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The Poetics of the Ordinary: The American Places of Charles W. Moore

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In order to try to throw out our standard notions about shape and the making of it and about space and its importance, I have employed the perhaps vaguer notion of place, the ordering of the whole environment that members of a civilization stand in the middle of, the making of sense, the projection of the image of the civilization onto the environment.¹

architectural debate away from overly tectonic, formalistic notions of space.

By appropriating the materiality of the “ordinary,” Moore and his collaborators set the standard for an architecture and urbanism that interacted with the expanded field of the public and private realm. They pursued an open-ended design process that promoted the ideals of

Modern, Postmodern, Premodern

Lucien Febvre’s dictum—“it is never a waste of time to study the history of a word”—is particularly apt for those seeking to differentiate the concepts of *place* and *space* in modernist architecture and theory during the 1950s and 1960s.² The cult of abstract space that was so powerful at the time had grown out of books like Sigfried



These comments by Charles W. Moore appeared in his youthful essay, “Creating of Place,” published in 1966. At a time when the exclusionist dogma of high modernism and the brittle curtain-wall aesthetic of post-World War II American corporate architecture were dominant, Moore and his partners attempted to redirect

community and “open society.” And by seeking to instill anthropologically charged notions of place, they presciently anticipated the repudiation of postwar planning and mass housing that would surface in the 1980s and 90s.

Yet, despite Moore’s influence upon a generation of students and professionals in the 1970s, his legacy as an architect and a writer has suffered from indifference and at times hostility. Some critics have championed his early “modern” production and dismissed his later “postmodern” work on the basis of its eclecticism; others have ignored him altogether. Nevertheless, his core concern for context and site specificity continue to challenge the profession today, even as the limits of globalization become all too evident.

Giedion’s *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (1941). Bruno Zevi’s *Architecture as Space: How to Look at Architecture* (1957) was also current at the time Moore and his collaborators began to challenge the architecture of contextually disengaged “heroic” objects in the early 1960s.

It has been said that Moore’s critique of architectural culture at the time involved “popularizing” a variety of architectural sources in reaction to the elitism of the International Style.³ These sources ranged from classical Italian villas and fountains to California barns to roadside Texas burger stands he personally visited and photographed. But it is equally true that Moore’s counter-current “postmodern” design production, pedagogy and writing cannot be grasped without a

Above, left to right: Villa Poiana, Poiana Maggiore, Italy, by Andrea Palladio (photo by Charles Moore, August 1977). Barns in northern California (photo by Charles Moore, no date). Roadside restaurants along I-40 in Amarillo, Texas (photo by Charles Moore, January 1968). Photos courtesy of the Alexander Architectural Archives of the University of Texas at Austin.

Opposite: Whitman Housing (Huntington, NY) (June 1974). Photo courtesy of the Charles Moore Foundation.



full appreciation for the impact of the European modernist avant-garde in postwar America.

Moore's interest in improving society through architecture was distinctly modern in its advocacy of social responsibility. However, his approach was not charged with the same fundamentalist certainty implicit in radical European interwar modernity. Indeed, it would be inaccurate to describe Moore as anti-modernist. Robert A. M. Stern has rather pointed to a productive ambivalence. "Traditional post-modernists" like Moore and Robert Venturi, he has argued, embraced both "modernist and pre-modernist values."⁴

It is easier to perceive continuity in Moore's strategies over the decades if one traces his design approach back to a fascination with ordinary ways of

building and a belief in real experience over abstraction. A bricoleur of sorts, these proclivities allowed him to appropriate and popularize seemingly disparate sources of architecture at a time when the hand-driven folk arts of preindustrial rural society (from homesteaders to pioneers) were being replaced by new middle-class American icons such as the Campbell's Soup can and neon signs along Route 66.⁵

It is equally essential for those assessing Moore's work to understand his design process. He had an insatiable curiosity about buildings and objects from all periods of history. But he was also able to bring these sources together with an eye toward accessibility and affordability, a process that often involved bridging "high" and "low" design and "warming up" the material proper-

ties of an original. Thus, stone was often replaced with wood, color was favored over monochrome, and ornament over plain surfaces.

Wherever possible, Moore and his collaborators also tempered architectural gravitas with wit and levity. Recall, for example, his Piazza d'Italia (1973–78) in New Orleans, where the "seriousness" of a classical fountain was irreverently undercut with neon lights and exaggerated effects to encourage public interaction.

Foremost, however, Moore's work and that of his many collaborators, including his partners Donlyn Lyndon, William Turnbull, and Richard Whitaker in the firm MLTW (founded in 1962), sought to activate the poetic qualities of prose (i.e., of the ordinary, familiar or vernacular).



Senses of the Ordinary

Over his career Moore refined his understanding of the ordinary, the familiar, and the vernacular in relation to a particularly North American context.

I have taken great pleasure, all my life, in ordinary American places and garden variety tourist attractions....I am especially interested in vernacular architecture. It is familiar to me, I enjoy it, and I believe it is proper for it to be the prime source of my own work. I think it is important to note that ours is not a peasant society; to see vernacular architecture as hooked to the land, free of exotic influences or of pretension, at some odds with an aristocratic "high" architecture is, in the United States, altogether to miss the point.⁶

Driven by wanderlust, Moore traveled extensively throughout his life to seek out and write about the architecture, built environments, and material cultures of the distant and not-so-distant past. His vast slide collection, now housed at the University of Texas

and the Moore Center in Austin, attests to this voracious appetite for discovering (and documenting) examples of both high and low architecture. Thanks to his extensive travel, Moore was also able to pinpoint and vindicate the differences between the vernacular of North America and that of other continents:

What is most familiar, of course, is what lies around us, loosely labeled the vernacular. The term, I'm afraid, confuses: it immediately conjures up in the minds of art historians and many others, images of the elegant cubist assemblages of the Greek islands or Mexico, beautiful compositions made by villages in strict response to familiar conditions of site and society, with a stringently limited palette of materials and (for us) thrilling level of agreement about color and shape and scale. The contemporary North American vernacular, on the other hand, the one that concerns me here, is very different from that, on just about every count.⁷

To be sure, during the 1950s and early 1960s several European architects and émigrés had laid the foundation for a renewed interest in the "primitive" preindustrial vernacular. Among them was Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, with her pioneering *Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture* (1957). Bernard Rudofsky's polemical exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art and its related book, *Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigree Architecture* (1964), also initiated intense debate over the possible role of preindustrial vernacular as a tonic for modern architecture in the United States. However, both works fell into the camp of "Greek islands or Mexico" that Moore distinguished from a specifically American twentieth-century vernacular.⁸ Moore was able to make these distinctions thanks to his travels and his willingness to understand "foreign" cultures before formulating his opinions, thus avoiding snap, unsubstantiated judgments.

Like such English and American Pop artists as Richard Hamilton, Roy Lichtenstein, and Andy Warhol, Moore saw the working class of the 1960s as the protagonist of a "people's" art that was taking shape in a heterogeneous, mass-media-based, entrepreneurial culture. In this regard, Moore related to the position of John A. Kouwenhoven, whose important study *Made in America: The Arts in Modern Civilization* (1949) attempted to vindicate the specificity of an American vernacular as the "unself-conscious effort of common people to create satisfying patterns out of their environment."⁹ Moore understood that the slow fine-tuning typical of the European rural vernacular assured a situation of little transformation over the centuries, while the North American commercial vernacular was



subject to the rapid change typical of capitalist economic dynamics.

Likewise, although Moore was interested in Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown's popularizing of "complexity and contradiction" (as Dean of the Yale School of Architecture, he even encouraged them to give a studio on Las Vegas), his approach was far less conceptual. Even their common interest in the overlap of the classical and the vernacular led to quite different results, especially at the beginning of their careers.¹⁰ One might, for example, compare Venturi's design of his mother's house in Philadelphia (1962) with Moore's design of his own house in Orinda, California, completed the same year.

In the Venturi design, classical and vernacular allusions were combined to achieve ironic, almost surreal effects; Moore's was a more distilled design, whose deceptively simple exterior masked a complex interior featuring salvaged columns from a historic building.

Yet Moore's interest in appropriating commercial and noncommercial vernacular did not extend to the conventions of the builder vernacular celebrated by Sigfried Giedion in *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History* (1948). Indeed, Moore worked against the grain of such builder developments, especially those of the ilk of the Levitt brothers that sur-

faced in the postwar period that he considered devoid of the urban planning ideals crucial to the construction of place. If anything, he was more sympathetic to Gustav Stickley's Arts and Crafts bungalows, which flourished on the West Coast (and elsewhere) under the influence of Charles Keeler's moralizing text *The Simple Home* (1904).

Opposite: The Moore House in Orinda, California, under construction, December 1961. Photo by Richard Whitaker.

Above: The completed Moore House, showing the complex relation between interior and exterior. Photo courtesy of the Charles Moore Foundation.

Mobility and Impermanence

If any one thinker of the times espoused a view of the ordinary similar to Moore's it was the J.B. Jackson. Jackson believed that the twentieth-century American vernacular landscape embraced the varied expressions of human ingenuity resulting from people's interaction with the specificities of place.¹¹ The spirited, unself-conscious ingenuity of the commonplace intrigued Moore. And whether this ingenuity was the result of mobility (associated with



Route 66) or the urbanity of classically inspired sites, it often was perceptible in spatial arrangements characterized by a pragmatic intelligence that transformed prose into poetry.¹² Mobility was central to Moore and Jackson's concept of ordinary landscapes. In one of his many essays, Jackson traced the genesis of American wood building in relation to mobility.¹³ He assigned great importance to wood as a construction material in conferring a transitional or impermanent quality to a building type—the single multifunctional room that was originally meant for the working class or rural population, but which eventually developed into the mobile trailer.

Upon Moore's arrival at the University of Texas in 1984 to occupy the O'Neil Ford Chair of Architecture, he and Sally Woodbridge published a

small catalogue to accompany an exhibition that had originally been held in Los Angeles and entitled "Home Sweet Home: American Domestic Vernacular Architecture."¹⁴ In the Texas version of the exhibition, "The Cabin/The Temple/The Trailer," Moore looked to the overlapping features of the indigenous log cabin, the clapboard house as miniature temple, and the Airstream trailer.¹⁵ The modest scale of these units, their intimate relationship to the human body, and their cost-efficiency were all part of their allure for him.¹⁶

The idea of impermanence, epitomized by the mobile home, as well as by such objects as the disposable Bic pen, invented in the 1960s, emerged at a time when increased opportunities for travel were igniting imaginations. And compared with the stability and rootedness of rural societies of Europe, the mobility and prosperity of postwar America encouraged Moore's restless freedom.

The influence of the automobile was particularly important in American architecture and urbanism. During the 1960s, it far outpaced the other modernist icons of progress celebrated by Le Corbusier in *Towards a New Architecture* (1923) and *Aircraft* (1935). But where Le Corbusier adopted the aircraft, ocean liner, and automobile as types that could inspire design, Moore was primarily interested in the car as a means to explore and discover new realities.

At the time an endless array of new motor hotels (motels), shopping malls, and fast-food drive-ins already attested to the power of car culture to generate new types, and even "monuments" like the artist collective Ant Farm's *Cadillac Ranch* (1974) in Amarillo, Texas.¹⁷ Until the late 1950s and mid-60s, the roadside still also provided a fertile cross-section of

American working-class culture and its creative talent—as well as a penchant for excess that excited Moore's imagination.

In the mid-1960s, Moore brought automobile and design together in his essay "You Have to Pay for the Public Life."¹⁸ In it, he acknowledged America's romance with the freedom offered by the car and the car culture's inevitable influence on the built environment. Yet, unlike Buckminster Fuller, for example, he expressed little interest in the streamlined aesthetics of the car (or the machine) as a source for architectural design.

Homes as Places

Instead, it was the experience of dwelling in the domestic realm that occupied an increasingly important role in the buildings and writings of Moore and his collaborators. Homes functioned as catalysts for collective design and for contemplating the notion of place.

Writing in *The Place of Houses* (1974), Moore, Donlyn Lyndon, and Gerald Allen drew attention to the qualities of the small town of Edgartown, Massachusetts. In particular, they observed that it "preserves the decorum of a black-tie dinner, where everyone manages to look his best while dressing very much like everyone else."¹⁹ But this was just one of many instances in which Moore and his collaborators identified the vernacular as a conduit for individual and collective identities to coexist.²⁰

By the time *The Place of Houses* was published, MLTW had already completed the Sea Ranch Condominium north of San Francisco (1963–65) and Kresge College at the University of California, Santa Cruz (1964–74). These projects reflected a desire to integrate architecture with context (a windswept coastal meadow and

a redwood forest, respectively) and facilitate mixed private and public use. Within the currents of modernism at the time they also indicated how Moore's "realism" might provide a brake on the grand urban gestures and utopian megastructures of those years.

At Kresge College, MLTW focused on the street as a space for interpersonal interaction and a conduit for placemaking.²¹ But the firm also revealed keen interest in high-density low-lying Mediterranean "townscapes."²² Both it and the contemporaneous Church Street South housing in New Haven (1966–69) were organized around open-air "piazzas." These provided areas for social interaction that recalled Mediterranean prototypes, despite their distinctive Pop Art-inspired "supergraphics" and the "cheapness" of the cinderblock construction.

In his early work, Moore had alternately cited the vernacular cabin and "primitive" hut as design precedents. Indeed, his house in Orinda (1962) was a melding of the lowly hut with the "high" form of the Renaissance aedicule, which he and his colleagues had "discovered," thanks to John Summerson. The combination was then adapted to the scant practical needs of a bachelor.²³ But with the advent of his collaboration in MLTW his designs abandoned such overt simplicity and became more complex and articulated.

Nevertheless, Moore's concept of the ordinary was always closely linked to notions of place. Writing on the sources of inspiration for the Orinda house, he stated that "the overall design for the house took the archetypal form of a square hut, not unlike those to be found in primitive villages or those symbolized in the motifs carved in the stone of Mayan or Hindu temples."²⁴



Other residences he designed at the time, such as the Bonham House in Boulder Creek, California (1961), and the original Sea Ranch Condominium, combined the understated, introverted qualities of sheds and barns with open, highly articulated interiors.²⁵ The dichotomy between toned-down, ordinary exterior and *wunderkammer*-like complex, colorful interior (perhaps most evident in his last house in Austin, designed with Arthur W. Andersson) allowed his domestic designs to affirm civic modesty externally without forgoing interior richness.

Moore's love for folk objects has never been adequately discussed, and it was in the design of residential interiors (for his own homes, especially) that his affinity for ordinary material culture was most visible. During his

life he acquired a vast collection of objects as diverse as toy soldiers and folk masks. His passion for such forms is especially revealing in the current installation of items from his collection in the Moore house in Austin. Moore looked to these objects as a source of design inspiration. One might recall his "transformation" of a familiar Adirondack chair by refashioning its profile and adding color and ornament (c. 1990).

Opposite: Exhibition cover page for the "The Cabin/ The Temple/ The Trailer," Charles W. Moore and Sally B. Woodbridge, 1984.

Above: Interior of Bonham Cabin, Santa Cruz Mountains, California, 1961. Photo courtesy of the Charles Moore Foundation.

work as a creative continuation of the Shingle Style, inaugurated by talented American architects of the late nineteenth century.²⁹

Despite his commitment to authorship, Moore firmly believed that a sophisticated yet empirical approach could also be applied to modest ends. For example, the New Zion Community Center in Kentucky, the first completed project of the design/build program he initiated at the Yale School of Architecture (1967), demonstrated William Morris's principle that architectural design should not be divorced from the process of building.³⁰

Yet, in contrast to the English Arts and Crafts movement, which was heavily influenced by the built environment of rural peasantry, Moore's understanding of ordinary America also led him to consider such simulators of "real" places as Disneyland.³¹

An Important Legacy

Were it not for the unifying element of Moore's concern for ordinary American places and their importance for contemporary design, his contribution to architectural culture might be lost. He was a keen observer in the tradition of Henry James, whose writing he admired. And despite his erudition, extensive travels, and personal library, he was never snobbish or condescending. Manfredo Tafuri admired Moore's sophistication, and aptly described him as a "refined populist."³²

During his life, Moore published several books (mostly in collaboration with others) and numerous seminal essays, yet none of these texts have found their way into scholarly anthologies published in recent years.³³ Nevertheless, *The Place of Houses* (1974) was reprinted in 2000 and has sold some 35,000 copies. Despite Moore's prolific production as an architect and

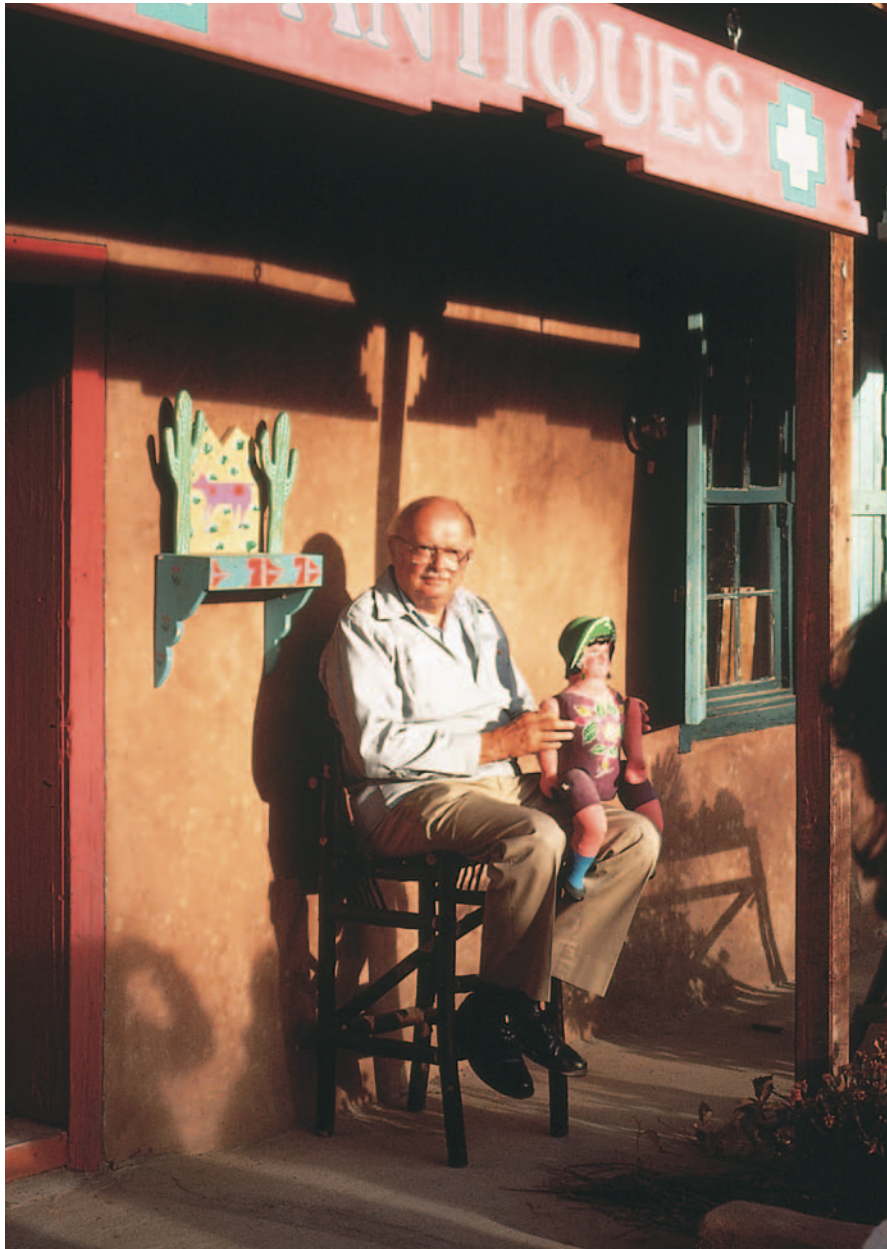


writer, he has also been marginalized in recent assessments of twentieth-century architecture and urbanism.³⁴ Dell Upton's *Architecture in the United States* virtually ignored him.³⁵ And under the rubric of "populism" in *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, Kenneth Frampton denounced his "flaccid eclecticism," and scolded him for abandoning the "constructional purity" of Sea Ranch.³⁶

Rather than seek out aspects of continuity throughout his career (i.e., his unflinching interest in the ordinary),

Opposite: Kresge College, Santa Cruz, California (1964-74). Initial site plan drawing courtesy of UC Berkeley Design Archive.

Above: Adirondack chair by Charles Moore (1990). Photo by Kevin Keim.



critics like Frampton have divided his output into periods of good and bad work. Nevertheless, more sympathetic critics did assess his contribution over the years. These have included Charles Jencks in England, Paolo Portoghesi and Manfredo Tafuri in Italy, Heinrich Klotz in Germany, and in

the United States, Vincent Scully.

By activating the poetics of the ordinary, Moore and his collaborators sought to counteract postwar formalism with a more humanist strategy of placemaking. Their accessible and open-ended design process provided a challenge to the architects and urban

planners of the “affluent society.”³⁷

Today, in light of the alarming withdrawal from civic life demonstrated by the increase of gated communities and concern for security since 9/11, Moore’s optimistic and generous vision of an “ordinary” architecture for the public realm is an important legacy that deserves rediscovery by students and professionals alike.

Notes

My interest in Charles W. Moore was sparked while I was a lecturer at Yale University School of Architecture. Special thanks go to Dean Robert A. M. Stern for his continuing support. Kent Bloomer and Stephen Harby were especially generous in sharing their knowledge and insight. Special thanks go to Donlyn Lyndon and David Moffat for their patient guidance and to Kevin Keim for his hospitality in Austin. All original images used to illustrate this essay are housed at the Charles Moore Foundation and the Alexander Architectural Archives of the University of Texas Libraries in Austin (Charles Willard Moore Architectural Drawings and Manuscript Material).

1. Charles Moore, “Creating of Place,” *Image 4* (1966), pp. 20–25.
2. Lucien Febvre, “Civilisation: Evolution of a Word and a Group of Ideas,” in Peter Burke, ed., *A New Kind of History and Other Essays*, trans. K. Folca (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 220.
3. See William H. Jordy, *American Buildings and Their Architects: The Impact of European Modernism in the Mid-Twentieth Century* (New York: Anchor Books, 1976).
4. Robert A. M. Stern, “The Doubles of Post-Modern,” *Harvard Architecture Review* 1 (Spring 1980), pp. 75–87.
5. Arnold Hauser, “The Art of the People, the Masses, and the Educated,” in *The Philosophy of Art History* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1985), pp. 279–365.
6. Charles W. Moore, “Personal Statement,” in *Charles Moore* (Tokyo: Global Architecture, 1978), pp. 7–16.
7. Charles Moore, “Human Energy,” in Byron Mikellides, ed., *Architecture for People: Explorations in a New Humane Environment* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980), pp. 115–21.
8. While Rudofsky’s book focused primarily on Mediterranean examples, Moholy-Nagy’s also looked to the preindustrial vernacular of the Americas (she

included Mexico, for example). Charles W. Moore and Wayne Attoe, eds., *Ab Mediterranean! Twentieth Century Classicism in America* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986).

9. John A. Kouwenhoven, *Made in America: The Arts in Modern Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1949).

10. Jean La Marche, *The Familiar and the Unfamiliar in Twentieth-Century Architecture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

11. John Brinkerhoff Jackson, "The Word Itself," in *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 1–9. Also see D. W. Meinig, ed., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); and Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi, *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

12. Charles Moore, Peter Becher, and Regula Campell, *The City Observed: Los Angeles, a Guide to its Architecture and Landscapes* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984).

13. John Brinkerhoff Jackson, "The Movable Dwelling and How it Came to America," in *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, pp. 88–101.

14. Charles W. Moore, Kathryn Smith, and Peter Becker, eds., *Home Sweet Home: American Domestic Vernacular Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli International in collaboration with the Craft and Folk Art Museum, 1983).

15. Charles Moore and Sally B. Woodbridge, *The Cabin, The Temple, The Trailer*, a self-published catalogue printed ca. 1985.

16. On the relationship between body and architecture, see Kent C. Bloomer and Charles Moore, *Body, Memory and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

17. See, for example, Richard W. Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920–1950* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997).

18. Charles Moore, "You Have to Pay for the Public Life," *Perspecta* 9/10 (1965), pp. 57–97; reprinted in Charles Moore and Gerald Allen, *Dimensions: Space, Shape and Scale in Architecture* (New York: Architectural Record Books, 1969), pp. 105–30.

19. Charles Moore, Gerald Allen, and Donlyn Lyndon, *The Place of Houses* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974).

20. In the last twenty years, the New Urbanism has sought to identify a similar socially driven urban

strategy, but it has never advocated the same freedom to re-create experiences of place that so intrigued Moore and his collaborators.

21. At the time, Bernard Rudofsky's *Streets for People: A Primer for Americans* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969) was in the process of being published.

22. Gordon Cullen, *Townscape* (London: The Architectural Press, 1961); and Ivor de Wolfe, *The Italian Townscape* (London: The Architectural Press, 1963).

23. Robert Stern has pointed out the fundamental differences between Moore's house (1962) and Philip Johnson's earlier glass house (1949), despite their common programs. See Robert A. M. Stern, *New Directions in American Architecture* (New York: George Braziller, 1969), p. 71.

24. Moore, Allen, and Lyndon, *The Place of Houses*, p. 60.

25. For an extensive discussion of the Sea Ranch, with many excellent images of the Condominium, see Donlyn Lyndon and Jim Alinder, *The Sea Ranch* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004).

26. Philip Johnson's "low-tech" glass house (whose structural eclecticism disturbed Mies van der Rohe) is thus closer in spirit to Moore's approach than Mies's own Farnsworth house.

27. See Patricia Phillips, "Why is Pop so Unpopular?" in Edward Leffingwell and Karen Marta, eds., *Modern Dreams: The Rise and Fall and Rise of Pop* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), pp. 118–31.

28. See Sigfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948); and Gilbert Herbert, *The Dream of the Factory-Made House: Walter Gropius and Konrad Wachsmann* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).

29. Vincent Scully, *The Shingle Style Today or the Historian's Revenge* (New York: George Braziller, 1974).

30. Richard W. Hayes, *The Yale Building Project: The First Fifty Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

31. Charles Moore, "You Have to Pay for the Public Life," republished in Kevin Keim, ed., *You Have to Pay for the Public Life: Selected Essays of Charles W. Moore* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), pp. 111–41.

32. Manfredo Tafuri, *La sfera e il labirinto* (Turin: Einaudi, 1980), p. 364; (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1987), p. 298.

33. For a complete bibliography, see Eugene J. Johnson, ed., *Charles Moore: Buildings and Projects 1949–1986* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986; repr. 1991). Some of Moore's writings have been republished in:

Robert A. M. Stern, Alan Plattus, Peggy Deamer, eds., *Re-reading Perspecta: The First 50 Years of the Yale Architectural Journal* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), which reprinted three: "You Have to Pay for a Public Life" (pp. 173–83), "Hadrian's Villa" (pp. 93–99); and "Plug It In, Rameses, and See if It Lights Up" (pp. 242–45).

34. A few exceptions do exist. The most recent contribution is the exhibition organized in 2001 by Eve Blau at the Yale School of Architecture and her *Architecture or Revolution: Charles Moore and Yale in the Late 1960s* (New Haven: Yale School of Architecture, 2001). See also Kevin P. Keim, *An Architectural Life: Memoirs and Memories of Charles Moore* (Boston and New York: Bulfinch Press; Toronto and London: Little, Brown and Company, 1996). The most comprehensive book to date is Eugene J. Johnson, ed., *Charles Moore: Buildings and Projects 1949–1986* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986; reprint 1991).

35. The omission is surprising in light of Upton's sustained interest in the American vernacular.

36. Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, 3rd ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), pp. 291–94.

37. The frequently quoted phrase comes from Galbraith's landmark study *The Affluent Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958), p. 253.