important manoeuvre to regain international confidence in French industry. Due to economic and political reasons, the year for the exhibition had to be postponed first to 1924, then finally 1925.<sup>211</sup>

The regulations written for the 1922 exhibition remained and they were sent with the invitation to every country, except Germany, which was banned from submitting. Even the new government in Russia was recognised and given an invitation and allowed to submit a pavilion on condition that they held no 'Bolshevik' demonstrations.<sup>212</sup>

The exhibition was open to all manufacturers whose products showed modern tendencies and were artistic in character. Exhibits were to be placed in an appropriate setting and submitted to an approvals

committee before going on exhibition.<sup>213</sup>

Nearly all the invitations were taken up except that of the United States who declined because of the lack of modern work to submit, a somewhat rude reply,<sup>214</sup> possibly brought about by the blame they had received from the French for the depressed state of French economics following the withdrawal of their financial support in 1922. They may have been allies, but they did not have to like one another.

For Jeanneret, the 1925 exhibition was to give him his first real experience of the attitude that French officialdom was to take up against him for most of his career.

In 1918, soon after his arrival in Paris, he had been asked to present a report he had written in 1912 on teaching design in schools, to 'La Commission de L'Enseignement du Comité Central Technique des Arts Appliqués'. The contact had been made through some work and articles that had been published in the French town planning journal Renaissance des Cités and his work for L'Oeuvre. The report was passed round several more committees and they requested permission to publish in Bulletin du Comité the official publication of the administration of the Beaux Arts. Jeanneret was pleased at the time. Present on these committees were Bonnier, Plumet, Dervaux, Guimard and Jourda in amongst others. (All except Frantz Jourdain were later to obstruct his submission to the 1925 Exhibition). Not one had, in actual fact, carried out the resolutions approved in that earlier committee, not surprisingly, as the major recommendation was the closure of the design schools and most of the committee members were professors or principals of just such schools.<sup>215</sup>

Jeanneret had also worked with most of them on the committee for 'La Renaissance des Cités Oeuvre d'Entr'Aide Sociale', a state subsidised association who advised on planning projects. It was presided over by M. Bonnier, who advocated the picturesque winding road as the natural form of planning. His only serious opposition came from Le Corbusier and his preference for the straight line.

Dervaux excused him by saying it was a Swiss idea. Nobody else approved of the use of straight roads. When Jeanneret produced his Diorama he was accused of producing a 'Boche' inspired scheme, a very derogative term in Paris at that time; the same writer Léandre Vaille when commenting on the Pavilion<sup>ide</sup> 'L'Esprit Nouveau', called it a German-Swiss production, which incensed its architect to go into the precise details of his French ancestry.<sup>216</sup> All this background is important in the understanding of the events of 1924 and 1925 leading to the Pavilion<sup>de</sup> 'L'Esprit Nouveau'.

Despite his critical attitude to the whole concept of a decorative arts exhibition and his doubts on content, he did apply for a site in the French section.<sup>217</sup> On explaining his intentions to the chief Architect of the Exhibition and the President of the international awards jury, MM. Plumet and Bonnier respectively, he was told that, as a Swiss national, he was not eligible for space and must apply to their committee, even though they could not avoid the fact that L'Esprit Nouveau was a French Registered company.<sup>218</sup>

Jeanneret then tried to rent a site in the gardens outside the exhibition grounds, but with no success.<sup>219</sup> Bonnier was also the Director of Architecture to Parks and Gardens. Eventually, pressure was put on the French submissions committee to allow him to exhibit, possibly by Frantz Jourdain who knew the extent of Le Corbusier's international status and realised that it would be detrimental to the success of the Exhibition to exclude him; for such exclusion would not be allowed to go unnoticed and the unfavourable publicity would be considerable. He was therefore invited to exhibit a house for an architect, as they considered his proposed subject for the rebuilding of an area of Paris as unrealistic. Jeanneret interpreted this as a home for man, any man, and made no change in the original scheme.<sup>220</sup>

The scheme managed somehow not to have to be submitted to the approval committee, though Plumet and Bonnier were not unforthcoming with



critical comments when they saw the scheme which they considered was totally inappropriate and too large. They could not eliminate him but did the next best thing and allocated the Pavilion<sup>de</sup> 'L'Esprit Nouveau' the most obscure plot on the site<sup>221</sup> with a tree situated in a very awkward place and with the condition that it must not be touched.

All this manoeuvring took eight months. The plot had been obtained and a scheme designed, but there was no money for the construction and many complications on claiming the plot on time. The committee had thus ensured his ineligibility for a grant towards the construction costs. Fund raising was difficult but a comparatively straightforward task compared with the earlier problems. The car manufacturers were approached; again, Citroen and Peugeot did not want to be associated with L'Esprit Nouveau and Jeanneret's radical planning proposals for Paris, but M. Mongerman, a director of the Voisin company, was agreeable and contributed 25,000 francs to the cost, M. Frugès of Pessac supplied a similar amount. There were the ordinary problems of construction but they paled into insignificance when the exhibition was open to the public. The pavilion was finished but on the first day it was almost completely surrounded by tall palisades owned by the parks department. No-one could get near the pavilion. This was not to be an easy thing to do at the best of times as Bonnier had seen to its placement behind one of the larger pavilions. L'Esprit Nouveau even received a bill for the objectionable fence.<sup>222</sup>

The exhibition opened in mid-May. The Pavilion<sup>de</sup> 'L'Esprit Nouveau' was complete, unlike several of the larger pavilions, but had been left off most of the lists of exhibits and guides. This, together with the site location and impenetrable palisade made it very difficult for the passing visitors to even be aware of its existence: appeals to authority did nothing. So when, in July, Jeanneret was presented at an outside function to M. de Monzie, a minister in the French government, he asked him to open the 'L'Esprit Nouveau' pavilion. M. de Monzie accepted and the next day the palisades were removed.<sup>223</sup>

To put the Pavilion in its best light for the distinguished visitor, help was forthcoming from the chief landscaper for the exhibition who returned from holiday just in time to supply the very necessary greenery for the roof terraces and surrounds. Paul Rosenberg lent a large Picasso and Braque for the occasion, and two hundred guests were invited.

De Monzie was impressed and said :

"Sachez bien, dit-il que, vous autres, les inventeurs, vous devez sortir de votre isolement et répudier la méfiance que vous avez en les pouvoirs publics; vous devez rompre votre cercle fermé, vous devez venir a nous. Nous, nous sommes là pour examiner vos propositions, pour les confronter avec les exigences du bien public. Nous sommes là pour vous aider".

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The inauguration had been a success and there were no more problems for the rest of the time the exhibition was open. Despite all the setbacks, when the public eventually arrived, it proved to be a popular exhibit and was almost awarded the diploma of honour for the best exhibit by the international jury, only to be ruled out by the French Exhibition Committee who declared that the pavilion was not eligible as it was not a building.

Demolition provided the opportunity to reopen the dispute with the authorities and Jeanneret's lack of co-operation ensured his continued place of disfavour with Bonnier, Plumet and Dervaux.<sup>225</sup>

There followed a large number of architectural contacts, directly attributable to the success of the Pavilion. Jeanneret's title 'Le Corbusier' was certainly, by now, a well known name if not an officially approved one. M. de Monzie was the only exception to this almost total rebuff from authority, and he, unfortunately, before he could be of any influence, was removed from his post.

Only L'Esprit Nouveau No. 28 was to be published in January 1925, before all the Pavilion activities took over and No. 29,<sup>226</sup> though virtually complete, was never to reach the printers.<sup>227</sup> Dermée, who had been a steady contributor to the last set of L'Esprit Nouveau

was later to attempt to produce an alternative L'Esprit Nouveau but with little success. 228

While all the preliminaries to the production of the Pavilion were underway, Ozenfant must have been getting increasingly disturbed with the situation. In July 1925, he sent the following sparse resignation note to Jeanneret with no explanation of his action :

" Paris 25 Juillet 1925  
Monsieur l'administrateur Délégué de la  
Société des Editions de l'Esprit Nouveau  
Monsieur,  
J'ai le regret de vous faire savoir que j'ai décidé  
de donner ma démission d'administrateur de votre  
société, ainsi que celle de co-directeur de la revue.  
Je vous prie de recevoir, Monsieur,  
l'expression de mes sentiments très distingués  
A. OZENFANT, 53 Avenue Reille Paris 14e"

This was not accepted by Jeanneret who wrote asking him to discuss the problem but with no success. Ozenfant sent him the following letter giving the principal reasons he had for taking such action :

" Paris 20 August 1925  
53 Avenue Reille, Paris  
My dear Jeanneret,  
It was with genuine stupifaction that I learnt from M. Leblance of Messrs. Grés that you had printed a leaflet attacking Paul Rosenberg, and included it in "Peinture Moderne".  
I find it extraordinary that you believe you have the right to insert this into a book signed Ozenfant and Jeanneret without consulting my opinion.  
I do not understand that you could not feel, in addition to the error concerning me, that a book that we had wished to be impartial and uncontroversial should have become the vehicle for a pamphlet (that I find quite unworthy and whose effect can only do harm). Besides our collaboration which was so paternal is too well known for the public to believe that I was not aware of a leaflet filed in a book signed Ozenfant and Jeanneret and doubtless have you not thought of the false situation you have put me in; despite (and perhaps above all) by reason of the little note where you say "this little story does not in any way concern" the one you call your friend Ozenfant.  
In addition it is certain that you have no right to threaten Paul Rosenberg, to insert a venomous note into a book that we collaborated on, this must appear to everyone as blackmail and will only attenuate your good intentions for modern painting. I am completely opposed to its appearance in the book.

I have not given you (in order to avoid useless discussions with you as I know they will be when you have made up your mind) the immediate reasons for my resignation as director and manager of L'EN that I have sent to you. I remembered that you brought pressure to bear on "Le Printemps" in order to obtain its services at the exhibition stand of L'EN by threatening to campaign against Primavera in "Your review L'EN".

These are abuses that I cannot accept and which oblige me to renew my resignation. I know that you have not the necessary quality to accept it on your own but you alone as managing director have the power to call the necessary general meeting.

My dear Jeanneret, I did everything for years to avoid or eliminate rough passages between us. I hope that I have saved a little of this friendship which was so precious to me.

Believe in my affection. Ozenfant " 229

It was a sad end to a friendship. The actual subjects of the disputes did not appear to be the main reason for the split, it would have appeared to be, a further instance of Jeanneret's remorseless ambition moving him on to greener fields. Ozenfant thought L'Esprit Nouveau had provided him with the vehicle to publicise his ideas and to attract clients with the funds to put them into reality, but its purpose had been met, even though possibly by that time it was well established enough as a journal to have continued as long as its directors wished. There should have been no real problem in negotiating a further contract with Budry or a similar firm, but the necessary drive from Jeanneret for its existence was now directed into other channels, principally architectural.

c. Development

With the money Jeanneret had borrowed on the security of his fees from Riva and Schwob and his friends' help, he was reasonably free from immediate basic financial problems during his first year in Paris in 1917, and could throw himself into the organisation of the Alfortville factory and finding equipment for the lightweight block making process. Also, any scheme that came into his office from S.A.B.A. was given a great deal of thought as they were few and far between. One of these schemes was for an electricity power plant, apparently oil fired and including three accommodation units for the staff, two labourers and the foreman.<sup>1</sup> It was to be situated at Saintes near La Rochelle, and the layout produced by Jeanneret was well thought out and functional. The machine hall was a simple, flat-roofed, symmetrically planned building with chamfered corners and a clear internal space. The ancillary accommodation was expressed in a small block. The house had a strong resemblance to some of the Domino house layouts, though an external staircase was incorporated, as the accommodation had been placed above garages, stores and an office. The structure was to be a concrete slab with rendered blockwork walls. A cantilevered floor was indicated in an earlier sketch but abandoned for the final scheme. The interior sketches and drawing style owe a great deal to Tessenow. The project was never implemented.

In May 1917, a Swiss firm of watch manufacturers with a factory in Normandy at Sainte Nicolas d'Aliermont, near Dieppe, asked S.A.B.A. to investigate the feasibility of building a small Cité Ouvrière, a somewhat out of scale name for their actual intentions, but nevertheless, the project was not just for housing.<sup>2</sup> The accommodation was to include rooms for lodgers and single men as well as houses for families, some of a higher standard for foremen and facilities for a small shop, laundry and open space. Every house had an allotment. The plan initially was for fifty to sixty houses and a site had been selected

for the scheme. Cost was all important; the initial estimate using a contractor was too expensive, between 10,000 and 15,000 francs per house, nearly double the pre-war price. It was not helped by the acute shortage of materials caused by the war. Jeanneret proposed that the firm should build the houses using their own workers and recommended that they purchase two lightweight concrete block machines to assist in the task and simplify the construction problems. The directors were more sympathetic to this idea and Jeanneret also reduced his fee estimate from 7% to 5%, a sum of approximately 9,000 francs. He sent them a very detailed contract which provided for travelling expenses and the control of the supervision of the construction.<sup>3</sup>

Jeanneret made a careful study of the site and the surrounding architecture before producing a scheme for 46 houses based on the local house type, which had a steeply pitched roof containing the sleeping accommodation. The planning and construction was worked out to be as economical as possible; the site layout was simple, based on garden city principles. Interiors and site perspectives again show the influence of Tessenow.<sup>4</sup>

One cottage was eventually built but possibly the costs of construction were still too high, and the continuance of the war stopped any further development, despite the self-build approach, and later existing property was bought for the purpose at a cheaper price.<sup>5</sup>

One of the directors of the firm, a M. Thevenet, was interested in Jeanneret designing a house for his family at Podensac in the Gironde, but all that came of this was a rather elaborate water tower that included an observation point on the top and a summer house under the main tank. It is still standing though unused. The structure was reinforced concrete.<sup>6</sup>

In September of 1917, Jeanneret moved out of his temporary accommodation in the offices of S.A.B.A. and took over the lease of a much larger and more impressive premises in the rue d'Astorg with expectations 134

of an improvement in both business and practice. Soon afterwards, through Du Bois's connection with the Swiss Legation in Paris, Jeanneret had the opportunity to submit a proposal for the new Legation headquarters, which had to be in the form of a conversion of an existing property. So, both he and Du Bois went in search of a suitable building. They found a disused hotel and submitted an outline project which was eventually rejected, not on the grounds of unsuitability, but diplomacy, the Swiss minister concerned thought a French architect should be employed. Jeanneret was disgusted and refused to attend a formal reception for the minister, an invitation which was much sought after.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, and again through Du Bois and an associated food refrigeration company, Jeanneret was eligible to submit a project in a limited competition for a new abattoir at Challix near Toulouse. There was only a short time to prepare the drawings and he was somewhat tentative at taking on such a project as it was by far the largest and most complex planning problem that he had attempted.<sup>8</sup> Though his scheme was not selected, he was very proud of it and felt that the design was his first real attempt at architecture.<sup>9</sup> Du Bois did not work with him on the design, though it made use of the Domino structural principles; another engineer in S.A.B.A., a M. Reeh, carried out the concrete design with a M. Bertier for the costing and management.<sup>10</sup>

The abattoir scheme has only been illustrated in the first German edition of Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, which is curious, unless Le Corbusier did not wish to become known as an industrial architect. For a young and inexperienced designer, the scheme is certainly nothing to be ashamed of and the planning is extraordinarily functional. The pigs walk up a ramp to the top of the factory where the slaughter house was situated, the carcasses then proceed on a gravity system to the various process plants and the delivery bay at ground level (based on the principles of Taylorisation, a work system from the United States which had attracted a lot of attention in France, that Jeanneret had been

studying).<sup>11</sup> Apart from the structural system many other elements that were to appear in his later work can be seen in this scheme for the first time, i.e. the use of ramps, external staircases, articulation of the different functional elements, horizontal separation of the circulation routes, vehicles passing beneath the building, fenestration patterns, external expression of structure and a building complex on the flat roof. The general massing and layout also show unmistakably the beginnings of the style, later to be associated with the larger projects designed under the name of Le Corbusier.

When the war had ended, the French Government had time to become aware of the desperate housing problem all over France and particularly in Paris, where the population was increasing at an alarming rate, an increase brought about by returning pre-war Parisians, out of work munition workers and large numbers of foreigners attracted to Paris as a centre for a new way of life. In 1918 the authorities had made permanent a 1914 law, which had frozen rents and prohibited any increases.<sup>12</sup> The result of this was to make investment in housing extremely uneconomical but only small attempts were made to counteract this when its effect was realised.

In April 1919, repairs to damaged housing property received some relief on restrictions, together with organisations producing low cost housing. Conditions were laid down under which companies wanting this work should be organised. Land acquisition for open space in Paris, which was desperately needed, was also given some consideration.<sup>13</sup>

This renewed interest by the authorities in the housing problem encouraged Jeanneret to once more investigate the architectural and financial problems involved. In the first few months of 1919, through business prospects, he had renewed an early interest in asbestos-cement and the products of a Swiss firm 'Eternit' at Glaris in Switzerland.<sup>14</sup> The original Domino scheme had required a certain amount of timber shuttering together with the skilled labour that using such material implied. Both



were now in short supply and a considerable handicap for any mass production system. Bearing this in mind, Jeanneret produced a permanent shuttering system using asbestos-cement for small single-storey houses, very similar in plan to Domino. <sup>(and previously discussed in an earlier chapter)</sup> They also resembled a small house design by Perret in 1915 but, as Jeanneret had shown Perret his Domino project at the time, it would be difficult to attribute this entirely to Perret particularly as most minimal houses have to have a strong plan resemblance. It is much more likely that Jeanneret made use of the vaulted structure Perret had employed in building some concrete dockside warehouses in Casablanca in 1915. Jeanneret registered a patent for his system in February 1919 together with a similar one for factory construction.<sup>15</sup> The housing was called Monol<sup>16</sup> a derivative from Mörsch's 'Monolythe' system. Earlier sketches show the main structure on columns, concrete filled asbestos cement tubes, standing in some cases clear of the main enclosure walls, but the final version showed appreciation of the strength created when the hollow walls were filled with concrete. Three standard wall panels were used in a variety of combinations joined by an ingenious system of clips and bolts requiring, in theory, little skilled labour. The windows were of the same standard lattice form used by Jeanneret in all his previous low cost housing projects. The roof was of slightly arched sheets which provided a finished ceiling surface and permanent shuttering for a concrete egg-shell roof. Exploiting the curving possibilities of asbestos sheet still further, the housing incorporates the first Corbusian curved W.C. compartment, expressed externally by the front entrance.<sup>17</sup>

The factory system looks like the previous year's structure for the abattoir design. The columns are constructed out of two tubes, one small diameter surrounded by a wire reinforcement cage, then a large diameter tube over both, making a hollow column when the space between the tubes was filled with concrete. The floor made use of inverted asbestos-cement dishes the size of washing-up bowls, similar to today's

coffered shuttering systems. These could be left exposed, or a system was available with a lid which left a flat ceiling line. Walls and any internal partitions could be independent of the columns which also doubled as a drainage system for the flat roof.<sup>18</sup>

In France designing low cost workers housing on a large scale could be a profitable exercise for engineers and architects, as they could patent their systems, both plans and method of construction, where as in England there was little reward as no patenting facilities existed. Any remuneration did not justify the depth of investigation and work necessary to ensure a reasonable standard.<sup>19</sup>

Jeanneret sold some of his patents<sup>20</sup> and expended a great deal of energy during 1919 and the first few months of 1920 in an attempt to establish a French company for the production of Eternit using a Swiss patent and manufacturing process: the new company was to be called Everite.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, it did not meet with a great deal of success and had to be abandoned at the end of 1920.

In November 1919, the Monol system did attract one company to proceed further than an initial enquiry, the firm of J. Jourdain, a manufacturer in Troyes, a very badly war devastated area in north-east France. The Directors approached Jeanneret to design a (workers)' Cité Ouvrière' at Vouldry near Troyes. It was to be based on the basic Monol system incorporating the natural gravel subsoil with cement to make the slab and infill. The plan was basic Monol but included some two storey units; the floors were of timber and the roofs asbestos-cement sheet construction, recessed behind an eaves upstand. The entrance had a cantilevered canopy which was an innovation. The overall layout, like Monol, was similar to the St. Nicholas scheme and included large vegetable gardens, but again the work progressed no further than the design stage.<sup>22</sup>

Three more similar projects with small plan variations were to be investigated during 1920, one of which, in February, reached the construction stage, but as Jeanneret was not responsible for the

supervision, the builder ignored his elevation design and incorporated a pitched roof instead of the original flat concrete construction. This was for a firm of glass makers, Manufacture de St. Gobain at Thourotte. The main walls made use of light-weight blocks rather than the Monol system. It also incorporated a recessed roof behind an upstand with a cantilevered concrete canopy: the curved W.C. compartment was still there. The interiors were well equipped in the Tessenow manner; perspectives show bow-fronted sideboards, chests of drawers and windows with spotted muslin curtains.<sup>23</sup>

The other two schemes achieved even less success; one, in August 1920, was for steel workers, possibly arising out of Jeanneret's business deals in steel reinforcement and sheet, Aciérs de Grand Couronne near Rouen.<sup>24</sup> The layout was very much tighter but the structure was Monol. The other was for the commune of Ecoeu en la Rivière at Le Pont Vert in October 1920, incorporating the Monol system but with a pitched roof giving them a strong resemblance to the Voisin houses that had appeared in the Paris exhibition that summer.<sup>25</sup>

All these small housing schemes for 'Cités Ouvrières' had a strong business basis. Financial backers were actively sought and presented with ideas for development, but there was no reassurance from the Government, whose officials, while making sympathetic signs of activity, never co-ordinated their ideas sufficiently to come up with any form of organisation which would finance or encourage investment in this basic form of housing. It was a disaster for France and particularly for Paris. In the period 1919-1925, Germany had built 808,000 houses, Great Britain 654,000, Belgium 152,000, but all France could produce from her muddled government leadership was 18,707. Plans for the provision of more open space in Paris were ignored; business and luxury housing ate away at the available sites, meeting with little official resistance.<sup>26</sup>

In 1920, two French Ministers, Loucheur and Bonnefoy, had advocated that France would need 500,000 new homes in the next ten years

and that new rationalised methods of construction would have to be employed. The standards would be those advocated by the Ribot Law, first introduced in 1908 and continually amended: two classes of dwelling were specified, Habitations à Bon Marché HBM for lower income housing and Habitations à Loyer's Moderes HLM, with a price restriction of 15,000 francs for the HBM type.<sup>27</sup> In principle, the law laid down certain minima; 9m<sup>2</sup> for habitable rooms, daylight and ventilation requirements, space for a garden, initially 1,000m<sup>2</sup> and later reduced. The tenant paid a controlled rent and the owner received relief from certain taxes. However, because of the post-war freezing of rents, this was no longer a viable investment for private developers and the government could come to no decisions on their responsibility in this field. There were too many powerful influences on the government who were in no way interested in such social investment.

Apart from a reduction in tax on sales of small sites, Loucheur's and Bonnevey's recommendations to overcome these problems only passed stage one in the Chamber of Deputies. Full official recognition was only granted in 1928 which was much too late. Meanwhile, Paris, with no adequate town planning controls, was a magnetic attraction for international business. Newly built concentrated areas of office blocks increased while existing residential areas had to absorb more and more people, some achieving 433 people to the acre and the contrast between the wealthy arrondissements, like the 16<sup>e</sup>, and the poorer was increasing. All the services were inadequate and the mortality rate was very high in the working class districts, where these problems achieved gigantic proportions.<sup>28</sup>

The situation was certainly not unrecognised by the officials or the public and received considerable publicity. Jeanneret, at that time, was involved with a group of French architects and planners concerned with the technical solutions to these problems, as a member of the Technical Commission of La Renaissance des Cités, Oeuvre d'Entr 'Aide

Sociale, a state backed society.<sup>29</sup>

In June, as part of his work for the commission, he wrote to a M. Pury, President of L'Office Départemental des Maisons à Bon Marché at Montpellier to enquire after technical details of a 16,000 francs house that they had produced, stating their mutual interest in low cost housing, but no official interest was ever expressed in the work on housing that Jeanneret was producing at this time.<sup>30</sup>

All of 1920 year's work, arising out of his previous investigations for the Domino project and the inherent town planning problems, led him to think very seriously about the whole situation. This was happening against the background of the Socialist Revolution in Russia, which Jeanneret did not consider the means of achieving aims; he was far more interested in the resolution through the recognised channels of business and trade. The government was seen only as a control body to ensure standards and to provide the right financial inducements. When, in 1920 and 1921, housing associations were formed to encourage tenant ownership for apartments, and mortgage systems for self-build schemes, Jeanneret was not slow to see the possibilities of a system entirely in agreement with his approach. Most of his architectural work during the following year, 1921, was to be taken up with the exploration of this field, which was in harmony with his business activities.

In May 1921, Jeanneret had produced a report on two types of financing available for such Co-operative housing associations. He had been asked to prepare it by Crédit Immobilier, a Paris based housing society. The information showed that he had a comprehensive knowledge of the functionings of the complicated financial arrangements and in the conclusion favoured the eventual individual ownership scheme rather than a co-operative ownership.<sup>31</sup>

Though no actual scheme resulted from this initial exercise, Jeanneret had decided that whatever potential there was lay in the field

of owner-occupiers rather than corporation or municipal housing. He, at that time, had no examples of suitable house or apartment types of HLM standard, allowing for two to three times the space and approximately four times the cost due to better finishes and fittings of HBM housing.

Jeanneret started to collect material for the article "Maisons en Série" for the No. 13, December 1921 issue of L'Esprit Nouveau, where the Monol houses were shown rearranged as middle class homes with increased space.<sup>32</sup> It was also at this point that the idea for a town on piles appeared with vertical separation of traffic.<sup>33</sup>

1921 saw little live practice work apart from one house conversion for the parents of Jean Berque, a painter friend of Ozenfant. The new office was under-used but a large part of the cost was defrayed by renting part of the space to L'Esprit Nouveau as a headquarters office. This was a very convenient arrangement for L'Esprit Nouveau and Jeanneret, as both he and Ozenfant had had by then removed the editorship from Dermée and taken over all his responsibilities themselves.<sup>34</sup> So Jeanneret concentrated on his business affairs, the finance and management of the review and his own private investigation into architectural theory and the housing problem.

Ozenfant had wanted a house designed by Jeanneret and even though he had no money for such an enterprise, they discussed its form and Jeanneret had incorporated some of the ideas into a prototype urban house based on a new assessment of the official space requirements. The two-storey living studio space was much admired by both of them and they knew it well from the café where they ate in the evening.

Ozenfant in his Mémoires said :

"For six years Le Corbusier and I had our daily meals together very frequently at the little bistro Legendre opposite my apartment in the rue Godet-de-Mauroy. It was a fairly narrow building but deep, almost four times as long than wide and very high in proportion; the rear half was divided in its height by a room with a balcony open in front like the studios of Parisian artists. Daylight came from a large window covering the whole facade.

The place pleased us because its arrangement made ingenious and agreeable use of the space, the height of the main ceiling gave freedom with regard to those seated well below or on the gallery, and that part of the ground floor below the gallery made several pleasantly intimate areas. The long axis gave this little restaurant a certain amiable dignity. One felt well here. We thought that a house arrangement on similar lines would be agreeable. The restaurant Legendre was the seed of the idea for my own studio, the first house to be signed Le Corbusier".

35

Jeanneret described this as :

"Open your eyes. We eat at a little restaurant for cab drivers in the centre of Paris. There is a bar (the Zinc), the kitchen at the far end. A gallery cuts in two the height of the place, the front gives on the street. One fine day one discovered this and one saw that the proofs that one presented here have all the architectural mechanism that would suit the arrangement of a man's house".

36

It is possible that this studio project had been carried out in sketch form earlier in 1921, well before "Citroën" and the Poiret house, which both contained the double height space with a mezzanine, but Ozenfant was not able to execute his studio until he had his unexpected windfall.

The result of their thinking first appeared in the Salon d'Automne of that year. Frantz Jourdain had encouraged Jeanneret to submit some of his work in the architectural gallery and, for this purpose, Jeanneret had prepared a project for the HLM house type for mass production. It was part of a commercial package and aimed at attracting a large manufacturer as a backer. Jeanneret had selected M. Citroën, being one of the most enlightened and demonstrably modern functional designer and producer of motor cars, as the focus of his project, by using a derivation of his name for the house and drawing analogies between the functional and uncluttered lines of the Citroën automobile and the house design. Together, the previous year, Ozenfant and Jeanneret had approached M. Citroën directly for support for L'Esprit Nouveau with little success.<sup>37</sup> This time he was contacted through a mutual friend, Dr. Brille, but with no better result; nevertheless, the title remained.<sup>37</sup>

The house could incorporate either the earlier structural frame principle or load bearing walls and made better use of smaller spaces in combination with reduced size in doors and windows, citing mass produced cars and railway carriage doors.

The house design included a room for living-in maid, cellar, garage and two rooms for children; a new element was the consideration in the overall form and layout, that the design could be incorporated in a terrace layout suitable for a high density urban site. The drawing style showed the influence of purist techniques and possibly the greater expertise of Pierre Jeanneret's draughtsmanship, though the change is more noticeable in the work of the following year.

Jeanneret's cousin, Pierre Jeanneret, having completed his architectural course in Geneva, had joined Jeanneret and Albert Jeanneret in Paris in November 1920. At first he stayed with them, then at an hotel before taking over the lease of No. 95 rue de Seine, when the office of L'Esprit Nouveau moved from there into Jeanneret's office at 29 rue d'Astorg.<sup>39</sup>

Pierre had obtained his diploma in Architecture from the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Geneva, after a break in his education due to the war and army service. He came to Paris against his family's wishes with the intention of working with Jeanneret but as at that time he had very little architectural work to do, Pierre obtained a job with Auguste Perret, where he stayed until 1923 working in his spare time with his cousin.<sup>40</sup>

This partnership with his cousin was to prove to be a very important relationship for Jeanneret. Pierre was certainly not in a position of mentor to him as had been L'Eplattenier and Ritter, but he was nevertheless to contribute an invaluable amount to Jeanneret's development as an architect. Jeanneret while he called himself an architect had, in actual fact, very little professional experience, and no recognised qualifications. His work, apart from the abattoir project, had been almost totally restricted to interior schemes, single



houses or theoretical mass housing ideas associated with the Domino project. Pierre's contribution will be discussed more fully in the architectural chapter, but it was first noticeable in the projects prepared for L'Esprit Nouveau and the Salon d'Automne .

Jeanneret may well have earlier played a considerable part in Pierre's choice of a career in architecture. They had both spent some time together in Paris and Geneva in 1912 before Pierre started his studies.<sup>41</sup> He had been an excellent student, gaining the school's first prize in architecture, painting and sculpture in 1914 and was to become an architect of considerable ability, capable of organising a large scheme through all its stages, and though younger than Jeanneret, he was technically far more knowledgeable in many aspects of architecture than his cousin.<sup>42</sup>

The formal course at Geneva contained elements of both the French and German systems, so Pierre had a good technical background and experience in producing the large esquisse drawings that were part of the Ecole des Beaux Arts system.<sup>43</sup> The addition of this expertise to Jeanneret's work can be seen in the improvement in the presentation of his ideas, particularly the large scale presentation for La Ville Contemporaine, and the increased confidence in the detailed planning and perspective views.

Jeanneret was not unaware of this and made good use of his abilities. The fact that Pierre was qualified must have been of vital importance in enabling the practice to take on larger projects in later years. Jeanneret never employed Pierre and they always worked on an independent basis as partners. In the early years, Pierre Jeanneret received a percentage of the clients' fee.<sup>44</sup> In undertaking this type of arrangement with his cousin, Jeanneret was totally ignoring his partnership agreement with Du Bois and Bornand.

The 'Citrohan' house scheme and the follow up in L'Esprit Nouveau attracted a variety of enquiries. One of which came from Paul Poiret,

the husband of Madame Jove, who had made her fashion showrooms available as a gallery for Ozenfant's and Jeanneret's first purist exhibition, and a sketch scheme was produced. The house, known as Villa au bord de la mer<sup>45</sup> is a very interesting design and the first time that Jeanneret with his recently acquired confidence in the use of pure form, had the freedom to explore the design potential of the Domino structure and the use of movable partitions without the restrictions of mass production.

Monol type roof and floor vaults were incorporated together with a plan form free of the dictates of the structure. The potential of the column system was realised in this scheme for the first time by Jeanneret. Earlier projects could well have been a load bearing wall system if judged by the final plan form, which is possibly why that, as Le Corbusier, he placed the scheme in Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929 and dated it 1916, as a logical follow on from the existing perspective of the columns and slab structure of the Domino project on the previous page. This demonstrates this particular point very clearly and is a drawing from the article Maison en Série, a drawing possibly produced with the help of Pierre Jeanneret. In My Work the Poiret house was dated 1921.

Jeanneret's work and the review had attracted a strong following among members of the international art world of Paris: the idea of being able to buy an economical standard house appealed to some of them. While the cost of traditional building appeared exorbitant, the Citrohan house offered a radical and avant-garde solution, particularly sympathetic to the followers of Purism and the Review. They had been educated to admire simple form with proportion as the only acknowledged decoration, if it can be so called.

Certainly, Domino and the Cité Ouvrière schemes of 1920 had shown little comprehension of the spatial possibilities of the structure. The Poiret house included a double height living space and gallery with a spiral staircase, an influence from the café principle of the Citrohan house. Furniture in the house was minimal with most essential items built in, glass there was in abundance in large industrial metal frames

which could have proved extremely uncomfortable in that location. The round port hole windows must have been inspired by contemporary ship styling. The site was at Cap d'Antibes, possibly on some land purchased for development by Bornand, one of Jeanneret's partners.<sup>46</sup> It may well have been a promotion scheme to encourage buyers. Poiret would have been an ideal client, encouraging many to follow him. They had met through Perret's society for the promotion of the arts, both being on the organising committee. Poiret was also a friend of Jacques Emile Blanche and Ozenfant and exhibited interior designs at the Salon d'Automne.<sup>47</sup> Jeanneret's sketches for the project show increasing confidence and indicate his later sketching style for the first time. The cottage image was definitely abandoned for this project.

In a letter to Paul Westheim of the Wasmuth Press enclosing sketches of the house for an article Westheim was writing, he said :

"The principle of this house develops the kind of study made in the "Houses in Series" article published in No. 13 of L'Esprit Nouveau; it concerns the adaptation of a factory made construction system (piles in reinforced concrete and arches of egg shell reinforced cement applied to a master villa the whole of the architectural effort concerns the general shape of the house and the positioning of the bay windows, the architectural part being exactly based on the use of standard beams all similar and all made in the same mould, this giving a unity to the detail work which I seek to obtain more and more in my buildings.

As you can well understand, there are no useless decorations, the rhythm and the proportions are all that matter here".

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Another early enquiry came from the painter Juan Gris. He had written on behalf of a friend who wanted a house by the sea or in the countryside. They wanted to know if the house could be built by an ordinary contractor, how much would it cost and what sort of drawings would Jeanneret supply. In his reply, Jeanneret said it could be built for approximately 50,000 francs depending on the local conditions and that he would supply a set of fully detailed working drawings. He also took the opportunity to promote Bornand's site at Antibes, where he indicated that they hoped to build several such houses during the year.<sup>49</sup>

Another came from Dr. Allendy, a recent contributor to L'Esprit Nouveau No. 13 with an article on synthetic medicine.<sup>50</sup> He wanted the same information as did Juan Gris. Later, he was to become a regular contributor to L'Esprit Nouveau when it reappeared in 1923. Neither of these enquiries went any further but a third potential 'Citröhan' owner progressed to the contract stage. The client was an art collector and dealer, a M. Gaut, who was interested in the work of the sculptor Lipchitz at the time. Gaut had already found himself a site near the Parc Montsouris on what had been a large estate on the edge of Paris, now supplied with a road and divided into small plots. The Avenue Seurat was in the same neighbourhood and had a similar layout. The conditions of sale complied with the 1920 law and escaped the stamp duty, but the sites were very tight. They attracted artists, writers and professionals who could no longer find suitable rented accommodation. Jeanneret was first given the task of negotiating a lower price for the site from the agent and Gaut agreed to his fee terms but wanted a detailed estimate before accepting a contractor with a fixed price contract of not more than 60,000 francs. The drawings were produced in sufficient detail for a price of 55,000 francs and the site price had been successfully reduced by the middle of May 1922. However, the reduction was not sufficient for Gaut's satisfaction and he approached the owner directly obtaining the site for a still lower sum and he found that Jeanneret had arranged a fee from the agent for confirming the sale of the plot. He refused to continue with Jeanneret as his architect and took the project to Perret instead.<sup>51</sup>

Jeanneret was insulted that he should be thought of as swindling his client and that he would have kept the money so gained. A great deal of work had been done already on the design including the large reduction in the original site cost. He wrote to Perret explaining the situation and asked him not to consider Gaut as a client but, unfortunately, it came at the time of the great controversy between them

over the authorship of the use of towers and underground roadways as a means to solve modern city problems and Perret accepted the work, which did nothing to improve their relationship. An uninspired house was eventually built in 1924 by Perret for Gaut in rue Deutsch de la Meurthe.<sup>52</sup> The work carried out by Jeanneret for Gaut was not wasted. The drawings, which were very possibly produced by Pierre Jeanneret, could have been used for the house known as 'Citrohan II', later to be exhibited with 'La Ville Contemporaine' at the Salon d'Automne in November 1922. It was a much more precise scheme than 'Citrohan I', clearly constructable and a detailed price had also been obtained from a contractor.

During the year there were a few more potential clients but they produced nothing at all positive. Jeanneret, on his part, had sent a copy of the article, 'Maisons en Série' to Mr. Delloyes of the St. Gobain company for whom he had done some work during the previous year,<sup>53</sup> and M. Herriot, the Mayor of Lyon.<sup>54</sup> Another copy went to Westheim of the Wasmuth press for an article he was writing on modern housing.<sup>55</sup>

At the start of 1922, L'Esprit Nouveau was being sued by Vauxcelles and was also in severe financial straits. During January 1922, both the administrators had been kept busy trying to raise some extra capital. One of the people whom they approached was the Marquis de Polignac. The introduction was effected through the wife of a friend of Sigmond Marcel, Madame Guy, who worked for the Marquis at Rheims.<sup>56</sup> His wife took up a subscription and some shares in the new issue and the Marquis, later in 1925, was to consider building a house by Jeanneret but the project only went as far as the sketch design stage,<sup>58</sup> though later he was to receive the commission for the Salvation Army work promoted by the Marquis' wife, Princess de Polignac.<sup>59</sup>

Because of the worry over finance and new problems with Alfortville, Jeanneret had to defer until April 1922 the production of

a report requested by M. Lafollyer, chairman of the Chamber of Property Owners<sup>60</sup> on his ideas for the construction of blocks of flats and estates exhibited at the 1921 Salon d'Automne.<sup>61</sup> It was entitled Economie Domestique and proposed the construction of a Cité d'Habitation with a totally new way of looking at community and home life, worked out in great detail.<sup>62</sup> The philosophy was expressed in the terms of a large apartment block, each dwelling unit in private ownership with a share in the communal facilities. Jeanneret's individual apartment known as an Immeuble-Villa in a split-level 'Citrohan' form with its modern planning<sup>concept</sup> would be spacious but smaller in area. Many functions previously executed there could become part of the communal facilities thus reducing the reliance on personal staff and the need for large service spaces. Activities such as cleaning, laundry and cooking would be centralised and tenants could eat in a restaurant or have meals delivered to the apartment. Great savings would be made by purchasing food and supplies wholesale. Deliveries would be made to each unit by means of a lift; sports facilities on the ground or roof together with exercise space in each home would provide on-the-spot relaxation and leave the individual plenty of free time to pursue his own interests. Gardens were incorporated in each unit with large recreational spaces at ground level.<sup>63</sup> The project designed for this report was not to be immediately taken up though more information with regard to individual costs and possible sites were required.

Not to be daunted, this project was also dispatched to Wasmuth Publications for Paul Westheim in the hope of being published, as at that time L'Esprit Nouveau was no longer in full publication therefore not available for publicity purposes.

By 1922 the problems of the Paris congestion both with regard to people and motor cars, was painfully apparent to everyone. The statistics were alarming and the deaths from tuberculosis and similar diseases, directly attributable to poor housing, were increasing.

Travel times were taking longer, despite the supposedly faster motor car and costs were rising. It was the subject of much discussion but still almost no action by the men in authority. With very powerful individual interests in business and property, almost any scheme faltered because there were no real governmental powers to countermand the individual where necessary nor the finance to carry a scheme out even if someone could be found strong enough to put such commercially unpopular measures into practice.<sup>64</sup>

The problem of the future of Paris was a very topical subject. Maurice Temproul of the Salon d'Automne, probably at Franz Jourdain's instigation, asked Jeanneret in July if he would prepare a submission on some aspect of the subject for the 1922 Salon d'Automne in September. Though their ideas would appear to have been on a very small scale ...

"One July day Marcel Temproul having taken over the management of the Urban Section of the Salon d'Automne asked Le Corbusier to create something for the November Salon. Urban Art is the shop sign in wrought iron the door of the house, the street fountain, everything that our eyes see from the pavement up etc. Make us then a beautiful fountain or something similar he said".

65

But they must also have been aware of his efforts to implement the development of co-operative housing and Jourdain at least would know that he would take the opportunity to submit a project on these lines in the hope that some publicity would help to get a scheme off the ground. The request came at the right time for Jeanneret. He had by now developed two main housing types and realised that the problem was far greater than just another house plan or building technique as it involved the whole structure of society, a stage many architects know about. Many have been led to design an ideal city believing that an ordered environment can create an ordered society. Jeanneret had the historical background, a good supply of statistics and a method of analysis developed from Taylorism and his housing schemes, the results of which were / to be synthesised in outline in a project entitled Ville Contemporaine de Trois Millions. Small scale theorising, he felt, would be useless,

the project had to be radical and encompass the life of the whole city.

With the help of Pierre Jeanneret, Jeanneret set to work, seeing his task in the widest possible terms. The project was on an entirely theoretical basis and had no immediate connections with site, nationality or politics. The aim was to improve the quality of life and the means to support this on an individual basis. He would have appeared to see the scheme as a combined environmental and management problem. Political labels were avoided to such an extent that it could be looked on as containing a fascist, communist or capitalist inspired society depending on individual personal beliefs, which says a great deal for the success of the project functionally; like a doorway, the main elements are universal. In fact, the Jeanneret society was strictly capitalist, the glittering central towers contained the driving force, the business enterprises, offices and boardrooms. Transport, the delivery and removal of people and goods went on in channels below, on the same principle as the Toulouse Abattoir. Government buildings were supposedly amongst these symbols of power but, unlike the offices, were unlabelled.

The density of such blocks could be 2,000 persons a hectare, while still leaving enough area at ground level for a spacious system of parks and not diluting the effectiveness of a centralised transport interchange. Where did all these workers go at the end of the day? A third returned home to their Immeubles Villas which, because of their relatively high density, could be sited in or near the centre so that time wasted on travelling was reduced to the minimum. Faster direct trains would take the other two thirds of the inhabitants almost as speedily to their families in cités-jardins. Industrial and agricultural workers could share the same benefits as city-centre dwellers.<sup>66</sup>

The diagrammatic skyscrapers designed by Jeanneret and Pierre Jeanneret may well owe some of their aesthetics to the schemes produced in the two previous years by Mies van de Rohe, Gropius and Meyer, but this would not have been a strong influence and they were much more



likely to have been affected by their lack of time and experience in this type of building so that only a direct massing of the plan idea resulted.

The plan form was chosen to offer the largest surface area to the inhabitants working inside with rapid access to internal circulation. The cruciform plan was never employed again by Le Corbusier after the 1925 Voisin plan for Paris. He abandoned it on the grounds that one quarter of the building never received any sunlight and, in future schemes, he preferred to use a Y form which overcame this problem.

Perret's ideas on towers as a planning solution, published by a Paris journalist early in 1922,<sup>67</sup> must have inspired some of Jeanneret's ideas but Perret did not put his scheme into three dimensional terms until some time after the Ville de Trois Millions. He provided no overall plan analysis and the effect resembled the regimentation of the more ancient New York sky-scrapers.

Large areas in Jeanneret's scheme were left for recreation, a football stadium and a concert hall on a good means of access, far closer in principle to Tony Garnier's work than Perret's. The easier working environment and improved communications he felt could lead to a shorter working day and facilities must be there to enjoy this time. Industry, trade and agriculture merge in the edges and, as the density reduces and public open spaces have less point, areas of garden cities allow for the intermingling of urban and rural life to the benefit of both. The traditional allotments were arranged together with shared site ploughing, an integral watering system and a resident farmer for advice. The small craftsmen and specialists had been accommodated within both types of housing. Under a co-operative wholesale system, the need for large distributive markets had gone so that no provision was made. The apparently obvious omissions are schools though presumably these too could be included in the six-storey system at ground or roof level, or in identical blocks.

The presentation and the size of the drawings were designed to shock. That he should produce a scheme of such complexity, amazed many people who had held him in the image of an avant-garde artist-architect, producer of small houses, or they were aware of him as a businessman with some wild ideas and no capital or qualifications. The intention was to show a solution to the total problem in immediately appreciable terms to provide a language for discussion. The requirements were expressed in their 'bare bones', in terms comprehensible to the majority; words and explanations were kept to an absolute minimum and the drawings had to stand on their own. This, he was very soon to consider, was a mistake as so many of his ideas were grossly misinterpreted and he felt that to achieve any real understanding, he should have been present the whole time to expound his principles and the reason for the method used.

Preservationists were growing into a powerful force against the demolition of any of the existing environment whether worthwhile or not. Jeanneret was well aware of this faction and had, himself, a great deal of sympathy with the continuance of genuine architectural environments, but was becoming increasingly annoyed with the, then almost paranoid, addiction to what he called pieces of wrought iron, and the deterrent of improvements that would benefit a larger number of people.

The most important part of the Ville de Trois Millions stand was an enormous perspective view in the form of a Diorama. The drawing was lit from behind and was <sup>almost</sup> too effective to the extent that it concentrated peoples' attention on to the visual form of the towers but detracted somewhat from their real purpose, as did the several aerial views. All of these drawings showed more draughting expertise than Jeanneret had shown in any of his earlier work and it was undoubtedly the contribution of Pierre Jeanneret that enabled such clarity and standard of presentation.

The Ville Contemporaine de Trois Millions was a very successful exhibit at the 1922 Salon d'Automne in November, attracting a great deal of attention and comment. In December, Jeanneret was asked by Marcel Temprol of the Salon d'Automne committee to organise a series of lectures on the project to cope with the enquiries and interest, both for and against, that had been aroused.<sup>68</sup> Officials connected with the planning and management of Paris received personal invitations and tickets for these discussions from Jeanneret himself.<sup>69</sup> M. Lafollyer, of Crédit Immobilier and the Syndicats Immobiliers of Paris, was also made responsible for reporting on the town planning ideas for L'Architecture the journal of the central society of architects. Lafollyer, a modest man, enquired of Jeanneret if he considered him suitably qualified to undertake such a task.<sup>70</sup>

The conferences, together with the exhibition, certainly meant that the name of Le Corbusier was now well established. Requests for articles and more information on the project continued to come in, unsolicited from journals and societies.

Early in March, <sup>1923</sup> the last of the Salon d'Automne lectures was held based on the subject of Jeanneret's ideas on Town Planning, under the Chairmanship of M. Peuch, of the Paris Municipal Committee.<sup>71</sup> With this continuing interest in the problem of Paris and his approach to it, Jeanneret felt he was at the start of a movement. To raise followers capable of spreading this movement and with ideas of their own, he dispatched letters to a number of people whom he thought would be suitable. In one to Marcel Pays, the editor of Excelsior, on an article <sup>Pays</sup> / had written advocating skyscrapers on the old Paris fortifications, Jeanneret wrote :

Allow me to rectify this - the studies I have made prove on the contrary that skyscrapers do not answer the building needs of central Paris and above all not at all on the fortifications. 72

He also said how important the subject was and included details of the Salon scheme in the letter and mentioned :

I held a lecture on this subject and it is very desirable that the press joins hands with the technician to create a movement that has become indispensable to the health of Paris.

With no effect, in the following year, large numbers of cheap and rather poorly constructed flats were built on the fortifications which were not entirely successful and later received scornful comment from Le Corbusier in his second volume of Oeuvres Complètes.

Another was sent to Mr. Legrand-Chabrier, the writer of an article entitled "Question d'Urbanis, Badauds et Passage, dans le Gaulois", which Jeanneret raised before recommending his own solution saying :

..... it is certain that studies like those you have made will gradually lead to the formation of a new style of thinking, the consequence of which could become more important ..... 73

Yet another letter was dispatched on the same day to M. Clement Vautel, C/o. Le Journal .....

Dear Sir,

I have read with great interest that in some of your films you are speaking very sensibly about the housing crisis in Paris. On one occasion you complained with justice against the sumptuous blocks of flats for "Garconnes et autres" on another you were obliged to mention like many others that the traffic had become uncontrollable and that imperative solutions are required.

Having for some considerable time, devoted a particular attention to these questions I have thought that some accurate figures of similar schemes and some suggestions based on strict reason (and also a certain idea of the poetry of the period) might interest you. Perhaps you had the opportunity to see at the Salon d'Automne a diorama of a Contemporary City which was a work of purely theoretical research with the aim of exposing fundamental principles of modern town planning and thus allow those, who are capable of forming an opinion of these questions, to see with clairvoyance the case of Paris.

Paris which has transformed itself through the ages, seems according to the formula of our present day municipal councillors, incapable of changing a formula of archaeologists and a formula of laziness also. Now alongside this fragile tranquility of our modern councillors modern life often leads to fabulous consequences and causes crises which can only be rectified by harsh solutions. 74

It was the spirit of a crusade that now embraced all his activities, but not so much, that the possible future business benefits were not included, as another letter from this outcrop of letter writing

shows. It was sent to Pierre de Trevières, Editor of Les Modes de la Femme de France, who had also written an article on the subject of 'City of the Future'. He was congratulated on the clarity of his analysis and understanding by Jeanneret, sent a pamphlet on the Ville de Trois Millions and asked to inform his readers of a project for an apartment block on the lines of the Cité d'Habitation, in case any one of his readers was interested in taking out an enrolment for a place as a future tenant, and other information was available on small houses if required.<sup>75</sup> This must have been the project for Credit Immobilier but there was nothing else, despite the considerable interest that the subject had raised. It was not until two months later that something more positive developed out of all this activity.

In June 1923, Jeanneret was sent by M. Girardet, a director of the Société Anonyme des Automobiles and Cycles Peugeot, the briefs for three workers' housing schemes to be placed at Beaulieu Mandeuve, Audincourt and Sochaux, all in the valley of Le Doubs.<sup>76</sup> The total number of housing units came to 732, made up of three types; workers houses with three, four and five rooms; managers and employers, five rooms; departmental heads houses and a hostel for thirty bachelors with a warden's flat. The total brief was very carefully written by the Peugeot directors. All the housing was to be single-storey, if possible, and one clause stated 'the houses must not be uniform and must present as far as possible many variations in appearance'. Information on the climate, soil, size of rooms and type of fittings was not forgotten. All roads, paths, drainage and services, to points indicated on the site maps, were also part of the scheme.<sup>77</sup> Jeanneret should have taken particular note of the last items when planning Pessac: a scheme to start in November 1923 it would have saved a great deal of trouble.

The introduction could have come through Max Du Bois who owned some land in the Swiss part of the valley and certainly had a strong interest in the development of the motor car; he was an active member

of the fashionable Automobile Club de Paris.<sup>78</sup> It was certainly just the sort of project Jeanneret was seeking, though it may well have not been sent to him alone and is more likely to also have been open to contractors. It was not the sort of housing that attracted the recognised architectural profession, despite its size. It was looked upon as a contractor's project. Jeanneret started with the Audincourt housing project on the site of the Peugeot factory, a scheme for eighty units.<sup>79</sup>

In October, Jeanneret wrote to the engineer, M.E. Freycinet, designer of the concrete shell hangars at Orly. He <sup>80</sup>praised the work of engineers and included a copy of Vers une Architecture, saying:

In my book "Towards <sup>/a</sup>New Architecture", you will find several pages devoted to some property that was exhibited last year at the Salon d'Automne and which attracted a great deal of public attention. Various overtures have been made to me to carry out this construction which could be considered as a new form of living with the domestic use completely transformed and supplying an important change in domestic economy. The people who have made contact with me so far appear to me to be fairly tainted with old ideas. I would allow myself to point this particular case to you and I believe that it will eventually be possible that one day we could usefully discuss this affair and that it should be started up by people of your high technical ability. I would like to make this property a decisive demonstration of modern technical support for architecture and I must, for this purpose, seek out those who are specially distinguished in these ideas. 81

The Limousin Company were interested and Le Corbusier supplied them with more details of his ideas and work in progress with proposals for a scheme for a Limousin house.<sup>82</sup>

On January 11th, 1924, Jeanneret answered a verbal query from M. Girardet about the possibilities of designing a covered tennis court, saying that it was no problem and recommended that he should work with Freycinet on the scheme, an engineer whom he also wanted to invite to work with him on the Audincourt project.<sup>83</sup>

Two weeks later, he tried to persuade Girardet to agree to the Peugeot Company backing the production of a plan for Paris as part of

the L'Esprit Nouveau Pavilion in the 1925 exhibition, a scheme that was just taking shape in Jeanneret's mind. He wrote :

The 'Plan Peugeot de Paris' is the answer to the present anguish of traffic circulation; my studies of town planning have led me to some semi-scientific conclusions, moreover my ideas are sufficiently widely known that my town planning works published everywhere have met great support; quite recently (today in fact) I have been notified that for the competition for the plans for the extension of the town of Strasbourg, the competitors themselves have named me as a member of the jury. This proves that the ideas put forward in L'ESPRIT NOUVEAU have not been in vain. 84

On the 10th<sup>/of</sup> March 1924, the scheme for Audincourt was submitted to Peugeot. Great point was made of the economic road layout which, together with the sloping site and regular layout gave a good general appearance to the total project with spacious walk-ways and allotments. Jeanneret said of his layout :

"The arrangement of the sites on the estate is not sacrificed to certain modern fashions which increase considerably the establishment charges, and create an impression of disorder by the irregular siting of buildings. On the other hand, it is foreseen here that an orthogonal i.e. right angled arrangement of the sites in staggered rows which would ensure perfect ventilation for all properties an agreeable and necessary impression of order, assured architectural aspect an assured comfort for the occupant who will find useful spaces for orchards, gardens, kitchen gardens and lawns to suit the house. The division of this estate which may appear schematic has been studied so as to provide a good architectural aspect with all the intimacy that is desirable. (Please refer to the attached perspective which shows the houses set out along a lawn which borders the roads and the access paths which cross the orchards which serve as useful screens between the houses; see the siting of the kitchen gardens, the chicken runs, the rabbit hutches, etc., grouped together in places which do not spoil the whole estate". 85

The scheme included two types of housing of the basic standard and some managers' dwellings, units that were a simplified version of Jeanneret's Maison Ribot on two-storeys, almost identical to the Maison Tonkin and the housing for Frugè's Lege site produced early in 1924, which was just about to come under construction at Pessac as a prototype for the later houses.<sup>86</sup> The site at Audincourt was an attractive one on the banks

of Le Doubs and provision was made on the layout for a swimming pool. The construction method described was identical to the initial system for Pessac, load bearing cross walls constructed of a thin concrete outer skin with reinforced piers and an inner skin of block or panelling of some sort, thereby providing a large air space for insulation. The use of the cement gun was necessary for this method, but the savings in time etc. were again supposed to pay for the capital cost and Peugeot could, in fact, become their own contractors which would be a good economical arrangements. If not, Freycinet's company would have been interested in quoting for the scheme.<sup>87</sup> Unfortunately, nothing again was to develop from this stage. It is very possible that, with knowledge of the problems and costs of Pessac then under construction and which Peugeot would have gone into carefully, they made the decision to adopt a more traditional system or to abandon the projects altogether for a while. Jeanneret's prototype designs for this scheme were certainly started before Pessac and could have been the reason for the Salon d'Automne Ribot house design which was much closer to the principle of the Ribot Law than the Citrohan houses.

In September 1923, Jeanneret had also started a series of negotiations to build apartments for sale or rent in Geneva, but with no immediate success, until the Clarté project in 1926.<sup>88</sup>

Early in November 1923, Jeanneret received a letter from M. Fruges, an industrialist from Bordeaux, the owner of a carpet factory and sugar refinery. Though primarily a businessman, M. Fruges was also very interested in the arts. He painted, wrote poetry and took a strong interest in all the Paris art movements. He had obtained a copy of Vers une Architecture as soon as it was published and had been very impressed by the ideas on housing. In the letter he asked Jeanneret if he would design a ' cité ouvrière ' on a site near his factory at Pessac near Bordeaux. Soon after the letter arrived, Jeanneret invited Fruges to Paris and, while he was there, undoubtedly showed him his work at the



Salon d'Automne and the houses under construction at Auteuil and Boulogne, though probably not Vaucresson. Frugès was impressed and, after Jeanneret and Pierre had seen his site at Bordeaux, they agreed to design and construct one house besides the Frugès factory in Pessac, and a scheme of a few units on a small site adjoining another Frugès factory at Lege as a trial, with two sets of constructional drawings, one for the cement gun process, the other for a more traditional system. Frugès had to set up a construction company and invested in a cement gun.<sup>89</sup>

The Tonkin house was constructed in the summer of 1924 on a site in the town near the factory using traditional methods. Based on the observations of the process, both Frugès and Jeanneret changed their minds on certain details. Brian Taylor, in his study of the development of Pessac, attributes this analytical approach of Jeanneret's to his use of Taylorisation methodology which includes a feed-back system to allow for change to meet situations as they occur in practice. He certainly believed in the system of analytical approach but found the practicalities of human and technical snags very difficult to accommodate. The first small trial scheme at Lege was under construction by the autumn of 1924, with the plans modified by Frugès and Jeanneret. These were, in fact, modified beyond the standard for working-class housing. Co-operation and participation by a client on this level was something that Jeanneret positively encouraged at this period in a scheme, and worked particularly well with someone like Frugès apart from the problem of increased area. The cement gun, together with metal shuttering, was used for the construction but gave many problems as did the construction manager working for Frugès, M. Poncet. Therefore, for the Pessac contract, Jeanneret arranged for Summer / <sup>the</sup> Paris contractor who had constructed the house at Vaucresson to undertake the work but he would only do it with blockwork infill, rendered, a system he was now accustomed to. Summer moved on to the site in June 1925, when he had finished the Esprit Nouveau Pavilion, also constructed with the use of a similar cement gun method.<sup>90</sup> The layout

design for Pessac was not dissimilar to the earlier projects of this sort but, in Pessac, there was a greater opportunity to design the whole of the environment including hen-houses.

Taylor attributes Jeanneret's external use of colour on the Pessac houses to Bruno Taut, who had also been experimenting with polychrome, though, in Jeanneret's case, it was not entirely for aesthetic reasons. Officials had complained about the oppressiveness of the house mass, so that colour was thought to offer some relief in this respect.<sup>91</sup> The roof terrace and elevations owed much in their design to Nestlé's weekend house at Rambouillet.

Jeanneret, while designing projects of a considerable size and complexity, still had no experience of taking any such scheme through to completion. He had also received little organised training in the somewhat more mundane but essential aspects of building, such as the regulations for water supply, rights of lights, etc., and, most important, the order in which these things should happen. The majority of his constructional experience had been in La Chaux-de-Fonds, where, though sometimes difficult to work with, the builders were competent craftsmen carrying out traditional techniques on small projects. It was the mismanagement of these practical elements that were to play havoc with the Pessac project, in the following order :

- (1) Failure to assess if the type of housing being provided was what was required in the area. Frugès was equally at fault on this point; the increase they had made to the floor area and the addition of a garage put the housing into the HLM class, and was to prove too expensive for the local market.
- (2) Plans and costing had not been submitted to the Ministry of Works before the construction commenced, thereby making the scheme ineligible for the 15% tax concession, an important reason for a project of this type, even though it was later proved to have been too expensive to have been eligible.
- (3) Construction was started before the overall layout had been decided, in addition to which, much of the earlier setting out by Poncelet, had been

incorrect, so that a workable services layout was nearly impossible and, worst of all, no applications had been made to the local authorities who, when approached at such a late stage, condemned the scheme. 92

The muddle took some years to disentangle and a great deal of extra money from Frugès to pay the additional service costs necessary to obtain official approval. Eventually, the houses were sold and Frugès recovered part of his loss. But before that he had, very generously, contributed a large sum to the construction of the L'Esprit Nouveau Pavilion.

Frugès did not regret the exercise and has even made a large model of the scheme as it is today. He is a person of considerable charm and talent and extremely understanding of the problems that had confronted Jeanneret. The omissions had not resulted from informed carelessness; the points at fault had just not been included in the process due to basic ignorance. There had not been time to spare during 1924 for Jeanneret and Pierre to learn the intricacies of a project's technical connection with life and the correct approach to somewhat sensitive authorities. When late in 1924 they advertised for office staff it was for someone experienced in these things. These unfortunate early experiences were to contribute to Jeanneret's growing resentment of authorities and officials.

The costs of Pessac housing worked out between 51,000 and 75,000 francs a unit, certainly not exorbitant for that time, but outside the limit of 30,000 francs for the Ribot scheme. With the help of the Loucheur law and the Minister's personal intervention in 1929, some houses were eventually sold to families of limited means and the remainder as weekend homes.<sup>93</sup>

There were also problems in deciding on a method for charging fees. Jeanneret had proposed that he should forgo his fees but take 10% of any profit after sale. Frugès suggested a charge based on a cubic volume. It was eventually settled at approximately 3.5% of the construction costs, but Jeanneret must have had to wait some time for settlement.<sup>213</sup>

In May and August of 1924, three more enquiries arrived for housing schemes, the first for a garden city at Plessis-Robinson near Orne to be constructed in three lots for a total of approximately seventy dwelling units, using similar housing to the Audincourt system but in smaller blocks, with only two main types of dwellings.<sup>94</sup> The scheme reached a sufficiently detailed state to obtain outline costing from two construction firms, G. Summer and J. Nidrecourt, Summer arriving at a price of 25,000 francs for the small two-storey house, storage on the ground and living accommodation on the first floor. Nidrecourt arrived at a figure of 35,000 francs. They were much closer on the second type for a block of three units, which worked out at 33,500 francs a unit for one and 36,300 francs for the other.<sup>95</sup>

The second enquiry came from a firm in Belfort, N. Japy Frères et Cie., who were interested in a scheme for forty workers houses. The owner was a distant relative of the Jeanneret family.<sup>96</sup>

Neither of these two schemes was developed at this stage, but gave Jeanneret additional experience in costing, plan form and layouts.

The third enquiry concerned the offer of a partnership with M. Charles See for speculative housing development. M. See, a former member of the Franco-American Housing Group, suggested that he would be responsible for all the financial and commercial arrangements, while Jeanneret would undertake the design feasibility studies. In the event of a project reaching contract stage, Jeanneret's practice would receive the architectural work for a fee of 5%.<sup>97</sup>

Jeanneret agreed with the conditions but made the point that the first third of the fees were to become due when the preliminary design was complete, to avoid the misunderstanding that had occurred on past projects when a scheme had progressed no further than the first stage.<sup>98</sup> Unfortunately, it was not to be put into practice but was probably the scheme known as Cité d'Habitation for students, a 1925 project.

Though a great deal of effort had gone into trying to arrange housing developments there had been little success, apart from the Pessac scheme. There was no particular antipathy to Jeanneret's work but a national problem a political and economical climate that did not encourage investment in this sort of housing and state aid was insufficiently organised to direct subsidies where they would work. This meant that during the early period in Paris, the Jeanneret practice was necessarily principally concerned with the production of individual houses, which in design were closely related, if not originated by, the aesthetic principles embodied in the cité ouvrière houses and apartments. They were frequently used as a vehicle to develop ideas intended for a mass housing project.

Despite the lack of any clients outside S.A.B.A. for the Jeanneret practice during the period 1917 to 1921, Du Bois and Bornand kept to their part of the partnership agreement made in 1916 with Jeanneret and met the financial obligation it involved,<sup>1</sup> which meant that he could start to lay the foundations of his practice. Architects do not receive their fees until a substantial part of the work is done and then it is only likely to be a third to one half, the rest due on completion. Frequently, schemes do not go beyond the enquiry and feasibility stage and are dropped, the architect receiving nothing, as it is difficult to enforce any firm agreement at this point. Some form of capital was vital to cover these contingencies. Jeanneret's first business ventures were of this type. They could have led to some practice work if they had been developed but nothing apart from the small schemes for S.A.B.A. were ever to develop. From this early practice partnership Du Bois and Bornand received nothing for their investment, as Jeanneret chose to ignore his obligations to them when clients with live projects began to appear as a result of some of his L'Esprit Nouveau activities.<sup>2</sup>

These were in the form of house enquiries and came in during the early part of 1922, following the exhibition of Maison Citrohan in the 1921 Salon d'Automne, but none of these went further than the early stages. The only project on site at that time, 1921, was a house conversion for the parents of a friend of Ozenfant's, Jean Berque,<sup>3</sup> and a scheme that had been given to Jeanneret in March 1921 by a Madame Floersheim who lived in Besancon<sup>4</sup> and possibly knew of him through the La Chaux-de-Fonds practice. This had been an interior design for two rooms in her house. Contact and supervision had to be by letter, which proved to be a very unsatisfactory method and very time consuming. As with the Berque house, Jeanneret insisted on using a mainly white colour scheme, with some pastel shades for the main decoration and the

occasional use of strong colour on the upholstery and curtains.<sup>5</sup>

His heart was no longer in this type of project, but the fees would have been most certainly welcome.

The success of the Ville Contemporaine de Trois Millions in the 1922 Salon d'Automne, ensured Jeanneret's recognition under the name of Le Corbusier as an architect as well as a painter and writer by the Paris art society and had given sufficient confidence in his friends and followers of L'Esprit Nouveau for them to consider investing in a Citrohan type house, of these Ozenfant was the first. The time had come to put certain theories into practice, but acquisition of a suitable site for the Ozenfant Studio took some time. One was finally found on the corner of the square Montsouris and the Avenue Reille, next door to the studio house of Georges Braque.<sup>6</sup> The site was very restricted and had party wall complications, services and builder problems, which held up the construction for some months.<sup>7</sup> This made it appear as if Jeanneret's second house commission for M. Besnus at Vaucresson,<sup>8</sup> was the first of his small Paris house commissions though Ozenfant's house must have been designed by the end of 1922 as he paid his first fee to Corbusier on 5th February 1923, six weeks before Besnus.<sup>9</sup>

M. and Mme. Georges Besnus were attracted to the scheme for the Citrohan II house, exhibited at the same time as the Ville Contemporaine de Trois Millions in the 1922 Salon d'Automne. They were house hunting at the time and, as both were enthusiastic readers of L'Esprit Nouveau, they were appreciative of the Citrohan aesthetics. Besnus worked for La Revue du Mobilier et Décoration d'Intérieur. They had, as yet, no site and upon asking Jeanneret if he would undertake the design of a house for them, also asked him for advice on suitable areas and sites.<sup>10</sup> The first he suggested, in the Avenue Reille, did not appeal but they had liked the now completed house conversion for the Berque family which they had seen upon the advice of Jeanneret. Mme. Berque had apparently spoken warmly of him, despite the many problems that they

had endured during the construction process. Besnus liked the apparent simplicity of the scheme and wanted a similar effect of light and space in their design. They particularly did not want any party wall complications, which would imply that they had also spoken to Ozenfant about his house and problems.<sup>11</sup>

Jeanneret and Ozenfant were presumably still visiting their weekend hut at Vaucresson and, while there, Jeanneret had become aware of available sites in this rapidly developing new suburb of Paris and had recommended them to Besnus, but they were not very impressed by the area at first; and were worried about the apparent dampness.<sup>12</sup> Eventually, though, they changed their minds and settled on a corner plot and on Jeanneret's somewhat forceful advice, agreed to purchase the adjoining site as well, to ensure some control over future development. The arrangements were settled by the end of January 1923 and Besnus was promised that the drawings would be started immediately and that the house would be ready for occupation in the following October.<sup>13</sup> Such promises, demonstrated Jeanneret's lack of architectural practice experience.

The site was purchased for 9,000 francs, a somewhat higher price than the first estimate. This left 61,000 francs of the Besnus budget for the house, less the price of the adjoining site. The brief for the house required a garage, laundry, servant's room, kitchen, dining/living room, study area, main bedroom, guest bedroom, bath and W.C.<sup>14</sup>

By the end of February, Jeanneret had prepared a sketch scheme to show his clients, who were agreeable to his proposal to combine the dining room/office/studio space with the living room, thereby freeing the garden level floor of any partitioned space except for the kitchen.<sup>15</sup> On the top floor, he managed also to convince them that they did not need a guest room and presumably were not to make any plans for a family as there was no space unless they were to convert the very small laundry room. The central bathroom solved the difficulty of providing a window in the



elevation by use of a roof light. This problem had been avoided at basement level by the use of a multitude of small port-holes, although it is doubtful whether they provided much ventilation. The water tanks were placed in a box centrally on the roof and remained unseen from ground level. The house plan was by far the most sophisticated domestic project produced, to date, by Jeanneret, but the elevations were hardly adequate and, in fact, on the rear elevation, a symmetrical window layout had no internal justification.

Jeanneret's fees were 7% of the construction cost, 50% to be paid on signing the contract and the remainder when the keys were handed over. The young couple agreed and paid Jeanneret's account for 2,000 francs on the 14th March. The detailed construction drawings were prepared and an estimate sought from two engineers/contractors, G. Summer and P. Vie. Jeanneret warned Besnus about making any modifications once a price had been agreed with the contractor, though the whole tone of his dealings with his first real Paris clients was very much less dictatorial than in the past.<sup>16</sup>

Ozenfant's house had already been sent out to these two contractors, despite the fact that he was still a long way from any settlement on the site.<sup>17</sup>

Jeanneret, meanwhile, was trying to negotiate the control of nearby plots in order to carry out the architectural work and create a small group of buildings, sympathetic in design to the Besnus house. These sites, together with one at Boulogne adjoining the Lipchitz and Miestchaninoff land, were advertised in October 1923 in the pages of L'Esprit Nouveau No. 18. Pierre Jeanneret was named as the agent and a sketch for the sites was prepared for an interested contractor but despite enquiries nothing ever developed from his enterprise.<sup>18</sup>

Jeanneret had proffered a model as part of his services to Besnus, but his clients were not too interested,<sup>19</sup> but one was produced anyway, and later exhibited at the 1923 Salon d'Automne. The estimates

1923

for both houses came in April: M. Summer was awarded the Vaucresson house contract and M. Vie, Ozenfant's. They were both fixed-price contracts for 64,000 and 65,000 francs respectively. M. Summer at Vaucresson started in May<sup>20</sup> but M. Vie claimed a transport strike in Paris prevented him from moving the site spoil from the Avenue Reille plot.<sup>21</sup>

At Vaucresson there was a very high water table with consequent drainage problems. Each property had to provide its own soakaway for waste water and not make use of the main soil drainage system, an item that Jeanneret had not adequately planned for and it was never to be entirely satisfactory.<sup>22</sup> At Montsouris there were problems of electricity supply as the Paris system was already severely overloaded.<sup>23</sup> Both sites were soon behind schedule, particularly Ozenfant's house which was completed ten months late.<sup>24</sup> M. and Mme. Besnus had two months of hotel living after selling their first house before moving in December 1923.<sup>25</sup>

New systems, traditional workmen and inexperienced architects are not a formula for instant success.

The Besnus house developed bad cracking and leakage problems almost as soon as they moved in.<sup>26</sup> These problems put a great strain on the couple's devotion to Jeanneret. They were, nevertheless, very pleased with the design and tried hard to minimise the disastrous situation, but could get little satisfactory remedial action from the contractor<sup>27</sup> and in the end felt that Jeanneret was not carrying out his full responsibility to them as an architect. They eventually had to sue the builder. They refused to pay the last stage of the architect's fees presumably until they considered that the worst of the faults had been remedied.<sup>28</sup> This was in August, 1926, but even that was somewhat premature as, in the following year, even larger cracks appeared requiring the reconstruction of a whole wall, plus a list of other major faults. Besnus at last lost his temper and on the 7th July 1927 sent Jeanneret the following message :

..... nobody other than the contractor can deal with these inconveniences because only he, after you, knows the cause of them. But if this is not dealt with without delay it could degenerate into a disaster. It would be just as easy for M. Summer to send me experienced workmen while he is busy with your construction on the plateau of Vaucresson for M. de Monzie, for which I congratulate you, not less than on the sensational prize that you have obtained with your cousin Pierre Jeanneret for your project for the Palace of the Nations. I very much hope that you will carry it out. L'illustration eulogies you and it appears to them that your scheme is the most complete. It is a great success for you which does not surprise me and which I applaud and rejoice about. In the midst of these grave preoccupations I hope that M. Le Corbusier and M. Jeanneret will think a little of my misery. I would assure you that it is not funny. Whenever it rains the bath heater overflows and the wall becomes saturated and water pours into the floor below.

29

Nothing of any consequence happened other than advice from Summer that Besnus was responsible for maintaining his own property.<sup>30</sup> This was the 'last straw'. In a letter laying out his complaints to Summer, Besnus asked :

"..... how was this house built and by whom?  
Not only was there a contractor, there was also an architect !!! "

31

However, Besnus received no help from them and probably placed the matter in the hands of an independent assessor as he had said he would,<sup>32</sup> though it is unlikely he ever received any financial reimbursement.

These problems resulted from the behaviour of cement rendering on a block and concrete frame in a very damp situation with incorrect detailing, together with a somewhat careless contractor using new techniques, and very possibly insufficient supervision.

• Jeanneret's previous buildings in Switzerland were much more substantial in nature and employed traditional cladding techniques, even though part of the structure was in concrete. The construction at Vaucresson should have worked according to the theory, Jeanneret therefore considered that the fault must have been on the building side. He was only partially right and, possibly realising this,

took more care with the concrete structure of the Ozenfant house, ensuring thicknesses were not skimped and the concrete mix of the correct strength.

In fact, much of the concrete work on the house in the Avenue Reille had to be redone completely due to the incorrect mix or bad cement.<sup>33</sup> The low quality of the concrete work was to delay the completion of the house for many months. It was symptomatic of the general slackness of the contractor, who it would appear, was not at all interested in the project and a bad site organiser.<sup>34</sup> Arguments over payments resulted and Jeanneret, at one stage, seemingly overcharged Ozenfant on his fees.<sup>35</sup> All this disruption was a contributory factor to the deterioration of their friendship and it eventually ended in the spring of 1925.

The Ozenfant house would appear after all the trouble to have been reasonably free of the structural and dampness problems of Vaucresson, but the roof lights were never to prove entirely satisfactory and the party wall problems continued for some time. Neither of these two houses, though supposedly both inspired by the first Citrohan design, bore any real resemblance to that scheme. Ozenfant's studio contained only a very small gallery, despite sketch design for an artist's studio version of Citrohan produced in 1922, which was probably an early Ozenfant scheme, though even that one did not really exploit the double height space. This was only first to appear in built form in the house for La Roche.

Ozenfant's house contained a great deal in a very little space, almost totally filling the site. It was designed as a bachelor studio house. There was no living room as such other than the painting studio; the gallery had only a high level window and was meant primarily as a store and picture display area. There was a self-contained living unit on the ground floor for a guest or housekeeper. A special dispensation had to be obtained from the civil regulations for the fenestration system used. The window openings were better ordered than for Vaucresson; it would appear that the increased specialist

function of the main studio space helped in the resolution of this problem. The factory type roof lights would have given a large heat build up on a sunny day, apart from producing what must have been a glaring light which the lower glazing could have done little to disperse. This was probably an equal factor together with the leaking problem in contributing to their eventual removal. Mietschaninoff, one of Jeanneret's next clients, liked the roof line and wanted the same thing for his studio,<sup>36</sup> but they were not installed.

Jacques Lipchitz and his friend O. Mietschaninoff, sculptors and painters from Russia, though not refugees, having both settled in Paris before the First World War, asked Jeanneret to design houses for them on a joint site early in 1923.<sup>37</sup> Mietschaninoff was an administrator for Oudar, an expatriate Russian arts magazine.<sup>38</sup> L'Esprit Nouveau had, during the previous year, started negotiations to combine their management with Oudar. Lipchitz was a friend of Gris and Ozenfant.

They did not have a site but were found one by Jeanneret on another estate popular with artists, in the Boulogne sur Seine area.<sup>39</sup> On the same block, were two other painters, a musician and the wife and family of Gabriel Voisin.<sup>40</sup> The plot had sufficient space for three houses, so they agreed to buy all three with Jeanneret producing a design for the third and assisting them in the sale.<sup>41</sup> However, they found someone for themselves, a friend who was another painter, M. Canale,<sup>42</sup> and Jeanneret in 1924 designed a house for him on the remaining site.<sup>43</sup> The Canale house though was never built and the site was later sold separately. The site contract was signed in the summer of 1923 and sketch schemes prepared for the three houses by October. Jeanneret warned them that prices were on the increase;<sup>44</sup> the clients had very little money and all had to work within a similar limited budget to the Ozenfant and Besnus schemes. A new building firm had been approached this time, Kuntz and Piceard, as both Summer and Vie had proved far from satisfactory on the Vaucresson and Ozenfant schemes, but when the estimates arrived in February 1924, at something like double the

outline estimate of 65,000 francs,<sup>45</sup> it did not seem such a good idea. The others had a detailed rethink on their schemes and the amount was reduced considerably. This time Summer, the Vaucresson contractor, was given the opportunity to put in a price and Kuntz and Piceard, the first contractor, allowed to resubmit on the revised schemes, this second estimate, after some discussion, provided to be satisfactory. The sum for the Canale house was 59,000 francs, the Lipchitz house stood at 59,438 francs and the Mietschaninoff house at 62,300 francs, the difference being mainly in the quality of finishes and fittings.<sup>46</sup>

The houses were more or less complete by December 1924, but unfortunately suffered in a similar manner to 'Ki-Kare', as the house at Vaucresson had been named. There was no flooding from the drains, but certainly dampness resulted from seepage of rain-water through the rendering and condensation on the inside. There were also problems with the workmanship and disputes between the sub-contractors which carried on for the next few years,<sup>47</sup> not so abnormal in any contract, as the French construction system lends itself to this type of dispute. The houses were made up of large, ground-floor, double height studios necessary for sculptors, with basic living accommodation above and roof terraces. Lipchitz lived in his house until 1939, when he had to leave to escape the Germans, returning only for a short time after the war.<sup>48</sup>

Shortly after the Lipchitz and Mietschaninoff design had commenced, Jeanneret had the opportunity to purchase sites on a new development in Auteuil.<sup>49</sup> The site was the garden and house of the former home of Docteur Esprit Blanche,<sup>50</sup> who had been one of the first successful psychiatrists in Paris. Jacques Emile Blanche, a friend of Ozenfant, was his grandson, and had lived in the house, so that knowledge of the site may very well have come through this contact. A large estate agents, J.M. Esnault et Cie., a firm (still in business today), had the project on their books.<sup>51</sup> The site, at first, only showed a row of small plots along the Rue Henri Heine; these were soon to spread all round the perimeter of the site and must have commanded

a very reasonable price as the area was, and still is, one of the most fashionable residential districts in Paris.<sup>52</sup> A small cul-de-sac was planned to the centre of the site but, as the motor car was still not in general use, it was not considered as a traffic access to garages at the rear of the houses on the periphery of the site. Jeanneret put in a claim for some sites on this inner road with the intention of developing a small 'gated' villa estate, similar to the 'Villa Seurat', but, because these sites had first to be offered to the purchaser of the house which backed on to their borders, it was to take several months to finally settle which sites would be available and to undergo any exchange of contracts.<sup>53</sup> Jeanneret, an incorrigible optimist, when faced with such awkward conditions, tended to ignore them. In this case, this attitude resulted in several abortive schemes and changes in site for the three clients he hoped would purchase them and build houses, before contracts were finally exchanged. Jeanneret had the brief to design a concierge lodge at the entrance, but as there were eventually so few houses in the road, the idea was abandoned as being too expensive.<sup>54</sup> The connection of services was also very slow and became a serious problem on this site. The clients Jeanneret first had in mind for this scheme were his brother, Albert Jeanneret his future wife, Lotti Waldren Raaf, Raoul La Roche and Sigmund Marcel.<sup>55</sup>

Albert, since his arrival in Paris in 1919, had lived with Jeanneret in the rue Jacob flat. He had come to Paris to start a school for eurhythmics, dance and gymnastics on Jacques Dalcroze principles. The school had been suggested by Dr. Frances Winter and Dr. Brille. Some of the financial backing came from a group of South American students, who had put up 15,000 francs to start the venture.<sup>56</sup> Isadora Duncan had popularised a 'natural' dance movement in Paris in the post-war period and had set up a successful teaching studio.<sup>57</sup> The backers of Albert Jeanneret's project could well have been some of the followers of Isadora Duncan who had followed her to Paris after her South American trip.

The eurhythmic classes for all ages and the evening gymnastic and basketball classes were well attended, particularly by members of the Swiss community in Paris, although Albert considered that most of the dance and eurhythmic students were there because it was the fashionable activity at the time, but the keep-fit enthusiasts like his brother were genuinely interested.<sup>58</sup>

Albert had rented a large basement room for his classes. The room, unfortunately, had hard surface walls which made it very difficult to hear the piano due to reverberation. Gustave Lyon, a services engineer and a director of the Pleyel Company who attended some of the classes, suggested that heavy blankets were hung to cover the walls, that partially solved the problem, but never entirely satisfactorily.<sup>59</sup>

In 1923, the school formed its own company with Jeanneret, Albert and André Levy as administrators. The Company was founded by Drs. Winter and Brille, with a capital of 70,000 francs and shares were advertised in L'Esprit Nouveau.<sup>60</sup> This, apparently Jeanneret inspired idea, was to set in motion the search for a site to house the new building for the school. Montmollin was employed for the task but, for some reason, was told to carry it out in the strictest secrecy.<sup>61</sup> It was not until 1928 that the idea took any shape, when Corbusier produced a scheme for the school to be built above the Salle Pleyel, a famous auditorium which had been designed by Gustave Lyon.<sup>62</sup> The scheme was imaginative and an interesting design solution, although severely handicapped by structural problems on site which prevented further development.

Early in 1923, the Swedish Ballet Company had arrived for a season at the Théâtre des Champs Elysées.<sup>63</sup> Albert had become friendly with a member of the company, Lotti Waldren-Raaf, a widow with two small girls and a private income. According to Albert, his brother encouraged their relationship; and virtually arranged their future marriage; possibly he wanted his flat to himself as, at about this time, Jeanneret



started to live, on a regular basis, with Yvonne, his future wife. /Gallis

Albert was a person with a gentle nature and no great innovator. He was accustomed to having many of the major decisions in his life made for him and was agreeable to the idea of marriage with Lotti. After their engagement, Jeanneret wasted no time in persuading Lotti that she should have a house in Paris to his design.<sup>64</sup> In April she placed a deposit of 7,500 francs for a site, with the agent, Esnault.<sup>65</sup>

Arrangements did not progress because of the site problems and building could not start until January 1924, when the surrounding land had been sold and contracts could be signed.<sup>66</sup> Jeanneret had persuaded M. Marcel to invest in the third site together with La Roche and himself with the object of producing a unified design and of making money on its resale.<sup>67</sup> It was to take several months before a client was found, who was M. Mongerman, the manager of the Voisin Company.<sup>68</sup> In the end it proved impossible to purchase a small piece of land necessary to the Mongerman site. This was due to a change of heart by the vendor who had become disheartened by all the delays in the sale. The land was eventually sold to the owner of the adjoining house and some money was recovered.<sup>69</sup>

The cost for Mongerman would have been exorbitant. For a small ordinary house the cost would have been equivalent to that of the La Roche House which was at least three times the volume and on a much larger site.

Pierre was to be largely responsible for the detailed supervision of the construction of the Jeanneret and La Roche houses, and G. Summer was the contractor. Site work on the Albert Jeanneret house, began on 24th January 1924, and Lotti Jeanneret took a great deal of interest in the detailed design and construction. Albert took no part in the house arrangements and showed very little interest in the work which was being paid for totally by Lotti. The brief contained a flat for a maid and a dance studio on the ground floor, three bedrooms, one each for the two girls, on the first floor and a living room, dining room and kitchen on

the second floor. The roof was laid out as a terrace garden.<sup>70</sup>

As the building took shape, objections were made by the adjoining owners. Jeanneret, in his design, had paid little attention to the rights of party wall owners; several windows had been placed in these walls so that they overlooked the neighbouring sites. They served a bedroom, some service areas and provided light for the staircase. The terrace was also regarded as a breach of privacy. Jeanneret had not considered that they should in any way offend, as they were only serving secondary living spaces and it took the threat of legal action to promote the filling in of the windows or replacement of them with very obscure glass and the roof terrace partially enclosed at the rear by a wall.<sup>71</sup>

The side which was later to have been joined to the Mongermon's future house, had been left as a thin shell, which resulted in a very noticeable heat loss when the house became occupied, and later another thickness of wall had to be built.<sup>72</sup>

Lotti and Albert took up occupation a month after La Roche in April 1925, despite some continuing service supply problems. The costs for the house were: 98,000 francs for the construction, 50,000 francs for the site and 6,500 francs for Jeanneret's and Pierre Jeanneret's fees. The fee had been charged on a sliding scale at 7% for the first 50,000 francs, 6½% for the next 25,000 francs and 6% for the last figure.<sup>73</sup> The exchange rate at the time of the contract was approximately 75 francs to the pound which puts the total house cost in sterling in the region of £2,053. This was not such a high cost when compared with the Ribot limit for construction of a small working class cottage in Paris of 32,000 francs.

The Albert Jeanneret house contained many pleasant and workable spaces, with a top floor living, dining and kitchen area with a double height studio type space. The roof terrace was attractive and enhanced by the many mature trees surrounding it. Jeanneret did his best to preserve as many of the original park trees as he could, but large

numbers were destroyed by the other site contractors.

The bathroom fittings were chosen mainly from hospital catalogues and the electric light bulbs were left bare in their sockets. Many of the smaller details were at Lotti's suggestion, such as the push-button light switches and a spray system bidet. The W.C. compartments were restricted and cramped but sufficient in number.

The main structure of both houses was provided by a concrete frame, some in situ concrete walls, the remainder in blockwork, rendered on the outside. The interior of both houses was mainly white, some walls in shade being painted pale blue, with others in the sun were a shade of rust. The window rebates received the same treatment. The exteriors were finished with white oil paint. The Vaucresson house had had an integral finish of a special white cement mix but this proved too expensive to make further use of as a finish. Ozenfant's house was at first left unpainted or a form of distemper was applied which became severely weather-stained. At the end of the second year, Pierre advised him to apply white oil paint.<sup>74</sup>

The adjoining house for Raoul Le Roche was regarded by Jeanneret as his first opportunity, since the Poiret project, to design for an enlightened client without a too restrictive budget. In the interests of ensuring that he would have control of any adjoining construction to the La Roche site, it would appear he was prepared to sacrifice his brother to marriage, a step he was normally anxious to warn his friends against taking.<sup>75</sup> The combination of the initial three houses on the intimate courtyard-like site, was a good challenge. The reduction to two did not have a serious detrimental effect as the third unit was the smallest and only a continuation of the Jeanneret house.

Raoul La Roche had been a particularly good friend to Ozenfant and Jeanneret. He was an educated and cultured man, a confirmed bachelor with a taste for parties. He had met Jeanneret when they both had attended Max Du Bois' organised Sunday outings to the countryside

around Paris.<sup>76</sup> He became interested, as did several others of this group, in the somewhat earnest and ambitious young Swiss newcomer to Paris. At this time, Du Bois described Jeanneret as having the personality of a 'volcan'.<sup>77</sup>

When Jeanneret had required some considerable financial backing for his dealings in ex-war time steel stock, he had gone to La Roche, who was a director of a bank, Crédit Commercial de France, and from him received good advice and the necessary finance.<sup>78</sup>

As Jeanneret became involved with Ozenfant, purism and L'Esprit Nouveau, La Roche followed their progress, purchasing the first of their paintings and became a major shareholder in L'Esprit Nouveau. Both Ozenfant and Jeanneret had helped him to purchase other paintings of the period and enabled him to acquire a very good collection of early cubist and purist paintings, many from the Kahnweiler sales.<sup>79</sup>

Several of Jeanneret's housing development projects may well have resulted from introductions by La Roche though, on the whole, he avoided the main body of Jeanneret's somewhat hazardous business career.

In the summer of 1923 La Roche had visited La Chaux-de-Fonds with Ozenfant who had shown him the Schwob house with which he had been most impressed and, in a postcard to Jeanneret, he said :

"Dear Friend,  
I had something like a revelation this afternoon in seeing the villa you have just built. It looks as if it has fallen from the sky by the way it stands out from the banalities that surround it .....  
In short, I am full of admiration for this sample of your architecture and, dear friend, you have my best congratulations".

80

La Roche allowed for a total budget of 250,000 for his house. This had to be inclusive of every item down to the china and linen. By the time of the Salon d'Automne in 1923, Jeanneret had prepared a detailed scheme for the house and the site boundaries had been settled. La Roche paid 107,000 francs purchasing two plots and some additional land on one side. As the site had changed at least three times since the commencement of negotiations, Jeanneret had already pursued several

different ideas.<sup>81</sup>

The 'one-off' type of house design had not entered Jeanneret's theoretical statements in other than somewhat derogatory terms but fortunately he was not pedantic about this, and had gratefully accepted the La Roche challenge into which he put an enormous amount of energy.

This scheme demonstrated very clearly, the benefit of using a model in the design stage. The three-dimensional space concept which he achieved in this scheme, had little precedent and would have been difficult to perceive from a drawing. The model constructed for La Roche was submitted to the Salon d'Automne in the autumn of 1923, at the same time as Vers une Architecture was published and L'Esprit Nouveau resurrected.

Jeanneret was not unaware of the encouragement he had received from his friend La Roche, and greatly appreciated the freedom he had been given in the house design, for the New Year of 1924 he gave La Roche a present of some of his drawings and received the following letter in thanks :

"My dear Jeanneret,

Thank you very much for your kind letter and for the album of drawings that you gave me for the New Year.

I have some remorse in accepting the latter, saying to myself that all the drawings, the water colours, the plans, etc., that it contains and with which you have worked for many years must constitute for you a real treasury of ideas and marvels; it must have cost you very much to separate yourself from this album and I am all the more conscious of your generous gesture.

Your album is for me of the greatest interest and straight away it reminds me of our journey to Venice and Vicenza of which I have a happy memory, in your agreeable and interesting company. I could taste particularly the beauties of the countryside and of the works of art. Thanks to your excellent teaching, I learnt enormously.

Following the acquisition of some of the pictures of which I am the happy owner. Finally across the countryside the still lifes, the pre-cubists, drawings of every kind. One is led to a contemporary city which appears as the summit of your great work and which interests me to the highest degree.

Also, I am happy to take advantage of this opportunity that is offered. It is now two years since I ordered my house from you, the relative independence in which I live has allowed me to let you have the greatest freedom

in drawing up the plans. You have been, therefore, able to overcome some of the architectural problems that you have studied so much and to make with the help of Pierre an ensemble of rare beauty. I am delighted with it and I rejoice to see it finished which adds very much more to it. My house will form a frame worthy of your painting on which success has not smiled very much at least up to now in Paris. There is nothing to do but wait, it will come and, I believe, very soon.

The year that has passed has brought you new success in architecture. I hope that 1924 will be equally prosperous and will also bring you a little material wellbeing which is indispensable to an artist". 82

The construction of the two houses proceeded throughout 1924, though somewhat slowly at times. By the end of the year, Jeanneret and Pierre felt confident in telling the very patient client that he could move in on March 10th 1925.<sup>83</sup> (The Jeanneret house was completed a month later). The future inhabitant was delighted and sent the architectural pair the following note :

"Dear Friends,

I have received your letter of the 13th inst., telling me that you have set March 10th as the finishing date for my house at 10, Square du Docteur Blanche.

I have taken good note of this and I am pleased to tell you that if, on the said date of March 10th next, my house is sufficiently finished to be used (gas, water, electricity and drains all working, blinds fixed and painting finished), I will give you as witness of my satisfaction with the beautiful work you have accomplished

a

5 HP Citroen

the model to be at your choice for your joint use". 84

With such an incentive the completion date was more or less achieved and the pair received their Citroen prize. This was soon joined by a second-hand Voisin car purchased from Mongermon, subsidised on the strength of the future fees that would shortly have been due for his new house.<sup>85</sup>

They must have, since the fees were never received, raised the money elsewhere, for the car appears in many of the photographs taken of their buildings and from that date it became something of a symbol of the practice (as was the briar pipe which also made the odd photographic appearance).

Pierre had also been largely responsible for the furnishing of the house and had included, for La Roche's approval, some chairs by

Charlotte Perriand.<sup>86</sup> The two had embarked upon a relationship which lasted to the second world war. Pierre was extremely fond of Charlotte but they had not formalised their relationship and, during a long enforced wartime separation, she married someone else, much to his distress.<sup>87</sup>

Jeanneret and Pierre had hung La Roche's paintings according to his instructions, leaving the main gallery for purist paintings. Shortly after, during a visit to check upon the functioning of the services, Jeanneret noticed a radical change in their layout, attributable to a visit by Ozenfant. At this stage personal contact was virtually non-existent and the following note was dispatched by Jeanneret to Ozenfant :

"Dear Friend,

I am writing to you because I do not have the time to come to see you; it is a question of La Roche pictures. He had asked me to take charge of the arrangement of the pictures so that it conformed with the architecture.

I had made the first hanging, together with Pierre and strictly in accordance with La Roche's wishes. He had decided to reserve the Gallery exclusively to Purism having even carried away himself pictures by Picasso that I had hung.

Passing yesterday for the needs of services at La Roche's house, I could see the great changes that you have made. I could not ask better than that you should take charge of this hanging but wish that it was by agreement with me; not only with the object of safeguarding those things that concern me personally (since you have seen that I have reserved an interesting place for you), but simply with the object of avoiding that the house of La Roche should look like a collector's house (a stamp album). I hold definitely that certain parts of the architecture are absolutely clear of all paintings to create by this method a double effect of pure architecture on one hand and of painting on the other. As this wish will be altered by the new arrangement that you have made, I appeal to our friendship to tell you of it straight away and to ask you later to reach agreement with me".<sup>88</sup>

La Roche was in a difficult situation between the two estranged friends as he was still on good terms with both and had no wish to become involved with the hostilities.

During the following year, he did manage a discreet rebuke to his somewhat pugnacious and dogmatic architect: in a letter congratulating him on the publication of the L'Esprit Nouveau - Almanach :

"My dear Jeanneret,

They have brought me your 'Almanach'. Thank you very much and many congratulations. It has been done very successfully.

I have only just run through it before making a deeper study, but I am already very taken with what I have hastily seen of its contents.

All this is really up to date and presents in a form so living so alert and so biting that it constitutes a precious document of fights that brave pioneers like you must sustain.

A little while ago the bombshells that you love to fire in all directions caused me to worry for you. I feared a coalition against you of all the forces opposed to your ideas, notably the architects, decorators that you have so often handled roughly. I was perhaps too pessimistic because it seems to me that your fracas have brought you more admirers than critics.

It is that opinion yields to evidence and submerges all obstacles raised against your progress. The criticisms of detail leave it indifferent alongside the collection of your brilliant conceptions. They are all important and so passionate.

I believe therefore that it will be useful if you continue to make well reasoned controversies. I say this, not without taking into account that on occasion I could be the victim besides I have already been one. I read between the lines of your article in "Cahiers d'Art" No. 3 reproaches concerning me. Besides you had very loyally warned me in advance.

How must one answer you, without doubt, you have reason to complain if people massacre your walls of which I was one of the first admirers. All the same, please keep account of that which I have massacred and of that which I should have massacred you must admit a certain moderation in my misdeeds. Can you remember the beginning of my enterprise "La Roche when one has a beautiful collection like yours one must build a house worthy of it" and my answer "Agreed Jeanneret build me this house".

Then what happened? The finished house was so beautiful that looking at it I cried out to myself "It is almost a shame to put paintings in it". I put some all the same. Could I have done otherwise. So I note have certain obligations to my painters of which you are one also. I ordered from you a frame for my collection. You gave me a poem in walls which of us is most at fault.

We will speak again about it when the occasion arises". 89

While delighted with the house, La Roche was not so overcome that he did not make sure that the architects carried out their responsibilities to the full and he checked bills carefully. Faults needing attention were pointed out; the W.C. cistern was considered to be suffering from constipation, and on one occasion La Roche brought forth this understatement :



"Curiosity made me inspect, this morning, that part of the terrace which opens off the staircase. I noticed a fair amount of stagnant water, shouldn't it run away somewhere?"

90

His patience was considerable and extended for a number of months to submitting to experiments with the lighting system, as nothing could be found which Jeanneret considered suitable; La Roche had been managing with bulbs on pieces of string or strange tubular contraptions. After some months he finally struck and sent the following note to Pierre :

"Lighting I found when I went back to the house the re-establishment of the status quo ante with a hole in the dining room ceiling. I had hoped that you would have started the scheme of ceiling lights (temporary system) of which you had spoken to me. I understood perfectly your hesitation about the lighting system but while waiting until you have found something really good it is necessary to be able to see clearly in my house. It is now over six months that I have been in my house and obliged to light myself principally in my picture gallery with very chancy methods. What must the many visitors think and what must I say to them.

I come back to say that a very ordinary system would undoubtedly be the best at least for the present. In my home there are so many 'original' things, pictures, windows, doors, etc. that people will pay attention to other things than to lighting fittings. Moreover we have noticed that your various apparatuses, ingenious as they are, are all very costly. I hesitate to commit myself further in this direction. I should be obliged therefore if you would occupy yourself once more with this question and let me know your conclusions. I saw at Léonce Rosenberg's some fittings which gave good light and were not too ugly".

91

Shades and curtains were found to be necessary in the gallery to stop the sun shining directly upon two paintings, by Picasso and Braque, and to lower the reverberation time produced by the predominance of hard surfaces.<sup>92</sup>

The house, today, still stands as an exceptional piece of architecture. It is a real and successful experiment with space and the use of purist forms in three dimensions, while meeting the straightforward requirements of good architecture. The L shaped plot and the necessary turning of the building on the site is well handled. An adjoining tree is even treated sympathetically. The double height space of the Legendre Bistrô in the rue Godot is fully realised for the first

time. The ramp in the gallery is a spatial and movement experience, through the gallery and its paintings. It is a house capable of giving continual pleasure to the inhabitants and, at the time of construction, was without precedent.

La Roche, in a letter to Jeanneret written two years after his occupation of the house, in which he commented on the Vogue Photographer's efforts, said :

"My dear Jeanneret,

The various pictures bound in this album were taken by Fred Boissonas to be published in "Vogue". Most of them were taken at a time of the year when the trees were without their leaves, they have the drawback of letting appear too much of the works of your distinguished confreres to whom your neighbours had recourse.

Although it is relatively easy to embellish appreciably a photo of a human being, the thing seems astonishingly difficult in the case of a house.

I must confess that, in spite of M. Boissonas' art, the 'Villa La Rocca' is more beautiful in nature than in the picture. How does this come about? Certainly the best possible reproduction only produces in a very imperfect fashion the emotion one feels in direct contact with this symphony of prisms. One must believe that you have the secret with Pierre because I seek it in vain elsewhere. You have shown us the beauty taught us the meaning and grace we know now what architecture really is. We understand both the theory and the practice of it.

Could you, in the course of the next few years, make a considerable number of buildings large and small rise out of the ground, of which one would immediately recognize the author; not because their names are carved on the facades in the manner of the SADG but because the spectator moved by emotion would cry spontaneously -

'That ..... that is architecture .....

" 93

Following the example of Ozenfant and La Roche, Dan Niestlé, in June 1923, on his retirement from the administrative board of L'Esprit Nouveau due to ill health, commissioned his fellow administrator to design him a weekend house at Rambouillet.<sup>94</sup> The house was a single-storey derivation of the Paul Poiret holiday house scheme with a roof terrace. Jeanneret made a model, despite Niestlé's objections over the extra cost;<sup>95</sup> possibly, by that stage, he had already decided not

to proceed with the scheme, but Jeanneret had plans for its inclusion in the Salon d'Automne of that year,<sup>96</sup> where it was eventually displayed. hough the house itself was never built.

There was also an enquiry from Madame Berque on behalf of a friend who was interested in a Citrohan house. Jeanneret, in his reply, gave information on suitable sites remaining at Boulogne.<sup>97</sup> In October through Ozenfant's friend, the historian Eli Faure, Jeanneret learned of sites available at Ville d'Avray, where Faure was in the process of acquiring one, upon which he wished him to carry out a study of a house.<sup>98</sup> (This was eventually built in 1929).<sup>99</sup> Jeanneret proposed to the owner of the land that he should produce a development design for the site but with no success, though he did mention, the following year, that a Ribot house type had been constructed at Ville d'Avray.

At the start of 1924, Jeanneret had little time to pursue enquiries based on vague hopes; there was too much work on hand, with some projects already under construction, together with the studies for Pessac and the 1925 L'Esprit Nouveau Pavilion. There were a few more artists considering new studios but, all but one, went no further than the contemplation stage.<sup>100</sup> The exception was Madame Pierre Meyer whose mother, Mme. Hirtz, wanted to give her a house for a wedding present.<sup>101</sup> Not any house, but one designed by Le Corbusier. Mme. Hirtz had, so she thought, found a suitable site on the Villa Madrid estate in Neuilly.<sup>102</sup> A scheme was prepared for it and sent for approval to Mme. Hirtz on the 24th April 1924, and at the same time, construction estimates were sought. (This was the first scheme, preceding the design and a letter illustrated in Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929 by eighteen months).<sup>103</sup> However, all was in vain; the site was no longer available and Jeanneret was asked to suggest others. Over the next eighteen months, two more schemes were produced for two other sites. Shortly after submitting the third scheme, Jeanneret received a letter from Mme. Meyer cancelling the whole project. This was hurtful news having expended so much time and effort on the

schemes. In his reply sent on 24th February 1926, he said the following:

"Dear Madame,  
My fatherhood suffered! You are cruel madame to make me wait so long. I have told you how much we have coaxed your project and that we were celebrating its coming into the world. A house which only stays on paper is a miscarriage. When I tell you that truly my fibres as a father suffered.

Think now of the folly of James, the birds sing among the orange trees and even some of the thickets are green. I assure you that from your roof when this is ready, you will hear it all next year and you will be very touched because your roof is something 'such as nobody has ever seen before'. You are surrounded by mimosa of Monte Carlo and you sing of a garden on a Paris roof. Monte Carlo is an exquisite place to stay during this dejected half season in Paris but Paris is never deserted by her children one always comes back to Paris and Paris is only gloomy in the blocks of flats for letting, built by my confreres

Now we have made an architectural poem for you in a form, a little like an 'Innovation Trunk', open the trunk, the suitcase and inside it is a box of surprises.

Dear Lady, could you not give us the order to commence your work without delay you would please us and yourself also.

Your land at Neuilly is situated admirably. I have sought out sites for excellent clients but they cannot be found in Paris not even by paying 1,000 f. for the square metre sometimes and then you have neighbours diving into your roof garden from their 6 floors. This does not add to the charm.

At heart we are chagrined by your silence, not worried because you had stated so categorically that we had made peace and this had pleased me enormously.

Save me five minutes of your time to tell me something. In truth you would be doing a good deed".

This won him a short reprieve and a new site was found for the fourth scheme, based on a budget of 350,000 francs. A few days after taking this decision, Mme. Hirtz changed her mind again and declared that it was impossible to proceed with any building due to the drastically reducing value of the French franc. She was desolated at having to make such a decision and would be willing to meet Jeanneret to discuss the situation. He ignored the dismissal of the scheme, arranged a meeting in his office and declared he was looking forward to seeing her. In the same note he said that scheme four was being estimated.

Mme. Hirtz arrived at the practice office at the appointed hour, but finding no-one there, departed, never to return, so that when, in December, her daughter was presented with a complete scheme four, together with an estimate, she was somewhat annoyed and refused to acknowledge the situation.<sup>104</sup> Throughout all this, her daughter took no part in the exchanges.

The design for the last Meyer house was a development of the first scheme but with an internal ramp and a very mature use of the separate partition and structure aesthetic, carried into three dimensions without the added problem of an L shaped plan form, as in the La Roche site. Considerable use was made, for the first time, of an inside/outside connection to the surrounding landscape. Had this house been built, it would have been a very interesting example of a stage in Jeanneret's development, between the La Roche house and the Villas Garche and Savoye. The sketches show a much greater understanding of the small comforts of every-day living and there is a larger area of soft surface than normally allowed in earlier Jeanneret projects.

The difference between scheme one and the last, is clear evidence of the benefits of having time to develop a theme, through drawing it many times. The essence of the main theory of a cube containing a multitude of experiences is there at the start, but the skill to make the design a complete whole, <sup>a whole</sup> that is destroyed by the removal of a part, has taken a great deal of hard work to achieve. A concept Jeanneret had realised was a necessity, when working on the Villa Savoye, where he made full use of the sketch design stage, <sup>to develop it</sup> even though the site remained the same.

These three houses were certainly regarded by him as very important in the development of his architectural and sculptural ideas. They are dealt with in very full detail in Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929 and though only small in scale, show greater depth of thought in many ways than the large schemes of this period.

When Jeanneret's parents had sold the house in La Chaux-de-Fonds in 1915,<sup>105</sup> they had moved to rented accommodation in the milder climate of a lower altitude, but this had not proved entirely satisfactory as the house they were occupying was not, in Jeanneret's opinion, sufficiently well insulated against the still chilly winters; and he had wanted them to ask the landlord to provide double-glazing. This had proved difficult and finally he managed to persuade his parents to have a small house built for themselves.<sup>106</sup> Of the two sites that were originally studied, the one on the lakeside near Vevey was selected. It was a small part of a private estate, squeezed between Lake Geneva and the main road to Vevey from Geneva and included a stone harbour wall.<sup>107</sup>

Jeanneret designed a long, narrow, open-planned, flat-roofed cottage to fit the site and make the most of the magnificent views of the lake and the French mountains.<sup>108</sup> It was constructed in the same way as the Paris houses, but the concrete rendering leaked badly and had to be clad in aluminium at a later date. It was, in every other way, a satisfactory home for his parents until their deaths. His brother Albert later returned, in retirement, to live with his mother, their surviving parent, who lived to be one hundred years old. The situation of the house is very beautiful though possibly a little remote for elderly people with no transport.

Shortly after Mme. Hirtz' first enquiry, in the spring of 1924, Jeanneret was asked by a M. Steen (this could be Michael Stien)<sup>109</sup> whether he had any sites for a single house. In his reply, Jeanneret mentioned several sites such as Boulogne, Jasmin and d'Avray, but rather too confidently, wrote :

"Should these plots interest you, I could assure you that it would be possible to build a very fine mansion and to give you assurances concerning the risks of the enterprise. I would tell you that all my buildings are always handled by contractors, under contract before work is started so that I never have any disagreeable surprises.

110

This statement is hardly credible considering the problems that were, at this time, arising on the sites of the first houses which were at the

end of the construction stage.

Jeanneret, however, must have been in a very confident mood in the summer of 1924, as he took out the lease of a larger office, in a much smarter area of Paris than the rue d'Astorg was, at 33-35 rue de Sèvres.<sup>111</sup> The practice was expanding and Pierre desperately needed someone to help with the draughting, supervision and estimations. One of the requirements of the first job offered was a knowledge of Parisian building regulations and experience in working in the city.<sup>112</sup>

Later that year Pierre had for an assistant the student son of Elie Faure, who was hired for the magnificent sum of 800 francs, (£10 approx. a month. Jeanneret said that he could not afford to pay 1,000 francs, the sum requested by young Faure, because of the poor state of the architectural work situation.<sup>113</sup>

The office of L'Esprit Nouveau had been moved to that of the publisher, Budry who had rented them a small part of his premises.

In September, Jeanneret took from a newspaper, a cutting illustrating a small cottage entitled La Maison de Cincinnatus.<sup>114</sup> The simple wooden construction system must have appealed very strongly to him as, a few years later, he incorporated it in the design for a house in Chile.<sup>115</sup> The structure columns and roof beams made use of rustic wooden poles, Spanish-type terra cotta tiles, rendered walls and a random stone base. It was the first occasion on which he was to break with his use of concrete, since his early La Chaux-de-Fonds, Chappalez houses.

In November 1924, Jeanneret was approached by a distinguished German firm of Architects and Engineers, the Luckhardt Brothers and Alfons Anker of Berlin.<sup>116</sup> They had started to specialise in multi-storey car parks, constructed in reinforced concrete and had been asked by a Paris businessman, who had seen one of their schemes illustrated, to design a large garage for a site he owned in the Avenue Malakoff. Because of the political situation, however, it was not possible for a German firm to carry out work on site. Westheim, in Berlin, had told them of Jeanneret as someone experienced in their type of construction

and who might be willing to act for them in Paris.<sup>117</sup> Jeanneret was interested and contacted M. Falconnet, the owner of the site. On his behalf, he replied to the engineers in the affirmative but required certain information on work actually executed. He also made clear his own contribution to the scheme, in the event of M. Falconnet approving their appointment. In the same letter, he said :

"Should M. Falconnet follow up your proposal, I would be prepared to collaborate with you in the construction of this garage because I must tell you that it seems indispensable to me that a part of your conception must be carried out in an aesthetic style which will accord with the parisian spirit. It is not a case, it is understood, to make a hotchpotch of different styles but, on the contrary, to make a clear demonstration of reinforced concrete in conformity with the spirit that is capable of reigning here in intelligent quarters.

You surely know my work and you know that I am not a man who will compromise. In one word, you must make a clear proposal of the layout of this garage, you will make available any useful calculations. I can, on my part, look after the correct appropriation of the building to the land and eventually, according to the circumstances, suggest a new solution for the use of the roofing such as I have already made in several blocks of flats already completed or about to be completed, thus the role of each of us should be clear and the division of the fees should be equitable.

I will undertake, moreover, the supervision of the actual work and make any adjudication". 118

Luckhardt and Ankers, in their reply to this, had to admit that nothing had to date been completed beyond the planning stage but the first project, when published had caused a sensation, a fact of which Jeanneret was aware, as he had read of their work a few months earlier. The Germans were also agreeable to his conditions.<sup>119</sup> However, as M. Falconnet did not pursue the idea they were not afforded the opportunity to put the relationship into practice.

During 1925, Jeanneret and Pierre had even less time to follow house enquiries on speculation and, though they received several, none developed into a scheme.

A sketch scheme was produced for the Marquis de Polignac in December; this could well have been a start on the Garches site,<sup>120</sup>



to be taken up by the French Minister, Charles de Monzie<sup>121</sup> and later to be bought from him by Michael Stein,<sup>122</sup> before completion. The last owner took considerable interest in its construction according to Gertrude Stein.<sup>123</sup>

The activity which had consumed a great deal of their time over 1924 and 1925, was the preparation, construction and negotiation required to produce the L'Esprit Nouveau Pavilion for the Paris 1925 Exhibition of Decorative Arts. The acquisition of the site was mainly the concern of the Esprit Nouveau side of Jeanneret's interests, but the form and content of the Pavilion itself was a direct representation of his past ten years' work in architecture and town planning.

The committee of the exhibition had asked Jeanneret to produce a house for an architect.<sup>124</sup> Their image of him was of a one-off builder of houses for the avant garde, wealthy inhabitants of the more cosmopolitan areas of Paris, this despite all his well publicised town planning activities. Jeanneret, though, had already decided that the exhibition was an excellent publicity stand for his own large-scale housing theories. He wanted to project the idea of a house with all the assets that such a concept offered, two-storey space, outside terrace light and sunshine in the form of stackable apartments suited to dense city living and his theory of modern city.<sup>125</sup>

In an earlier exhibition to encourage rebuilding at the end of the war, he had wanted to construct a prototype Domino house but had been deterred by Perret and Du Bois.<sup>126</sup> Now he decided to construct a prototype of his Cité d'Habitation Apartment, and combine it with a display to show how it applied to the Cité de Trois Millions, and then to an actual area in Paris. The apartment itself was in the form of a cube and provided an excellent foil to the form produced by exhibiting two semi-circular Dioramas, one from the 1922 Salon d'Automne exhibition, the other produced for a <sup>/new</sup> scheme for a proposed rebuilt area of Paris.<sup>126</sup> The space required to accommodate all this was considerable and was

only another point of argument with the committee. Somewhat misleading drawings of the project were submitted to get it passed by the committee, and it was eventually to be built without total official approval.<sup>127</sup>

Further information, facts and figures to back up the theory of the office, towers and housing blocks were displayed in the Diorama area. The apartment was furnished to demonstrate the use of contemporary mass-produced items. The Pavilion had to be constructed in a very short time, as the site had only been allocated at a rather late date. The final contractor was M. Summer and use was made of sprayed cement render on to a timber frame to give the feeling of a concrete structure. This took place after the first contractor had been removed from the site by the exhibition committee, who considered that L'Esprit Nouveau had forfeited the right to the site by starting outside the time limit. This contractor had proceeded to sue L'Esprit Nouveau for the false start, despite the fact that the committee had been at fault. *(As already discussed in Chapter 6D,)* The site itself was tucked in the corner by the Grand Palais in a very obscure position. The construction, even though not on view, was completed in time for the opening, unlike most of the pavilions, but not before some considerable disagreement with the parks department over a tree that had been combined with the apartment terrace. Each side complained that the other had removed a number of lower branches from the tree to the detriment of the park or exhibit, depending upon which side one stood.<sup>128</sup>

The elevational treatment of the Cité d'Habitation apartment blocks showed considerably more depth than the earlier project. Corbusier attributed this to his observance of the scale of scaffolding erected outside the Bon Marché Façade for repairs.<sup>129</sup> This may well have been a factor, but it is evident in the other work of this period that Corbusier had developed his purist forms into three dimensions and, at the same time, appreciated more of the full potential of a frame structure.

The apartment design itself was impressive and contained the spaciousness of the La Roche house, though a two-door W.C. compartment was an innovation together with an open-tread metal staircase.

When finally on display, following its opening by M. de Mon e, the Pavilion was a great success. La Roche was to write the following letter to Jeanneret after one of his visits to the Pavilion :

"Having returned yesterday afternoon for an instant to the E.N. Pavilion, I saw with pleasure that you have at last decided to hang one of your paintings. I regret only that you have chosen a relatively small canvas now that the pavilion lends itself so marvellously to the exhibition of your paintings.

I come therefore to ask once more if you wont hang one of the big paintings which I have (perhaps "A la Place du Gris" whose only function seems to be to set a value on the other canvasses). If I insist a little it is because I have the feeling that you perhaps do not have very often the chance to exhibit in public in such an appropriate setting. Reflect once more. Your painting is at the same level as your architecture and as it came from it, it is logical that it will go back to it. A painting in your pavilion will show up much better and should be included in a Salon of Independents. You could say that architecture dictates the painting (see again LEN No. 1-28). "

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The Pavilion marked the end of another stage in Jeanneret's development. He was now recognised as a painter, writer and architect in the eyes of many people. His work was to be looked to for guidance in the aesthetics of the modern movement, but very little recognition in the form of large-scale housing projects were to be awarded to his practice until many years later and then the interest came from outside of France.

## SUMMARY

### PART ONE

Charles-Edouard Jeanneret was born in La Chaux-de-Fonds, a town in the Swiss Jura on the road between Basle and Paris. His family had settled there as a result of French religious persecution in the eighteenth century and brought the skills of watchmaking with them. Though many members of the extended family moved away from watchmaking into the professions, Jeanneret's immediate family remained associated with it and it was intended that he should follow in the tradition.

The chain of events that led to Jeanneret developing architectural interests came about through his attendance at the La Chaux-de-Fonds School of Art, initially on the apprentice engravers' course.

At the school Jeanneret encountered a brilliant and ambitious teacher, Charles L'Eplattenier whose effect on Jeanneret was very great and who must be regarded as providing the stimulus that brought the younger man to artistic awareness. He was also fortunate in that L'eplattenier had a wide circle of friends in Europe who were to be of great assistance to Jeanneret later in proffering advice and providing contacts.

Jeanneret was clearly regarded as a prize pupil at the school and through L'Eplattenier and his friend William Ritter who also became Jeanneret's mentor, Jeanneret was sent on a tour of German Art Schools that led to a considerable broadening of his horizons and quite soon, to a period of architectural work in Germany. Working for Peter Behrens Jeanneret was introduced to a more progressive and varied intellectual climate which led him to strike out for himself and undertake extensive travels.

By 1912 Jeanneret was, perforce, back in La Chaux-de-Fonds working as an architectural assistant and teacher under L'Eplattenier. At this

time he was brought under the influence of Max DuBois who had earlier contributed to his technical development in the appreciation of reinforced concrete and now, working in Paris, encouraged Jeanneret to develop business and entrepreneurial interests.

Prevented from moving to Paris until 1917, he used the war years to develop links with DuBois and complete two major projects in La Chaux-de-Fonds, the Schwob house and the Scala Cinema, both of which resulted in acrimonious relations with the clients and engendered soured feelings. Jeanneret's departure for Paris in 1917, to join DuBois, was overshadowed by these events which kept him away from Switzerland for many years.

## PART TWO

During Jeanneret's first years in Paris it was his friend Max DuBois who provided him with the means to support himself. DuBois set him up in practice, introduced him to the world of business and industry and provided an introduction to the community of Swiss business men working in the city, many of whom were to support Jeanneret's later activities. Both he and DuBois put a great deal of thought, energy and money into schemes to promote their patented industrialised building systems with little success. To support his share of these enterprises Jeanneret dealt in ex-war stock covering a wide range of items from typewriters to steel re-inforcement. It is important to note that all these activities were omitted from Le Corbusier's accounts of this period of his life.

Jeanneret's only other friend in Paris, Auguste Perret, introduced him to the growing international artist's society through his Sunday lunchtime meetings. At one of these gatherings Jeanneret met the painter Ozenfant with whom he was soon to establish the theory of 'Purisme' and later the associated journal L'Esprit Nouveau.

Throughout the severe post war financial depression that curtailed Jeanneret's other business ventures he was to demonstrate a remarkable tenacity of purpose in keeping L'Esprit Nouveau in print long after most of its competitors had disappeared, though not without considerable cost to himself and other major shareholders.

Despite such setbacks Jeanneret's first real clients for his practice came from L'Esprit Nouveau colleagues and subscribers, who wanted studio versions of the 'Citrohan' house. These had to be low cost dwellings to qualify for tax relief and were difficult to build for the sums available. The use of new construction techniques hampered their progress but by the time Jeanneret received the commission from the Swiss banker, Raoul La Roche, to design a house for his growing collection of contemporary paintings he was more familiar with the problems, had less financial restraints and had co-opted his well qualified young cousin, Pierre Jeanneret, to work with him.

By 1925 L'Esprit Nouveau's reputation was well established internationally as a leading influence in the development of modern design and architecture. When the journal was excluded from the list of exhibitors for the 1925 Exhibition there ensued an outcry of such force that the organisers did provide a site though very grudgingly and with many restrictions. The result was the very successful L'Esprit Nouveau Pavilion, much acclaimed by the majority of visitors but not by the organisers.

By 1925 Jeanneret no longer needed the publicity the journal had given him and he stopped its publication at the point when it could have achieved some financial stability. Henceforth he adopted the name he had made known internationally, Le Corbusier for all his work and concentrated on his career as an architect under this name.

## CONCLUSION

Enough is now known about Le Corbusier's 'years of transition' for a factual account to be written. In Le Corbusier's autobiographical notes Charles L'Eplattenier is briefly acknowledged as an 'enlightened teacher' and some details are supplied of his course at the art school for apprentice engravers. William Ritter and Amedée Ozenfant are both recognised as supportive and valuable friends but Max DuBois is never mentioned. Architectural schools and their professors are dismissed as useless, they are accused of only being concerned with producing out-dated stylists. Contrary to Le Corbusier's own account, the evidence that has been presented here shows that there were a number of people who had a significant influence upon his development.

Close examination of what can now be defined as Jeanneret's early architectural education indicates an unorthodox but carefully planned course with a high academic content. The creator of this course was L'Eplattenier, who had recognised in one of his apprentices a talented artist and a young man of exceptional personality, tenacity and ambition. He saw in the boy someone who could become a leading figure in the 'Arts and Crafts' inspired utopian community he would like to have seen started in La Chaux-de-Fonds, with the art school as its centre. Similar communities were already functioning at Hagen and Darmstadt and the art school workshops under Prouvé at Nancy, and others were in the process of foundation. Architecture played an important part in the expression of the basic ideals of these communities and was the profession L'Eplattenier considered most suitable for Jeanneret to follow; other students were directed to sculpture, painting and furniture design.

From the evidence it is very doubtful that the character of Le Corbusier would ever have emerged without L'Eplattenier's early indoctrination of the young Charles-Edourd Jeanneret. Part of L'Eplattenier's method was to

encourage Jeanneret to regard himself as an embodiment of the 'Hero artist' as described by Ruskin. He fed him other works on the same theme by writers such as Provensal, Schuré and Nietzsche. Ritter reinforced this theme and introduced him to the work of the Nabis, the Beuroner artists and Maurice Denis. This was an emotive and heady diet for an already self opiated youth to come to terms with.

Until 1910 Jeanneret was to lead a very sheltered existence under L'Eplattenier's almost paternal care for his development, but as he matured and struggled for independence there came the realisation that not all he had learnt from his teacher was regarded by others so highly. A growing personal dissatisfaction with the lack of direction he was finding in his work both as an architect and artist led him to heavily criticise L'Eplattenier, blaming him for the frustrations and disillusionment he found in the 'Hero artist' image. Others did not have the same high principles as his teacher, nor did they see Jeanneret's talents in the same light. He began to appreciate that his lack of formal qualifications and sparse professional experience could prove serious handicaps to his future as an architect.

Apart from these omissions Jeanneret's more academic architectural education was rich in historical and theoretical experience. He was well read and had travelled widely in Europe, personal contact had been made with many of the leading pioneers in the Modern Movement and he had attended most of the International Building and Art exhibitions of the period. He became well informed on the latest ideas in building technology and materials, if not in their application on site. He was a good freehand draughtsman, water colour artist and, through his training as an engraver, had the ability to represent three dimensional form using a deceptively simple line technique. However his architectural design experience was



almost totally restricted to housing while in La Chaux-de-Fonds and only extended to industrial projects when he moved to Paris.

From existing information it would appear that Jeanneret was largely self supporting from the time he left the art school, though heavily reliant on his mentors and friends for architectural and business contacts. He had few personal requirements and could survive on a very frugal life style. It was DuBois who encouraged Jeanneret to become financially ambitious and introduced him to the possibilities of the life of an entrepreneur, a course which he was to pursue enthusiastically for a number of years.

Many of the ideas developed during the years 1912-1925 were to be the inspiration for his later architectural schemes. If any of these projects had been successful at the time it is possible that Le Corbusier the architect would never have emerged. During the early 1920's his survival in Paris was dependant on all these activities. L'Esprit Nouveau was originally intended to publicise his business ventures and attract investment to them, making it ironic that as Jeanneret became infatuated with the Journal, he increasingly neglected the business interests that the journal had been designed to serve.

Despite Jeanneret's original intentions the historical significance of L'Esprit Nouveau was that it made the name of Le Corbusier known internationally first as an architectural theorist then as an architect. Jeanneret developed an almost evangelical attitude to his writing when he realised he was communicating with large numbers of people, who were searching as he had been, for a contemporary language in which to express their ideas. Although Jeanneret's articles contained many theories from late nineteenth and early twentieth century aesthetics, his achievement was to present a convincing basic theory from the myriad of themes that had been floated in both painting and architectural manifestos from the

start of the century. As Banham has shown this basic theory was permeated by the awareness of a technological revolution.

Far from denigrating Le Corbusier, the newly ascertained facts add depth to his character; they do away with the notion that Charles-Edouard Jeanneret was predestined to genius, an idea conveyed by Le Corbusier's autobiographical writings and enable us to see that he was a relatively normal man dealing, sometimes with more, sometimes with less success, with the considerable worldly problems that confront himself and others at this critical period in the history of architecture.

END NOTES

Abbreviations

FLC Fondation Le Corbusier

BLCF Bibliotheque La Chaux-de-Fonds

MD Max Du Bois

RIBA Royal Institute of British Architects

- 1 Paul Turner  
Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Le Corbusier Avant 1930  
1970 FLC.
- 2 Jean Courvoisier  
Les Districts de Neuchâtel et de Baudry:  
Canton de Neuchâtel II.  
Les Monuments d'Art et d'Histoire de la Suisse, 1963.  
B.L.C.F.
- 3 Jean Courvoisier, Les Monuments d'Art et d'Histoire  
de la Suisse, 1963.
- 4 Le Corbusier  
My Work, 1960, p . 19.
- 5 Personal Interview with M. Seylac, 20.9.72 LCF  
Director of Musée des Beaux Arts, LCF.
- 6 Known as 'Cours supérieur' when it was started in 1906,  
the title was changed in 1911 to La Nouvelle Section.  
The course was closed in 1914 - Procès-verbaux de la  
Commission de l'Ecole d'Art de la Chaux-de-Fonds.  
B.L.C.F.
- 7 Personal interview with Max Du Bois, who in 1903 was given  
the first pair of skis to be seen in the Doubs valley.  
JL 1975, Paris.
- 8 'Ville Contemporaine de 3 millions d'Habitants'  
Le Corbusier exhibit in the Paris 1922 Salon d'Automne.  
Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 34.
- 9 'Brève Histoire de nos Tribulations'  
L'Art Décoratif d'Aujourd'hui  
Le Corbusier 1925  
F.L.C.  
This article had been originally planned for inclusion  
in L'Esprit Nouveau No. 29.  
See Appendix No. 3 a.
- 10 G.R. Collins and C.C. Collins  
Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning  
1965, p . 17.
- 11 C.E. Jeanneret  
Etude sur le mouvement d'Art Décoratif en Allemagne, 1912  
B.L.C.F.
- 12 'Brève Histoire de nos Tribulations'  
L'Art Décoratif d'Aujourd'hui  
Le Corbusier 1925

Original text -

"En 1925, il écrira dans l'Illustration, au sujet du pavillon de 'E.N. : C'est germano-suisse. M. Léandre Vaillat sait (parce que je lui ai dit une fois), que je suis originaire des - montagnes neuchâteloises - en Suisse. Mon père s'appelle Jeanneret, ma mère Perret.

Notre famille a son berceau dans le Sud de la France; elle en fut chassée à la croisade des Albigeois. Dans ces terres franches, où ces réfugiés jouissaient du droit de - francs habergeants - (colons ne payant pas de redevances), vinrent, dans la suite, les proscrits de l'Edit de Nantes, puis les réfugiés politiques de Louis XV et de Louis XVI, puis ceux de la Commune.

Dans ces vallées hautes situées à 1,000 mètres d'altitude, qui appartenaient aux ducs de Nemours et Longueville (le canton de Neuchâtel est entré dans la Confédération Suisse en 1848). Ces colons défrichaient en été et en hiver à partir du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, ils construisirent les plus merveilleux mouvements d'horlogerie et des automates prestigieux (première mécanique du monde !). Ces fermes qu'ils avaient construites et dont j'ai retrouvé le prototype en Armagnac, représentent de majestueux exemples de folklore: de la grande architecture. A l'intérieur on lisait au XIX<sup>e</sup> eme. Rabelais, Rousseau et Voltaire. On a toujours été révolutionnaires dans les vallées. Pendant cent ans on s'obstina à rechercher le mouvement perpétuel. Ils avaient de l'idéal; ces gens n'avaient pas le cuir épais. Il y avait là une race ..... Aujourd'hui, le chemin de fer a commencé le mélange des sangs, là tout particulièrement, centre mondial de l'industrie horlogère ....."

- 1 Personal interview with Albert Jeanneret, Vevey,  
June 24th 1972.
- 2 Le Corbusier  
My Work, 1960, p . 18-19.  
  
J. Petit Le Corbusier Lui-Même, 1970  
  
The Jeanneret Gris family were the descendants of three brothers who settled in the Neuchâtel area after leaving France in the late 18th century. They were clock makers and mechanics, very successful at their work. From their descendants came more watch makers but, in particular, designers, painters and writers. Amongst whom was Gustave Jeanneret-Gris b. 1847, d. 1927, the President of the Swiss Society of Painters, Sculpters and Architects and also the Federal Commission for the Beaux Arts at the start of the 20th century. Another branch of the family became lawyers, councillors, teachers and administrators. They had become a family of considerable ability and reputation. See Appendix No. 5 a.
- 3 Letter heading from Jeanneret files. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1 a.
- 4 Op. cit.
- 5 Charles-Edouard Jeanneret's birth certificate.  
BLCF af. 15 58 932.
- 6 J. Pettit Le Corbusier Lui-Même 1970  
p . 22-25 RIBA  
Pierre Jeanneret's father, André Jeanneret, was a cousin of Charles-Edouard's father. His family lived in Geneva.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Programme for 'Audition d'élèves de Madame Jeanneret-Perret. Samedi 7 Juillet 1916' at - 'Montagne 30b'.  
Amongst the performers were Mlle. Juliette Ditisheim and Mlle. Madeleine Schwob, whose families were clients of Le Corbusier.  
BLCF Af. 15 43 769.  
Also personal interview with Léon Pérrin, June 1972.
- 9 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, Summer 1911 FLC.
- 10 Letter from Albert Jeanneret to J. Lowman 9.2.72 and personal interview, Vevey, June 24th 1972.
- 11 1911-1914, Bildungsanstalt HELLERAU.  
E. Jacques - Dalcroze Rhythm, Music and Education, 1967.
- 12 Op. cit.
- 13 Ibid. Also newspaper advert in 'Feuilles d'Avis' 13.9.1916.  
See Appendix No. 6 k.

- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Le Corbusier's aunt, Pauline Jeanneret-Rauss, his father's elder sister, lived with the family, she was a devout protestant and took an active part in the boy's upbringing, contributing to a puritanical approach to life that he was never to lose. His mother believed strongly in the necessity to do well any task that you undertook. Personal interview with the late Albert Jeanneret, Vevey, June 1972.
- 16 Octave Matthey, Léon Perrin, André Dvard, Lucien Schwob, Georges Aubert, Madeleine Woog, Charles Humbert. Procès-verbaux de la commission de l'École d'art. BLCF  
Léon Perrin - Catalogue Musées des Beaux-Arts, 1972. FLC  
Un Mouvement d'Art à la Chaux-de-Fonds, 1914. BLCF
- 17 Personal interview with Paul Seylac, Director of Musée des Beaux-Arts, June 1972.
- 18 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 15.12.1911.
- 19 Op. cit.
- 20 Personal letter file. FLC
- 21 Letter from Charles Humbert to Jeanneret, Nov/Dec. 1922. FLC  
"Le vrai mal, reconnais-le, c'est que tu as changé et que tu enveloppes dans une même réprobation tout ce qui pouvait te rappeler la Chaux-de-Fonds.  
Tu es même si changé que tu ne sens pas combien est étrange ta façon de m'écrire. J'admets que tu es peut-être irresponsable et c'est bien ce qui m'affligerait le plus.  
C'est très beau de poser comme fondement de l'art le mépris de la sentimentalité mais il ne faut pas dégringoler de pente en pente pour arriver enfin à nier tout sentiment. Quant à l'ironie que tu dépenses elle n'est point de circonstance et si j'ai mal parlé de ton livre c'est qu'il entre en conflit avec mon goût; en ceci je puis être différent et rester ton ami .... et je ne serais pas le seul: tu connais les opinions de W. Ritter, P. Godet, Manon, etc. sur le purisme. D'ailleurs, tu commets une grosse erreur en comparant 'L'Esprit Nouveau' aux 'Voix', journal qui n'est en rien pour moi une manifestation d'orgueil, oh, non, je n'ai jamais prétendu régénérer l'art par des manifestes; les 'Voix' sont d'un intérêt local à peine régional, tandis que l'Esprit Nouveau? Bref, je résume: quelques succès parisiens te tournent la tête et un solide mépris pour nous te crée une zone suffisamment neutre pour qu'à l'occasion nous puissions (pauvres chaux-de-forriens) te rendre un 'service', ne sais-tu pas l'odieux de ce mot?! S'il te reste encore une parcelle vivante de l'homme que j'ai connu c'est à lui que j'adresse mon amitié."

C. Humbert

Relis mes anciennes lettres, si elles valent comme "gestes par dessus les frontières" ?

See also Appendix No. 1 e, 1 f and 1 g.

a Charles L'Eplattenier

- 1 (a) Thieme Becker  
(b) Le Corbusier Lui-Même, p . 27.
- 2 The most important journals being -  
La Revue Indépendante 1884-96  
La Plume 1889-1905  
Le Mercure de France 1890 -  
Source Article Fin de Siècle by Hans Brill  
The Art Press, Art Doc No. 1 VA 1976
- 3 Haftmann W. Painting in the 20th Century, p . 22.
- 4 Musée des Beaux-Arts, LCF.
- 5 Op. cit.
- 6 Personal interview with Léon Perrin, Montezillon, June 1972.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Le Corbusier 'L'Heure de l'Architecture' - L'Esprit Nouveau  
No. 28, January 1925, p . 2387. See Appendix No. 3b.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Le Corbusier Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 11.
- 11 Conversation with Professor Brookes, June 1974.
- 12 Extraits des  
Procès-verbaux de la commission de l'Ecole d'Art, BLCF.
- 13 Conversation with Professor Brookes, June 1974.
- 14 Personal interview with Léon Perrin, June 1972.
- 15 Le Corbusier, L'Heure de l'Architecture - L'Esprit Nouveau,  
No. 28, January 1925, p . 2387. See Appendix No. 3b.
- 16 Ruskin - Modern Painters, Vol. 11, Appendix 11.
- 17 Personal interview with the late Albert Jeanneret, Vevey,  
June 1972.
- 18 Ruskin, Pre-Raphaelitism, 1851.
- 19 Ruskin, Modern Painters, Vol V, Part V, Ch. IV, 1856.
- 20 Ruskin, The Elements of Drawing, Letter 11, 1857.
- 21 Le Corbusier, 'Eyes which do not see....',  
Towards a New Architecture.  
First published in L'Esprit Nouveau, Nos. 8, 9, and 10, 1921.
- 22 Ibid.



- 23 Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture, Ch. VII, 1849.
- 24 Le Corbusier, My Work, 1960, p . 26 and 27.
- 25 Ruskin, The Study of Architecture in Our Schools from K. Clark, Ruskin Today, 1964, p . 252.
- 26 Ruskin,<sup>(The)</sup> Seven Lamps of Architecture, Appendix 1.
- 27 Talk by Professor A. Brookes on 'Le Corbusier in La Chaux-de-Fonds', A symposium, March 1976.
- 28 Ruskin,<sup>(The)</sup> Seven Lamps of Architecture, Ch. III.
- 29 First published in L'Esprit Nouveau, No. 16, April 1922.
- 30 Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture.
- 31 Ruskin, The Study of Architecture in Our Schools.
- 32 Seylac, P. Léon Perrin Catalogue. Musée des Beaux-Arts, La Chaux-de-Fonds.
- 33 R. Banham 'Corbusier at the I.C.A.'
- 34 Le Corbusier, My Work, pg. 24.
- 35 Owen-Jones, The Grammar of Ornament, 1868, p . 5-8.  
See Appendix No.6a.
- 36 See Appendix No. 3b.
- 37 C.E. Jeanneret, Étude sur le mouvement d'Art Décoratif en Allemagne', 1912.
- 38 Le Corbusier, My Work, p . 21.
- 39 Personal interview with P. Seylac, June 1972.
- 40 Personal interview with the late Albert Jeanneret, June 1972.
- 41 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, Summer 1911, where he writes of his father's conviction that neither of his two sons will ever do anything. FLC
- 42 Jeanneret's academic schooling stopped at the age of 13½ years, when he joined the engravers training course at the towns art school. To enter a polytechnic course it was necessary to attend a high school for another 3 to 4 years to obtain the necessary standard in the school leaving certificate.
- 43 Extraits Procès-Verbaux de la Commission de L'Ecole d'Art, BLCF.
- 44 Seylac P., Léon Perrin, Catalogue Musée des Beaux-Arts, LCF.
- 45 Manufacturers of Le Phare watches at the neighbouring town of Le Locle.

- 46 Personal interview with L. Perrin, June 1972.
- 47 Thesis. Les Premières Constructions de Le Corbusier, BLCF.  
See also a map of the town Appendix No. 6 b.
- 48 Le Corbusier, My Work, p . 21.
- 49 Turner, P. "The Beginnings of the Le Corbusier's Education 1902-07".  
Art Bulletin 53, June 1971.
- 50 Le Corbusier's Library, FLC.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ruskin, Pre-Raphaelitism.
- 53 Turner P. "The Beginnings of Le Corbusier's Education, 1902-07".  
Art Bulletin 53, June 1971.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 A colony of Benedictine monks who followed the theories of  
Father Desiderous Lenz in the monastery of Beurnon.  
Chassé, C. The Nabis, p . 83-111.
- 57 Vienna, Munich, Paris amongst other cities.  
Chassé, C. The Nabis, p . 101.
- 58 Turner P. "The Beginnings of Le Corbusier's Education, 1902-07".  
Art Bulletin 53, June 1971.
- 59 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 5.3.12. Also indications  
in other letters of this period.
- 60 Personal interview with L. Perrin, June 1972.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Wiener Werkstätte founded in 1902 by J. Hoffman and  
K. Moser, based on craft workshops they had visited in  
England, in particular Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft  
workshops at Essex House. Financial backing came  
from a patron of Mackintosh, Fritz Wrndorf.  
T. Benton, S. Muthesius, B. Wilkins, Europe 1900-1914,  
OU., p . 19-36.
- 63 Personal interview with Léon Pérrin, June 1972.
- 64 Paul J. Modern Architecture and the German Classical  
Tradition, thesis UCL.
- 65 Thesis Les Premières Constructions de Le Corbusier, BFLC.
- 66 Procès - Verbaux de la commission de L'Ecole d'Art, 1908, BFLC.
- 67 Personal interview with Léon Perrin, June 1972.

- 68 Petit, J. Le Corbusier: Lui-même, p . 31-32.  
(Letter from Jeanneret to L'aplattenier 3.6.08).  
See Appendix No. 1b.
- 69 Personal interview with Léon Perrin, June 1972.
- 70 Le Corbusier, Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 11.  
Gauthier, M. Le Corbusier ou L'Architecture au Service  
de L'Homme, pg. 47.
- 71 Jamot, P. Auguste et Gustave Perret et L'Architecture de Béton  
Armé, Brussels 1927.
- 72 Seylac, P. Léon Perrin, Musée des Beaux-Arts, LCF.
- 73 Haftmann, W. Painting in the Twentieth Century, p . 97/99.
- 74 Ibid.  
  
(a) Long letter from Jeanneret to Ritter 1917-18. FLC  
(b) Ritter did not like the work of Cézanne or Picasso -  
L.C. Oeuvres Complète 1910-29, p . 11.
- 75 Catalogue of Salon d'Automne 1908, VA.
- 76 Jamot, P. Auguste et Gustave Perret et L'Architecture  
du Béton Armé. Brussels 1927.
- 77 Chassé, C. The Nabis, p . 83-111.
- 78 Le Corbusier's Library, FLC.
- 79 Haftman, W., Painting in the Twentieth Century, p . 405
- 80 Catalogue, Salon d'Automne 1908, VA.
- 81 Bull, H. 'The Fin de Siecle', The Art Press, 1976.
- 82 Petit, J. Le Corbusier Lui-même, p . 31-36.  
See Appendix No. 1b.
- 83 Ibid.  
  
Procès-verbaux de la commission de L'Ecole d'Art,  
1905-1914, BLCF.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 Un Mouvement d'Art à la Chaux-de-Fonds, 1914, BLCF.  
See Appendix No. 2 c.
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Personal interview with L. Perrin, June 1972.

b

William Ritter

- 1 Personal interview with Max Du Bois, June 1974.
- 2 Mörsch, E. Le Béton Armé Translated from the German  
by Du Bois, 1919. MD See Appendix No. 6 a.
- 3 Seylac, L. Léon Perrin Catalogue Musée des Beaux-Arts LCF.
- 4 Personal interview with M. Du Bois, June 1974.
- 5 Collection at Musée des Beaux-Arts LCF, also paintings in  
the possession of Max Du Bois.
- 6 Le Corbusier Oeuvres Complètes 1910-29, p . 12.
- 7 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, Summer 1911, on the  
dilemma of whether to be a painter or architect. See Appendix No. 1c.  
"I wanted to be a painter but the opportunities are few". FLC
- 8 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, Spring 1911, thanking  
Ritter for encouragement and advice on embarking on a long  
trip after working for Behrens and against the wishes of  
his father and L'Eplattenier. FLC See Appendix No. 1c.
- 9 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter 17.6.1910 from Berlin. FLC
- 10 References in later correspondence to Ritter during 1911. FLC
- 11 Procès-verbaux de la commission de L'Ecole d'Art 16.5.1910, BLCF.
- 12 Ch.E. Jeanneret, Architecte. Étude sur le mouvement d'art  
Décoratif en Allemagne 1912, pg. 6. LCF See Appendix No. 2b.
- 13 Tchew, J. William Ritter Enfance et Jeunesse 1867-1899, FLC
- 14 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter 6.9.1910, FLC  
"Je n'ai pu vous prouver suffisamment combien votre  
accueil m'a touché, vous m'avez permis de vous approcher,  
moi qui ne suis qu'un gamin dans la vie, qu'un écolier dans  
l'art".
- 15 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter 10.9.1911, FLC.  
"J'ai grand goût de vous écrire. C'est à vous seul que  
j'écris encore des lettres; L'Eplattenier même est  
délaissé. C'est que je ne sais que dire dans une lettre  
parce qu'il y a trop à dire".
- 16 Le Corbusier Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 12.  
"In the troubled period of finishing one's studies and  
beginning to know one's fellow-men, when one is getting  
ready to launch out into the great adventure of life

in the confident belief that a career is open to all men of good will — at the very moment that is when a man first exerts all his powers of perseverance, conviction and knowledge with the naive assurance that they will suffice to shake the solid rampart of wordly indifference I met a friend much older than myself in whom I could confide my doubts and incredulities because he welcomed them. William Ritter did not believe in Cézanne, and still less in Picasso, being 'all for science'. But before the phenomena of nature or the struggles that rend humanity he could become strangely moved. Together we wandered across those wide regions of lakeside, uplands and Alps that are pregnant with historical significance. And little by little I gradually began to find myself, and to discover that all one can count on in life is one's own strength".

For written work see Appendix No. 2a for list of published work during the period 1910-17.

For painting and drawings see Mde. de Franclieu catalogue FLC.

- 17 Personal interview with the late Albert Jeanneret, Vevey, June 1972.
- 18 Reviews in La Gazette des Beaux Arts (Paris)  
L'Art et L'Artiste (Paris)  
Mercure de France (Paris)  
Feuilles d'Avls (LCF)  
Book Études d'Art Étranger, Paris 1906
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Le Corbusier Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p. 12.  
Musée des Beaux-Arts, LCF Permanent collection.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 28.10.1910 FLC.
- 23 Procès-verbaux de la commission de L'Ecole d'Art, 30.5.1910 BLCF
- 24 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, June 1910, Berlin. FLC

"Secession. Très peu de toiles, qualité, repos, contrastant avec la fatigue de la Gross....? A l'entrée, une maquette qui a de l'ampleur. La parenté directe des efforts contemporains avec l'impressionisme français a voulu être accusée par la présence de toiles de Manet, Monet, Van Gogh, Liebermann. De Matisse, deux choses qui me plaisent à cause de leur belle couleur, de leur synthèse (les gens en rigolent), I salle Trubner, qui doit être pas mal, sans que cela me dise quelque chose. Un très chic Van Dongen (djà admiré l'été dernier au Salon d'automne). Du Corinth (?), brutal, I salle Zorn, avec sa fameuse technique, Isalle Habermann, qui montre les plus anciennes et les plus récentes oeuvres (la dernière très belle) Hodler qui a refait 'Le Jour' qui est à Berne en une plus vigoureuse couleur. Du même, un Lac Léman, beau, et un faucheur, un homme nu et un bûcheron qui ne me disent pas grand chose. En général mon impression est que la peinture allemande a de courtes ailes et qu'elle est une grosse lourdaude en regard de l'école française".

25 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter 28.10.1910 from Berlin, FLC.

26 Ibid.

"Me voici au bout de mes exposés et de mes jérémiades, je dois vous avoir singulièrement agacé avec mes ergotages et vous croirez que je manque de décision et d'entrain. Je suis au contraire si plein de bonne volonté que, sur un mot de vous, je me déciderai. La chose, quoique troublant un peu un farniente absolu est d'un trop grand intérêt pour que je ne m'efforce pas d'être à la hauteur de ma tâche".

27 Ch.E. Jeanneret, Étude sur le Mouvement d'Art Décoratif en Allemagne, 1912, LCF See Appendix No. 2b.

28 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 28.10.1910, FLC

29 Personal interview with Léon Perrin, June 1972, JL.

30 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, December 1910, from Berlin, Neu-Babelsberg 83, Stannsdorferstrasse, bei Fran Folk. FLC

"J'envisage qu'un architecte doit, avant tout, être un penseur. Son art, fait de l'abstraction des rapports, n'ayant aucune possibilité de décrire et de peindre, hors du symbole, son art n'exige pas une main habile. Celle-là même pourrait être fatale. Mais il faut à ce manieur de rythmes un cerveau largement développé et d'une souplesse extrême. La culture générale, aujourd'hui qu'aucun style ne régit, me parait la base de tout .....

..... Et, ignorant totalement les roueries du métier, je continue, ou plutôt je pense reprendre mes bizarres études d'étudiant hors la loi. Et le métier, ce sera dans quelques années, la lutte pour le gagne-pain qui me l'apprendra."

31 Ibid.

"Vous qui avez une profonde expérience de la vie des artistes éclairez moi une fois; condamnez - moi sans pitié, ou alors, dites moi le remède".

32 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 16.12.1910. FLC

"Et je vous le devrai, carré(sic) je vous dois le réconfort très grand, qu'est pour moi, tant de sollicitude de vous à moi. La respectueuse admiration que j'ai pour vous, la gratitude qui me pénètre, je voudrais, un jour de bonheur, pouvoir vous les rendre tangibles".

33 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, March 1911. FLC

"Mon esprit s'est tant ouvert, en ces derniers mois, à la compréhension du génie classique, que mes rêves m'ont porté là-bas obstinément. Toute l'époque actuelle, n'est-ce pas? Je regarde plus que jamais vers ces terres heureuses, où blanchissement les marbres rectilignes, les colonnes verticales et les entablements parallèles à la ligne des mers. Or, l'occasion s'offre, mon rêve devient réalité. Pour clore ma vie d'étude je prépare un voyage très grand.

Mon printemps doit rayonner bientôt. L'été sera là, trop vite, car après quatre ans d'absence, on me réclame au pays. Je me sens désormais prêt à m'ouvrir à tout. Passée la période de concentration volontaire ! Haut les vannes ! Que tout se précipite, que tout vive en moi ! Et ce voyage, je le veux splendide, les gens très sages le trouveront surement déplacé et mon père pensera que l'heure est plus de travailler que de s'aller promener. Mon maître L'Eplattenier dira que je ne suis point assez mûr pour en tirer le profit complet. Plus simplement je me suis répété l'adage commun : un tu l'as vaut mieux, etc.

Constantinople ! Je ne le verrai peut-être pas plus féérique que ce certain tableau magique de Signac à l'exposition de Munich".

- 34 Letter from Jeanneret to Karl Osthaus, Hagen Archives.
- 35 Paul, J. Modern Architecture and the German Classical Tradition, Ph.D. Thesis. UCL
- 36 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 1.3.1911. FLC
- 37 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, early Summer 1911. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1c.
- 38 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, spring 1911. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1c.
- 39 Ibid.

"Vous aurez, suivant notre convention, des lettres de moi qui seront sous forme de récit, j'espère du moins pouvoir le faire, mais il se produit chez moi un phénomène très extraordinaire et navrant. C'est une amnésie envahissante de mes facultés linguistiques. Les vocables français les plus simples m'échappent et, chose plus triste encore, je reste béant, maintenant souvent sur l'orthographe (sic) des plus simples mots, des plus (.....) conjugaisons.....  
..... Ainsi vous trouverez dans cette lettre des fautes d'orthographe. Et j'en suis si honteux que je vous confie ceci : c'est qu'avant mon séjour d'Allemagne, j'écrivais impeccablement. Du style, je n'en eus jamais, mais du moins j'expédiais mes lettres l'âme sereine, les sachant vierges des humiliantes fautes d'orthographe. Tout ceci prouve qu'il faut quitter au plus vite ces Allemands et réintégrer les pays latins. Vous me savez en crise de ghotophobie. Nuremberg me lasse et les burgs du Rhin seraient écoeurants souvent sans le paysage. Au fait, je suis inexorable, seulement pour ceci : c'est que la vie moderne n'a rien à faire de ces cadres devenus trop restreints. Il est des époques postérieures qui me satisfont davantage".

- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Jeanneret met Auguste Perret in Athens.
- 42 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, summer 1911. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1c.

Mon cher Monsieur, j'ai grand goût de vous écrire. C'est à vous seul que j'écris encore des lettres; L'Eplattenier même est délaissé. C'est que je ne sais que dire dans une lettre parce qu'il y a trop à dire. Je résume alors en

innombrables cartes postales, et le diable m'emporte si ça ne prend pas un temps infini. C'est curieux, un voyage comme celui-là. Je ne fiche rien, mon album reste blanc, et chaque soir je suis éreinté. Chaque soir, c'est donc preuve que les soirs arrivent et que les journées et les semaines sont désolément courtes. Et vous êtes le seul à qui j'aimerais raconter un tas de choses parce que vous me comprenez et me pardonnez mes niaiseries. Je suis tout plein d'espérance en l'Acropole. Je vois de cette île ces monts arides faits de pierre brunâtre, la mer bleue, mais surtout une lumière inconnue, extraordinaire, qui lie sans un atome de différence dans les valeurs les monts au ciel. Et je sais que les colonnes et l'entablement de leur marbre ivoirin seront une âme à ce paysage, un verbe irrésistible".

43 Le Corbusier, Le Voyage d'Orient 1965, p . 171.

44 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, October 1911. FLC

"Le cadre sera beau demain, tout de marbres adorablement jaunis, conservés impeccablement et dressés sur une pelouse verte. Et la tour penchée ne me chicana pas ce soir, alors que le décor faisait répétition pour demain. Au contraire, je trouve ça une fameuse pointe d'esprit, et un bloc éloquent. Toute l'affaire est un bloc et notez ceci, que je vous dis ça, moi qui ai vu Athènes ! De la mort, j'en ai tout plein moi. Tout s'est écroulé en Italie. L'Italie m'est un cimetière où les dogmes qui furent, ma religion, pourrissent sur le sol. Était-ce croyable, une telle hécatombe ? En quatre ans j'ai fait une poussée terrible. Je me suis gavé, en Orient, d'amitié et de puissance. Mon regard est horizontal, il ne voit pas les bestioles du chemin. Je me sens brutal. L'Italie m'a fait blasphémateur. Je suis renaclant et j'ai des ruades plein les jambes. J'obéissais donc à mon destin quand je quittai tout, pour aller là-bas à tout prix. Tout le bric-à-brac qui fit mes délices me fait horreur. Je balbutie de la géométrie élémentaire avec l'avidité de pouvoir et de savoir un jour. Dans leur course folle, le rouge, le bleu et le jaune sont devenus blanc. Je suis fou de couleur blanche, du cube, de la sphère, du cylindre et de la pyramide et du disque tout uni et d'une grande étendue vide. Les prismes se dressent, s'équilibrent, se rythment, se mettent en marche, ayant un grand dragon noir qui ondule à l'horizon pour les serrer par la base. Ils n'ont que du ciel blanc au dessus d'eux, posé sur un grand dallage de marbre poli, et sont un monolithe qu'aucune couleur ne pointille, mais à midi, la lumière déploie les cubes en une surface, au soir, l'arc en ciel surgit des formes. Au matin, elles sont réelles, avec des ombres et des lumières, claires comme une épure, on sent leur dessus, leur dessous et leurs flancs. La nuit, c'est plus que jamais blanc et noir".

45 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, early summer 1911. FLC

46 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter 17.11.1912. FLC



- 47 Le Corbusier, Le Voyage d'Orient 1965, p . 5.
- 48 Procès-verbaux de la commission de l'École d'Art, 27.12.1911. BLCF
- 49 Jeanneret, Un Mouvement d'Art à La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1912, p . 9.  
See Appendix 2c.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Procès-verbaux de la commission de l'École d'Art, 19.6.1911 BLCF
- 52 Op. cit., Chap. 4.
- 53 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter 15.12.1911 FLC
- "D'abord, point de logis : j'avais conseillé à mes parents lors de mon départ en 1907 en très gentil petit logement. Le dit n'a point de chambre pour les fils ..... ce dont je ne me lamente pas, (pas d'ingratitude là-dessous, je vous dirai tout à l'heure). Or, donc je recourus à l'hospitalité très fraternelle de L'Eplattenier. C'était pour deux ou trois nuits .... ça dura quatre semaines ! "
- 54 Ibid.
- "Pendant un mois, je vis alors L'Eplattenier trop atteint par la politique (vous savez que nous aurons commune socialiste au printemps) et occupé à de grandes peintures décoratives pour le crématoire. Il a fait beaucoup de peinture cet été, du paysage pour vendre, en général mauvais; ici et là quelque morceau qui le trahit maître consommé de son métier. Je l'accuse de n'être point assez moderniste et de demeurer insensible aux oeuvres de notre époque (littérature, musique et peinture)".
- 55 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter 5.3.1912. FLC
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Procès-verbaux de la commission de l'École d'Art, 1.2.1912 and 8.2.1912. BLCF
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, summer 1912. FLC
- 60 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter 14.10.1912. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1f.
- 61 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 15.12.1910. FLC
- "Jamais vous ne m'avez dit un mot de 'L'Etude du mouvement d'art décoratif 'Vous comprendrez la raison de cette question en lisant le feuillet inclus. Ici, plus de 400 exemplaires distribués: personne ne m'en a jamais dit un mot, personne ! De Paris, Berlin, Bruxelles, il m'en est venu des échos, et parfois si enthousiastes que j'aurais voulu leur envoyer ma photo .... rien que pour les faire débâter ! Alors comme on me bassine avec des demandes et que je n'en ai plus d'exemplaires, je voudrais faire rééditer. Vous me direz, S.V.P., ce que vous en pensez. "

- 62 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter April 1912. FLC  
(Octave, Perret, Zysset and Humbert).
- 63 Letters from Jeanneret to Ritter, summer 1912. FLC
- 64 Catalogue Salon d'Autonne 1912. FA
- |                   |     |                     |
|-------------------|-----|---------------------|
| Ch. E. Jeanneret  | 823 | Language de pierres |
| 54 rue Numa Droz  | 824 | " " "               |
| La Chaux-de-Fonds | 825 | " " "               |
|                   | 826 | " " "               |
|                   | 827 | Intérieur           |
- 65 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 15.10.1912. FLC
- 66 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 3.12.1912. FLC
- 67 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, winter 1912. MD
- 68 1. Catalogue Salon d'Autonne 1912. VA  
2. Golding, J. Picture Catalogue Legey and Kunsthaus TG  
1970
- 69 Villons, J. Duchamp, Duchamp-Villon, Villon.  
Bulletin Yale Associates, March 1945, p. 20.  
Villier, D. Jacques Villon.
- 70 Apollinaire, A. Cubism Painters, p. 12.  
(Les Peintres Cubistes, 1912).
- 71 Le Corbusier Library. FLC
- 72 Ozenfant and Jeanneret, Après le Cubisme, November 1918.  
See Appendix No. 2 f.
- 73 Letter from Jeanneret to Osthhaus, 5.10.1912. Hagen Archives.
- 74 Jeanneret letters to Max Du Bois 1910-1918.  
Collection Max Du Bois, Paris.
- 75 Procès-verbaux de la commission de l'École d'Art 1912-1914. BLCF
- 76 Couvoisier, J. Les Monuments d'Art et d'Histoire de la Suisse.  
BLCF
- 77 "Mon ambition, ma vanité et mon orgueil me poussaient  
à de grands travaux".  
Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 9.5.1913. BLCF
- 78 Procès-verbaux de la commission de l'École d'Art, 26.6.1913. FLC
- 79 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, June 1913. FLC
- 80 Copy of articles from Feuilles d'Avis  
28.6.1913 Lettre de Voyage, Liepsig See Appendix No. 2 e.  
1.7.1913 " " " Hellerau  
BLCF
- 81 Ibid.

In Feuilles d'Avis the following letter in response to  
Jeanneret's was printed on the 3rd July : 1913

"Un mot a M Ch-E Jeanneret  
 Cher Monsieur,  
 Votre lettre de voyage, datée de Leipzig m'a  
 vivement intéressé. J'en ai goûté la délicatesse.  
 Vous avez vécu, dites vous, trois jours au milieu  
 de ces hommes gros, gonflés, de ces femmes toutes  
 épaisses aux bras comme des pneus d'auto. Comme  
 c'est léger et distingué. Votre lettre est  
 délicieuse; il est de si bon ton de se moquer des  
 Allemands !  
 Revenez bien vite en pays "welsche" ou les hommes  
 et les bras de femme sont moins gonflés, mais  
 prenez garde de ne pas éclater en route: je  
 connais des personnes qui ont le cerveau gonflé  
 de la supériorité de leur race.  
 Votre bien dévoué, E.H.-B"

This was a somewhat tart response but not an uncommon form  
 of correspondence in that particular journal, which acted  
 as a sort of safety valve for the townspeople, particularly  
 as it was not a requisite of publishing to include the full  
 name.

- 82 L'OEUVRE Association Suisse Romande de L'Art et de L'Industrie.  
 Introductory pamphlet dated 21.9.1913.  
 Assemblée Générale, 9.11.1913.  
 List of members 31.12.1913. BLCF
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Assemblée Générale, 9.11.1913.
- 85 L'OEUVRE, No. 2, spring 1914, p . 35.  
 See Appendix No. 2a .
- 86 Ibid., p . 34.
- 87 L'OEUVRE, spring 1914, pg. 2.  
 Concours de Dessins Rapport du Jury. members.  
 A. Carl Angst, sculpteur à Genève.  
 E. Boitel, architecte à Colombier.  
 Louis Gallet, sculpteur à Genève.  
 Ch.E. Jeanneret, architects à la Chaux-de-Fonds.  
 Ch. L'Eplattenier, professeur, peintre-sculpteur à la  
 Chaux-de-Fonds.  
 E. Musper, professeur, directeur de L'Ecole d'Art, Le Locle.  
 C. Perregaux, professeur, administrateur du Technicien, Le Locle.
- 88 Ibid.

Several years later in March 1918, when Jeanneret was settled  
 in Paris, he was asked to present a report on design education  
 in Swiss school that he had written in 1915 to "La Commission  
 de L'Enseignement de Comité Central Technique des Arts Applique".  
 It was sent around committees and permission was asked to publish  
 it in the Bulletin des Comité, the official publication of the  
 administration of Beaux Arts. Amongst the members were  
 Devraux, Guimard, Jourdain, Bonnier and Plumet, several of  
 whom were also members of "La Commission de Pontisance des Cités"  
 1918-22, for replanning Paris and France. In this capacity,  
 they were, with the exception of Frantz Jourdain, to turn down

many of his town planning ideas. Two years later Bonnier and Plumet were made responsible for the approval of schemes entered for the 1925 Exhibition, where they continued with this apparently split-minded attitude and made things extremely difficult for Jeanneret (at the time). He found their attitude incomprehensible and it was to cause him much bitterness.

Histoire Brève de nos tribulations, Le Corbusier, 1926. EN (I think that this was the Jury's report from the "Concours de Dessins" published in L'Oeuvre, No. 2, spring 1914).<sup>11</sup>

- 89 Note in the front of Choisy's book Histoire de L'Architecture. "Ch. Jeanneret, Noël, Paris 1913". FLC
- 90 Procès-verbaux de la commission de L'École d'Art, 19.3.1914. BLCF
- 91 Ch.E. Jeanneret, Un Mouvement d'Art à La Chaux-de-Fonds à propos de la Nouvelle Section de L'École d'Art, 1914, pg. 22. BLCF See Appendix No. 2c.
- 92 Ibid.
- 93 Ibid., p . 30.
- 94 Le Conseil général de la Commune de La Chaux-de-Fonds, 8.6.1914. Rapporteur: M. Maurice Maire  
Hem. VIII Interpellation de M. Lalive sur la situation actuelle de L'École d'Art et sur les causes de la démission de M. le professeur Charles L'Eplattenier.  
(Asked for by M. Lalive on 13.4.1914).  
L'Eplattenier's refusal to disclose his teaching methods did not help, particularly as he had earlier suggested that the older members of the art school staff should do this for the school board's benefit, particularly when combined with what the board regarded as Jeanneret's very disrespectful treatment of their authority.
- 95 Procès-verbaux de la commission de L'École d'Art, 30.4.1914 - 28.5.1914. BLCF
- 96 Ritter, W. Edmond de Pury, Geneva 1914. FLC
- 97 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 24.11.1915. MD
- 98 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 9.3.1915.  
"Paris must become the centre of activity and business for all of Europe and other nationalities". MD
- 99 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 17.4.1916. MD
- 100 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 8.9.1916. MD
- 101 Letters from Ritter to Jeanneret, 1918. FLC
- 102 Letters from Ritter and Jeanneret 1918-1930.  
See Appendix No. 1d.

- 1 Seylac P., Léon Perrin  
Catalogue Musée des Arts, LCF
- 2 Personal interview with the late Albert Jeanneret, June 1972.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Chavanne, E. and Laville M.  
"Les Premières Constructions de Le Corbusier",  
Werk, 1963, No. 12 483/88. See Appendix No. 5e.
- 5 Jeanneret, Un Mouvement d'Art à la Chaux-de-Fonds,  
1914, pg. 5, BLCF. See Appendix No. 2c.
- 6 Paul J., Modern Architecture and the German Classical Tradition, Ph.D. Thesis, UCL, Ch.II.
- 7 Chavannes, E. and Laville M.  
Les Premières Constructions de Le Corbusier, p . 483/88
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Personal interview with M.F. Donze,  
Librarian L'Ecole des Beaux-Arts, La Chaux-de-Fonds,  
June 1972.
- 11 Personal interview with Léon Perrin, June 1972,  
Montezillon.
- 12 Le Corbusier, Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, f . 13.
- 13 Collins, P., Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture,  
pg. 163-164. See also FN.23.96 and 23.97.
- 14 Le Corbusier, Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, pg. 22.  
Ateliers d'Artistes, 27.1.1910.
- 15 Procès-verbaux de la commission de L'Ecole d'Art,  
17.9.1908, BLCF.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid., 1.10.1908.
- 18 Turner, P., The Beginnings of Le Corbusier's Education,  
1902-07, Art Bulletin 53, VA p . 214-224.
- 19 Catalogue Union Centrale des Arts - Exposition,  
Mars 1902 VA.
- 20 Benton T. MuThesius and Wilkins B.  
Europe 1900-1914, p . 20 OU.
- 21 Von Moos, Le Corbusier, Elemente einer Synthese, pg. 14.

- 22 Personal interview with Max Du Bois, 1974.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 See Appendix No. 6a.
- 26 Op. cit.
- 27 Letter Jeanneret to Du Bois, Spring 1910, MD.
- 28 Letter Jeanneret to Ritter, 10.6.1919 FLC.
- 29 Procès-verbaux de la commission de L'Ecole d'Art,  
16.5.1910 BLCF.
- 30 Ch.-E. Jeanneret, Étude sur le Mouvement d'Art Décoratif  
en Allemagne, 1912, p . 5-6.  
See Appendix No.2b .
- 31 Paul J., Modern Architecture and the German Classical  
Tradition, UCL.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ch.-E. Jeanneret, Étude sur le Mouvement d'Art Décoratif  
en Allemagne, 1912, p . 59.
- 34 Op. cit.
- 35 Le Corbusier, The Modulor, pg. 26  
(From which Dr. Paul has deduced the correct names)
- 36 Op. cit.

From this it is clear that Jeanneret became aware of the principal theorists and architects working on proportional analysis and its relationship to architecture, so that his statement made in a letter to Berlage in 1924 that he knew of no practising architects who used such systems, was not correct, particularly as, once he was interested in an aspect of architecture, he was extremely thorough in studying it deeply. His theories of the right angle and golden section system were complex and subtle, and not an idea that is the result of a sudden inspiration.

- 37 Ch.-E. Jeanneret, Étude sur le Mouvement d'Art Décoratif  
en Allemagne, p . 19.
- 38 Ch.-E. Jeanneret, Étude sur le Mouvement d'Art Décoratif  
en Allemagne, 1912, p . 47-51.  
See Appendix No. 2b.
- 39 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, June 1910.

"J'en viens de suite aux faits: Exp Stotebau, très fatigant mais du plus haut intérêt pour celui qui est de la partie. L'art ramené dans la rue et par là dans la vie quotidienne. Pour cela:

De nouveaux traces, radicalement opposés aux .....  
 'américains', mouvement vraiment général. L'Allemagne  
 surtout donne beaucoup; puis l'Autriche et l'Angleterre  
 avec ses cités - jardins (Hampstead et Bournville et Port  
 Sunlight, toutes déjà connues) La Suède, la Belgique,  
 la Hollande, Zurich, et des villes américaines qui  
 persistent dans leurs tracés géométriques. Vienne donne  
 résultats du concours pour l'aménagement de la Karlplatz  
 avec la ....., puis l'intéressant projet d'une trouée  
 à travers Inner Staden - cela par le moyen d'une rue très  
 bien tracée allant parallèlement à la Kartumstrasse et la  
 soulageant. Si Vienne s'est développée en zones com-  
 centriques, Berlin adopte le parti meilleur rayonnant,  
 laissant des forêts entières pénétrer jusqu'au coeur de la  
 ville. C'est ce que montre l'exposition des projets de  
 Gross Berlin avec le proje essentiellement pratique de  
 Jansen et celui d'un caractère plus utopique de Bruno  
 Schmidt qui a pour motto: 'wo ein will, da ein weg', mais  
 avec des solutions architectoniques tendant au grandiose.

A remarquer ..... l'exposition du concours pour la ville  
 de Gothenburg (Suede) l'aménagement du parc de Hambourg  
 (par Schumacher de Dresde) aménagements de cimetières etc.  
 ..... diverses propositions Fischer, cité de Mellerau  
 (Riemschmidt), Darmstadt, Stuttgart, etc. ...."

- 40 'Asbestos Cement, Notes' - editorial Concrete  
 No. 10, 1918, p. 640-644.
- 41 Ch.-E. Jeanneret, Étude sur le Mouvement d'Art, 1912  
 p. 37, BLCF.
- 42 Ibid., p. 59.
- 43 Letter Jeanneret to Ritter, October 1910. FLC  
 See Appendix No. 1f.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ch.-E. Jeanneret, Étude sur le Mouvement d'Art, 1912  
 p. 43-44.
- 46 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, December 1910. FLC
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Jeanneret, Étude sur le Mouvement d'Art, p. no. 49
- 53 Letter Jeanneret to Ritter, December 1910. FLC
- 54 Paul, Modern Architecture and the Cer a Classical Tradition,  
 Ch. 11 (2).

- 55 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 26.2.1912. MD
- 56 Letter from Jeanneret to Osthaus, 10.5.1911, Archives Hagen.
- 57 Letter Jeanneret to Ritter, August 1911. FLC
- 58 Procès-verbaux de la Commission de L'Ecole d'Art,  
12.6.1911. BLCF
- 59 Personal interview with Léon Perrin, June 1972.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 E. Chavanne and M. Laville, Les Premières Constructions  
de Le Corbusier, Werk, 1963, No. 12, pg. 483-488.
- 62 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, September 1912. FLC
- "Le moment moderne ! C'est de l'avoir senti fort, de plus en plus, que (j'ai senti m'affranchir) (sic).  
Sous une fleur vivace il y a toujours le cadavre de l'an dernier, pour élever une tour, il faut d'abord creuser. J'ai commis, sur des maisons que j'ai bâties cette année, des anachronismes. J'ai été vieux, désuet. J'ai écouté d'une oreille poltronne des on-dits et des aphorismes douteux. J'ai été scandaleusement inconvenant.
- 63 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 15.12.1912. FLC
- "La maison blanche de mon père, contre le bois de hêtres, la dernière de la ville contre le coteau de Pouillerel, me donna la première fois satisfaction. J'y reconnus des lignes et y redécouvris mes intentions. Car de tout ce qu'on a rêvé, hélas, la grande part ne se réalise pas. Quelle différence entre oeuvrer et juger ! Quel apprentissage sont toutes choses, deviennent toutes choses ! "
- 64 Letter from Albert Jeanneret to Ritter, 26.12.1912. FLC
- 65 Letter from Madame Jeanneret to Jeanneret, 27.7.1918. FLC
- 66 Note on a sketch of the Favre-Jacot house indicates that the door panels are to be faced with Eternit sheet. BLCF
- 67 Jeanneret, Étude sur le Mouvement d'Art Décoratif en  
Allemagne, pg. 31, 1912. BLCF
- 68 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 18.10.1912. FLC
- 69 Sketches in the archives of the Library at La Chaux-de-Fonds.
- 70 Personal interview with Du Bois, September 1974.
- 71 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 26.2.1912. MD



"Au fait, vous devriez bien me soumettre la carcasse de votre usine. J'ai pris l'habitude de fabriquer modèles chez Peter Behrens, architecte de AEG à Berlin et pratiquant proprement le béton armé. Je vous ferais une carcasse aimable, sobre et convenante, quelque chose de très moderne et peut-être de pas trop mal. Je ne parle bien entendu que de la mise en proportions architectoniques de votre travail d'ingénieur. Essayez, peut-être serait-ce fructueux pour vous. Au cas contraire, vous m'enverriez baigner sans scrupule".

72 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 24.7.1912. MD

"Je ne lâche pas votre usine; il faut la bâtir; il faut faire là en bas un chouette morceau de béton. Bon Dieu, je me voue à vous, corps, tripes et boyaux. Nous ferons l'usine modèle, l'usine qui sourit à l'ouvrier, le refuge du prolétaire ! Ce sont des mots et des pensées opportunes en ces temps".

73 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, December 1912. MD

"Et votre usine en fort beau et bon béton devra donner à ce site de la grandeur et non l'avilir. C'est compris Maître Du Bois ! Dieu de Dieu Je vous 'accolerai' .... si jamais vous me faites un tel plaisir. Un problème ainsi c'est une tentative d'Architecte Le groupement de grande prismes géométriques Seul le rythme se voit, seul le rapport agit c'est du vrai travail d'Architecte avec des matériaux neufs et la griserie de la création. Voyez-vous, il faut me réserver ce morceau".

74 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 24.7.1912. MD

"J'avais tenté un petit bout d'art dans votre Commune-Mère: un Hôtel de Ville mis au concours; on m'a blackboulé dans toutes les largeurs. On a consacré le style "vieux suisse". J'avais fait tout en béton armé.

75 Personal interview with Seylac, June 1972, La Chaux-de-Fonds.

76 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 1912. MD

"Je me sens les forces pour être une fois quelqu'un. Vous rigolez mais il faut croupir en attendant la joie de pouvoir oeuvrer. J'ai la hantise de la grande bâtisse utile et noble par là; voilà l'architecture".

77 Letters from Jeanneret to Du Bois: 1 Spring 1912, 2 - 24.7.1912. MD

78 Personal interviews with Du Bois 1974-75.

79 Ibid.

80 Light fittings, Concrete block manufacturing, Asbestos pipes and patent structure systems for housing,

- 81 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois over the period 1912 to 1916 contain several requests on this theme. MD
- 82 Mörsch, E., Le Béton Armé, 1908, p . 220.
- 83 Swan advocated the use of reinforced concrete for house construction principally in the form of shutter cast walls and a ribbed pot slab with only the occasional use of columns.
- 84 Ibid. P . 62.
- 85 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 17.1.1913. MD
- "La Chaux-de-Fonds, 17.1.1913
- Mon cher Du Bois,  
 Je me monte assez en grand. J'aurai dans une semaine une agence largement installée.  
 Même un salon de réception avec pas mal de culot à la -  
 Employé hors pair avec fortes exigences mais capacités ad hoc, rond de cuir etc.  
 Mais la Chaux-de-Fonds ne donne rien, ne rend pas.  
 Les spécialistes et la guerre ont fait que cette année on a bâti à peine 10 maisons contre 80 aux bonnes années.  
 Et ça s'annonce plus mauvais encore.  
 Ainsi il me faut sortir d'ici à tout prix et je veux chercher du travail ailleurs.  
 Je reviens donc à ma proposition "Monolythe" et, au lieu d'attendre que me soit remise la fabrique en question que tout le monde s'arrache maintenant en jouant des coudes, j'aimerais être mis à l'essai avec ou sans cette fabrique-là (je connaîtrai du reste la décision d'ici 8 à: 10 jours) sur un problème qui puisse s'y prêter.  
 Je répète ce que j'entends à ce sujet:  
 Les Ingénieurs n'étudient pas la proportion qui est une chose innée et qui fait partie du domaine de l'architecture. C'est hors la construction, dans la construction.  
 Et je me sens tout préparé pour cela: votre maison monolythe, faire des usines parfaitement agencées, bien calculées, au prix le plus juste.  
Elle ne s'occupe pas de faire une usine qui ait bonne façon.  
 Ainsi faire couler les maisons semblables à "monolythe"; faire autrement serait se compléter d'une spécialité très intéressante pour le client et extrêmement utile pour la réclame illustrée.  
 Et comme un homme ne vit dans cette sale société que par les points d'appui qu'il trouve autour de lui, (et non, hélas, par lui-même).  
 Soyez mon appui pour cette fois et je me tiens ici prêt à la réciprocité avec le meilleur entrain et la plus dévouée bonne volonté.  
 Voyez ça, svp Je ne..... pas ma requête de sucreries au jus de bordelle.  
 Je vous dis merci d'avanco. Ch.-Ed. Jeanneret "
- 86 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, June 1914. MD
- 87 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, April 1914. MD
- 88 Ibid.

- 89 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 24.6.1914. MD
- 90 Draft agreement drawn up by Jeanneret for his scheme with M. Beck. FLC
- 91 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 26.2.1912. MD
- 92 Taylor, B., Le Corbusier et Pessac, 1911-1928, 1972.
- 93 Städtebau Ausstellung (exposition de la construction des villes) Berlin. S. Étude sur le mouvement d'Art Décoratif, 1912.
- 94 Jeanneret revised conditions, A. Beck FLC
- 95 Kemp, French Economy 1913-1939, p . 73.
- 96 Letters from Jeanneret to Du Bois 12.6.1914, 15.9.1914.

"J'ai toujours le vague espoir d'un pied à terre à Paris. J'étouffe ici. Les Perret sont des plus aimables, Auguste entretient de tres affectueuses relations. Vous savez que les circonstances font l'homme. Le jour où on me demande lourd sur le ....., je saurai etre là" ..... 12.6.1914

"Et bien oui, quoi ! Quand je serai devenu Mr. Jeanneret Architecte, roulant peut-être auto puisque c'est le pinacle Alors je serai foutu. Je serai du parti radical, de la Loge et je ne sais de quoi encore. Cette guerre, qui donnera à la France victorieuse un élan fou m'agite et m'oblige à calculer pour bientôt. Vous sommes à un tournant de l'histoire de l'architecture. Les Ingénieurs ont tout fait (seuls respectables jusqu'ici) mais le coup d'épaulé est donné; en 1914 et Paris moderne va éclore et naitre. Voilà où je rêve d'être maçon dans l'équipe. J'ai déjà mes matériaux, mon entière devotion à la pensée de France. Et les centaines de gens qui serent précisément les artisans de cette aube. Dans un journal d'avant-garde on avait cité Auguste Perret comme devenant ..... le chef incontesté auquel devait être remise sur les fortifs, la construction du Grand Palais des Arts, lieu des expositions internationales de la belle production d'art et d'industrie. Paris a sa zone des forts fauchée; elle va cette fois-ci faire le saut par dessus les fortifs. Pourquoi ne serais-je pa là. "

..... 15.9.1914

- 97 Personal interviews with Du Bois 1974-75, also Paul Taylor established Jeanneret's presence in Paris at this time by the presence of loan tickets from the Bibliothèque Nationale.
- 98 Personal interviews with Du Bois, 1974-75.
- 99 Le Corbusier, Oeuvres Complètes, 1910-1929, p . 23. Also journals of the period.
- 100 Personal interviews with Du Bois, 1974-75. See Appendix No. 6c.

- 101 Ibid.
- 102 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 5.1.1915 MD  
and notes in the carnet for 1915-16 FLC
- 103 Letter Jeanneret to Du Bois, 5.1.1915 MD

"J'ai deux choses considérables en vue que je pourrais avoir si je faisais le nécessaire mais je ne veux pas pour me laisser libre complètement d'ici au printemps, date à laquelle notre étude doit être terminée jusque dans son organisation la plus intime et pistonnée et paraphée par les gens que nous visons.

Aussi, à voir fuir les jours et les mois, je prends la frousse car si nous sommes devancés, nous perdons tout le sel de notre trouvaille qui est d'être prêt à la première heure pour mettre sur pied des villages entiers.

Je vous rappelle les renseignements que vous me devez sur le plan des chambres, sur la vie intime, la grandeur des pièces. Recherchez aussi des plans de rues, de villages qui montrent l'organisation des villages dans ces pays-là et avec ses coutumes. J'aurais pour notre bureau ..... de toute confiance, qui a été de mes élèves (J'en ai déjà un ici que je suis à même d'apprécier).

D'autre part un de mes amis, Ingénieur privé du PLN, garçon marié et poussé par le besoin, et de plus doué d'une activité énorme et de grandes capacités, pourrait sûrement prendre part à notre affaire.

C'est mieux qu'un théoricien; chef de chantier autrefois, il a réalisé, depuis 4 ans qu'il est à Paris, d'énormes travaux.

Je résume l'affaire et, et, monté sur ma tour, je regarde s'il vient quelque chose de vous .....! A bientôt donc des nouvelles, j'y compte".

- 104 A. de Foville "L'Enquête sur les Conditions de L'Habitation en France, Les Maisons Types", 1894.

Taylor, B., Le Corbusier et Pessac 1914-1928, 1972.

- 105 Jeanneret - Draft document describing the patent system  
Constructions Economiques Extensibles en Béton Armé, 30.9.1915 MD  
See Appendix No. 6.c and d.

- 106 Le Corbusier, Oeuvres Complètes, 1910-1928, p. 12.

- 107 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 5.1.1915. MD

- 108 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 15.6.1915. MD

- 109 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 9.3.1915. MD

"Ne voudriez-vous pas examiner sous un nouveau jour nos baraques de béton? Dès que vous sentirez le moment opportun, non pas d'être prêts à construire, mais de nous préparer. Dites un mot.

Il me reste la souvenance de votre bonze au bureau hôtel. Lui versez-vous le filtre à doses efficaces? Choisissez un terrain et.... les avant-projets. Paris deviendra le centre de ralliement pendant des années de la non pas triple mais bientôt sextuple ou décuple entente.

Tout ce monde d'Angleterre, d'Italie .... aura à traiter à Paris.

Il lui faut un gîte: une superbe boîte en béton armé.  
Hein !!  
De quoi en rabattre au 7ème ciel de culture et d'avancement  
boche.  
Jetez des bases Du Bois Jetez Pêchez le goujon svp.  
Je n'en dis pas plus long".

- 110 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 15.6.1915. MD  
"J'ai été voir Auguste Perret dans le Midi. Je lui ai  
soumis mes dossiers de reconstruction. Il trouve ça  
très bien.  
Et il n'a pas eu à faire une objection, sauf qu'il trouve  
que notre procédé, avec le même moule, pourra faire la  
fabrique, l'école, les établissements publics etc."
- 111 Letter from Jeanneret to Albert and Hermann Dittisheim,  
11.12.1914. See Appendix No. 1h. FLC
- 112 Recital programme for Madame Jeanneret's pupils. FLC
- 113 Letters from Jeanneret to Dittisheims 1915, 29.10.1915. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1h.
- 114 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 5.1.1915. MD
- 115 Le Corbusier, Oeuvres Complètes, 1910-1928, pg. 27.
- 116 Personal interviews with Du Bois, 1974-75.
- 117 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 28.7.1915. MD

"Mon cher Du Bois  
Bien reçu votre lettre j'attends la visite de Schneider;  
je pense qu'il a suffisamment de données pour pouvoir  
causer avec moi.  
J'attends de l'avoir vu pour répondre.  
En principe, je pense qu'il faut trouver plutôt quelqu'un  
pour organiser l'affaire quitte à me réserver l'attribution  
d'Architecte-Conseil pour tout ce qui concerne la partie  
Architecture.  
La proposition de m'installer à Paris pour 250 f par mois  
est peu réalisable, vous pensez.  
Je fais ici un théâtre de Variétés pour 1200 places, 3½ mois  
pour la construction; en plus une villa des plus  
loufoques en béton armé.  
En plus deux grandes maisons locatives en béton armé  
sont à l'étude.  
En plus une villa au bord de la mer dans les Maures.  
Donc boulot effrayant. Pas une seconde pour souffler.  
Mais les affaires de Paris primeront tout.  
Mais il faut trouver combinaison digne.  
A bientôt de vos nouvelles dès la visite de Schneider.

Ch.-Ed. Jeanneret

Voyez les choses en grand; il y aura d'autres affaires  
que nos baraques à envisager.  
Il y aura les usines et les rues locatives des grandes  
villes".

- 118 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 15.6.1915. MD  
Personal interview with Du Bois 1974-75.

- 119 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois 15.6.1915.
- 120 Note made by Jeanneret in the 1914-15 'carnet'. FLC
- 121 See Footnote 105.  
Appendix No. 6d.
- 122 From information supplied by Du Bois 1974.
- 123 Letters from Jeanneret to Du Bois during 1915. MD
- 124 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, winter 1915. MD

Ensemble, nous avons par discussion, trouvé la piste l'an dernier.

J'ai trouvé la solution depuis; je vous chiffre ce résultat et tout le travail que je fais présentement (voyez ci-après) pour que vous en tiriez profit en même temps que moi j'en tire profit.

Vous êtes le tireur de ficelles, rôle évidemment moins fatigant que le mien mais pourtant indispensable.

Notre combinaison vous attribue ce rôle. Jouez-le donc.

Je joue le mien, c-à-d que depuis mon retour j'ai préparé pendant des semaines les illustrations.

J'ai approfondi la question, trouvé des solutions que je prétends étonnantes.

Ainsi, la semaine passée, ai-je dessiné une grande villa avec notre système, une villa de grand style avec un prix de revient à l'unité (m<sup>3</sup>) exactement égal à celui d'une maison bourgeoise ou ouvrière.

C'est étonnant hein !

J'ai réétudié les cités-jardins déjà étudiées; j'ai trouvé des symptômes constants et nombreux de concordance avec les trouvailles les plus ingénieuses.

J'ai étudié la question des "types" fenêtres, portes, barrières, balcons, clôtures, corniches.

On fait avec ça (c-à-d la construction au plus bas prix imaginable) des intérieurs tels que j'aimerais en avoir pour mon usage personnel.

L'ordre règne dans notre trouvaille, le rythme, l'unité

Autant de forces que d'autres pourront chercher longtemps

Eh bien, Du Bois, ça, c'est fait pour être employé !

A bon entendeur salut !

A coté de cela, la vie s'écoule dans un maras de mort.

On a eu des bombes et un Taube dimanche; je n'y étais même pas.

Les journaux font grand bruit et blessent les victimes plus que les bombes ne l'ont fait; on est tout fiers de ce petit raffut .....

L'affaire de Serbie me fend le coeur; on se bat dans des paysages que je connais très bien.

C'est triste Ne viendrez-vous pas à Noël ?

Au revoir et bien amicalement votre

Ch.-Ed. Jeanneret. "

- 125 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 15.12.1915. MD
- 126 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 25.1.1916. MD
- 127 Ibid.

- 128 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois 20.3.1916. MD
- 129 Ibid.
- 130 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 17.4.1916. MD
- 131 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 17.4.1916. MD
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 Partnership agreement between M. Du Bois, Ch-Ed. Jeanneret and E.L. Bonnard, September 1916. MD  
See Appendix No. 6e.
- 134 Ibid.
- 135 Taylor, B., Le Corbusier et Pessac 1914-1928, pg. 15.
- 136 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 5.9.1916. MD
- 137 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 8.9.1916. MD

" 8 septembre 1916

Mon cher Du Bois

J'ai bien reçu votre dernière lettre du 29 août. Je l'ai examinée mais non encore à fond. Je vous ai préparé toute une série de dossiers relatifs aux maisons Domino; ces derniers étaient préparés pour le prospectus que nous devons un jour établir. Je vous les envoie lundi. Je suis ravi que vous arriviez à constituer les rouages utiles à l'emploi de nos idées. Merci. Je suis si débordé de travaux ces temps que je vous demande un répit plus grand que le 15 septembre pour mon arrivée à Paris. Juste le temps d'expédier les plans indispensables à une villa dont nous commençons la fondation lundi et dont l'ossature devra être montée dans un mois. Mon cinéma avance ran-tan-plan; l'idée consistait à mettre sur le faible terrain que ça occupe un parapluie sous lequel chacun puisse travailler; c'est fait et tous les corps de métier vont s'en donner à l'abri. Pour aujourd'hui je ne réponds donc pas à vos propositions; je vais les examiner en plein repos d'ici 5 jours; j'écrirai alors.

Dans 15 or 20 jours je pourrai faire un saut à Paris pour une entente définitive. A mon bureau nous sommes quatre pour le moment.

Très cordialement à vous ce 8 septembre 1916

Ch-Ed. Jeanneret  
Architecte

Ch.E. JEANNERET BÉTON ARMÉ La Chaux-de-Fonds "

- 138 Archives BLCF and notes by Chavanne E. and Laville M. in their thesis, "Les Premières Constructions de Le Corbusier".
- 139 Feuille d'Avis, 3.7.1916. BLCF  
See Appendix No. 4b.
- 140 Feuilles d'Avis, 30.11.1916. BLCF  
See Appendix No. 4b.

- 141 Paul, J. Modern Architecture and the German Classical Tradition, Ch. II (2).
- 142 Letter from Jeanneret to Tel Perrin, 30.3.1921. FLC
- 143 Correspondence between the L.C. de F. Lawyer Tel Perrin and Jeanneret, over the years 1917-1921. FLC
- 144 Personal interview with Léon Perrin, 1972.
- 145 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 8.9.1916.
- 146 Personal interview with Perrin, Montezillon, June 1972, and letter from Jeanneret to M.A. Laverieve, Architecte, Lausanne, 26.4.1919. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1j.
- 147 Ibid.
- 148 Ibid.
- 149 The case between Schwob and Jeanneret was settled on 25.7.1920, neither side winning their claim. Schwob paid the fees he owed on the original estimate and removed his claim against excess costs and Jeanneret stopped his counter-claim for fees on the extra costs and his case for libel.  
Fauvre "Le Corbusier in an unpublished dossier".  
The Open Hand, p. 96-112.
- 150 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Jeker, Director of the "Record Dreadnought Walek & Ag", on his possible purchase of 30B, Rue de Montagne, 5.9.1919. FLC
- 151 Letter from René Schwob to Jeanneret 26.2.1930. FLC
- 152 Paul, J. Modern Architecture and the German Classical Tradition, Ch. II (2).



- 1 Letter from Jeanneret to W. Ritter, 2.4.1917. FLC
- 2 Letter from Jeanneret to Tel Perrin, 1.10.1919. FLC
- 3 Personal interview with Max Du Bois, Paris, 1975.
- 4 Letter from Jeanneret to Professor Lévy, 7.10.19,  
concerning the renewal of his tenancy at 10 rue Jacob. FLC
- 5 Max Du Bois organised Sunday outings, - walks  
in the country areas around Paris, for the Swiss community  
working in Paris during the war. They were mainly business-  
men, several of whom were to be very helpful to Le Corbusier.  
Personal interview with Max Du Bois, 1975.
- 6 Ozenfant. Mémoires, Paris, p . 104
- 7 Personal interview with Max Du Bois, 1975.
- 8 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 26.10.17 - 24.1.18. FLC
- 9 Letters from from friends to Jeanneret 1917-1925. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1e, f and g.
- 10 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 26.10.1917 - 24.1.1918. FLC
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Le Corbusier Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, pg. 12.  
Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter 25.10.1917 - 24.1.1918.
- 13 Programme for the Ballet Russe, 17.5.1915.  
Performance of Parade, Theatre du Châtelet, Paris. FLC
- 14 Berger, J. Picasso, p . 88.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ozenfant, Mémoires, p . 100. VA
- 17 Letter from Madame Rose Vildrac to Jeanneret 29.8.1917. FLC
- 18 Article by C. Philpot 'Movement Magazines, the years of Style',  
in Art Press, p .41. *Connection first suggested by Banham*  
*IDFMB pg 205-208*
- 19 Article by Severini, 'La Peinture d'Avant Garde',  
Mercure de France, 1.6.1917, published in De Stijl Vols 1 2  
(June - March 1918)  
Jaffe H. De Stijl.
- 20 German edition of Oeuvres Complètes 1910-29  
Le Corbusier und Pierre Jeanneret Ihr Gesammtes Werk von  
1910-1922. 1930 P . 21022. RIBA
- 21 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter 26.10.1917 - 24.1.1918. FLC

- 22 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter 26.10.1917. FLC
- "Hier, déjeuner, avec Amédée Oxenfant, des portes se sont ouvertes sur Paris des avenir. Enfin un contemporain, un de mon âge; que j'estime beaucoup. Sa peinture est celle d'un mystique sur le mode somptueux de la plus belle pâte lissée et polie comme au brunissoir. Le cubisme porte ses fruits: la plastique absolue et véritablement de la beauté; une impeccable technique et une plastique formelle, supportent toutes idées nobles. Quelles étranges leçons dans ce Paris. Quels progrès en réalisation ! .... L'affirmation, force d'aujourd'hui; les modernes sont d'une touchante sincérité, et d'un idéal, d'une spiritualité qui conduisent vers une expression supérieure, une lumière véritable après tant de brouhaha. La science dont nous vivons à chaque heure trouve son expression d'art; elle est d'un noble désir.
- 23 Oxenfant, Mémoires, p. 3-33. VA
- 24 J.E. Blanche, Portraits of a Lifetime, 1918-1938. BM  
Blanche was well known as something of a snob and a dandy; he painted a considerable amount himself and over the years acquired a very good collection of paintings, principally the work of the impressionists. After the war, Blanche employed a young Dada poet, Jacques Rigant, as a secretary, but considered that the young members of the Dada movement showed signs of eventual communism. He preferred photographs to some of the new isms, and later turned his attention to sociological problems.
- 25 Oxenfant, Mémoires, p. 78. VA  
"Cette leçon de planning et de bonne execution me frappa énormément et je me promis de suivre cet exemple dans mes tableaux".
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Green, C. Léger and Purist Paris, p. 32.
- 28 Le Corbusier's Library. FLC
- 29 Oxenfant, 'Mémoires', p. 92.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Letter from Jeanneret to Oxenfant, 9.6.1918.  
Oxenfant, Mémoires, p. 9.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Principally from Oxenfant's wartime magazine, L'Elon which first appeared in 1915 and finished in December 1916 after fifteen editions. FLC
- 35 1. Oxenfant, Mémoires, p. 105.  
2. Après Le Cubisme, p. 32-34.  
See Appendix No. 2f.
- 36 Oxenfant, 'Mémoires', p. 101.

- 37 Ibid., p . 103.
- 38 Ibid., p . 108.
- 39 Copy of Après Le Cubisme in Le Corbusier's library complete with the insert invitation. Dates 22.12.1918 - 11.1.1919. See Appendix No. 2 f.
- 40 Advert in Après Le Cubisme Maison Jove, 5 rue de Penthière, Paris. Madame Bongard also held soirees for painters and poets to which Ozenfant was a regular guest. See Appendix No. 2f.
- 41 Introductory letter and pamphlet on the purpose of the Art et Liberté association dated 18.1.1919. Signed by the vice-president, August Perret. FLC See Appendix No. 3 p.
- 42 Ozenfant and Jeanneret Après Le Cubisme. FLC See Appendix No. 2f.
- 43 Ozenfant, Mémoires , p . 108-109.
- 44 Le Corbusier, The Modulor, p . 27.
- 45 'Le Purisme' extract Ozenfant and Jeanneret, L'Esprit Nouveau, No. 4, 1920 pp.369-386. English translation from Modern Artists on Art, Ed. R.L. Herbert, p .73.
- 46 Kahnweiler, D.H., Juan Gris.
- 47 Op. cit.
- 48 Cooper, D., Fernand Leger, 1949.
- 49 Hitchcock, H.R., Painting Towards Architecture, p . 28.
- 50 Ibid., p . 54.
- 51 Ozenfant and Jeanneret, Après Le Cubisme, pg. 27-28. "Les banlieues des villes dans un chaos au travers duquel il faut savoir discerner, nous montrent des usines ou la pureté des principes qui ont présidé à leur construction réalise une harmonie certaine qui nous parait s'approcher de la beauté. Le béton armé, dernière technique constructive, permet pour la première fois la réalisation rigoureuse du calcul; le Nombre, qui est la base de toute beauté, peut trouver désormais son expression".
- 52 Seuphor, M. Mondrian . Extract from 'Natural Reality' Scene Vi by Mondrian.
- 53 Cooper, D., Fernand Léger.
- 54 See Chapter 6. 1. Trade  
2. Publishing
- 55 Le Corbusier et Pierre Jeanneret, Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 31.

- 56 Ibid. pg. 27-28.
- 57 Letter from Jeanneret to Kahnweiler, 23.6.20. FLC
- 58 Kahnweiler, D.H., My Galleries and Painters.  
Jeanneret had already asked Dan Nüstle if he would be interested in renting space that was available on the ground floor of 25 bis rue d'Astorg. FLC
- 59 Ozenfant, Mémoires , p . 113.
- 60 "Au moyen age, dans l'église , avec le curé, le bedeau, le sonneur de cloches, il y avait un CORBUSIER, celui qui tirait à l'arbalète, comme votre Guillaume Tell, sur les corbeaux qui se posaient sur la croix du clocher et faisaient caca dessus; votre rôle est justement de dém .... l'architecture; et puis vous avez une tête de corbeau, ce nom vous ira comme un gant".
- 61 Gauthier, M., Le Corbusier, p . 47.
- 62 Signac, P. D'Eugène Delacroix au Néo-Impressionisme, 1899.
- 63 Ozenfant, 'Mémoires', p . 115.
- 64 Ibid., p . 117.  
Also Le Corbusier, The Modulor, p . 27.
- 65 Ibid., p . 117.
- 66 Maurice Rayna article on the Second Paris Exhibition, Galerie Druet, rue Royale, Paris, 'L'Esprit Nouveau', No. 7. April 1921.  
".... Au contraire de la mode, l'art doit donner naissance à des manifestations constantes sur lesquelles le temps ne peut rien ..... Il apparaît ..... que l'oeuvre de Ozenfant et Jeanneret peut être considérée comme un rappel au respect et au culte absolu des éléments vitaux et primordiaux de la plastique ..... C'est un rappel à l'ordre pur et simple de la nature humaine .... "
- 67 Letter from Jeanneret to La Roche, 5.4.1921. FLC
- 68 Ozenfant, Mémoires , p . 119-120.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Louis Vauxcelles, Paris Art Critic and Journalist.
- 71 1. Article in EN, No. 14, December 1921,  
See Appendix No.3j.  
2. File entitled 'Litige Vauxcelles - EN au sujet de la peinture cubiste. EN Caisse 1'. FLC
- 72 Invitation dated 28.3.1923 for an Exhibition of Ozenfant and Jeanneret paintings. At Leonce Rosenberg's gallery L'Effort Moderne. FLC See Appendix No. 2h.
- 73 Ozenfant, 'Mémoires', p . 121.

- 74 Un Exercice de L'Esprit Nouveau.  
An analysis of costs by Ozenfant, Jeanneret and the  
accountant, June 1923. FLC  
See Appendix No. 30.
- 75 Letter from Ozenfant to Jeanneret 20.8.1925. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1z.
- 76 Ozenfant, 'Mémoires', p . 142.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 a) Ozenfant, Mémoires, p . 142.
- b) Ozenfant and Le Corbusier, La Peinture Moderne,  
Chapitre 'Formation de L'Optique moderne': VA  
"La peinture ne peut atteindre notre esprit que par le chemin  
de nos yeux, nos yeux se sont singulièrement attirés au  
spectacle intensif de la vie moderne. La géométrie, par  
le développement du machinisme, s'installe partout, nos sens  
se sont accoutumés maintenant à des spectacles où la géométrie  
règle, notre esprit lui-même, satisfait de retrouver partout  
cette géométrie-sa création - est devenu rebelle aux aspects  
souvent agéométriques, inconsistents de la peinture et  
particulièrement au flou de l'impressionisme. Le spectacle  
actuel est essentiellement géométrique. Nos sens et notre  
esprit en sont imprégnés, l'homme est un animal géométrique  
animé d'un esprit géométrique, ses besoins d'art se sont modifiés.  
L'art d'aujourd'hui doit prendre conscience de l'existence de ces  
besoins nouveaux; déjà un énorme travail a été fait pendant les  
cinquantes dernières années. De Ingres au cubisme des  
certitudes ont été acquises".

## a. Trade

- 1 G. Aubert, I. Perrin, Ch-E. Jeanneret, Un Mouvement d'Art à La Chaux-de-Fonds à propos de la Nouvelle Section de L'Ecole d'Art, April 1919, p .45 BLCF
- 2 Ch-E. Jeanneret, Etude sur Le Mouvement d'Art Décoratif on Allemagne, presented to the art school board on 8.2.1912. BLCF See Appendix 2b.
- 3 Procès-Verbaux de La Commission de L'Ecole d'Art de La Chaux-de-Fonds, 16.5.1910. BLCF
- 4 Op. cit.
- 5 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 26.2.1910. MD
- 6 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 8.1.1914. MD
- 7 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, 1913. MD
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, Autumn 1912. MD
- 10 Letter from Jeanneret to S.A.B.A., 21.3.1919. FLC  
As this letter gives the address for S.A.B.A. as being the same as for Jeanneret's office, he could only have been writing to himself as a director of the company.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Letter from Du Bois to Jeanneret, 24.10.1923. FLC
- 13 Op. cit.
- 14 Letter from Jeanneret to Cartier, 24.10.1919. FLC
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Du Bois has said that it was Jeanneret's intention to stay in S.A.B.A. for only as long as it would take for him to establish his own practice in Paris. Information supplied by Professor A. Brooke. 1974
- 17 Letter from Jeanneret to Banque Industrielle de Chine 6.6.1919. FLC
- 18 Tribunal de Commerce, Nomination de Liquidateurs et Contrôleurs (S.A.B.A.), 13.3.1924. FLC
- 19 Letter from Du Bois to Jeanneret, 24.10.1923. FLC  
Du Bois was referring to the repayment of the 10,000 franc he had invested in Jeanneret's practice.

- 20 Interview with Max Du Bois, June 1974. Also Du Bois's document L'Evasion de Le Corbusier.
- 21 Personal interview with M. Du Bois, June 1973.
- 22 Notes by Jeanneret with other documents in Beck file. FLC
- 23 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 3.1.1918. FLC
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Jean Courvoisier Les districts de Neuchatel et de Baudry: Canton de Neuchatel II. Les Monuments d'Art et d'Histoire.  
BM
- 26 T. Kemp, French Economy 1913-1939, p . 73. TPL
- 27 Ibid., p . 75.
- 28 a) Concrete and Constructional Engineering, London  
b) Béton Armé (Francois Hennebique periodical), Paris.
- 29 Concrete, Vol IX, No. 1, London January 1914, pg. 38.  
The number of entries was considerable, 249 schemes were submitted and covered a wide variety of designs. The winning cottage by E.S. Thomson, architect, was constructed in concrete blockwork and made use of a flat roof, a rare sight in 1914. No. 7, July 1914, p . 435-439.  
See Appendix No. 6g. RIBA
- 30 Editorial notes. Cottage building after the war.  
Concrete, Vol. XII, No. 9, September 1917, pgs. 4730478. RIBA  
See Appendix No. 6g.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Publicity sheet for Plot. FLC  
See Appendix No. 6f.
- 33 In Le Corbusier's archives there is a box full of pamphlets, photographs and newspaper cuttings on machinery of all sorts but in particular on any sort of construction devices.
- 34 Op. cit.
- 35 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 16.10.1917. FLC
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Condition of sale notice and the Plot Pamphlet. FLC
- 39 Letter from Jeanneret to Tony Garnier, 14.5.1919. FLC
- 40 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 31.10.1917. FLC
- 41 S.E.I.E., C.I.F., Everite, Ravitaillement Frigorifique, La Société Générale de Cartage d'Assurance.
- 42 Following the sacking of Paul Dermée as editor of L'Esprit Nouveau, the editorial office moved to 29 bis rue d'Astorg.

- 43 Letter from Jeanneret to clients. A general letter to inform them of the change of address. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1 i.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 16.10.1917. FLC
- 47 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 31.10.1917. FLC
- 48 Ibid.  
"Il aura eu des fantasies. Alors cette fois avec 150m<sup>2</sup> 3500 francs de location, il faudra des cités et des usines, on les aura!"
- 49 Letter from Jeanneret to Manufacture d'Horlogerie, Duverdrey et Bloquel. Saint-Nicolas d'Allermont 29.5.1917. FLC
- 50 Letter from Jeanneret to Duverdrey and Bloquel, 25.6.1917. FLC
- 51 Op. cit.
- 52 Letter heading, Duverdrey and Bloquel to Jeanneret, 27.6.1917. FLC
- 53 A. Ozenfant, Mémoires 1886-1962, 1968, pg. 8. LUL  
"En mai 1917, j'avais enfin rencontré Charles-Edouard Jeanneret". (He may have known of Jeanneret before that date through their friend Auguste Perret).
- 54 Arsenal sketch in the drawings collection at La Fondation Le Corbusier, B.B. Taylor. FLC
- 55 Op. cit., p. 96.
- 56 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 24.1.1918. FLC
- 57 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 16.10.1917. FLC
- 58 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 10.11.1917. FLC
- 59 Letters from Jeanneret to Tell Perrin, 1919-1923. FLC
- 60 VI(I) J'ai fait un bilan de cette année: j'ai pu tout juste payer tout le monde. Quant à ma fortune qui approchait peut-être bien les vingt mille francs, peau de balles et variétés. Evaporée. Les chiffres ont de ces mystères.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 VI(I) Ô Alfortville ( ) Ô atroce froidure! Rien ne va seul, surtout pas une briquetterie. Or donc, on y enfonce mystérieusement son pauvre argent (qu'il soit là ou ailleurs!)



- 63 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 6.12.1917. FLC
- 64 Letter from Madame Jeanneret to Jeanneret, 29.7.1918. FLC
- 65 Letter from Jeanneret to Tony Garnier, 14.5.1919. FLC
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Letter from Carlo Picard to Jeanneret, 10.9.1918. FLC  
Letter heading: Th. Picard fils, Fabrique d'horlogerie  
Dracip. La Chaux-de-Fonds.
- 68 Letter from G. Tribaudeau to Jeanneret, 17.12.1918. FLC  
Letter heading: Fabriques G. Tribaudeau, Montres,  
Bijou Pendules, Orfèvrerie, Besancon (Doubs).
- 69 Letter from Tribaudeau to Jeanneret, Noel 1918. FLC
- 70 Ozenfant, Mémoires 1886-1962, p . 104.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 La Maison Delachaux & Niestlé , Passage Max-Meuron  
2a, Neuchâtel. Established 1882. Paris branch  
founded 1920.  
"Des le debut du siècle, et sous les auspices de  
l'Institut Rousseau, à Genève, elle publie la  
collection 'd'actualités pédagogiques et psychologiques'  
dont plusieurs titres ont été traduits en de nombreuses  
langues étrangères". Parallèlement, elle lance ensuite  
la 'Bibliothèque professionnelle et sociale', qui rend  
de précieux services aux industriels et commerçants,  
la collection 'Eclaireurs' comprenant les principaux  
ouvrages de Lord Baden Powell". La Chaux-de-Fonds  
Guide, p . 626-627. BLCF
- 74 Letter from D. Niestlé to Jeanneret, 31.10.1918. FLC
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 Ozenfant, Mémoires 1886-1962, pg. 98
- 77 Op. cit.
- 78 See Chapter 6. b. Publishing.
- 79 Management monthly meeting reports L'Esprit Nouveau. FLC
- 80 Après le Cubisme published November 9th.  
Armistice November 11th, 1918.
- 81 T. Kemp, The French Economy 1913-1939, 1972.p . 73.
- 82 B.B. Taylor, Le Corbusier et Pessac 1913-1939, Vol. 2. FLC
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Ibid.

- 85 Ibid. Etudes de Maison Monol.
- 86 Le Corbusier et Pierre Jeanneret Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 30.
- 87 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 18.5.1912. FLC
- 88 Sketch of the Favre-Jacot house with Eternit written on the garden doors. BLCF
- 89 Asbestos-Cement. Notes editorial Concrete, No. 10, 1918. p . 640-644.
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Letter from Jeanneret to S.E.I.E., 6.5.1919. FLC
- 92 M. Hobe, 48, Boulevard de Waterloo, Brussels.
- 93 Letter from Jeanneret to Hobe, 13.5.1919. FLC
- 94 Letter from Jeanneret to Hobe, 28.5.1919/24.7.1919. FLC
- 95 Letter from Jeanneret to Hobe, 6.12.1920. FLC
- 96 Letter from Jeanneret to Hobe, 12.9.1919. FLC
- 97 Letter from Jeanneret to Sté Suisse des Usines Eternit Niderurnen, Canton de Glaris, Suisse, 5.9.1919. FLC
- 98 Ibid., 15.9.1919. FLC
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 Ibid.
- 101 Letter from Jeanneret to Keller, C/o. Barclays Bank, Foreign Department, London, 29.9.1919. FLC
- 102 Ibid.
- 103 Letter from Jeanneret to Cartier, 22.11.1919. FLC
- 104 Ibid., 25.11.1919. FLC
- 105 Letter from Jeanneret to Keller, 29.9.1919. FLC
- 106 Letter from Jeanneret to Moussye, 22.9.1919. FLC  
Concerning the sale of land owned by the company at Outreau, to augment the capital.
- 107 Letter from Jeanneret to Keller, 30.3.1920. FLC  
N.B. This particular deal would appear to have been somewhat complicated, from the evidence available it is only possible to give a brief outline.
- 108 Letter from Jeanneret to Bornand, 28.5.1920. FLC  
First mention of an interest in pipes.  
Letter from Jeanneret to Plain, 2.9.1920 FLC  
Subject, the resurrection of Everite Francaise and mentions patents for conduit.

- 109 Letter from Jeanneret to Pury Ingénieur Principal des  
Concessions Sourterraines des Postes et Télégraphes  
Lausanne, 2. 12. 1920. FLC
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 Letter from Jeanneret to Usines Suisses d'Eternit  
1.9.1920 and 29.10.1929. FLC
- 112 Letter from Jeanneret to Plain, 2.9.1920. FLC
- 113 Ibid.
- 114 Letter from Jeanneret to Pury, 26.1.1921. FLC
- 115 Unité d'Habitation Marseille.
- 116 Letter from Jeanneret to Curt von Grueber, Berlin,  
24.2.1921. No. 1 on cement factory. FLC
- 117 Ibid., No. 2 on representation. FLC
- 118 Letters from Jeanneret to Bonand, 1.6.1921. FLC  
and to Gros, 9.6.1921 FLC  
Concerning a deal with the Lajoine Company.
- 119 T. Kemp, The French Economy 1913-1939, pg. 56-57.
- 120 J. Paul, Ph.D. Thesis, Modern Architecture and the German  
Classical Tradition, Chapter 11. UGL
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 Letter from Jeanneret to Garnier, 14.5.1919. FLC
- 123 Ibid.
- 124 Letter from Jeanneret to Garnier 14.5.1919.  
"Depuis mon dernier passage à Lyon, j'ai eu l'occasion  
d'épurer de plus en plus mes idées, mes sensations et mes  
moyens d'action. J'administre la Sté d'Entreprises  
Industrielles et d'Etudes car j'ai estimé qu'un architecte  
devait pouvoir se porter responsable financièrement,  
techniquement des oeuvres qu'il conçoit. J'ai construit  
une usine de matériaux que j'exploite et j'ai fondé  
dans ma société une section de calculs de béton armé  
qui sera d'une grande utilité aux entrepreneurs et dans  
laquelle j'apportierai peut-être davantage le goût du  
béton armé que nous le fait généralement Rembrique et ses  
semblables. J'ar fondé également une section de  
INDUSTRIES DE L'ALIMENTATION où, grâce à la collaboration  
d'un des plus grands spécialistes du froid, en France,  
nous étudierons l'organisation complète des trafics de  
denrées par la construction d'usines productrices et de  
débits de vente ou d'entrepôts avec l'emploi du froid  
artificiel. Je suis le promoteur avec mon ami M. Reeh,  
ingénieur d'une société au capital de 5.000.000 qui va  
précisément réaliser commercialement l'exploitation des  
bâtiments que nous aurons conçus et construits.

- 125 Letter from Jeanneret to Thomas Macleod, Glasgow,  
9.9.1919. FLC  
Concerning a monorail manufactured by Roland Priest & Co.  
They had met at the Lyon building exhibition earlier  
in the year where they both met the Mayor of Lyon,  
Herriot and Tony Tarnier.
- 126 Op. cit.
- 127 Letter from Jeanneret to Garnier, 21.11.1919. FLC  
Plus a letter sent the following year, 9.12.1920. FLC  
Containing information on a bi-rail manufactured by a  
French firm.
- 128 Alfortville bankruptcy.
- 129 Personal interview with M. Du Bois, June 1973.
- 130 Letter from Jeanneret to S.E.I.E., 6.5.1919. FLC  
No. 1 subject - Tractors.
- 131 Letter from Jeanneret to S.E.I.E., 6.5.1919. FLC  
No. 2 subject - Source le Boulon.
- 132 Letter from Jeanneret to Niestlé, 10.5.1919. FLC
- 133 Ibid.
- 134 Letter from Jeanneret to Pilate, 15.5.1919. FLC
- 135 Ibid.
- 136 Letter from Jeanneret to Lapton, 15.5.1919. FLC
- 137 Letter from Jeanneret to Sigmund Marcel, 5.6.1919. FLC
- 128 L'Esprit Nouveau shareholders list, 1920. FLC
- 139 Letter from Jeanneret to The Industrial Bank of China,  
6.6.1919. FLC
- 140 Letter from Jeanneret to Pilate, 15.5.1919. FLC
- 141 T. Kemp, The French Economy.
- 142 Postcard from Montmollin to Jeanneret, 24.10.1919. FLC  
"Je ne sais plus rien, je ne vois plus rien, je ne  
suis attentif à plus rien d'autre chose que le front.  
J'ai déjà un peu oublié ce que tu fais a Paris; c'est  
bien compliqué ce marchand de briques et cet artiste".
- 143 Letters from Humbert, L'Epplattenier and Lalive, all  
complained of Jeanneret's neglect of them and his  
apparent change of personality. See Appendix l d, e, f and g.
- 144 Montmollin has most of Le Corbusier's financial records  
still in his charge. He intends that they will not  
be made available for study for a number of years,  
if at all. s Albert Jeanneret.

- 145 Letter from Jeanneret to Montmollin, 1920. FLC
- 146 Letters cover the period 1.12.1919 to 26.8.1920. FLC
- 147 Letter from Jeanneret to Police, 21.4.1921. FLC  
 Protest against fine for unloading in the wrong dock.  
 Jeanneret said that there was no other space available.  
 From this letter it would appear that the reinforcement  
 and sheet steel deals were still active.
- 148 Letters from Jeanneret to Russier Directeur de la Société  
 Lyonnaise de Navigation, Le Havre  
 2.3.1920 Enquiring how much sheet iron is required for  
 four cargo boats (to carry 325/350 tons).  
 5.3.1920 Asking Russier if he would be interested in  
 forming a Société de Transports Fluviaux.  
 29.4.1920 Calling the whole scheme off because of cost.  
 Quotes asked for from three firms.  
 No evidence of any further development.  
 See Appendix No. 6 g for details of typical concrete barges  
 of the time.
- 149 Letter from Jeanneret to Sous Secretariat d'Etat à la  
 Liquidation des Stocks, Bordeaux, 13.3.1920. FLC
- 150 Letter from Jeanneret to Russier, 21.11.1919. FLC
- 151 Shareholders list, L'Esprit Nouveau. FLC
- 152 Letter from Jeanneret to Cartier, 2.2.1920.  
 Concerning a verbal order for 70 tons of steel  
 reinforcement.
- 153 Shareholders list, L'Esprit Nouveau. FLC
- 154 L'Esprit Nouveau, No. 9. See Appendix No. 6i.

b. Publishing

- 1        "De Styl", "De Sturm", "Terz" and the "Bauhaus Journal"  
were the principle long-term survivors. Clive Phillipot  
"Movement Magazines. The Years of Style", The Art Press, pg. 41.
- 2        Ozenfant Mémoires, p . 115.
- 3        Letter from Jeanneret to Maison Payot 3.6.1919.    FLC
- 4        Ozenfant and Jeanneret, Aprés le Cubisme, publishers notes.  VA
- 5        Ozenfant, Mémoires, p . 110.
- 6        Gauthier, M., Le Corbusier, p . 44.
- 7        Ibid.
- 8        Letter from Jeanneret to Dermée 16.12.1917.  Dermée replied  
the following day, urgently asking for an advance of 300  
francs on his proposed salary of 86 francs a week, the  
first of several similar demands.  FLC
- 9        Ozenfant, Mémoires, pg. 110.
- 10       Programme for Parade, May 18th, 1917.  
Apollinaire au Art, p . 452/453.
- 11       Jeanneret to Dermée, 16.12.1919.
- 12       Ibid.
- 13       Jeanneret to Montmollin, 24.8.1920.  FLC
- 14       List of shareholders and their shares in L'Esprit Nouveau.  
From a notice calling a special Shareholders meeting, held  
on 21.9.21 to discuss the need to raise more capital.  FLC
- 15       Ibid.
- 16       Letter from Jeanneret to Dermée 16.12.19.  FLC
- 17       Ibid.
- 18       Dermée, Fernand Léger.  Article taken from an unknown  
publication.  FLC
- 19       Dermée was a contributor to 391 and Littérature, 1919-21.  
Dada magazines.  Dermée was one of thirty-eight speakers  
to read Dada manifestos at a gathering held on 5th February  
1920 in the Salon des Indépendants.  H. Richter,  
Dada, p . 173/174.
- 20       Letter from Jeanneret to Montmollin 24.8.1920 and from  
Jeanneret to Ozenfant 8.9.1920.  FLC
- 21       Secret agreement document dated 25.2.1920 signed by Ozenfant,  
Jeanneret and Dermée, under the title Le Société Anonyme  
"Editions de L'Esprit Nouveau", see Appendix No. 3c.  
For the formal contract, see Appendix 3d.

- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Letter from Dermée to Jeanneret 16.4.1920 written on La Publicité headed notepaper. FLC
- 24 Letter from Ozenfant and Jeanneret to Dermée 28.10.1920. FLC
- 25 Letter from Dermée to Ozenfant 3.8.1920.
- 26 Notes from Dermée to Jeanneret and Ozenfant, summer 1920. FLC
- 27 Note from Dermée to Jeanneret 19.5.1920. FLC
- 28 Note from Dermée to Jeanneret 24.5.1920. FLC
- 29 Letter from Ozenfant to Dermée 30.6.1920. FLC
- 30 Letter from Jeanneret to Montmollin 26.7.1920. FLC
- 31 Letter from Jeanneret to Montmollin 24.8.1920. FLC
- 32 Letter from Jeanneret and Ozenfant to Dermée 23.12.1920 where the fact that Dermée had directed 12 other issues was mentioned, most of these were on the Dada movement.
- 33 Dadaphone No. 7, 391 DADA and Z. Produced at 32 Avenue Kléber, Paris. The Art Press exhibition 1976. VA  
See Appendix No. 31.
- 34 Letter from Ozenfant to Jeanneret 6.8.1920. FLC
- 35 Richter, H. Dada, p . 180.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Registered letter from Jeanneret and Ozenfant to Dermée 28.12.1920. See Appendix No. 1K.
- 38 Notes from Dermée to Jeanneret 3.8.1920. FLC
- 39 Letter from Ozenfant to Jeanneret 6.8.1920. FLC
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Letter from Dermée to Ozenfant 11.8.1920.  
"Je suis très étonné de ne pas recevoir de réponse à ma lettre d'il y a dix jours: peut-être, vous aussi, êtes-vous en vacances, auquel cas je souffrirai dans mon amitié de ne pas avoir reçu ces petits bonjours que l'on envoie sur carte illustrée des beaux endroits où l'on passe. Notre ami Jeanneret, non plus, ne m'a rien envoyé et je reste entièrement privé de relations avec vous.  
Mais si vous êtes à Paris, je me permets d'insister pour vous demander, dans l'intérêt supérieur de notre oeuvre commune, de vouloir bien me fixer un rendez-vous aux heures qu'il vous conviendra". FLC
- 42 Letter from Ozenfant to Jeanneret from Orléans 8.9.1920. FLC  
See Appendix No. 2 h.
- 43 Ibid.

- 44 Ibid.  
"Cher ami, si vous ennuervez à Paris, Orleans est punois, hôtel sale, chambre veillard, vue sur une cathédrale en broderie de demoiselle, burne, une lique jaune dans le ciel toute la sainte journée, une cloche clericale et pour une raffeler tristement le purisme, sur le mur une immense affiche de charteuse, bouteille énorme inégalable (2m).  
Votre ami Ozenfant  
P.S. au total tout ira bien cette fois et c'est bien".
- 45 Letter from Ozenfant to Dermée late November 1920. FLC
- 46 Note from Dermée to Jeanneret 29.11.1920. FLC
- 47 See note 32.21.
- 48 Minutes of the first council of administration 1.12.1920  
6 p.m. Institute of Civil Engineers. FLC
- 49 Letter from Dermée to Ozenfant 27.12.1920. FLC
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Letter from Ozenfant and Jeanneret to Dermée 28.12.1920. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1k.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Letter from Dermée to Ozenfant and Jeanneret 29.12.1920. FLC  
See Appendix No. 11.
- 56 Minutes taken by Jeanneret Séance du Conseil du 31 décembre 1920  
3 p.m. 75 rue de Seine. Present: Niestlé, Jeanneret, Ozenfant  
and Dermée. FLC
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Conseil d'Administration du Mardi 11 janvier 1921  
5 rue de Vienne. Dan Niestlé office. FLC
- 60 Séance du Conseil du 17 février 1921, 2 p.m. 95 rue de Seine.  
Present: Jeanneret, Ozenfant, Niestlé. FLC
- 61 Séance du Conseil du 11 mars 1921, 29 rue d'Astorg.  
Present: Dermée, Ozenfant, Jeanneret and Niestlé. FLC
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Séance du conseil du 16 avril 1921, 29 rue d'Astorg.  
Present: Niestlé, Ozenfant and Jeanneret. FLC
- 66 Ibid.



- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Production draft for Esprit Nouveau. FLC
- 69 Phillpot "Movement Magazines the Years of Style", The Art Press.  
VA
- 70 Analysis of articles written for L'Esprit Nouveau. JL
- 71 Advertisement in L'Esprit Nouveau, No. 12, Nov. 1920. RIBA
- 72 Note from Jeanneret to La Roche thanking him for cheque in payment for a painting and offering his services in bringing the work of any new movements to La Roche's attention for his collection. 5.4.1921. FLC
- 72 Charles Henry La Lumière, le Conteur la Forme .  
Letter Charles Henry to L'EN, 5.5.1922.
- 73 Séance du Conseil du 30 juin 1921, 29 rue d'Astorg.  
Present Niestlé, Ozenfant and Jeanneret. FLC  
See App. No. 3f.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Séance du Conseil du 29 septembre 1921, 29 rue d'Astorg.  
Present: Niestlé, Ozenfant and Jeanneret. FLC
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Assemblée Générale Extraordinaire du 19 octobre 1921.  
14.00, 29 rue d'Astorg. Jeanneret was elected President and La Roche and Marcel nominated scrutineers, Niestlé was secretary. FLC
- 80 Séance du Conseil du 25 octobre 1921, 29 rue d'Astorg.  
Present Niestlé, Ozenfant and Jeanneret. FLC
- 81 Typewritten publicity handout on L'Esprit Nouveau notepaper. FLC
- 82 Séance du Conseil du 2 décembre 1921, 29 rue d'Astorg.  
Present: Niestlé, Ozenfant and Jeanneret. FLC
- 83 (a) Letter from Jeanneret and Ozenfant to Niestlé 2.12.1921 explaining that due to his absence they had been unable to repay a loan he had made to L'Esprit Nouveau, asking him to be patient because of the financial situation.  
(b) Letter from Niestlé to Jeanneret resigning from the board of the Revue 6.12.1921. Niestlé said his loan had been a straight commercial deal and that he had no choice but to ask for repayment.
- 84 Séance du Conseil du 30 janvier 1921.
- 85 Ibid.
- 86 Letter from La Roche to Jeanneret 3.12.1921.
- 87 Op. cit.
- 88 Advertising material sent to subscribers.  
See Appendix No. 3e.

- 89 List of shareholders who responded to their plea for help. Société des Editions de L'Esprit Nouveau Augmentation de Capital. FLC
- 90 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Chanmont (Belgium) 6.1.1922. Also list of members who attended the meeting. FLC
- 91 Extrait de la Séance du Conseil du 30 janvier 1922. FLC
- 92 Invitation to take up new shares dated 9.1.1922 from the directors of L'Esprit Nouveau to Lucien Schwob, Marquise de Polignac, Mme. Germaine Pupart, Mme. Guy, Jean Dalsace, Paul Bernheim. FLC
- 93 Op. cit.
- 94 Séance du Conseil du 18 avril 1922, 29 rue d'Astorg. Present Niestlé, Ozenfant and Jeanneret. FLC
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 (a) Séance du Conseil du 13.5.1922.  
 (b) Dermée had been sent a formal letter by Jeanneret and Ozenfant, stating the problem of the different approaches and asking him to resign, dated 5.4.1922.  
 (c) At the special meeting all the administrators had resigned enforcing a new election for the board. They had explained the reasons for their actions and were all re-elected on a new board with the exception of Dermée who was replaced by Rolf de Maré. FLC
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 Séance du Conseil du 13.5.1922. FLC
- 99 Séance du Conseil du 2.6.1922. FLC
- 100 Brève Histoire de nos tribulations L'Almanach d'Architecture. 1926. Collection L'Esprit Nouveau. FLC
- 101 Sales agreement with Jean Budry and Co. guarantee to purchase 2,000 for resale through their agencies. 3, rue du Cherche-Midi, dated 20.4.1923. FLC
- 102 (a) Procès verbal de la Séance du Conseil du 8 juin 1923. Present: R. de Maré, Ozenfant and Jeanneret. FLC  
 (b) Un Exercice de L'Esprit Nouveau. June 1923. FLC  
 See Appendix No. 3 o.
- 103 Agreement with Budry & Co. to rent an office above their shop and offices on the 3rd floor, two rooms on a short lease of 12 months for 1,500 francs. Dated 11.5.1923. FLC
- 104 EN File. FLC
- 105 This point taken from the considerable reduction in Ozenfant involvement with L'Esprit Nouveau affairs during this period, coming to a head the year after with his resignation.

- 106 Letter for solicitor M. Barthélémy to Ozenfant and  
Jeanneret. 19.6.1923. FLC
- 107 Ibid.
- 108 Copy of the proposed front cover and contents. FLC  
See Appendix No. 3n.
- 109 Proof copy of the cover for EN. No. 29.  
See Appendix No. 3a.
- 110 Un Exercice de L'Esprit Nouveau. An analysis of costs by  
Ozenfant, Jeanneret and the accountant, June 1923. FLC  
See Appendix No. 3 o.
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 (1) List of subscribers, April 1922.  
(2) Collection of standard letters to subscribers and  
possible new members.
- 113 Lists of possible firms to approach for the sale of  
advertising space. EN files. FLC
- 114 Letter from Jeanneret to Dr. Brille (a friend of M. Citrben)  
2.12.1921. FLC
- 115 Séance du Conseil du 5 novembre 1923. FLC
- 116 "Plan Voisin" de Paris 1925. Le Corbusier et Pierre Jeanneret,  
Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929.
- 117 See Appendix No. 3 g.
- 118 Publicity pamphlet sent to firms to advertise space in  
L'Esprit Nouveau. FLC  
See Appendix No. 3e and h .
- 119 Phillpot "Movement Magazines, the Years of Style",  
The Art Press. VA
- 120 L'Esprit Nouveau accounts and letters to contributors. FLC
- 121 Ozenfant, Mémoires, pg. 113.
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 (1) Letter from Buhot to Ozenfant 21.4.1922. FLC  
(2) Kahnweiler, Juan Gris an article written by Gris  
using Ozenfant's pseudonym Vaugrecy.
- 124 Ozenfant, Mémoires, p . 126.
- 125 Ibid., pg. 135.
- 126 Letter from Jeanneret to Du Bois, April 1914. MD
- 127 Some boxes of cutout photographs, catalogues, etc. on  
these items exist in the archives at FLC.
- 128 L'Esprit Nouveau, No. 1, 2 and 4.
- 129 Ozenfant, Mémoires, pg. 113.

- 130 Werkbund Yearbook 1913.
- 131 Letter from Jeanneret to Portland Cement Company, Chicago, 2.3.1920. FLC  
Also stating that the information was required for the first edition to be published 15.4.1920. FLC
- 132 Taylor, Le Corbusier et Pessac, pg. 13. FLC
- 133 Letter to Jeanneret from the editor of Artsmith, Illustrated Future Stories of Europe, 28 rue d'Odessa, Paris, 1920. FLC
- 134 Publicity pamphlet issued to possible subscribers for L'Esprit Nouveau, No. 6. FLC
- 135 No. 1, 2 and 4 trois rappels à Mm. les Architecte, Mass, Surface, Plan.  
No. 5 - Les tracés équilibrateurs  
No. 8, 9, 10 - Des Yeux qui ne voient ... Les Paquet boats, Les Avions, Les Autos.  
No. 11/12 Esthétique de l'Ingénierie.  
No. 13 Les Maisons en Série .  
No. 14 La Leçon de Rome.  
No. 15 L'Illusion des Plans.  
No. 16 Pure Création de L'Esprit. See App. No. 3 h.
- 136 Paul J., Modern Architecture and the German Classical Tradition, 1971. UCL
- 137 Letter from Jeanneret to Grés including the costs of photographs with the title Architecture et Revolution underlined and a note 'changer' handwritten above it. 18th December 1922. The article was prepared under this title in March 1922. FLC
- 138 Jeanneret's contract with the publishing firm of Grés gave him royalties of 10% of the cost of each copy plus 25 copies for personal use. Dated 21.12.1922. FLC
- 139 Letter from Jeanneret to Grés thanking them for a proof copy of "Vers une Architecture" typography and layout by Jeanneret. Dated 21.6.1923. FLC See App. No. 2 i.
- 140 Letter from Léon Perrin to Jeanneret 9.6.1920, Jeanneret to Léon Perrin 12.6.1920 and 6.9.1920, Jeanneret to Anatole Schwob, 9.9.1920. FLC
- 141 Letter from Jeanneret to the lawyer Tel Perrin 5.9.1919. FLC
- 142 In no way does this correspondence suggest that there had been any permanent break in their friendship since the closure of La Nouvelle Section in 1914. FLC
- 143 Letter from Jeanneret to Loos, 21.7.1920. FLC
- 144 Ibid.
- 145 Le Corbusier-Saugnier "Art et Construction", L'EN No. 2, November 1920.

- 146 Voisin, G. Men, Women and Kites.
- 147 Op. cit.
- 148 Op. cit.
- 149 Letter from Jeanneret to M. L'Abbé Aubert, Vancresson 7.4.1921. The house was stored in a hangar (the Voisin factory was in converted hangars at Issy-les-Moulineaux on the outskirts of Paris). FLC
- 150 Ibid.
- 151 Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 48.
- 152 L'Esprit Nouveau, No. 18, October 1923.
- 153 Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 54.
- 154 Le Corbusier L'Art Décoratif d'Aujourd'hui. "Brèves Histoire de nos Tribulations", 1926. FLC
- 155 Letter from Jeanneret to Dr. Brille 2.12.1921. Dr. Brille was a friend of Dr. Winter, a member of Albert Jeanneret's gymnastic class and contributor to L'Esprit Nouveau. FLC
- 156 Ibid.
- 157 Letters from Jeanneret to M. Gaut, Dr. Allendy, Juan Gris, January and February 1922, stating approximate costs, sites, etc. FLC
- 158 Ozenfant, Mémoires, p . 124.
- 159 Letter from Jeanneret to Juan Gris in reply to a verbal enquiry made by Gris. Ozenfant. 24.1.1922. FLC
- 160 Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 28.
- 161 Op. cit.
- 162 Letter from Jeanneret to Perret 18.5.1922. FLC  
Jeanneret refers to M. Gaut as Grant or Gant. But the house finally built by Perret was for a M. Gaut. Jeanneret was a continual mis-speller of names.
- 163 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Gaut 13.2.1922. FLC
- 164 Ibid.
- 165 Letter from Jeanneret to Gaut 16.5.1922. FLC
- 166 Letter from Jeanneret to Perret 18.5.1922. FLC
- 167 Op. cit.
- 168 Letter from Jeanneret to Perret 18.5.1922. FLC  
"Il m'a été affirmé, de divers côtés, qu'effectivement j'étais, depuis plusieurs semaines, l'objet d'une véritable cabale dont voici l'essentiel: en tant qu'architecte, je serais un peu un fou qui conçoit des choses inexécutables qui ne peuvent pas tenir.

Que pour réaliser mes folies, je n'hésitais pas à jeter mes clients dans des aventures qui pouvaient les conduire à la mine, que l'Esprit Nouveau était, du reste, une entreprise de publicité personnelle, etc....."

"Je dois vous dire aussi qu'il est entendu à Montparnasse que tout ce que je fais est inspiré directement de vous, que tout ce que j'écris a été dit par vous or point d'histoire j'ai été en contact véritable avec vous en 1908 et partie de 1910, et j'avais vingt ans; j'en ai trente-quatre et, entre temps, j'ai voyagé étudié, construit. Ces affirmations ont été du reste consignées publiquement par Vauxelles que ne me connaît pas personnellement.

Je n'ai pas manqué une occasion de vous prouver la sympathie que j'avais pour vous et je l'ai manifestée il y a longtemps déjà et tout récemment encore, mais je ne pensais pas, bien entendu, on vous rendant hommage: me faire écraser complètement.....

"En architecture, je ne serais jamais l'un de vos concurrents puisque j'ai renoncé pour divers motifs à pratiquer l'architecture d'une manière générale et que je me suis réservé que certains problèmes bien particuliers qui mettent en jeu exclusivement en questions de plastique. Je ne pense pas gagner ma vie avec l'architecture, mais je ne pense pas non plus abandonner totalement une activité pour laquelle j'ai du goût et, plus que cela, un profond attachment".

- 169 *see endnote 6b 89*
- 170 Letter from Jeanneret to M.P. Lafollyer, 18.1.1922. FLC
- 171 Letter from Mayor of Lyon, M. Herriot to the Directors of L'Esprit Nouveau, 10.1.1922. FLC
- 172 Letter from M.C. Lafollyer to Jeanneret 6.1.1923. FLC
- 173 Coupiere, P. Paris Through the Ages, XVII, Urbanism.
- 174 Oeuvres Complète 1910-1929, p. 40-44.
- 175 Letter from Jeanneret to Westheim, 11.4.1922. FLC  
*See Appendix No 1m*
- 176 Letter, Tempest, M. to Jeanneret, October 1922. FLC
- 177 Article from Intransigent, source a cutting in Le Corbusier's files. See Appendix No. 3c.
- 178 Le Corbusier, Towards a New Architecture, p. 56-57.
- 179 Letter from Jeanneret to Perret 13.12.1923.  
See Appendix No. 1c.
- 180 Ibid.
- 181 Letters in the archives from magazines, etc. like -  
Broom  
Le Monde Nouveau  
Le Progrès civique  
CAS (Le Temps)  
Exclusion  
During the period November, December 1922. FLC

- 182 Letter to Jeanneret from Teiji Sekiha 1.12.1922. FLC
- 183 Letter to Jeanneret from C. Teige, 12.11.1922. FLC
- 184 Letter from <sup>\*</sup>Elie Ehrenbourg on notepaper headed  
OBJECT. BEWd. GEGENSTAND Dated 12.3.1922. FLC
- \* spelt as the original signature on the letter later changed  
to Ilie and possibly Ilya.
- 185 Letter from ASSNOWA to Jeanneret 3.3.1924. Jeanneret  
later asked Lissitasky to prepare an article on modern  
Russian architecture 6.5.1922. FLC
- 186 Letter from Ehrenbourg to Jeanneret 31.9.1923. FLC
- 187 Letter from Ehrenbourg to Jeanneret 9.3.1925. FLC
- 188 Soviet Socialist Realism.
- 189 From correspondence between the managing committee for Ouder,  
Romoff and Ozenfant and Jeanneret 17.7.1922.  
Romoff was under criticism for misappropriating refugee  
funds. Spring 1924. FLC
- 190 Notes from L'Esprit Nouveau directors meeting 29.9.1921. FLC
- 191 Letter from Margherita Sarfetti a director of Gerachia to  
Director L'EN. Dated 27.2.1922. FLC
- 192 Copy of the writ served on Ozenfant and Jeanneret dated  
22.2.1922. FLC See App. No. 3 j.
- 193 L'Esprit Nouveau No. 15, March 1922.
- 194 Series of letters from Jeanneret to magazines 1922/23,  
see sections on Development and Trade.
- 195 Coupière P., Paris Through the Ages 1914-1918, Urbanisme.
- 196 Letter from Jeanneret to Niestlé, 28.6.1923. Request  
for address of the site. FLC
- 197 Letter from Jeanneret to Niestlé, 9.7.1923. Project  
later abandoned. FLC
- 198 Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 59.
- 199 (a) Taylor B., Le Corbusier et Pessac, p . 26. FLC  
(b) Letter Fruges to Jeanneret 3.11.1923. After  
reading Vers une Architecture. FLC
- 200 (1) Letter from Jeanneret to Pierre Jeanneret 28.6.1922  
asking him to do some work. FLC  
(2) Letter from Jeanneret to G. Baeshtold, a Swiss  
architect in Lausanne, 8.1.1924. Asking him if he  
knew of any suitable assistant experienced in  
supervision of building works and estimates in Paris. FLC
- 201 R. Ginsburg, Architectural student, 29.6.1923. FLC See App. No. 1u,  
A. Vermont, Engineer, 25.6.1924. FLC
- 202 Copy of Berlage's letter to Jeanneret, 30.12.1923. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1r .

- 202 Letter from Jeanneret to Berlage, 11.1.1924. FLC  
cont. See App. No. 1 s.
- 203 Letters from T. Van Doesburg to Ozenfant and Jeanneret  
18.4.1924, 31.5.1924, 28.8.1924. See App. No. 1 w.
- 204 Letters exchanged between Jeanneret and Gropius starting  
summer 1923. FLC  
See App. No. 1 p and q.
- 205 "L'Esprit Nouveau apporte son appui au 'Bauhaus' de Weimar".  
L'EN. No. 27, December 1924.  
See App. No. 3 k.
- 206 Letter from Gropius to Jeanneret, 21.4.1925. FLC
- 207 Letter from Mme. L. Hildebrandt to Jeanneret, 13.12.1923. FLC
- 208 Ibid.
- 209 Letters from Jeanneret to V.P. Réunis, 30.5.1924, 5.7.1924,  
7.11.1924. Letter from Jeanneret to Girardet 29.1.1925. FLC
- 210 L'Art Décoratif d'Aujourd'hui 1926. VA
- 211 O.U. Design 1920's Units 15-16 A.305.
- 212 Ibid.
- 213 Ibid.
- 214 Breve Histoire de nos tribulations: l'Almanach d'Architecture  
1926. Collections L'Esprit Nouveau. FLC
- 216 Ibid.
- 217 Letter from Jeanneret to Plumet 18.3.1924, enquiring as to  
what has happened to his first letter asking for a site. FLC
- 218 Op. cit.
- 219 Letter from Jeanneret to Le Comte de Gaigneron 24.5.1924.  
Requesting permission to erect a plaster pavilion to  
demonstrate L'Esprit Nouveau theories. FLC
- 220 Op. cit.
- 221 Ibid. See App. No. 3 l and m.
- 222 Ibid.
- 223 Ibid.
- 224 Ibid.
- 225 Letters concerning the demolition of the Pavillon L'Esprit Nouveau  
and damage to the tree, late 1925-26. FLC
- 226 Copy of the cover for L'Esprit Nouveau No. 29,  
See App. No. 3 a.
- 227 Letters from Darantières, the printers, asking for the  
copy for L'Esprit Nouveau, No. 29. February/March 1925. FLC
- 228 Cover of a magazine called Document International de  
L'Esprit Nouveau No. 1.



Direction: Paul Dermée et M. Seuphor  
No date but a handwritten note 1926.  
See Appendix No. 3n.

229 Letter from Jeanneret to Ozenfant, 29.7.1925.  
See Appendix No. 1z.

c. Development

- 1 Taylor, Le Corbusier et Pessac, 1914-18, Vol. 2.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Letter from Jeanneret to Duverdy et Bloquel, 29.5.1917.  
And notes from the same period.  
Also article by G.B. Levy in The Survey on American  
magazine, February 1918. FLC See app. No. 4e.
- 4 Op. cit.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Personal interview with Max Du Bois 1975.  
Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter 6.11.1917. FLC
- 8 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, November 1917. FLC
- 9 Letter from Jeanneret to Ritter, 25.12.1917. FLC
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Taylor, Le Corbusier et Pessac, Vol. 1, p . 23.
- 12 Couperie, Paris Through the Ages, 1914-1940 Public Buildings.
- 13 Newspaper cutting on site acquisition and regulations  
of the sale of land for low cost housing.  
November 1919. FLC
- 14 Jeanneret letters to Keller, the Swissc Poste et Télégraphe  
and ,. Hôte in Brussels, January - May 1919. FLC
- 15 Taylor, Le Corbusier et Pessac, 1914-1928, Vol 1., p . 21.
- 16 Le Corbusier, Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 30.
- 17 Op. cit.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 In September 1919, in the English publication Concrete and  
Constructional Engineering, the editor expressed regret at  
the lack of patenting facilities available to designers,  
architects and builders in Great Britain. He felt it was  
a deterrent to any great thought being put into the design  
of low cost workers' housing on a large scale. He felt,  
quite rightly, that to come up with a worthwhile solution  
would take as much time as a large factory, but the re-  
muneration under the existing system just did not encourage  
that depth of investigation. He also advocated the identical  
type of construction for such housing as Jeanneret and  
Du Bois had incorporated in Domino, together with the mass  
production of all the ancillary items.

- A pre-war competition, organised by the magazine, for a concrete cottage design costing £125.00, had resulted in a flat-roofed blockwork with small lattice windows. See App. No. 6 g (1) (2)
- 20 Letters sent by Jeanneret to M. Hobe, a Belgian businessman over the period May 1919 to December 1920. FLC
- 21 Letter from Jeanneret to Cartier, 22.11.1919. FLC
- 22 Taylor, Le Corbusier et Pessac 1914-1928. Vol. 2.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Couperie, Paris Through the Ages 1914-1940, Public Buildings.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Le Corbusier, L'Almanach d'Architecture Moderne, 1926. FLC
- 30 Letter from Jeanneret to Pury, 24.6.1920. FLC
- 31 Notes dated 14.5.1921. FLC
- 32 Le Corbusier, Towards a New Architecture, p . 227.
- 33 Ibid., p . 57.
- 34 Letter from Ozenfant and Jeanneret to Dermée, 28.12.1920. FLC
- 35 Ozenfant, Mémoires, p . 124/5.  
 Depuis six années Le Corbusier et moi prenions presque quotidiennement nos repas de compagnie, fréquemment au petit bistrot Legendre, en face de mon appartement de la rue Godot-de-Mauroy. C'était un local assez étroit mais profond, à peu près quatre fois plus long que large et très haut en proportion; la moitié arrière était divisée dans sa hauteur par une salle en balcon, ouverte devant comme les soupentes d'ateliers d'artistes parisiens; on y accédait par un colimaçon; le jour entrait par un grand vitrage qui tenait toute la façade.  
 Le lieu nous plaisait car sa disposition jouait de l'espace ingénieusement et agréablement: l'élévation du plafond principal donnait de la liberté au regard et ceux, assez bas, de la galerie et de la partie du rez de chaussée au-dessous en faisaient des endroits plaisamment intimes; les longs axes conféraient à ce modeste restaurant une certaine aimable dignité. On s'y sentait bien. Nous pensions qu'une villa disposée sur un plan de principe analogue serait agréable. Le restaurant Legendre fut la graine de mon atelier, première maison signée Le Corbusier.
- 36 Maison "Citröhan" 1920,  
 Le Corbusier, P. Jeanneret Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 31.  
 "OUVRIR LES YEUX - Nous mangions dans un petit restaurant de cochers, du centre de Paris; il y a le bar (le Zinc), la cuisine au fond; une soupente coupe en deux la hauteur

du local; la devanture ouvre sur la rue. Un beau jour, on découvre cela et l'on s'aperçoit que les preuves sont ici présentes, de tout un mécanisme architectural qui peut correspondre à l'organisation de la maison d'un homme".

- 37 Letter from Jeanneret to Dr. Brille, 2.12.1921. FLC
- 38 Pierre Jeanneret was responsible for the cover design of L'Esprit Nouveau from the No. 2 edition which was published in November 1920.  
Ozenfant Mémoires, p . 130.
- 39 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Jacomy owner of 95 Rue de Seine on details of transferring the lease to Pierre Jeanneret 8.3.1921. FLC
- 40 Barbey, G. "Hommage à Pierre Jeanneret", Werk 6/1968, p . 377.
- 41 Petit, J. Le Corbusier Lui-Même, p . 45.
- 42 Op. cit.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Letter from Jeanneret to Pierre Jeanneret 22.2.1924.
- 45 Le Corbusier, Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929.
- 46 Letter from Jeanneret to Bornand, 25.5.1921. FLC
- 47 Battersby, The Decorative Twenties.
- 48 Letter from Jeanneret to Westheim 11.4.1922. FLC  
"Le principe de cette maison développe le genre d'études faites dans les "maisons en série" publiées dans le No. 13 de L'Esprit Nouveau. Il s'agit d'une adaptation de systèmes constructifs d'usines (poutres de béton armé et voûtes plates en coquilles d'oeuf de ciment armé) appliqués à une villa de maîtres, tout l'effort architectural étant porté sur le cube général de la maison et la disposition des baies, le parti architectural étant précisément basé sur l'emploi des travées standards qui sont toutes semblables et toutes faites avec le même moule, donnant ainsi une unité dans le détail que je recherche de plus en plus dans mes constructions".
- 49 Letter from Jeanneret to Gris 24.1.1922. FLC
- 50 Letter from Jeanneret to D. Allendy, 11.3.1922. FLC
- 51 Correspondence between Jeanneret and M. Gaut over the last six months of 1922. FLC
- 52 Jamot, P. A. et G. Perret et L'Architecture du Béton Armé, p . 61, pl. xxxci, RIBA.
- 53 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Delloyes, 7.2.1922. FLC
- 54 Letter from M. Herriot, Mayor of Lyon to Jeanneret thanking him for L'Esprit Nouveau, No. 13, containing the article 'Maison en Serie ', 10.1.1922. FLC

- 55 Letter from Jeanneret to M.P. Westheim, 29.4.1977,  
Cité d'Habitation Ideale. See App. No. 1 m. FLC
- 56 Letter from a director of L'Esprit Nouveau to Madame Guy  
and one letter on the Marquise de Polignac, dated  
January 12, 1922. FLC
- 57 Letter from Jeanneret to Madame Guy, 24.3.1922. FLC
- 58 Jeanneret note about a site for a house of 200 m<sup>2</sup> for  
Charles de Polignac dated 12.12.1925. See App. No. 4 n. FLC
- 59 "Dortir du Palais de Peuple à Paris",  
Le Corbusier Oeuvres Complètes, 1910-1929, p . 124.
- 60 Letter from M.C. Lafollyer to Jeanneret 6.1.1923. FLC
- 61 Letter from Jeanneret to Westheim, 29.4.1922. FLC
- 62 Report entitled Economie Domestique by Jeanneret.  
See App. No. 6 h. FLC
- 63 Op. cit.
- 64 Couperie, Paris Through the Ages, Section xvii,  
The Third Republic 1914-1940.
- 65 Jeanneret, L'Almanach d'Architecture Moderne,  
Collection de L'Esprit Nouveau 1926.  
"Un jour de juillet 1922, Marcel Temporal ayant pris la  
direction de la section urbaine du Salon d'Automne,  
vint proposer à Le Corbusier de faire quelque chose  
pour le prochain salon de novembre: - L'art urbain  
c'est la boutique, l'enseigne en fer forgé, la porte  
de la maison, la fontaine dans la rue, tout ce que  
nos yeux voient de la chaussée, etc. Faites-nous  
donc une belle fontaine ou quelque chose de semblable  
dit-il".
- 66 L.C. and J. Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 34-35.
- 67 Le Corbusier, Towards a New Architecture, p . 56.  
Also see App. No. 3i for a copy of the article from  
'Intransigent'.
- 68 Letter from Marcel Temporal to Jeanneret, November 1922.
- 69 I.e.: Le Monde Nouveau, Le Progrès Avigue, Devetsil  
(Czechoslovakia).
- 70 Letter from P. Lafollyer to Jeanneret 9.4.1923. FLC  
For a contemporary report by Marcel Hiver see App. 4 f.
- 71 Letter from Jeanneret to Marcel Pays, 2.3.1923. FLC
- 72 Letter from Jeanneret to Marcel Pays, 2.3.1923. FLC  
"Vous me prêtez la conception des gratte-ciel à ériger sur  
les fortifications permettez-moi de rectifier; les études  
que j'ai faites prouvent au contraire que les gratte-ciel  
ne peuvent actuellement répondre à des besoins que construits  
au centre de Paris et non pas du tout aux fortifications ....  
..... J'ai fait une conférence sur ce sujet et il serait tout  
à fait désirable que la presse se joignît aux techniciens pour  
créer un mouvement devenu indispensable à la santé de Paris".

"..... j'ai fait une conference sur ce sujet et il serait tout à fait désirable que la presse se joignit aux techniciens pour créer un mouvement devenu indispensable à la santé de Paris".

- 73 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Legrand-Chabier, 9.3.1923.  
"..... il est certain que des études comme celles que vous faites inviterons petit à petit à créer un état d'esprit nouveau, dont les conséquences pourront être plus importantes ....."
- 74 Letter from Jeanneret to Clement Vaut el, 5.3.1923.  
Monsieur,  
J'ai lu avec un vif intérêt dans certains de vos films vos remarques judicieuses sur la crise de l'habitation à Paris. Une fois vous<sup>^</sup> (récriminez avec justice) contre les immeubles fastueux pour "Garçonnes et autres"; d'autres fois vous étiez bien obligé de reconnaître comme tant d'autres que la circulation devient intenable dans Paris et que des solutions impérieuses sont nécessaires.  
Ayant voué depuis longtemps une attention toute particulière à ces questions, j'ai pensé que des chiffres précis, des schémas identiques et des suggestions basées sur une stricte raison (et aussi une certaine notion de la poésie de l'époque) pourrait vous intéresser, Peut-être avez-vous eu l'occasion de voir au Salon d'Automne le diorama d'une Cité Contemporaine qui était un travail de recherches purement théoriques, ayant pour objet de mettre à nu les principes fondamentaux d'urbanisme moderne et de permettre ainsi à ceux qui peuvent se faire une opinion de ces questions d'envisager avec clairvoyance le cas de Paris.  
Paris qui s'est transformé à travers tous les âges semble, suivant la formule de nos édiles actuels, ne plus devoir bouger, formule d'archéologues et formule de paresse aussi. Or, à côté de cette tranquillité fragile de nos édiles la vie moderne développe des conséquences souvent fabuleuses et provoque des crises que seules des solutions rigoureuses peuvent corriger.  
Veuillez croire, Monsieur, à mes sentiments très distingués".  
\* Récriminez avec justice (sic)
- 75 Letter from Jeanneret to Pierre de Treviere, 5.3.1923.
- 76 Specification of accommodation from the Peugeot Company dated June 1923. FLC
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Personal interview with Max Du Bois, September 1975.
- 79 Notes sent with a design/scheme for Audincourt by Jeanneret to Peugeot, 10.3.1924. FLC  
Known as 'Lottissement d'Audincourt' in Oeuvres Complète 1910-1929, pg. 72.  
See App. No. 6 j.
- 80 Eugène Freycinet 1879-1962,  
Engineer Designer of parabolic reinforced concrete aircraft hangar at Orly 1916.
- 81 Letter from Jeanneret to E. Freycinet 25.10.1923. FLC  
Dans mon livre "Vers une architecture" vous trouverez quelque pages consacrées à un immeuble-villa exposé l'an dernier au Salon d'Automne-et qui attirer vivement l'attention du public. Diverses démarches ont été faites auprès de moi pour réaliser cette construction qui doit être considérée comme un nouveau type d'habitation avec exploitation domestique transformée et

système de ravitaillement représenta une innovation importante dans l'économie domestique.

Les personnalités qui ont pris contact avec moi m'ont paru jusqu'ici être encore entachées de passablement d'idées arriérées; je me permets donc de vous signaler ce cas particulier et je crois qu'il serait éventuellement possible que nous puissions un jour causer utilement et que cette affaire se par des gens de votre haute compétence technique. Je voudrais faire de cet immeuble une démonstration définitive de l'apport des techniques modernes dans l'architecture et je dois pour cela rechercher le concours de ceux qui se sont particulièrement distingués dans cet ordre d'idées.

- 82 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Girardet 11.1.1924. FLC
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Girardet January 25th 1924. FLC
- 85 Notes on the scheme by Jeanneret 10.3.1924. FLC  
"La disposition du lotissement ne sacrifie pas à certaines modes du jour qui h'hésitent pas à augmenter considérablement les frais d'établissement une impression de désordre par la disposition irrégulière des bâtiments; il est prévu ici, au contraire, un lotissement orthogonal avec dispositions en quinconce qui assurent une aération parfaite du lotissement, une impression d'ordre agréable et nécessaire; un aspect architectural certain, un confort assuré pour l'habitant qui trouve aux endroits utiles les vergers, jardins, potagers et pelouses favorables à l'habitation. Ce lotissement d'apparence schématique est étudié de manière à fournir un bel aspect architectural et toute l'intimité désirable (s'en référer à la perspective annexée qui montre les maisons étagées le long d'une pelouse qui borde les routes et les sentiers d'accès qui passent au travers des vergers, lesquels servent de rideaux utiles entre les habitations: voir la situation des potagers, avec les poulailliers, clapiers, etc., groupés en des endroits qui ne nuisent pas à l'ensemble du lotissement).
- 86 Taylor, Le Corbusier et Pessac 1914-1928, p . 29, Vol 2.
- 87 Op. cit.
- 88 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Trottet, Geneva, 27.9.1923.
- 89 Taylor, Le Corbusier et Pessac 1914-1928, p . 35, Vol 1.
- 90 Ibid., p . 35, Vol 1.
- 91 Ibid., p . 35, Vol.
- 92 Ibid., p . 41/42.
- 93 Ibid., p . 41/42.
- 94 1. Folder, Plessis-Robinson. FLC  
2. Letter from Jeanneret to M. Perret-d'Ortail, Bureau des Habitations à Bon Marché, 6.5.1924. FLC
- 95 Ibid.

- 96 Letter from H.P. Roche to Jeanneret, 12.8.1924. FLC
- 97 Letter from Jeanneret to C. See, 6.8.1924, from collection  
of letters starting 20.6.1924.
- 98 Ibid.



- 1 Partnership agreement, August 1916 for October 1916. Though probably only finally signed and commenced when Jeanneret settled permanently in Paris in February 1917. FLC See App. No. 4 c, d and 6 e.
- 2 Du Bois was later to successfully sue Jeanneret in 1930 for his capital investment and the broken partnership agreement. Bornand had need of his investment very much sooner and eventually recovered it in small payments over the period 1923-1925. FLC
- 3 Letter from Jean Berque to Jeanneret 15.7.1921 and subsequent correspondence. FLC
- 4 Letter from Jeanneret to Madame Floersheim 7.2.1922 and subsequent letters to June 1922. FLC
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Plot plan for Avenue Reille made out to Ozenfant. FLC
- 7 The site became available due to a new law giving tax relief on the sale and purchase of small plots of land. A large house and estate "Lotissement du Square Montsouris" had been subdivided for this purpose but as the plots were very small any building constructed on them would have to negotiate and comply with party wall agreements. Ozenfant had four such boundaries. See App. No. 4 g.  
Letters from Braquès lawyer and the head of a Police riding school which was situated on one boundary. FLC
- 8 Villa à Vaucresson pg. 48-52 l'aison du peintre Ozenfant à Paris pg. 55-57. Boun attributed to 1922 in Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929.
- 9 Letter from Ozenfant to Jeanneret 5.2.1923. FLC
- 10 Letter from G. Besnus to Jeanneret December 1922. FLC
- 11 Letter from Besnus to Jeanneret 24.12.1922. FLC
- 12 Letter from Besnus to Jeanneret 10.1.1923. FLC
- 13 Letter from Jeanneret to Besnus 24.1.1923. FLC
- 14 Letter from Besnus to Jeanneret 29.1.1923. FLC
- 15 Besnus letters arranging meetings 26.2.1923 and 2.3.1923 on plan arrangements Besnus to Jeanneret 7.3.1923. FLC
- 16 Letter from Jeanneret to Besnus 7.3.1923. FLC
- 17 Letter from Vie Contractor to Jeanneret 25.3.1923. FLC
- 18 Vaucresson and Boulogne sites in L'Esprit Nouveau No. 18. See Appendix No. 4 h.
- 19 Letter from Besnus to Jeanneret 14.3.1923. FLC
- 20 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Roberts 2.5.1923. FLC

- 21 Letter from Vie to Jeanneret 4.6.1923. FLC
- 22 Letter from Besnus to Jeanneret 19.9.1923. FLC  
Followed by complaints of dampness arising from this problem over the following year.
- 23 E. Lacourte, Ing. ECP to M. Petit Ingénieur Géomètre 28.2.1924, and related correspondence. FLC
- 24 Ozenfant moved into 53, Avenue Reille his new house some time in July 1924, as he had to leave his apartment by the 15th July. The house should have been completed by October 1923. Letter from Ozenfant to Jeanneret 26.5.1924 and 31.5.1924. FLC
- 25 Letter Besnus to Jeanneret 25.10.1923. FLC
- 26 Letter from M c. Besnus to Jeanneret as M. Besnus was very ill at the time, 11.1.1924. FLC
- 27 Besnus to Jeanneret, summer 1924. FLC
- 28 Fee statement from Jeanneret to Besnus 21.8.1926. Reply from lawyer on behalf of Besnus 30.8.1921. FLC
- 29 Letter from Besnus to Jeanneret 7.7.1927. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1 n.
- 30 Letter to Besnus from G. Summer, 12.2.1928. FLC
- 31 Letter from Besnus to Summer 12.2.1928. FLC
- 32 Letter from Besnus to Jeanneret 25.11.1927. FLC
- 33 Letter from Jeanneret to Vie 10.8.1923. FLC
- 34 Letter from Jeanneret to Vie 6.10.1923. FLC
- 35 Letter from Ozenfant to Jeanneret 31.5.1924 stating payment of 4,000 francs in fees.  
Letter from Jeanneret to Ozenfant 20.10.1924 stating that only 3,000 francs of fees had been paid with 1,620 francs still outstanding. FLC
- 36 Letter from Mietschaninoff to Jeanneret 20.4.1923. FLC
- 37 Letter from Jeanneret to Lipchitz, 1.3.1923. FLC
- 38 Letter to Serge Romoff from the new directors of OU DAR 11.3.1924 signed by M. Feder, Jeanneret, Lebedef Louchansky, Mietschaninoff, Ozenfant. Negotiations started in July 1922. FLC
- 39 Corner of Rue des Arts and Rue des Pins. Letter from Mietschaninoff and Lipchitz to Jeanneret 18.5.1923. FLC
- 40 Letters to adjoining owners requesting the right to use their services system. FLC
- 41 Letter from Mietschaninoff and Lipchitz to Jeanneret 18.5.1923. FLC
- 42 Letter from Jeanneret to Mietschaninoff 23.2.1924. FLC

- 43 Estimate for the house construction from Kuntz and Piceard the same contractor as for the first two houses 20.8.1924, plus design sketches. See Appendix No. 4 i. FLC
- 44 Letter from Jeanneret to Lipchitz 1.3.1923. FLC
- 45 Kuntz and Piceard estimate February 1924  
Canale - 112,040 f  
Mietschaninoff - 123,790 f  
Lipchitz - 134,290 f FLC
- 46 Jeanneret cost summary of Lipchitz and Melschaninoff houses 8.12.1924 for final accounts. FLC
- 47 Letter file - Mietschaninoff and Lipchitz houses. FLC
- 48 J. Lipchitz My Life in Sculpture 1972.
- 49 Letter from Jeanneret to M. J.M. Esnault 30.3.1923. FLC
- 50 Blanche J-E Passy, Paris 1928 16e library.
- 51 Op. cit.
- 52 Daniel A., Histoire du XVIe Arrondissement de Paris, Paris 1902, and  
Blanche J-E, Passy, Paris 1928 16e library.
- 53 Correspondence between Esnault and Jeanneret of the year 1923. FLC
- 53 Ibid. See Appendix No. 4 j.
- 55 Correspondence between Lotti Raaf - Jeanneret, Raoul la Roche and Sigmund Marcel over the year 1923. FLC
- 56 Personal interview with Albert Jeanneret, Vevey, June 1972.
- 57 Isadora Duncan Daville Studio, Paris 1972.
- 58 Op. cit.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Printed pamphlet - Construction - École Française de Rythmique et d'Éducation Corporelle. FLC  
1923 Advert in L'Esprit Nouveau No. 18. See Appendix No. 4 n.
- 61 Letter from Jeanneret to Montmollin, 2.6.1924. FLC
- 62 Etude-Projet pour une salle de danse rythmique  
Scheme designed 1926. FLC  
See Appendix No. 4 n.
- 63 Letter from M. de Maré director of the Swedish Ballet Company to Jeanneret 8.3.1923. (R. de Maré was also a director of L'Esprit Nouveau since 1.6.1922). FLC
- 64 Personal interview with Albert Jeanneret. Vevy, June 1972.
- 65 Letter from Esnault to Jeanneret 23.4.1923. FLC

- 66 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Le Masson (owner of one of the Rue Raffet plots), 12.2.1924. FLC  
And other similar correspondence during January and February.
- 67 Letters from Jeanneret to S. Marcel 13.11.1923, 20.12.1923, 30.1.1924. FLC
- 68 Letter from Jeanneret to Mongermon containing a detailed estimate for a house on the third site, 18.3.1924. FLC
- 69 Letter from Jeanneret to Mme. Stern (daughter of the owner of the adjoining site) 24.4.1925. FLC
- 70 Albert Jeanneret house construction file. FLC
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Letter from Pierre Jeanneret to Jeanneret, 22.12.1926. FLC
- 75 Letter from Jeanneret to Humbert, 1914. LCF FLC
- 76 Personal interview with Max Du Bois, September 1975.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Numerous letters on the 1920/21 steel reinforcement transaction - see Entrepreneur Chapter 6 (Trade). FLC
- 79 Correspondence between Jeanneret and La Roche over the period 1922-1926. FLC
- 80 Postcard from La Roche to Jeanneret 31.4.1923 from L.C.D.F.  
FLC  
"J'ai eu comme une révélation en voyant cette après - midi la villa qui vous avez construite. Elle a l'air d'être tombée du ciel, tant elle frappe au milieu de toutes les banalités autour. Et si vous avez eu de la brique romaine. Bref je suis plein d'admiration pour cet échantillon de votre architecture et vous avez cher ami, mes meilleurs félicitations".
- 81 R. La Roche house construction file. FLC
- 82 Letter from La Roche to Jeanneret 4.1.1924.  
See Appendix No. 1t.
- 83 Letter from Jeanneret to La Roche 13.1.1925. FLC
- 84 Letter from La Roche to Jeanneret and Pierre, 17.1.1925.  
See Appendix No. 1t.
- 85 Letter from Jeanneret to Mongermon 25.3.1925. FLC
- 86 La Roche house construction file. FLC
- 87 Personal interview with Mme. J. Vauthier, Pierre Jeanneret's niece June 1972, Geneva.
- 88 Letter from Jeanneret to Ozenfant 15.4.1925.  
See Appendix No. 1γ. FLC

- 89 Letter from Jeanneret to Ozenfant 16.4.1925. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1t. FLC
- 90 Letter from La Roche to Jeanneret 8.11.1925.  
See Appendix No. 1t. FLC
- 91 Letter from La Roche to Jeanneret 18.10.1925.  
See Appendix No. 1t. FLC
- 92 Letter from La Roche to Pierre Jeanneret 19.2.1926. FLC
- 93 Letter from La Roche to Jeanneret 1.1.1927. FLC
- 94 1. Letter from Jeanneret to Niestlé 28.6.1923. FLC  
2. Maison de "Weekend" à Rambouillet  
Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p. 59.
- 95 Letter from Niestlé to Jeanneret 28.8.1923. FLC
- 96 Letters from Jeanneret to Niestlé 9.7.1923 and 29.10.1923. FLC
- 97 Letter from Jeanneret to Mme. Berque 19.9.1923. FLC
- 98 Letters from Jeanneret to Dupont (owner of a site at  
Ville d'Avray) 26.10.1923 and 3.11.1923.
- 99 'Ville d'Avray 28/29'  
Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p. 201.
- 100 House enquiries
1. Letter from Jeanneret to M. Cernez an artist with land  
for sale for a house 23.2.1923.
  2. Letter to Jeanneret from M. Robert concerning a housing  
scheme at Colombes. Jeanneret sketch layout 20.8.1923.
  3. Letter from Jeanneret to M. Gien a music composer in  
reply to house enquiry 20.12.1923.
  4. Also in 1924 - Oscar Jesper  
M. Paiseau  
M. Bouise  
M. Faison  
M. Lebedinstay  
M. Ponson  
M. Bonin  
Mlle. Tarade-Page FLC  
5. 1925 M. Bornand. See App. No. 4 l.
- 101 Letters from Jeanneret to Mme. Pierre Meyer and Mme. Hutz  
over a period 1924 to 1926. FLC See App. No. 4 k.
- 102 Letter from Jeanneret to Mme. Meyer 24.2.1926. FLC  
See Appendix No. 1aa. FLC
- 103 Villa Meyer, Paris 1925 (1st project)  
Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, pg. 87-91. See App. No. 4 k.
- 104 Letter from Mme. Hutz to Jeanneret 13.12.1926. FLC
- 105 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Jeker 5.9.1919,  
(concerning the sale of the house at 30b, Rue de la Montague  
LC de F). FLC
- 106 Letter from Jeanneret to his father 21.9.1923. FLC

- 107 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Guenod (owner of the lakeside site at Vevey, Switzerland) 21.9.1923.
- 108 Petite Villa au Bord du Lac Lemman 1925.  
Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 74-75.
- 109 Jeanneret had a serious problem in spelling his clients' names correctly when writing to them. Possibly his letters were dictated and the names left unchecked or the contact had been made verbally and the correct spelling never found. Though this should only happen for the first letter or so if this were the case. Poor M. Besmus had to endure a variety of names.
- 110 Letter from Jeanneret to M. Steen at Rue Taitbout 6.5.1924. FLC
- 111 Lease for the use of an access corridor at 33-38 Rue de Sevres, for 1700 francs per annum to start 15th October 1924. Lease dated 28.6.1924. FLC
- 112 Enquiries after an office assistant.  
Letters from Jeanneret to Schneider (Maison Tizène) 10.1.1924 and A. Baesthold (architect in Lausanne) 8.1.1924. FLC
- 113 Letter from Jeanneret to E. Faure 30.9.1924. FLC
- 114 Torn out photograph dated 19.9.1924. FLC
- 115 Maison de M. Erraquaris, au Chili 1930  
Oeuvres Complètes 1929-1934, p . 48-52.
- 116 Letter from Messrs. Lurkhardt Bros. and Alfons Ankers to Jeanneret 26.11.1924. FLC
- 117 Ibid.
- 118 Letter from Jeanneret to Messrs. Lurkhardt Bros. and Ankers 6.12.1924. See Appendix No. 1 x. FLC
- 119 Letter from Messrs. Lurkhardt Bros. and Ankers to Jeanneret 25.12.1924. FLC
- 120 Sketch scheme for a 200 m<sup>2</sup> house for Charles de Polignac dated 12.12.1925. FLC  
Note on drawing mentions Rue de G. Plans could well have developed into the final form containing many basic elements in similar disposition. See Appendix No. 4 m.
- 121 1. Theory and Design in the First Machine Age, pg. 257.  
2. Villa à Garches 1927 "Les Terrasses"  
Oeuvres Complètes 1929-1934, p . 142-149.
- 122 Hitchcock  
Architecture : Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, pg. 371.
- 123 Gertrude Stein - Her Life and Work, p . 152.  
"Mike was knowledgeable about building materials and watched over the supervision of the construction".
- 124 "Brève Histoire de nos Tribulations".  
L'Art Décoratif d'Aujourd'hui, Le Corbusier 1925. FLC

- 125 Ibid.
- 126 "Imneubles-Villas" et "Pavillion de L'Esprit Nouveau"  
"Plan Voisin" 1925.  
Oeuvres Complètes 1910-1929, p . 93-117.
- 127 Op. cit.
- 128 Ibid.
- 129 Ibid.
- 130 Letter from La Roche to Jeanneret 2.8.1925.  
See Appendix No. 1 t. FLC

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES



## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

- Allendy Dr. Psychologist working in Paris. Contributor to L'Esprit Nouveau. Enquired about the cost of the first Citrohan house.
- Aubert Georges b. 1866-9 approx. Student in the engravers class La Chaux-de-Fonds. Changed to furniture design and wood carving. Travelled in Europe with Perrin. Member "Association Independents des Ateliers Réunis". Teacher in the Cours Supérieur in La Chaux-de-Fonds Art School. Founder member of L'OEUVRE. Later professor at Lausanne. Friend of Jeanneret.
- Apollinaire Guillaume b. 1880 Rome d. 1918 Paris. Educated Monte Carlo. Self taught art critic, writer, poet. Championed Seurat and Cézanne when they were unknown 19th C. painters. Intended to write a book on Cézanne in 1910. Book: Les Peintres Cubiste. Articles in L'Intransigeant. Initiator of the phrase "L'Esprit Nouveau." Friend of Ozenfant.
- Arnould Céline Writer and poet, member of the Dada group, close friend of Paul Dermée.
- Beck Arnold Estate agent, developer and building materials dealer, La Chaux-de-Fonds. Worked with Jeanneret on a housing scheme 1914.
- Behrens Peter b. 1868 Hamburg d. 1940 Berlin. Painter Karlsruhe and Dusseldorf Art Schools 1886-89. Founder member of Münchner Sezession. Impressed by Luministes (Israel) in Holland, knew Berlage. Interested in applied arts. Invited to join community at Darmstadt: while there started to study architecture and designed his own house. Influenced by Mackintosh and Van-de-Velde. Appointed head of Dusseldorf Art School 1903-1907. 1907 Deutscher Werkbund founded. AEG appointed Behrens as designer. Designed Turbine Factory 1908-9. Jeanneret worked in his office for six months Nov. 1910-April 1911.
- Benoit-Levy Georges Professor. Town Planner and artist. Editor La Cité-Jardin, Town Planning Review, Paris 1911. Regarded the artist role in planning as important and an elitist role. Foresaw the importance of reinforced concrete in creating new gigantic and grandiose city forms. Idealistic, but his own designs did not fulfil the promise of his ideas. Leader of the Association of French Garden Cities and editor of the Association Journal, La Cité. Notes in Jeannerets sketch books 1915-16 taken from La Cité-Jardin, together with notes on Perret's town planning ideas, sketches contain the elements of his 1922 Cité de Trois Million, but the towers contained flats. Jeanneret's sketch scheme for Duverdy and Eloquel was written up by Benoit-Levy for La Cité, 1918. Interested in publishing Jeanneret's proposed book on town planning, started in 1915.
- Berque Jean Painter, friend of Ozenfant. Parents became Jeanneret's first clients in Paris. He designed the interior of their house in Paris.

- Besnus Georges-Hippolyte b. Paris. Painter and editor of La Revue du Mobilier et Deccoration d'Interior. Client for the house at Vaucresson - 'Ki-Karé', 1923.
- Blanche Jacques-Emile b. Paris. Grandson of Docteur Esprit Blanche 1796-1832. Son of Antoine-Emile Blanche, d. 1893. Lived in house at No. 19 rue du Docteur Blanche. Called after his grandfather, the house was known as the English cottage, its garden was sold for development in 1922, the La Roche and Albert Jeanneret houses were built there on a small central site. Jacques-Emile Blanche studied painting, was a friend of Ozenfant. Collected paintings and wrote books (Passy, Paris 1928). Ref: J.E. Blanche, Portraits of a Lifetime, Vol. 1 1870-1914, Vol. 2 1918-1938, Paris.
- Bonifas Paul Potter, cousin of Ozenfant. Worked for L'Esprit-Nouveau, helping with subscriptions, first in Paris then Switzerland.
- Bornand E.L. Builder from Neu-Chatel. Partner with Max Du Bois and Jeanneret in founding the Paris Jeanneret practice.
- Brille Dr. Friend of M. Citroën, Dr. Winter, Ozenfant and Jeanneret. Partner in Albert Jeanneret's school of eurhythmics.
- Budry Jean Publisher, writer and owner of the firm contracted to produce the last twelve editions of L'Esprit Nouveau, Nos. 17 - 29. The last edition was never printed. Contributed to L'Esprit Nouveau. Offices at 3, Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris.
- Canale Painter, friend of Lipchitz and Mietschaninoff and client for the third Jeanneret house on their site, 1923. He later dropped out of the project, and the house was never built though a sketch scheme had been prepared for him.
- Chapallez René Swiss Architect. Practice in Tavannes the next town down the Doubs valley from La Chaux-de-Fonds. Produced traditional style chalet houses. Friend of L'Eplattenier, worked with him on joint scheme for the Musée des Beaux-Arts, LCF. Jeanneret worked in his office as a student, his first houses if not a Chapallez design, owed a great deal to him. Chapallez resented the lack of acknowledgement given to him for his part in Jeanneret's early architectural work.
- Citroën André Businessman, owner and founder of the Citroën car company founded 1919. Principal designer, M. Salmon. Early cars were painted lemon yellow as a pun on his own name, also known as Citron Pressé. Studied American mass production techniques (taylorisation).
- Compagnie Industrielle du Froid (C.I.F.) Du Bois company, Jeanneret was a shareholder.
- Crès G. et Cie. Les Editions, G. Crès et Cie, 21 rue Hautefeuille, VI<sup>e</sup> Paris. Good quality art publishers who refused to publish L'Esprit Nouveau when it first came out but produced Vers Une Architecture in 1923 and later special L'Esprit Nouveau publications.

- Dalcroze Jacques 1865-1950 b. Vienna. Parents - Swiss.  
 Professor of Harmony, Geneva Conservatoire 1892-1900.  
 Developed system of gymnastic rhythm, called eurhythmics.  
 Travelled Europe, teaching his theories 1900-1911.  
 Director of his own school Bildungsanstalt. Hellerau  
 1911-1914. London School of Dalcroze Rhythmics 1913-1915.  
 Institut Jacques-Dalcroze, Geneva 1915.  
 Author of a number of books of which the most important was  
Rhythm Music and Education. Albert Jeanneret worked with  
 Dalcroze from 1911 to 1914, then started his own school.  
 Jeanneret met him and was impressed by his ideas; helped  
 to back his brother's Paris School of Eurhythmics.
- Darantière Maurice Printer. Printed last series of L'Esprit Nouveau  
 under the Budry contract. Also The Making of Americans  
 by G. Stein, Ulysses by James Joyce. Used a hand press  
 in the late twenties for limited editions.
- De Claparède Alfred Swiss minister in Berlin 1910. Ritter provided  
 Jeanneret with an introduction to the minister when he  
 went on his study trip in Germany during the summer of 1910.
- Dermée Paul Writer, editor, friend of Paul Rosenberg, Fernande Divoire.  
 First editor of L'Esprit Nouveau. Editor of 'DaDa' Magazines  
 such as Z, Dadaphone. Active member of the DaDa movement.  
 Married to poet and Dadarist, Céline Arnaud. Publishing  
 office based at 37, Avenue Kleber, Paris.
- De Møre Ralf Director of the Swedish Ballet Company. Tour in Paris at  
 the "Theatre Champs Elysees", 1922. Takes over from  
 Den Niestlé as a director of L'Esprit Nouveau.
- Denis Maurice b. 1870 Grandville d. 1943 Paris. Artist, writer, critic.  
 Studied Académie Julian, Paris with Bonnard, Vuillard and  
 Sérusier. Co-founder of the Fabis. Visited Verkade at  
 Beuron Monastery with Sérusier 1903. Taught Académie Ranson.  
 Worked with August Perret, including decorations for Théâtre  
 des Champs-Élysées 1912. Jeanneret met Denis through  
 friendship with Perret and Ritter.
- De Polignac, Princess and Marquis Patrons of Léger, Cocteau, Le Corbusier  
 and the Salvation Army (Paris) amongst others. Marquis a  
 member of the Singer family. Jeanneret produced sketch  
 design for a house for the de Polignac's possibly the first  
 clients for the Barches site. The Princess was to become  
 a major client of Le Corbusier during the late twenties,  
 projects for the Salvation Army.
- Ditischeim Albert and Herman Watch manufacturers, La Chaux-de-Fonds.  
 Vulcain Watches founded 1858 by Laurice Ditischeim. Father  
 President of the Swiss Society of Watch Manufacturers, 1912-  
 1915. Clients of Jeanneret, commissioning him to design  
 the interior of a new house they were having built in La  
 Chaux-de-Fonds 1914.
- Divoire Fernand Friend of Perret. Literary journalist for L'Intransigeant.  
 Contributor to L'Esprit Nouveau.
- Doesburg Theo Van b. 1883 Utrecht d. 1931 Davos Worked with Wils  
 and Onel 1916, who, together with Mondrian, founded the  
De Stijl magazine 1917. Corresponded with Jeanneret and  
 Ozenfant, on the exchange of articles for their respective  
 magazines.

- Du Bois Max b. 1884 Le Locle. School Neuchatel 1901. Studied Civil Engineering, Zurich 1903-1907. Worked in Paris in the electrical supply industry 1908. Translated Mörsch's book "Eisenbéton Bau" to French "Le Béton Armé". Family knew Jeanneret family. Became friends with Jeanneret in 1909. Started his own company "Société d'Application de Béton Armé", as well as becoming a company secretary in another firm and a successful businessman. Started Jeanneret in his first Paris practice. Still living in his original Paris flat and house near Antibes.
- Ehrembourg Ilya G. b. 1891 Writer journalist. Russian. Lived in Paris from 1909. Friend of Picasso. Friend of Ozenfant from his first marriage. Also friend of Russian artist Lissitsky. Helped to spread L'Esprit Nouveau ideas in Russia. First supported whites in the Civil War but accepted the Bolshevik victory. Worked as a Soviet journalist in the west.
- Esnault J.M. Banque immobilière de Paris. 147, Boulevard Hausmann, Paris. Estate agent, responsible for the development and sales of the Esprit Blanche cottage site, Parc de Jasmin. Niece worked in the office of L'Esprit Nouveau. Firm still in existence and flourishing.
- Eternit/Overite Ste. Suisse des Usines Eternit et Group HAARDT. Canton de Glaris. Swiss company producing asbestoc cement products, visited by Le Corbusier in 1911 when he used the material in the Favre-Jacot house at Le Locle. Later he took out patents on a prefabricated building system using Eternit and tried to start the Ste. Français des Usines Eternit. The name was changed to Everite in France. Continued to use the material on many schemes throughout his life.
- Fallet Louis Member of the La Chaux-de-Fonds Art School board. Friend of L'Eplattenier. Commissioned house from L'Eplattenier's students. Jeanneret carried out the drawings under supervision of Chapaloz. No. 1, Chemin de Pouilleret 1906.
- Faure Elie Art historian, Le Corbusier client for the Ville d'Avray site 1925. Son Francois Faure worked as an assistant on the Pessac scheme.
- Favre-Jacot Georges b. 1843 Le Locle. Manufacturer, Zenith Watches, Le Locle. Started 1865, developed into a large business. Commissioned Jeanneret to design a house in Le Locle, completed in 1912. Approached by Jeanneret for financial backing during his early business years in Paris.
- Fischer Theodor b. 1862-1938. Architect Munich. Professor in the Technische Hochschule in Munich. Where Gropius was a student. Attractive well researched jugendstil and classical revival work together with the use of reinforced concrete made his work striking and influential at the start of the century.
- Freyssinet Eugène b. Objat, France 1879, d. 1962. Engineer. Pupil of Charles Rabut reinforced concrete pioneer. Designed many elegant bridges using concrete. Well known for two airship hangars at Orly 1916-24. Jeanneret asked him to collaborate on a 1925 housing project for Plessis-Robinson.
- Frugés Henri French businessman. Owner of a carpet factory at Pessac. Amateur artist and poet. Client for the Pessac housing scheme.

- Gallis Yvonne b. Monaco. Fashion model friend of Ozenfant who introduced her to Le Corbusier in 1922. They married in 1930. Le Corbusier designed in 1933 the flat at Porte Molitor, 24, rue Mungessor et Coli, Paris 16, for their home (where they lived until their deaths).
- Garnier Tony b.1869 Lyons d.1848 Bedoule. 1886-89 Ecole des Beaux Arts Lyons. 1889-99 Ecole des Beaux Arts Paris (Prof. J. Gaudet). 1899-1904 Prix de Rome student. Architectural practice Lyons. 1917 Une Cité Industrielle publication. Jeanneret made contact with Garnier on his first European trip 1911 and later when in Paris after the first world war.
- Grasset Eugène Samuel b.1841 Lausanne d.1917 Sceaux. Naturalised French 1891. Studied architecture - Zurich Polytechnic. Decoration - Paris, Ecole des Arts Décoratif. Worked as an illustrator, artist decorator. Promoter of arts and crafts, director of a school. Writer - Plante et ses applications ornementales, Brussels 1896-1901. Friend of L'Éplattenier (who taught several of Grasset's principles). Helped Jeanneret on his 1908 trip to Paris, suggested that he found work with the Perret brothers.
- Gris Juan b.1887 Madrid d.1927 Paris. Painter. Friend of Picasso. Members of the Section d'Or group founded 1912. Friend of Léger, Ozenfant and Jeanneret. Influence on purists work.
- Guimard Hector b.1867 Paris d.1942 New York. Studied Ecole des Arts Décoratifs and Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Taught at both schools. Influenced by Horta. Léon Perrin worked in his office 1908-1910 and became his chief assistant.
- Hennebique Francois b.1842-1921 France. Early pioneer in the use of reinforced-concrete. Constructed early glass and concrete factories, cantilevers, bridges, grain elevators. Ozenfant's father worked with him on some factory schemes.
- Hoffmann Josef b.1870 Moravia d.1956 Vienna. Architect, book illustrator and furniture designer. Studied under Otto Wagner. Taught in the School of Applied Arts, Vienna from 1899. Started Wiener Werkstätte with Koloman Moser. Founder member of Wiener Sezession, 1897 with Olbrich and other painters and sculptors. Palais Stocklet 1905. Jeanneret possibly sought work 1907-8 in his office when journeying with Perrin through Europe.
- Humbert Charles b. approx. 1890 La Chaux-de-Fonds. Studied La Chaux-de-Fonds Art School and Paris. Qualified art teacher, taught at Le Locle Art School. Worked as a modeller with Charles Perret and as an art editor in La Chaux-de-Fonds. Married fellow student Madeline Woog, painter 1911. Art School friend of Jeanneret, Perrin and Aubert. Continued to keep contact with Jeanneret when he moved to Paris.
- Jacquement Jules and Stotzer Albert Cousins living in La Chaux-de-Fonds. Commissioned L'Éplattenier's students to design each of them a house. Jeanneret carried out the drawings while staying in Vienna. Identical designs completed 1908. No. 6 and 8 Chemin de Pouillerel.

- Jeanneret Albert 1885-1973 b. La Chaux-de-Fonds. d. Vevey.  
 Brother of Jeanneret, musician, teacher of Dalcroze Eurythmics; started a school in La Chaux-de-Fonds 1914, Paris 1920. Married Lotte Walden Raaf, dancer with the Swedish Ballet Company, two daughters from first marriage. Close friends with brother, set up Paris school of Eurythmics together. Divorced late twenties.
- Jeanneret Gustave b. 1847 - 1927. Father Louis Auguste Jeanneret. Son Pierre (not Le Corbusier's partner). Painter - landscapes, portraits. Believed in the individual, responsibility for self, expressed his beliefs through his paintings. Président of the Swiss Society of Painters, Sculptors and Architects. No known active connection with Le Corbusier, distant relation though from the same early 19th century branch of the Jeanneret Gris family. William Ritter contributed to a book published in 1928 in memory of his life.
- Jeanneret Pierre b. 1896 d. 1967 Geneva. Father André Jeanneret, doctor from Russia, cousin of Ch-E. Jeanneret's father. 1913-1915 Studied Architecture at L'Ecole des Beaux Arts in Geneva, 1st Prizes in Architecture, Painting and Sculpture. 1916-1918 Military service in the Swiss army. 1918-1920 Finishing architectural studies Geneva. 1921-1923 Working in Perret's office. 1920-1940 In association with Le Corbusier, acting as job architect for all the early practice projects. Very important and as yet little known influence on Le Corbusier's work.
- Jeanneret Herman Cousin to Charles Edouard-Jeanneret. Metal work designer. Ferronnier d'Art. La Chaux-de-Fonds, Paris and Geneva. Partnership with Jeanneret for the sale of light fittings in Paris 1913. Made the glass door and staircase for the Ditscheim project. Furniture for some rooms in the La Chaux-de-Fonds Museum.
- Jeanneret-Perret Marie Charlotte-Amélie b. 1840-1960 b. Neuchatel d. Vevey. Father Frederick Louis Maries Perret, cloth merchant, Neuchatel. Family - doctors, teachers, notaries, watchmakers and councillors. Mother Amélie Pingeon - Le Sagne. Musician, taught piano. Married Edouard Jeanneret. Sons Albert and Charles-Edouard Jeanneret. Grandmother's name the origin of Le Corbusier as a pseudonym.
- Jeanneret-Perret Edouard Father Edouard Jeanneret-Rauss, watch enameller and engraver LCF. Mother Lisé Rauss, Le Locle. Watch enameller and engraver, working with his father. Inherited family enamelling workshop. Keen mountaineer. President of the Local Alpine Club. Married Marie Charlotte-Amélie Perret. Sons Albert and Charles-Edouard.
- Jourdain Franz b. 1847 Belgium. Studied architecture Ecole des Beaux-Arts (atelier Davnet). Built shops - Magazines de la Samaritaine, Tombs, Houses, etc. Writer - Histoire de l'Habitation Humaine and others. Started Salon d'Automne as show place for new talents in the arts 1905. Befriended Jeanneret particularly encouraging him to exhibit his architectural theories in the Salon d'Automne in the early 20's and supporting him against then 1925 Exhibition Committee.

- Jove Madame alias Mme. P. Poiret Dress designer. Married to Paul Poiret. Lent dress salon to Purist's for their first exhibition in December 1918 and called it Gallery Thomas.
- Kahnweiler Daniel H. b. 1884 Mannheim. Father - broker. Trained as stockbroker Paris. 1902 starts collecting paintings by Manet, Lautrec, Cézanne, Signac, Vuillard and Vonnard. 1905 works in London. 1907 returns to Paris and starts a gallery. Buys work of Derain, Vlaminck, Van Dongen, Braque. Meets Picasso and Juan Gris. 1909 publishes a book by Apollinaire. 1912-14 contracts with Braque, Gris, Léger and Picasso. 1914-20 lives in Switzerland. 1921-23 property confiscated during the war, is sold at four public auctions for low prices. 1923 Gallery Simon started below Jeanneret's office at 29 bis rue d'Astorg, but Kahnweiler could not afford to keep his contracts with the painters, all but Gris left.
- Klipstein Auguste Son of a Berlin art dealer. Studied fine art in Munich. Friend of Jeanneret, accompanied him on his trip to the Orient 1911. Jeanneret produced a sketch design for a house for him 1911.
- La Roche Raoul b.1811 Swiss Basle. Director, Crédit Commercial de France. Landowner, banker, bachelor, party-giver. Member of Max Du Bois' Sunday club. Friend of Jeanneret, banker for some of his business deals. Major shareholder in L'Esprit Nouveau. Collector of paintings, Picasso, Braque, Gris, Purists, etc. Client for house in Square du Dr. Blanche, 1924.
- La Follyer M. Member of "Credit Immobilier" and the "Syndicate Immobiliers de Paris". Commissioned Jeanneret to undertake a study of self-financing housing. Wrote the report on Jeannerets 1922 Town Planning Scheme for L'Architecture.
- Léger Fernand b.1881 France d.1955. Apprenticed to an architect for 2 years. Paris - working as an architectural draughtsman, 2 years. Academie Julien - painting, 2 years. Painted until 1914. Friends with Apollinaire, Kahnweiler, Archipenko, Ozenfant. Post-war worked with Purists, Van Doesburg, Mondrain and Gris.
- Lenz Desiderous Father b.1832 Haigerloch d.1928 Beuron. Studied Munich 1850-57. Taught School of Applied Art, Nuremberg. 3 years in Rome. Studied proportion with regard to the human body and Egyptian classical forms. Entered Benedictine order and put in charge of design work carried out by the Monks of Beuron. Followers Sérusier, Verkade, Denis, Bonnard, Ranson, Gauguin. Jeanneret knew of their work through Denis, exhibitions, influence on his later modular work.
- Lipchitz Jacques b.1891 Lithuania, Russian Jew. Sculptor. 1809 started studying at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris. Changed to Academic Julian. Friends with Picasso, Gris and sculptors Brancusi, Zadkine and Archipenko. Client of Le Corbusier, studio house on site shared with another Russian sculptor, Mietschaninoff, 1923, at Boulogne sur Seine. Allée des Pins, Rue des Arts.

- Loos Adolf b.1870 Brno d.1933 Vienna. Studied architecture Dresden Polytechnic. Stayed in England and U.S.A. for three and a half years after graduating. Returned to Vienna as a journalist for "Neure Frier Presse", 1897-1906. Published lots of articles attacking principles of the Sezession. 1908 essay - Ornament and Crime. Founded 1910 a Free School of Architecture. 1920-22 in charge of housing in Vienna. 1922 moved to Paris. Friends with Purists, contributor to L'Esprit Nouveau.
- Lurkhardt Bros. and Alfons Ankers Wassili Lurkhardt b. 1899, Berlin. Studied Munich and Avesden. Hans Lurkhardt, b. 1890, Berlin d. 1954. Studied Karlsruhe. Architects in partnership with Alfons Ankers in Berlin, produced design for a large multi-floor garage in Berlin. Contributed to Bruno Taut's "Utopian Correspondence". Discussions undertaken with Jeanneret in November 1924 in regard to the construction of a multi-storage garage in Paris for M. Falconnet.
- Lyon, Gustave Services Engineer, designed the Salle Peyel. Worked for Voisins and a director of the Pleyel company. Designed the services for Corbusier's League of Nations Scheme, attended Albert Jeanneret's gymnasium class.
- Marcel Sigmund Engineer, wealthy businessman. Friend of Max Du Bois and member of the Swiss community in Paris. Shareholder S.E.I.E. Owner of a light metal factory. Became an important financial baker for L'Esprit Nouveau.
- Matthew Octave Student of Cours Superior Le Chaux-de-Fonds. Stained glass artist. Chief designer Montag Castle - London and New York. Friend of Jeanneret.
- Metzner Frantz b.1870, Berlin d. 1919. Sculptor. Studied Berlin, Vienna. Main work National Monument Leipzig.
- Mietschaninoff O. Russian. Sculptor. Associated with the arts magazine UDAR for Russian exiles and produced for a period with L'Esprit Nouveau. Client of Le Corbusier for a studio house on the same site as Lipchitz at Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1923.
- Mongerman M. Administrator - Delegee des Automobiles Voisin. Aeroplanes A. Voisin, 36 Boulevard Gametta, Issy-les-Moulineaux. Home address, 30 Avenue du President Wilson, near Max Du Bois, both members of the 'Automobile Club de Paris'. Client for the small site on the Jeanneret - La Roche site. Main contact for the support of the L'Esprit Nouveau Pavillion.
- Montmollin Jean-Pierre Well established Neuchatel family background. Banker, member of the Paris Swiss community. Worked for Crédit Commercial de France. Early financial adviser to Le Corbusier. Holder of Le Corbusier's financial records.
- Mörsch Emil b.1872 - 1950 Germany. Studied engineering in Stuttgart. Joined engineering firm of Wayss and Freytag at Neustadt an der Haardt, 1901. The firm was one of two to purchase the first patents (Mormier) for using reinforced concrete in Germany. Mörsch became a director of the firm. He produced a book entitled Der Betonbau, seine Anwendung und Theorie in 1902. He was a professor in the Zurich Polytechnikum from 1904-1908 where Max Du Bois became one of his students and translated his book into French in 1908. Le Corbusier tried to get a job in Wayss and Freytag in 1910 after reading the book.



- Moser Karl b.1833 Baden d. 1907 Zurich. Lived in Baden, Switzerland. Studied architecture in Karlsruhe and Zurich (Semper). For a return to journalism and neoclassicism away from Jugendstil and free composition. Successful practice, buildings in Basle and Zurich. Hotels, stations, houses, churches. Became Professor at the Zurich Polytechnikum. Designed building for Zurich University 1914. Supported Le Corbusier.
- Niestlé Dan Son of a Neuchatel Publisher. Owned a fine art publishing firm in Paris. Les Editions d'Art, 5, rue de Vienne, Director of L'Esprit Nouveau. Client for holiday house at Rambouillet, 1924, by Le Corbusier.
- Osthaus Karl E. Director of the Folkwang Museum, Hagen. Employed Van de Velde.
- Ozenfant Amedée 1886-1966 b. San Quentin Father Julian Ozenfant. Building contractor worked with Francois Hennebique. Married Zina Klinberg 1911-1918, Russian painter. Painter, writer, teacher, produced L'Elan 1915-1916 (10 editions) and L'Esprit Nouveau 1920-1925 (28 editions) together with Jeanneret. Founded Purist movement together with Jeanneret, see section 3.1.
- Perret Auguste b.1874 Brussels 1964 d. Paris. Parents French, father owned building firm. Studied Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris 1891-95, left before finishing the course under Prof. J. Guadet. Worked as a designer with his father's firm and with his brother, Gustave. When his father died the brothers took over the firm. Jeanneret worked in his office 1908-9 and became friends with him. Joined the Art et Société group founded by Perret during the 1st World War in Paris. Pierre Jeanneret worked in his office 1920-22.
- Peugot Henri and Robert Car manufacturer, started 1891. Took on Voisins best engineers and were accused of bribing them away from Voisins. Very good racing record from the start of the company.
- Perrin Léon b.1886 Le Locle. One of 11 children. Student in the engravers course in the La Chaux-de-Fonds Art School 1900. Changed to studying sculpture apprenticed to a stone and marble carver. Won a competition for a mural for Montreux Casino, the fee from the work paid for a study trip with fellow student Georges Aubert, to Switzerland and Italy where Jeanneret joined him. Then travelled through Europe to Paris. Worked with Guimard in Paris 1908-1910, became chief assistant in the office. Returned to teach with L'Eplattenier on the Cours Supérieur. Friend of Jeanneret - designed sculptured panels for Schwob house. President of Association Indépendante des Ateliers Réunis. Founder member of "L'ŒUVRE".
- Plumet Charles Architect. Member of the post-war Paris town planning committee. Chief architect to the 1925 International Decorative Arts Exhibition.

- Poiret Paul            fashionable interior and dress designer 1906, Art Nouveau. Post-war Art Deco. Ran interior design school. Married dress designer Madame Jove who lent her showrooms to Ozenfant for the first Purist exhibition. Poiret was a client for Le Corbusier's 'House by the Sea' scheme 1921. Interested in modern child based education, started his own school for young children.
- Prouvé Victor        Painter. Director of L'Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Nancy, Craft Workshops. Provided model for L'Eplatteniers proposed new art school in 1909 for which Jeanneret produced a sketch scheme. Son Jean Prouvé.
- Provensal Henry     b.1868 Paris. Architect, writer, painter. Studied at the 'Ecole des Beaux Arts', 1887-1892. Diplomé 1896. Buildings in the Paris Exposition 1900. Book L'Art de Demain.
- Ritter William      1867 -        b. Neuchâtel. Father Guillame Ritter, Architect/Engineer. Churches, hydraulic works. Deputy Grand Conseil 1904-1910 Neuchâtel. Romancier, Art and Music Critic for La Gazette des Beaux Arts. L'Art et Les Artistes, Mercure de France, Feuilles d'Avis (LCF). Mentor to Jeanneret in the period 1910-1917.
- Riva Alfred         Client for the La Chaux-de-Fonds cinema "La Scala".
- Romoff Serge        Director of OUDAR. Review for exiled Russian artists in Paris. Miestchaninoff one of the directors. Combined with L'Esprit Nouveau management 1922. Ozenfant and Jeanneret on finance committee.
- Rosenberg Paul and Léonce     Gallery owners. Léonce took on Kahnweiller's painters when his gallery was closed and his paintings confiscated at the start of the First World War. Paul started his own gallery and acted as Picasso's agent from 1918. They became close friends. P. Rosenberg Cubisme and Tradition. Second Purist exhibition held at Léonce Rosenberg's gallery, 'L'Effert Moderne', 19 Rue de la Baume. 28 Feb. to 23 Mar. 1923.
- Schneider Juste     Engineer. Worked with Professor E. Mörsch in Zurich. Partner in SABA. Worked with Jeanneret on the Nimes Bridge Competition and early Paris practice work.
- Schwob Anatole     Manufacturer of watches. Maison Schwob Frères & Cie., La Chaux-de-Fonds. Producing Cyma Watches. Commissioned a house from Jeanneret 1916.
- Schwob Lucien      b.1895 La Chaux-de-Fonds. Son of Anatole Schwob. Student of Cours Superior LCF Art School. Studied Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris. Returned to LCF 1914.
- See Charles         Developer Franco-American housing group. Proposed partnership with Jeanneret 1925.
- Sérusier Paul      b.1864 Paris    d.1927 Morlaix (Finistere) Studied Philosophy, entered Académie Julien to study painting. Founded Nabis group 1889-91 with Denis, Bonnard, Ranson, Gauguin and Verhade. 1897 visited Verhade at Bouron Monastery. Teacher at Académie Ranson 1908-1914. Wrote Art de la Peinture, contained in Maurice Devis' Book Théories 1890-1910, Paris 1912. An important influence on Purism and Jeanneret's architectural theories with particular regard to proportion.

- Seurat Georges b.1859 d.1891 Paris. Student Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris 1878. Studied colour theories of Chevreul and Delacroix, the science of colour. Pointillist painter. Knew Gross and Signac. Became the central source for symbolist movement. Important influence on L'Eplattenier and latter Jeanneret and Ozenfant. First copy of L'Esprit Nouveau included an article on Seurat and a colour print of 'La Poudreuse' on the first page, instigating a revival of interest in Seurat's work which was little known at the time.
- Société D'Application de Béton Armé SABA Company founded by Max Du Bois in 1912, to promote precast concrete lamp and fence posts, together with the two engineers who patented the system. Carpentier and Riviere, plus Schnieder. Later widened its scope to any construction concerned with reinforced concrete. Jeanneret worked for the company when he first came to Paris in 1917. Jeanneret and Du Bois sold their shares to M. Cartier, 1920.
- Societe d'Entreprises Industrielles et D'Etudes Capitol 250,000 fr. SEIE. Directors, Jeanneret Bornand, Reeh, S. Marcel. Another Max Du Bois inspired company but managed by Jeanneret. The initials were intended to sound like 'L'essayer c'est L'adapter', another French double meaning. Sales office - 29 bis rue d'Astorg. Factory - Briqueterie A. Hortville, 15 Rue des Peupliers, Quai Blanqui, A Hortville, Paris. Bankrupt 30.3.1925.
- Speiser Andre Professor Zurich University, later Basle. Mathematician. Nephew of Raol La Roche. Shareholder L'Esprit Nouveau. Another nephew is Thomas Speiser.
- Stein Michael Younger brother of Gertrude Stein. Businessman. Took over the Garches house from de Monzie while in the early stages of construction. Took an active part in the supervision of its construction. Had admired Jeanneret's work at the 1925 exhibition. House called Les Terrasses.
- Summer G. Building contractor and developer. Builder for the Vaucresson house. Later to take over the construction of the L'Esprit Nouveau Pavilion. Quoted for several other schemes.
- Taylor Frederick Winslow b.20.3.1856 Philadelphia. Engineer, management expert, consultant to industry. Studies in time and motion study method known as Taylorisation. First books on the use of concrete followed by studies on the organisation of worker factories, attracted attention in France and received considerable attention and several publications were produced in French. Believed in the following (1) work to full efficiency in good humanistic conditions, (2) work to scientific laws good for everyone, (3) time and motion study important for higher productivity, lower prices, more profits, and higher wages, (4) wasting effort with poor design. Considerable early influence on Le Corbusier's approach to planning.

- Tessenow Heinrich b.1876 Rostock d.1950 Berlin. Father builder. Carpenter's apprentice. Studied School of Building, Leipzig 1896-98, Technical High School, Munich 1899-1901. Professor State Art School, Vienna 1913. Head of Department of Architecture, Academy of Fine Arts, Dresden, 1920. Chief collaborator and designer for Hellerau Garden City. Wrote on domestic architecture and craft work. Admired by Jeanneret who applied for a job in his office, spring 1911, while his brother was working at the Dalcroze Institute in Hellerau.
- Tzara Tristan Poet b. Rumania. Major initiator with Hugo Ball of the 'DaDa' movement. First in Zurich 1916 then in 1918 Paris. Editor of the periodical entitled DaDa.
- Vie P. Paris building contractor for Ozenfant House.
- Vildrac Charles Partner in Gallery Vildrac, 16 rue de Seine, with Leon Marseille. Poet, member of "L'Abbaye a Creteil" community with Gleizes, Martin-Barzun ..... Friend of Roger Fry. Family became friends of Jeanneret in Paris. Jeanneret designed grandmother's grave and helped them with accommodation in Paris.
- Voisin Gabriel b.1880 Belleville. Apprenticed to an engineer and architects. Studied Ecole des Beaux Arts, Lyon and Paris. With brother, developed aeroplane. Successful plane manufacturer with brother Eugene during the first world war, 10,000 bi-planes were produced. Started to manufacture cars after the war. Won several important touring races, not always because of being the fastest but for lasting the course. Good aerodynamics and a sleeve valve engine were the principal technical contributions. Car designed by Artand and Dufrene. Produced prefabricated houses for a short period after the first world war, illustrated in Vers une Architecture. Friends with painters, sculptors and musicians in Paris. Wife Lola Voisin, lived in house adjoining the site of Lipchitz/Mestchaninoff houses at 6, Allee des Pins, Boulogne. Helped finance Jeanneret's L'Esprit Nouveau Pavillon.
- Walden Raff Lotti Swedish ballet dancer. Married Albert Jeanneret in 1923. Two daughters by first marriage. Divorced.
- Westheim Paul Editor Wasmuth Publications, Berlin. Contact with L'Esprit Nouveau. Responsible for producing several books on the modern movement architecture.
- Winter Frances Dr. Contributor to L'Esprit Nouveau. Follower of Nietzsche. Strong interest in sport and health. Recommended Citrohan houses. Partnership with Dr. Brille, Albert Jeanneret and Jeanneret in the founding of a school of eurhythmics. Setting up a company in 1923 to build a new school under the Salle Pleyel which was never realised. Friend of Andre Citrohan.
- Woog Madelaine Student of the Cours Supérieur. Painter, studied in Paris. Married to Georges Humbert. Friend of Jeanneret.
- Zisset Phillippe Student of the Cours Supérieur. Painter, decorator. Interiors, murals. Friend of Jeanneret.

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- bb. Letter from Albert Jeanneret to J. Lowman 9.2.72.



APPENDIX 2. PUBLICATIONS and EXHIBITIONS

- a. List of early Ch-E. Jeanneret published writings unpublished reports and exhibitions.
- b. Etude sur Le Mouvement d'Art Décoratif en Allemagne. 1912 La Chaux-de-Fonds, pp. 4 -15 BLCF
- c. Un Mouvement d'Art à La Chaux-Fonds, 1914, La Chaux-de-Fonds. Front page, contents, Chap 1 and 10. BLCF
- d. 'Le Renouveau dans L'Architecture', L'Oeuvre, No. 2, 1914, Geneva. BLCF
- e. Letters from Jeanneret published in Feuilles d'Avis, June 1913.
- f. Aprés Le Cubisme Ozenfant and Jeanneret, 1918, Paris. Frontispiece, contents, pp 26 -34  
Bulletin Thomas, Catalogue for Ozenfant and Jeanneret's painting exhibition, November 1918. Issued together with Aprés Le Cubisme. FLC
- g. L'Esprit Nouveau, covers for No. 1, No. 12/13, No 16, No. 17, No. 18, No. 27, Covers.
- h. Invitation to an exhibition of paintings by Ozenfant and Jeanneret 28th March 1923. FLC
- i. Vers une Architecture, 1923, Paris. 1st Ed  
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- b. 'L'Heure de L'Architecture', L'Esprit Nouveau, No. 28, January 1925, pg. 2387-2388. RIBA.
- c. 'Traité secret', 25 February 1920. Between Dermée, Ozenfant and Jeanneret. FLC.
- d. Contract for the directorship of L'Esprit Nouveau between Dermée, Ozenfant and Jeanneret. FLC.
- e. L'Esprit Nouveau publicity handouts. FLC.
- f. Minutes of a L'E.N. directors meeting, 30.6.1921. FLC.
- g. Advertisers in L'E.N. RIBA.
- h. Catalogue for the first 12 editions of L'Esprit Nouveau. RIBA.
- i. 1 Copy of an article from L'Intransigeant, on Perret's scheme for a city of towers. FLC  
2 *Petite contribution à l'étude d'une fenêtre moderne* Almanach d'Architecture 1925. RIBA.
- j. Articles in L'E.N. Nos. 14 and 25, concerning Louis Vauxcelles art critic. RIBA.
- k. Article in L'E.N. No. 27, December 1924. "L'Esprit Nouveau apporte son appui au "bauhaus" de weimar". RIBA.
- l. Plan for 'Exposition des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes'. VA. EXHIBITION CATALOGUE
- m. Position of No 114. the L'E.N. pavilion.
- n. Dermée's production called L'Esprit Nouveau 1, some time 1926. BLCF.
- o. Un Exercice de L'Esprit Nouveau. FLC
- p. Pamphlet for Art et Liberté dated 18.1.1919. FLC

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- c. Letter sent by Jeanneret to his clients on his move to Paris, 26.9.1917. FLC.
- d. Drawing title, 5.9.1920. FLC.
- e. Article by B. Levy on 'A French Garden Hamlet'. FLC.
- f. Article by Marcel Hiver 'Etre Moderne a propos d'un plan de cité moderne par l'Architecte Le Corbusier - Saignier'. FLC.
- g. Ozenfant house-site plan, estimate and contract. FLC.
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  3. Advert from Almanach d'Architecture 1925
- i. Canale house project on the Boulogne site. Estimate, site sketch scheme A. and B. FLC.
- j. Sketch site plan for the La Roche and Jeanneret houses showing the proposed third house site, 1923. FLC.  
  
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- k. Villa Madrid site for one of Mme. Meyer's house projects. (1925?). FLC.
- l. Sketch notes of a house for M. Boynard, 16.1.1925. FLC.
- m. Sketch notes of a house for M. Charles Polignac, 12.12.1925. FLC.
- n. Project information and sketch design for 'Ecole de Rythmique', 1920-28.
- o. Notes and sketch design for a French expedition hut for a proposed journey to the North Pole, 5.3.1926.

APPENDIX 5. BUSINESS

- a. Le Béton Armé, by E. Mörsch.  
Frontispiece and preface, 1909. RIBA.
- b. Etude sur le Mouvement d'Art Décoratif en Allemagne,  
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Section 'L'Art au service de la spéculation, Les  
Cités-Jardins'. BLCF.
- c. Domino sketches by Max Du Bois, 1914/15. MD.
- d. Patent document notes. MD. 30.9 1915  
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- e. Architectural practice.  
Partnership agreement between Jeanneret, Du Bois and  
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- f. Blockworks at Alfortville.
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- g. 1. Concrete and Constructional Engineering, London XII,  
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'Cottage building after the war'. RIBA.
2. Result of a concrete cottage competition.
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- h. Notes on 'Economie Domestique' by Jeanneret. FLC.  
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- i. Adverts in L'E.N. for Jeanneret based business  
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- j. Peugeot housing project letters and specification notes  
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- k. Advert for 'Cours Rythmique', La Chaux de Fonds  
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- m. Advert from Annuaire d'Architecture 1925  
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- a. 'General Principles .....
- The Grammar of Ornament  
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- b. Map of Europe  
World Atlas Bartholomew  
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- c. Sketch map by Jeanneret  
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