Introduction

Irene Cheng, Charles L. Davis II, and Mabel O. Wilson

Architectural historians have traditionally avoided the topic of race.[1] When they do acknowledge the subject, they often quickly dismiss its significance, or cast it outside the proper boundaries of the discipline. Hanno-Walter Kruft's treatment of Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc's reliance on the racial theories of Arthur de Gobineau is typical. Such views, Kruft writes, "are not calculated to arouse our admiration today; however, they are only later accretions to his work."[2] Other scholars have danced around the topic of race by tackling architecture's engagement with related but more neutral historical formations, such as nationalism, ethnography, and evolution, while somehow downplaying the entanglement of each of these with racial theories.[3] These silences and avoidances stand in contrast to the approach taken in fields like history, law, anthropology, geography, political science, cultural studies, and literature, which have given birth to important inter-disciplines like colonial studies, postcolonial theory, critical race studies, and whiteness studies. Scholars in these fields have revealed the modern Western episteme to be deeply racialized—a product of Europe's deployment of ethnographic, aesthetic, scientific, and philosophical concepts of human difference to universalize its ideologies and practices while ignoring and destroying other ways of knowing

and being.[4] Modern architecture entailed spatial practices like classifying, mapping, planning, and building that were integral to the erection of this racialized epistemology, and to the development of European colonialism and capitalism. Yet architectural history has produced only a limited body of knowledge about the influence of racial thought on the discipline of architecture.

In response to this reticence, *Race and Modern Architecture: A Critical History from the Enlightenment to the Present* investigates how modern architectural discourse and practice from the Enlightenment to the present have been influenced by race—a concept of human difference that established hierarchies of power and domination between Europe and Europe's "others," by classifying human subjects into modern/non-modern, civilized/primitive, white/nonwhite, and human/less than human binaries. It must be acknowledged from the outset that the primary focus of the book is on European and American architecture and theory. While the chapters in the book gesture toward the global range and diversity of racial discourses, encompassing locales from Mexico to Nigeria, our focus is on the constructions of race created by the movement of ideas, people, goods, and capital between Europe/North America and the non-Western territories pulled into this orbit by the transatlantic slave trade, colonialism, imperialism, and capitalist globalization. These historical forces contributed to creating European-American hegemony in the political, economic, and cultural spheres, and to producing a canon of architectural history that was largely white, male, and geographically limited yet imagined to be universal. *Race and Modern Architecture* therefore complements, but is distinct from, the equally important work of scholars who write about the creative work of subaltern, non-Western designers and people of color. This book contends that to understand the imbrication of race in modern architectural history, we must not only incorporate previously excluded building practices, but we must also look to the heart of the canon, deconstructing that which appears universal, modern, and transparent. In other words, race can be read as much within the canon as outside of it.

Race and Modern Architecture, which grows out of a four-year interdisciplinary research project, represents both an attempt to collect current scholarship and a call for further research to write race back into architectural history. Collectively, the authors explore how racial thinking has influenced some of the key concepts of modern architecture and culture—including freedom, revolution, character, national and indigenous styles, progress, hybridity, climate, and representation. They do this by offering close readings of a series of historical cases that exemplify how modern architecture has been intimately shaped by the histories of slavery, colonialism, and racial inequality—from eighteenth-century neoclassical governmental buildings that purported to embody freedom, to very recent housing projects for immigrants that address the rights of noncitizens. Several of the chapters

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explore how race, in its varied formations and formulations, influenced architectural theoretical tropes once conceived of as "race-neutral," such as the nineteenth-century discourse of style, or the idea of the "modern" itself. Other chapters examine the range and racial identities of the subjects interpellated by modern architecture, including its occupants, the communities it claims to represent, and the laborers who built it. Altogether, *Race and Modern Architecture* presents a critical, concerted effort to revise one of the core narratives of modern architecture—its association with universal emancipation and progress—by uncovering modernism's long entanglement with racial thought.

Race, Modernity, Modernism

Recent revisionist histories have shown modernity to be a product of the intertwined forces of capitalism, slavery, and empire.[5] European colonial expansion and the subsequent development of racial slavery, mercantilism, and industrial capitalism depended indispensably on the creation of ideologies of human difference and inequality. Walter Mignolo has described "coloniality" as the "reverse and unavoidable side of 'modernity'—its darker side, like the part of the moon we do not see when we observe it from earth."[6] Thus, to understand architecture's role within global modernity requires not just incorporating objects, buildings, and designers from an expanded geographical range (as in some versions of "global architectural history") but also grappling with the constitutive importance of race. It requires uncovering how colonial violence and slavery were inextricably entangled with cultural narratives and forms embodying reason and progress.

Although the rapprochement of race and architectural theory can be traced to at least the sixteenth century (for example in the Law of the Indies), *Race and Modern Architecture* takes the eighteenth century as a constitutive moment when European Americans began to develop systematic and self-conscious theories of race and modern architecture. As colonial expansion intensified European contacts with a wide array of peoples and cultures in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, disciplines such as philology, anthropology, archaeology, and art history emerged to order and make sense of the growing diversity of languages, peoples, and artifacts that populated the European imagination. These disciplines produced rationalized hierarchical classifications of racial difference that in turn bolstered and justified European and American conquest and rule over peoples and cultures labeled as primitive or autochthonous. Architectural thought was implicated in and shaped by this imperial and scientific-intellectual milieu, both directly and indirectly. Architectural writers in this period developed some of the first polygenetic theories of architecture, which contradicted the image of neoclassicism as an eternal, universal idiom. The limitations and paradoxes in neoclassicism's capacity to embody human reason and freedom vis-à-vis race can be seen in its deployment

in the eighteenth-century capitols of the United States, a society dependent on chattel slavery. Over the course of the nineteenth century, architectural thought shifted from an Enlightenment-era approach to human and architectural variety that emphasized differences across geographical space—ordered through typological classification—to a historicist framework that stressed development in time—figured in hierarchical linear chronologies that placed nonwhite contemporary human groups at an earlier, lower stage of cultural development, while representing white European and American populations and their cultural outputs as the most advanced edge of civilizational progress. The definition of what was "modern" architecture entailed constructing other building traditions as "non-modern," "vernacular," or "primitive," depending on context and proximity. Racial thought persisted in twentieth-century architectural modernism in concepts such as evolution, progress, climatic determination, and regionalism, even as these became separated from their origins in racial discourse and subsumed in the broader ideology of internationalism and color-blindness embodied by modernism's white walls. "Modernism"—a philosophical, technical, stylistic, and aesthetic movement promoted through educational and professional institutions—became an effective agent of modernization: policies and programs aimed at the improvement of places and people. While modern architects envisioned society's members inhabiting orderly standardized social housing, schools, railroad stations, government buildings, factories, and private homes in the "first world," those on the dark side of modernity, rationalized as racial inferiors, continued to dwell in substandard spaces formed from the expropriation of labor, land, and resources. Racial inequalities have continued to plague modern architecture up to the present day, for example in urban renewal discourses that deem certain parts of the city as "blighted"—discourses which are paralleled in art historical designations of certain works as "junk art."

Calling out race as a distinct concept within the development of architectural thought helps prevent the bare violence and inequity of modern architecture's historical formation from being sublimated and erased. *Race and Modern Architecture* argues that processes of racialization shaped the very definition of what it means to be modern. Architectural historians must contend with these racialized histories, as well as how the disciplines of art and architectural history themselves emerged from racial-nationalist logics.

Writing Race, Writing History

Within the discipline of architecture, race and style operated as empirical proofs of the universal principles of order that seemingly regulated cultural history. The influence of race thinking on architectural history can be seen in the epistemic logic of foundational texts in architectural education: architectural history surveys.

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Concepts of race have figured prominently in the writing of architectural history, from late-eighteenth-century developmental narratives of human physiognomy to nineteenth-century historical narratives of the evolution of architectural styles. In eighteenth-century surveys, scholars adopted the comparative method, examining the essential traits of ancient and modern buildings around the European continent in relation to buildings in other regions of the world. Early comparative methods drew from theories of climate and geography developed by Johann Joachim Winckelmann in the *History of Ancient Art* (1764). The German art historian argued that the ancient arts and architecture of Greece flourished, achieving the pinnacle of aesthetic perfection, precisely because the country's temperate climate and geographical location produced the most beautiful bodies and character.[7] He laid out a developmental trajectory of the arts (and architecture) that stemmed from basic needs, developed through aesthetic refinement, and eventually decayed due to political decline.[8] Though Winckelmann did not suggest that the Greeks were racially superior (he saw them as a nation not a race), physiognomists like Johann Casper Lavater and Pieter Camper would eventually draw upon his work to forge a link between racial physiognomy, aesthetic beauty, and moral advancement. Their rationales elevated the physique of European Man and his cultural productions as the universal ideal, which provided an aesthetic criterion for treating race and style as visual proxies of one another in architectural discourse.[9]

The developmental and universalist framework of the comparative method continued to hold sway among scholars writing architecture history surveys in the nineteenth century. In *A History of Architecture* (1849), for example, British-born E. A. Freeman traced the "successive development" of architecture in order to make the Gothic style of "Teutonic Christendom" comparable to Greek classicism.[10] Freeman's architectural history was part of a larger historiographic, linguistic, and political project to invent a superior Anglo-Saxon and Aryan racial tradition supporting British nationalism.[11] Indebted to Freeman, Banister Fletcher, in his comprehensive global survey *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (1896), cited geography, geology, climate, religion, history, and sociopolitical factors in the development of architecture around the world.[12] To visualize the evolution of architectural styles, Fletcher conceived his "Tree of Architecture" diagram (figure I.1). On the upper boughs Fletcher placed the national architectures and historical styles of Europe, representing these as the highest outgrowth of a linear trunk leading from the Greek to the Roman and Romanesque, while the lower boughs of Chinese, Indian, Saracenic, and other styles of architecture are shown terminating without further development.[13] Even in cases where theories of stylistic difference were not explicitly based on the racialist frameworks of modern ethnography, race and style became isomorphic terms for explaining cul-
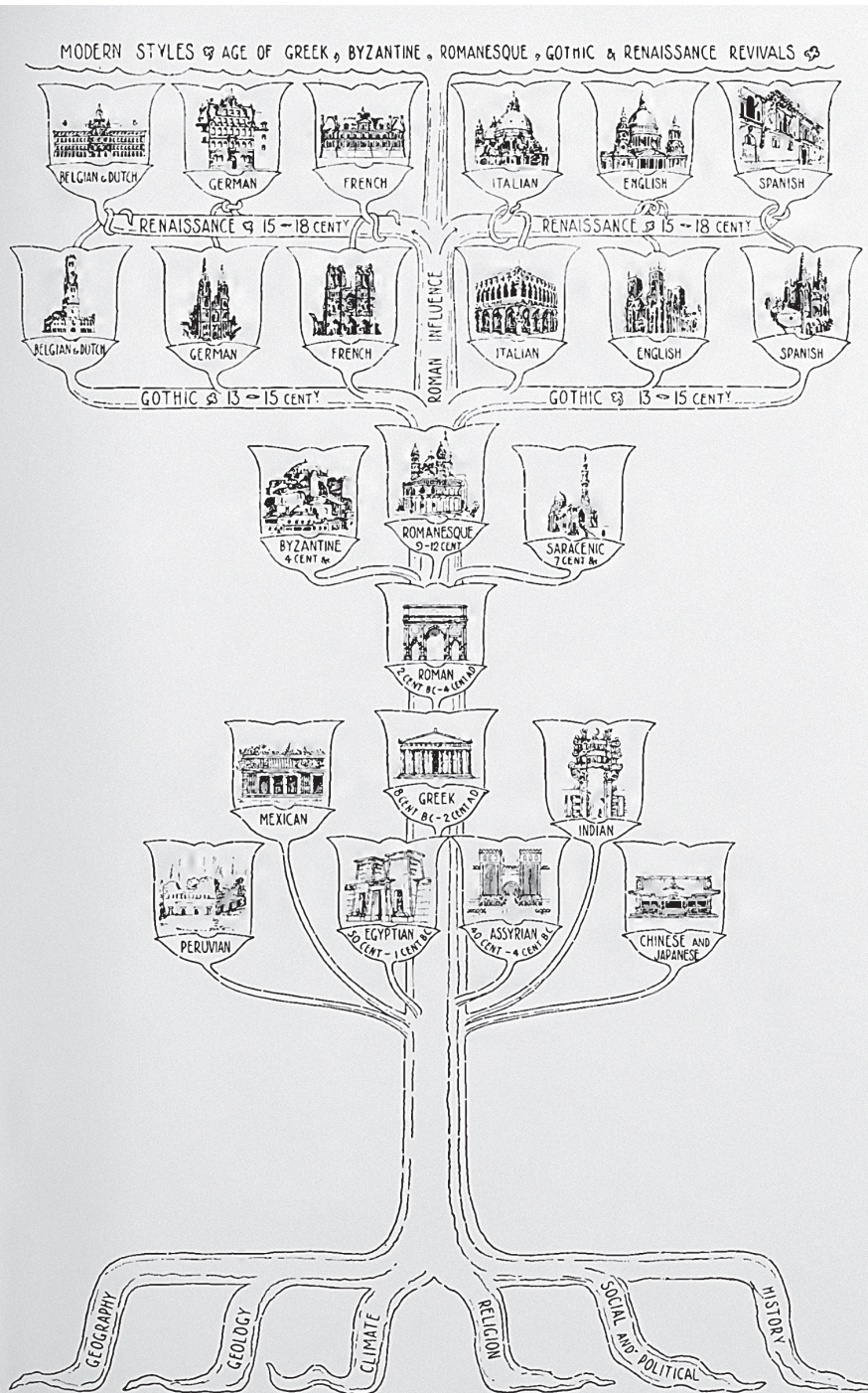
Fig. I.1 "Tree of Architecture" diagram from Banister Fletcher's *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, 1905 edition.

tural differences that legitimized the broader scientific aspirations of the discipline and the politics of empire.

These racialized comparative methods continued to inform the writing of architectural surveys well into the twentieth century. In outlining the importance of character as a determinant in the emerging style of American colonial architecture, historian William H. Pierson Jr., in the first volume of his survey *American Buildings and their Architects* (1970), turned to the formal traits of race types as an analogy for interpreting architectural style:

> Each man, in spite of his uniqueness, is endowed with certain physical traits which relate him at once to a number of other human beings. Different races of man, for example, can be distinguished by the color of the skin. We recognize this as a major racial classification. By observing and relating other identifying features, however, such as the color of the hair and eyes, the shape, size and proportion of the body, and the manner of speech and movement, subgroups can be determined; and through this method, for one purpose or another, mankind can be divided into an infinite variety of types, or "styles."[14]

For Pierson observation of the characteristics of architectural styles directly correlated to analysis of the phenotypical characteristics of racial types. Thus, even by the 1970s, the methodology of some architectural historians still paralleled the work of nineteenth-century racial scientists. An echo of this thinking is still latent in the contemporary essentializing of vernacular building types as signs of static primitive identity or the notion that Western architecture can only advance by producing a formal idiom that summarizes the advances of contemporary technology. Both of these myths continue to haunt architectural education through the publication of surveys that have not properly excised racialist models of interpreting the past.

Archives and Methods

Race and Modern Architecture begins the work of exhuming the racial logics embedded in our most canonical histories, uncovering missing histories, and writing race back into our understanding of modern architecture. This task requires asking a number of questions about methodology: What extra- and intra-disciplinary strategies should be mobilized for writing the racial history of modernism? What new tools of analysis must be created? How might historians question the neutrality of their critical tools of investigation—including long held assumptions about archives, evidence, and hermeneutical methods?

One of the challenges to uncovering the operations of race within architecture is the mutability of the concept of racial difference over time. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, architectural thinkers associated race not only with phe-

notypical traits such as skin color, but also with cultural attributes such as language and food, elements of material culture, and even the structural systems of vernacular architectures, not to mention environmental determinants like climate. Attention to the historical transformations of these associations is required for a historian to detect the lingering racial subtext of contemporary discourses such as climatic architecture, to cite just one example. While earlier writers tended to be more transparent and explicit in their discussions of race, the rising taboo surrounding the use of racist language after World War II, seen as an advancement of racial equality, has paradoxically led to the masking of racial thinking in postwar and contemporary architecture. The contemporary rhetoric of color-blindness and universal condemnation of racism have also perhaps prevented scholars from acknowledging the centrality of race in the work of historic architects—out of a misguided fear that calling attention to an architect's racial beliefs will distort appreciation of his or her oeuvre.

To write a critical history of race in modern architecture therefore requires several transformations in architectural historical methodology as well as institutional practice. First, and most obviously, historians must expand the range of figures and objects we study to include the work of nonwhite subjects—including peoples previously deemed "outside history," whose records were seen as not worthy of preservation. This requires consulting a wider range of archives and being inventive about what can constitute historical evidence. We must go beyond architects' archives or buildings (the fodder of classic monographic studies). But as we suggest above, the task is not merely to enlarge the canon, but also to question and make visible how race affects the institutional processes of historical collection, valorization, and narrativization.

We can cite several important models of how the expansion of the historical archive has led to the writing of new architectural histories attentive to race. Beginning in the 1980s, historians of "folk" and "vernacular" architecture did much to recover the material records of minority subjects, including the enslaved builders and inhabitants of southern American plantations. Scholars such as Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach applied techniques of architectural historical documentation and analysis to buildings previously regarded as not meriting scholarly attention, such as slave quarters, overseers' dwellings, and smokehouses.[15] Beyond exploring new objects of study, these researchers confronted a methodological challenge in reconstructing historical narratives out of both extant written evidence and meticulous analysis of absences and silences in the historical record. Archaeological records and oral histories supplemented the kinds of drawings and documents more commonly utilized by modern architectural historians. These approaches challenge the supremacy of material archives that prioritize architects' records and intentions, seeking instead to construct a comprehensive account of

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how the built environment is coauthored by a diverse range of constituents, including nonwhite and female builders and inhabitants. Another important body of work that has revealed the racial construction of modernity comprises studies of European and American colonial architecture and planning, as well as international, colonial, and national exhibitions. For example, Zeynep Çelik, Mark Crinson, Patricia Morton, and others have uncovered how ideas about race, modernity, and progress were mutually constructed through social, political, spatial, and architectural means in colonial buildings and at world's fairs from the 1850s through the late twentieth century.[16] This scholarship is part of a growing body of critical studies of colonial and postcolonial architecture.[17] Together, the work on world exhibitions and colonial architecture has pushed sites that had previously seemed marginal to the center, and asked how periphery and core were coproduced—how the ethnographic village was crucial to the Eiffel Tower, how Casablanca enabled postwar Paris.

Second, beyond expanding the canon and the archive, architectural historians must develop, or adapt from other disciplines, critical hermeneutical methods for uncovering the role of racial thought in familiar objects and narratives, including those in which race does not appear at first glance to be operative. This entails looking both microscopically and macroscopically, employing new methods of close reading and visual analysis, as well as expanding the kind of contextual histories we read and imagine to be relevant to architectural study. Martin A. Berger has written about the necessity of combining close analysis of the visible evidence in artworks with an explication of the tacit, "unseen" discourses and structures that guide and delimit the meanings of the work. In his book *Sight Unseen: Whiteness and American Visual Culture*, he reveals racialized perspectives in artworks and buildings that ostensibly have nothing to do with race.[18] Race is there, even when we think it is not. And sometimes it was there all along, but we did not know how to "see" it. Some scholars have compared the process to an exhumation: Simon Gikandi, in his study of the relationship between slavery and the eighteenth-century English cultures of taste, describes his method as "reading what lies buried in the crypt, what survives in the 'secret tomb' of modern subjectivity."[19] Others, like the literary scholar Anne Anlin Cheng, have argued for surface reading that eschews the hermeneutics of suspicion. In her study of racial themes in Adolf Loos's work, she writes, "Sometimes it is not a question of what the visible hides but how it is that we have failed to see certain things on the surface."[20]

A number of examples can be cited that start to recover the repressed racial formations of modern architecture: In contrast to Kruft's earlier-cited dismissal of racial themes in Viollet-le-Duc's work, recent studies have shown that race was much more central to the French architect's seminal ideas about style than previously thought.[21] Dianne Harris, a contributor to this book, provides another model

of how historians might relate architecture to larger contexts of cultural values and beliefs. In her book *Little White Houses*, she utilizes analytical methods from the fields of whiteness studies, cultural studies, and visual studies to show how 1950s advertisements and magazine layouts depicting postwar American suburban homes projected a cultural ideal of white identity associated with cleanliness, order, property, and the nuclear family.[22] Lastly, theorists like Darell Fields have incorporated methods drawn from literary deconstruction and critical race studies to uncover the racial logics behind Hegelian universal history and postmodern aesthetics, as well as a racial model of dialectics fundamental to architectural discourse.[23] This diverse scholarship has employed a range of new and borrowed analytical methods to uncover the racial subtexts embedded in modern architectural discourse. These approaches call into question the neutrality of the historian's task and critical tools of investigation, as well as the hierarchies that those tools help to maintain.

Critical Approaches to Race

Race and Modern Architecture includes contributions that model diverse strategies for integrating the study of race into architectural history. The field of race studies encompasses a wide range of academic disciplines and expertise that can be grouped into three overlapping rubrics since the postwar period: American studies, colonial/postcolonial studies, and global approaches. The first rubric originated with scholars focusing on race in North America and the Atlantic world, who produced an in-depth critique of the Western canons that privileged white, Euro-American narratives for North American and transatlantic history. This challenge has prompted a reconsideration of the hegemonic role of canonicity in several fields of study. In philosophy, the fields of African American philosophy and black existentialism displaced the Enlightenment myth of a universal subjectivity by examining the social realities and traumas specific to marginalized nonwhite subjects.[24] Literary critics such as Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Houston A. Baker Jr. have demonstrated the rich contributions of African American literature to the American canon by tracing black writers' syncretic transformations of transatlantic religious, poetic, and musical traditions in the United States.[25] Toni Morrison's groundbreaking *Playing in the Dark* showed how canonical novelists evoked a metaphorical blackness to complicate representations of whiteness and white identity in seminal works of American literature.[26] And in legal studies, Derrick Bell, Patricia Williams, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Kendall Thomas, and Mari Matsuda's interrogation of the legal basis of white supremacy in the United States fostered the creation of critical race theory.[27] While this body of work was heavily influenced by a desire to combat antiblack racism in the United States, it has provided a robust model of analysis for identifying and critiquing the function of whiteness

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in realms beyond the law. Originating in the field of sociology, Michael Omi and Howard Winant's theory of racial formation has also been beneficial in identifying the structural role of race in shaping U.S. political and social institutions.[28] Several contributors to this volume draw on the rich tradition of American critical race studies, for example by exposing the structural role of whiteness in shaping modern architectural debates, or pointing to architecture's role in perpetuating structural violence and inequality in society.

A second wave of scholars studying race focused on the cultural politics of European colonialism and the long-term effects of these ideologies on postcolonial societies. Edward Said's postwar critique of Orientalism was influential in exposing the Western world's simultaneous fetishizing and stigmatizing of Middle Eastern cultures—practices that perpetually designated these cultures as exotic and other, but still necessary in defining European modernity, particularly metropolitan culture.[29] Said's research inspired figures such as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Homi Bhabha to consider the independence and agency of subaltern voices in the social construction of colonial spaces, even when these sites seem to be fully defined by the oppressive politics of European colonizers.[30] Several chapters of this volume demonstrate the manner in which the racial discourses in western Europe and the United States continued to flourish in colonial territories of the nineteenth century and in neocolonial relations of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. More recently, the analysis of social inequalities and genocidal practices of European colonies when linked to the institutional patterns of North American imperialism has inspired a rich body of scholarship on the imperialist discourses that enabled U.S. expansion beyond the North American continent, the rise of American protectorates in the Pacific, and the increased role of American military power and cultural influence abroad during the interwar and Cold War periods.[31]

A third wave of scholars shifted their focus to the influence of racial discourses on global networks of power that extend beyond the geographical limits of preexisting national and international boundaries. Several major themes of the most contemporary writings on this subject have influenced the contributions to this volume. In their critical project to decolonize the Western episteme, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Walter D. Mignolo, Aníbal Quijano, and Sylvia Wynter have vigorously challenged Enlightenment representations of history and humanism as primary agents of racialization in service of capitalist expansion in the colonial context. Denise Ferreira da Silva's writings moved beyond a critique of the exclusionary logic of Enlightenment ideas on race and representation by proposing that racial discourses are more constitutive of the material logic of Euro-American modernity than current studies suggest.[32] Her analysis of the mutual structural positions of racial minorities around the globe suggests that there is an ontological and

operative logic to modern cultural differences that still remains latent in aesthetic critiques of modern architecture. Jodi Melamed's writings on race and globalism critique the apparent flaws of the liberal doctrine of American antiracism that has become a pervasive institutional force in multinational institutions and liberal democracies around the world.[33] Her study of the mutual effects of racial politics at home and abroad introduces new comparative modes of analyzing the global politics of modern architectural debates. Linda Martín Alcoff and Sara Ahmed's studies of the ontology of racial identities suggest that race has phenomenological effects on how bodies inhabit space, which can be measured in the social experiences of particular groups.[34] This phenomenological orientation toward race holds potential for influencing future studies of race and place that extend beyond the visual aspects of architecture. Fred Moten, Saidiya Hartman, Hortense Spillers, and others have considered the psychic and material spaces of black life in the wake of the transatlantic slave trade's brutal colonialism and racism.[35] Their robust critiques have asked for what Spillers has called a new "American grammar" to account for how white supremacy dehumanized the racialized (and gendered) subject, thus providing a lexicon for historians in this volume to unpack urban terms like "the ghetto" and "blight." This body of work helps us see historical linkages across global urban geographies formed in the wake of colonialism and imperialism.

Modern Architecture's Imbrications with Racial Subjects

Race and Modern Architecture's chapters are organized into thematic and chronological sections, each addressing the relation of race to a key concept in architectural history and theory: Enlightenment, organicism, nationalism, representation, colonialism, and urbanism.

The first section, "Race and the Enlightenment," explores the integral relationship of race and slavery to the formation of the eighteenth-century European and American ideals of reason, freedom, and citizenship, and how this relationship was manifested in architecture. Two capitols built in the early United States, a slave society self-consciously and contradictorily dedicated to promoting the principle of liberty, offer exemplary cases to understand this dialectical relationship of liberty and slavery. Mabel O. Wilson illuminates Thomas Jefferson's design of the Virginia Statehouse, a neoclassical temple to democracy constructed in part by enslaved black workers, in parallel with his contemporaneously written text *Notes on the State of Virginia*, in which he asserted the inherent inferiority of black peoples. Peter Minosh focuses on the U.S. Capitol building, designed just a few years after Jefferson's statehouse by William Thornton, a slaveholding abolitionist enmeshed in the networks of the Atlantic world. Both Jefferson and Thornton used neoclassical architecture to obfuscate the violence of slavery behind an architectural

facade of reason and democracy. Each essays shows how slavery was not an extrinsic blemish on the ideals of American democracy and republican citizenship but rather integral to their founding premises. Reinhold Martin also takes up Jefferson as a paradigmatic figure, focusing on a series of spatio-technical devices—dumbwaiters, copying machines, and libraries—that were instrumental to producing a model enlightened citizen, a model predicated on the literal silencing and exclusion of black slaves. Martin describes the afterlife of this racialized Enlightenment ideal in early twentieth-century debates about architecture and "civilization" carried out by Lewis Mumford and W. E. B. Du Bois. If freedom and slavery were inextricably intertwined in the American context, then so too in England and Europe, Enlightenment knowledge and empire were inseparable. Addison Godel's chapter traces evolving European attitudes towards the Chinese garden to elucidate the intensification of racial thinking, paralleling the growth of imperialism, over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The garden's course from object of curious fascination to target of armed destruction illustrates the rise of racialism as an ideology justifying European empire.

The second section of the book, "Race and Organicism," focuses on the role of race in constructing some of the leading concepts of nineteenth-century architecture, including progress, style, and organicism or naturalism—the idea that architecture should derive legitimacy and authority from its mirroring of natural laws. The chapters by Charles L. Davis II, Joanna Merwood-Salisbury, and Irene Cheng all testify to the pervasive and profound influence of racial thought in Europe and America by the mid-nineteenth century. Writing about the American context, Davis and Merwood-Salisbury present revealing revisionist readings of familiar figures and movements: Davis positions the architecture of Henry Van Brunt in relation to the mythology of manifest destiny, which idealized white settler culture as the source for the evolution of American culture. Van Brunt's architecture, like the midwestern cities in which his buildings were located, were imagined to mediate between the primitive and the advanced, between nature and technology, and thus relied on techniques of racial conquest, erasure, and romanticization. Merwood-Salisbury elucidates how the Gothic Revival, as epitomized in Peter Wight's National Academy of Design, relied on ideas about "free labor" that were inextricable from contemporaneous debates about white workers and slavery. As Merwood-Salisbury's previous research has shown, Van Brunt, Wight, and many other American architects in this period were significantly influenced by European architectural theory that linked the possibility of a new modern architectural style to racial evolution—specifically the emergence (or resurgence) of a Germanic or Anglo-Saxon race. The development of these European ideas about race, style, history, and modernity are traced in Irene Cheng's chapter, which shows how racial thought became assimilated by some of the most influential nineteenth-

century architectural thinkers and historians, including James Fergusson, Owen Jones, and Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc. Their ideas about race and stylistic evolution would eventually be absorbed by modernism, though shorn of its racial underpinnings.

Section three, "Race and Nationalism," investigates parallel discourses of race, nation, and architecture in three national and transnational early twentieth-century contexts: postrevolutionary Mexico, fascist Italy, and imperial Germany. Luis E. Carranza's chapter examines the deployment of hybridization as a theme in the nationalist rhetoric and architectural traditions of postrevolutionary Mexican governments from the 1910s to the 1930s. In this dynamic political context, "race" no longer operated as a fixed biological category but became a meta-category for drawing individuals together under a common ethnic-national tradition. Carranza identifies two competing notions of the body politic that influenced architecture: Federico Mariscal, Jesus Acevedo, and José Vasconcelos's postcolonial theories of a Mestizo identity that hybridized pre-Columbian and Spanish colonial architectures, and Manuel Amábilis's conception of a precolonial Mexican race as pure and indigenous, and thus unregulated by any contact with European aesthetic standards. Both approaches attempted to transform race into a unifying political ethos, or what Étienne Balibar has called "fictional ethnicity." Brian L. McLaren's chapter examines the critical relationships between political ideologies of racial purity in Fascist Italy and Mario De Renzi and Gino Pollini's design of the Piazza e gli edifici delle Forze Armate for the Esposizione Universale di Roma. McLaren demonstrates the ways that social fears of Jewish racial characteristics motivated the restrictive material and aesthetic shaping of university buildings and spaces—a shaping that mirrors the ideologies of racial refinement expressed in the scientific paradigm of eugenics. In a related analysis of race and nation, Kenny Cupers questions the racial politics behind imperial Germans' deployment of the concept of "indigenous architecture," which they believed transparently reflected the racial and ethnic traits of specific populations. Cupers's chapter outlines how architectural images of premodern German life were purposefully manufactured to legitimize a politicized notion of *Heimat* or homeland culture that was deployed in European and colonial settings alike. The regressive politics of this historical style should provide a necessary corrective for the modern architect's naive faith in the authenticity of vernacular styles of building.

The fourth section, "Race and Representation," gathers two case studies, both exploring how print and photography constructed the racial discourses of architecture in the early to mid-twentieth century. Adrienne Brown attends to the visual construction of modern architecture by focusing on the historical erasures that were necessary to elevate the primacy of the designer's intentions in modernist discourses. Examining the language that William Starrett uses in *Skyscrapers*

and the Men Who Build Them to aggrandize his own role in the erection of modern skyscrapers, Brown traces the rhetorical alignment of the skills of the licensed architect with those of the building contractor. The conceptual alignment of these administrative forces renders the physical labor of the workmen, many of whom were racialized in the popular press, as a material exponent of more invisible technological forces and design ideas. Dianne Harris invites her readers to discover the latent institutional structures that connect two seemingly disparate photographic portraits of postwar life—that of black Americans in the disfigured body of Emmett Till and that of white Americans in mundane images of modern suburban homes. Harris peers beneath the seemingly distinct geographies of each image to reveal the segregationist politics that subtend these contexts: for it was the violent abuse of the black body that made exclusively white spaces socially possible and economically profitable. By tracing the dissemination of research photos of model housing completed by the U.S. Gypsum company into advertisements for local housing associations and lifestyle magazines, she recovers the visual construction of whiteness that was an important institutional element of white suburban life.

The chapters in the fifth section, "Race and Colonialism," offer comparative perspectives on the racialization of architecture in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century colonial contexts of Africa and Southeast Asia. The essays by Jiat-Hwee Chang and Mark Crinson explore how the racialized discourses of modern architecture emerged from British imperial urban planning and design practices for managing colonial populations. Through a study of the key texts of tropical architecture produced by British architects and the pedagogy of the Architectural Association's influential Department of Tropical Studies, Chang traces the connections between tropical architecture in the mid-twentieth century and earlier ideas about race, climate, health, and civilization. Chang explores the subsequent appropriation of British tropical architecture discourses in 1960s Malaysia and Singapore, illuminating how the underlying racial thinking was translated by "indigenous" architects in these new multiethnic, postcolonial nations. Frantz Fanon's idea of colonialism as a "compartmentalized world" provides a starting point for Mark Crinson's examination of the separations but also the entanglements of the building world in Kenya at a time of colonial crisis in the mid-twentieth century. Crinson charts the influence of "ethnopsychiatry" on "villagization," policies that drew upon ideas of the pastoral and vernacular in East Africa. His account forcefully argues that through discourses on race, population control was connected to many other facets of the production of space in colonialism: from the "high" architecture of the state to ideal planning schemes to modernist housing in Kenya. Adedoyin Teriba's probing chapter explores the complex overlay of racial and architectural identities at the turn of the twentieth century

in Lagos, Nigeria—a city with a diverse population that included migrants of African descent from Brazil, the Caribbean, Sierra Leone, and England. Teriba focuses on the Shitta-Bey Mosque, constructed by the Portuguese, the English, and biracial Brazilians whom the locals called *òyìnbó dúdú*, meaning "white-black" in Yorùbá.

The sixth section, "Race and Urbanism," explores how racial thinking influenced approaches to the challenges of the late twentieth-century city. By sifting through urban, artistic, and architectural responses to modern urban conditions in Detroit, Los Angeles, and Berlin, the essays by Andrew Herscher, Lisa Uddin, and Esra Ackan expertly mine the racialized conceptual substrates of modernism and urbanism. The racialized discourse in postindustrial urban America of "blight"—one of a taxonomy of terms drawn from agriculture, biology, and ecology applied to urban science—is the focus of Andrew Herscher's illuminating chapter on Detroit's uneven urban development. Herscher analyzes the use of nonwhite identity as an explicit early indicator of blight and the implicit effects of racial prejudice and white supremacy in contemporary blight studies and municipal actions to counter blight. Uddin, like Herscher, also examines the American postindustrial landscape, focusing on the artist and designer Noah Purifoy. Purifoy's poetic "junk modernism" responded to the policies and conditions of racially segregated Los Angeles in the 1960s and 1970s. As Uddin argues, the otherworldly forms of Purifoy's assemblages, which incorporated debris from the 1968 Watts uprising and detritus from the incremental disinvestment in black communities, posited a radical black humanity that challenged the racialized biopolitics of modern urban planning discourse. In her essay on the immigrant Berlin neighborhood of Kreuzberg, also known as the "German Harlem," Esra Akcan studies how housing design exacerbated the tensions between the ethnic identity of immigrants (ethnicity here serving as a sanitized proxy for racial and religious differences) and the dominant white Christian imaginary of German citizenship. Akcan documents how Berlin's noncitizen housing laws, such as a "ban on entry and settlement" and the "desegregation regulation," were transposed into the new buildings' functional programs. In response to these housing laws, the IBA 1984/87's architects offered a range of responses to immigrant communities, which support her theory of "open architecture," defined as the translation of a new ethics of hospitality into architecture, the welcoming of the noncitizen into architectural design.

While the chapters are clustered by theme, time period, and geography, we are cognizant that this organization mirrors how Western epistemology has structured the modern world—that is, into temporal periods arranged from the past to the present, from the "primitive" to the "modern," and geographic territories ranged according to national/cultural affinities. These concerns are counterbalanced by a belief that this organizational strategy will enable readers to detect the

long-term effects of race theory in modern architectural debates from the Enlightenment forward, as well as to easily compare and contrast its use during distinct periods and in discrete geographies. In this manner, the book reveals how racial discourses have been deployed to organize and conceptualize the spaces of modernity, from the individual building to the city to the nation to the planet.

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Race and Modern Architecture insists upon seeing race in every context, not just in the typical sites examined by architectural historians. In practical terms, this means countering the expectation that race is only operative in nonwhite or subaltern spaces. Instead, we hold that race operates in the construction of both the state-house and the outhouse. *Race and Modern Architecture* contends that architectural historians must take account of the whiteness central to the universal mythologies of Enlightenment discourses and how these have relied on the suppression of particularity and difference. The book's goal is to demonstrate that attention to race is no longer optional in the study of modern architectural history. Instead, the racial animus of Euro-American cultural politics has to be accounted for in any future analysis of modern buildings and territories. At the very least, this means acknowledging the white cultural nationalism that lies at the heart of the Enlightenment project and its attendant processes of canon formation. This collection opens up new methodologies for exploring architecture's role in the social processes of subjection. If the methodological approaches of critical race theorists and postcolonial scholars already teach us to identify the underlying discourses that structure the gaze of the architect or designer, then the book's chapters identify what tools are still necessary to relate the built environment to these broader cultural processes. Its research analyzes how the construction of race within the modernist project affected the diverse communities under these regimes, not only by producing material hierarchies of power, but also by interpellating subjects into various racially defined roles—whether as designers, laborers, muses, or inhabitants of modern buildings.

As mentioned earlier, we see this book as instigating a beginning rather than assembling the summation of a body of work. As the editors and contributors to *Race and Modern Architecture*, we are keenly attuned to the fact that this volume is an outcome of our own subject positions, intellectual genealogies, academic training, and current institutional appointments in North American universities. We hope that this book is not the definitive volume on the topic, but merely the initiation of a much needed dialogue and a critical historiographic project that we anticipate will be vigorously debated and enthusiastically expanded. While the essays foreground race as a grossly understudied social formation, we also want to acknowledge that race is entangled with other social constructions that built the

modern world, including gender, sexuality, class, and disability, which also are in need of further study for their impact on modern architectural discourse. We have compiled this volume in solidarity with Donna Haraway's argument for a "politics and epistemologies of location, positioning, and situating, where partiality and not universality is the condition of being heard to make rational knowledge claims."[36] The modern Western episteme's embrace of universal history, particularly after Hegel, compelled the gaze of the architectural historian to incorporate practices of buildings from around the world—the putatively primitive, Egyptian, Persian, Chinese, and so forth—under the rubric of "architecture," the European term for the art of building. Simultaneously with these processes of engulfment, modernity and modern rationality also defended and excluded difference, which are precisely the logics of how race forms hierarchies of power.[37] *Race and Modern Architecture* does not argue that uncovering the formative role of racial discourses in modern architectural debates can lead to a transparent, "truthful" history. Instead, the book's chapters seek to provoke architectural historians, students, architects, and scholars to become more self-aware of the limits and potentials associated with uncovering the critical function of race in modern architectural debates.