

The Mobile Home and the Invention of the House-Machine

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Taking the mobile home as a case study and exemplar of the late-capitalist, technological vernacular, this paper focuses the “problem” of manufactured housing through the lens of modernism and modern architecture. The tension in modernism between “the ephemeral and the fleeting with the eternal and the immutable”¹ has instigated a series of conflicts in our conception of dwelling that can be read in the mobile home. Likewise, the intertwined social and formal agendas of modern architecture are especially evident in the aestheticizing of technology and function, two determinant factors of the contemporary mobile home. Yet in the face of the pervasive reality of manufactured housing and in spite of certain glaring social and environmental conditions which thereto appertain, the mobile home has been mostly absent from the concerns of cultural criticism and architectural discourse. Part of a larger study, this paper picks up the modernist threads of the mobile home lineage and traces the inter-linked developmental trajectories that come together in the contemporary manufactured home.

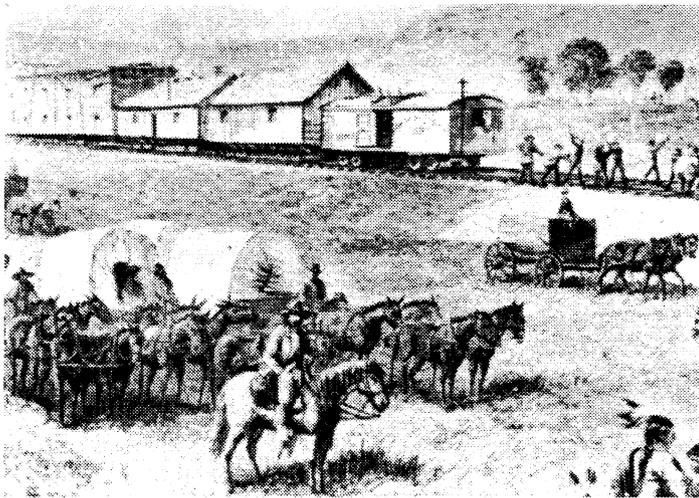


Fig. 1. “Maisons mobiles des pionniers américains.” *Techniques et Architecture*. November 1945.

An article in a 1945 edition of the French journal *Techniques et Architecture* focusing upon American construction innovations and methods paid special attention to what it called the *Maisons Mobile*, the factory-built mobile home then gaining ground as both a

recreational and long-term housing solution in the aftermath of World War II.² An illustration at the head of the article suggests a genealogy for that industrialized domicile in the redolent scene of the American frontier (figure 1). The caption reads “Maisons mobiles des pionniers américains” (Mobile homes of the American pioneers). In the foreground, we see a caravan of Conestoga wagons, scouts, and families with all their belongings in tow presumably on their 19th Century trek westward to claim a piece of the wild frontier; in the middle-ground, there is a farmer on a wagon, apparently filled with some harvest of grain, the Conestoga wagon having been converted at the end of its journey to other utilitarian purposes; and in the background, there is a crew laying railroad track, and following behind them a curious assemblage of dwellings on wheels, mobile dormitories and mess halls for the construction workers.³ In the extreme lower-right corner, we see the Indians receding from the picture, having packed their tipis, we imagine, for transport to other lands.

As this example suggests, the temporary or movable dwelling has a rich history on this continent, deriving from both indigenous and European heritages, as well as from the speculative motives of nascent capitalists and New World entrepreneurs.⁴ The image is unattributed (and appears to be cropped from an original), but we can interpret it in this setting as an allegorical depiction of transient dwelling in the westward migration across the American continent. While this portrayal of the mobile home, as contextualized by the French architectural journalists, would seem like mere fodder for mythologizing the American West, the forms represented here are also material facts that suggest something about the paradox of dwelling: the conflicting values of freedom and oppression, of mobility and rootedness that define simultaneous poles of modern experience. It is ironic as well that French architectural journalists should be looking toward a romanticized narrative of American continental expansion as the historical precedent for the mobile home which, in its own way, realizes the modernist thesis about the technological transformation of dwelling.

Comparison between European and American attitudes toward modernization can be useful, therefore, for assessing the hybridizations that were achieved in their respective domestic realms between the forms of the house and the machine. On both the European and American continents, enthusiasm for the machine, as

well as antipathies toward it, shaped the development of mass production housing, whether considered in the terms of those modernist estates intended for housing the European masses or of the suburban villas that multiplied to accommodate a burgeoning American middle class. The mobile home can be interpreted as a peculiar example of the intersection of those two housing models, manifesting both the ideals and failures of socialist and capitalist development.

One convenient source for tracing the modernist genealogy of the mobile home is in the work and polemical writings of Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier from the 1920s. Le Corbusier's famous declaration that "a house is a machine for living in" has been cited by both his defenders and opponents as a modernist rallying cry for a new architecture founded upon rational scientific principles as exemplified in machine technology.⁵ In his manifesto, *Towards a New Architecture*, Le Corbusier extols the virtues of airplanes, automobiles, and ships as paradigms of functionalism, reason, economy, efficiency, and mass production. Le Corbusier applies that model of modern production to the problem of building and, in so doing, sharply criticizes the entrenched styles of the architectural academies. Le Corbusier praises, by contrast, the work of his generation of engineers who, unencumbered by the weight of history and tradition, are unselfconsciously constructing the infrastructure of the modern reality. Le Corbusier entreats architects to seize upon the engineer's example as the inspiration for a new architectural embodiment for the age, imbuing it with the architect's poetic capacity for imagining form, space, and light.

As a means of metaphorizing the anachronistic conditions of urban, architectural, and industrial design, Le Corbusier repeatedly posits the refrain of "eyes which do not see" as the cause of a symptomatic blindness toward the rational and expressive potentials of modern technology. As illustration, Le Corbusier presents photographs of agricultural and industrial structures in North America; and in chapters devoted to steamships, airplanes, and automobiles, he attempts to shift our attitudes about the house, our definitions of dwelling, and the functional requirements for habitation. In the steamship, he sees a well-planned city that floats; in the airplane, the solution to a problem well-stated; and in the automobile, a principle for production based upon the standardization and mass-production of parts. By contrast, he says, our cities and houses are encumbered by the fact that "[t]he problem of the house has not yet been stated."⁶

In his own formulation of the problem, Le Corbusier enumerates functional principles to guide the design of the house and elaborates a "manual of the dwelling" that combines expectations with instructions on hygiene, furnishings, storage, child rearing, light, ventilation, and economy. The effect of this new dwelling would be to eliminate all superfluity from the processes of daily life, to bring them into alignment with the efficiencies exemplified in the field of industrial production. Thus re-conceptualized as a product of rational planning and mass production, the house is a unit in the constitution of a new, lighter, and more adaptable social order intended to overturn the oppressive weight of received tradition. Linnings this turn toward rationality, Le Corbusier states that:

*"A house will no longer be this solidly-built thing which sets out to defy time and decay, and which is an expensive luxury by which wealth can be shown: it will be a tool as the motor-car is becoming a tool. The house will no longer be an archaic entity, heavily rooted in the soil by deep foundations, built 'firm and strong,' the object of the devotion on which the cult of the family and the race has so long been concentrated."*⁷

The machines that Le Corbusier chooses to carry his message of domestic transformation are all exemplars of a new mode of experience, a dwelling-in-motion that encapsulates the modernist obsession with movement and time. The steamship, the airplane, the automobile are all tools, or are becoming tools, which extend the domain of industrialization. Similarly, the domain of the house is instrumentally linked to the establishment of a new social order that fuses industrial reason with everyday life. Is it any surprise, therefore, that Le Corbusier's prototype of the new "House-Tool" is conceived as a hybrid of house and car? He called this architectural minotaur "Maison Citrohan" (figure 2):

*"'Citrohan' (not to say Citroën). That is to say, a house like a motor-car, conceived and carried out like an omnibus or a ship's cabin. The actual needs of the dwelling can be formulated and demand their solution. We must fight against the old-world house, which made a bad use of space. We must look upon the house as a machine for living in or as a tool. . . . There is no shame in living in a house without a pointed roof, with walls as smooth as sheet iron, with windows like those of factories. And one can be proud of having a house as serviceable as a typewriter."*⁸

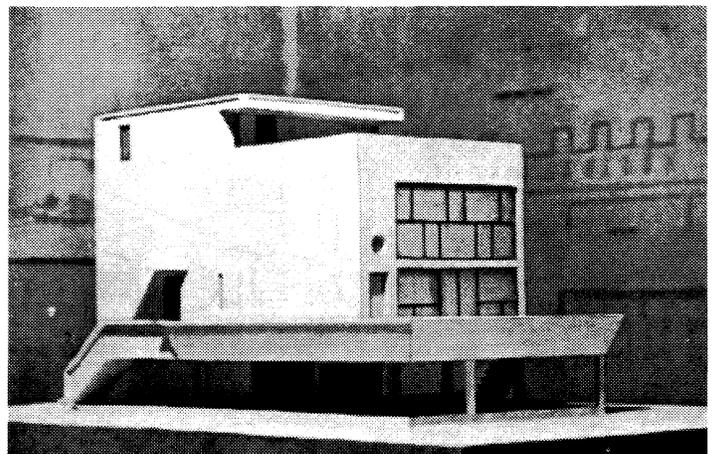


Fig. 2. *Maison Citrohan*. LeCorbusier. *Towards a New Architecture*, 1931.

While the name "Maison Citrohan" may seem no more than a pun, it is interesting to note the precedents that Le Corbusier had himself drawn upon in making this typological fusion of house and machine.⁸ According to historian Reyner Banham, Le Corbusier was aware as early as 1919 of the development of two prefabricated housing prototypes developed by the Voisin Company in an attempt to utilize their excess production capacity available from the completion of their aircraft contracts after World War I (figure 3).¹⁰ Le Corbusier featured the Maisons Voisin in the pages of the sec-

ond issue of *L'Esprit Nouveau*, his review dedicated to promoting a range of interests pertaining to progressive culture.¹¹ Le Corbusier enthusiastically embraced the Voisin approach to the mass assembly of these wood-framed structures within a controlled factory setting, writing:

*"... impossible to wait on the slow collaboration of the successive efforts of excavator, mason, carpenter, joiner, tiler, plumber...houses must go up all of piece, made by machine tools in a factory, assembled as Ford assembles cars, on moving conveyor belts (author's emphasis)."*¹²

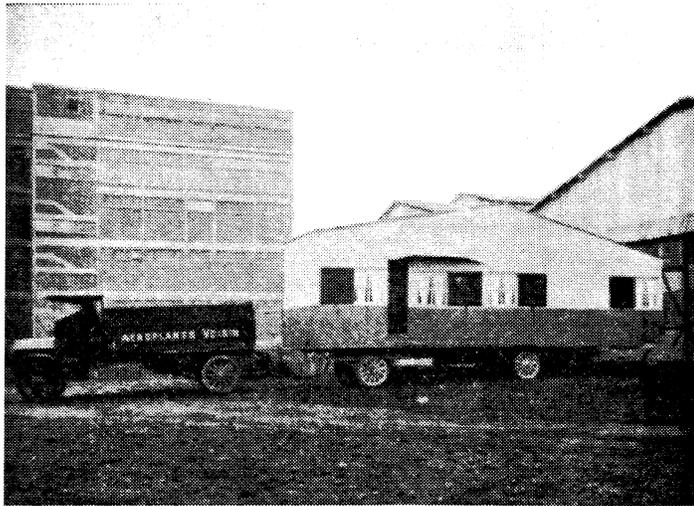


Fig. 3. Maison Voisin. LeCorbusier. *L'Esprit Nouveau*, circa 1920.

The Maison Voisin can be seen as a precedent, then, for Le Corbusier's own Maison Citrohan. Constructed on assembly line principles of airplane and automobile, the Maison Voisin was detached from the ground, lightweight, and mobile. Writes Le Corbusier:

*"Up till now it seemed that a house must be heavily attached to the soil, by the depth of its foundations, the weight of its thick walls...It is no trick that the Maison Voisin is one of the first to mark the exact reversal of this conception....These lightweight houses, supple and strong as car-bodies or airframes, are ingenious in plan: they offer the comforts a wise man might demand. To inhabit such houses one needs the mind of a sage, animated by L'Esprit Nouveau. A generation is coming to birth that will know how to live in Maisons Voisin."*¹³

At the same time that he asserts the potential of the machine-made house, Le Corbusier poetically domesticates the airplane, calling it "a little house that can fly and resist the storm." Banham notes that although the Maison Voisin does not appear in *Towards a New Architecture*, it is implicitly present throughout the text in Le Corbusier's arguments for mass production housing. The Maisons Voisin are remarkable in their resemblance to the mobile homes that would gain such a foothold in the United States after World War II. Le Corbusier's own prototype of the "House-Machine," the Maison Citrohan, as well as the epochal Villa Savoye of 1929-31, achieve an analogous, albeit metaphorical, mobility by being raised

above the ground on *pilotis* and gain their "lightness" from construction executed in a manner to suggest an aesthetic of factory production.

For all of his rhetorical display, Le Corbusier was successful in crystallizing, in the form of the Maison Citrohan and in the polemic of the "House-Machine," a suggestive set of qualities capable of motivating the dialectic of modern architecture. What is foremost evident in Le Corbusier's argument in *Towards a New Architecture* is that something is being opposed: the house as "an archaic entity, heavily rooted in the soil by deep foundations, built 'firm and strong,' the object of the devotion on which the cult of the family and the race has so long been concentrated." What is being opposed is the whole gamut of a lived tradition that found psychic and bodily resonance in things and places. Le Corbusier's "House-Machine" promises to sever those relationships as a matter of social and economic progress. Le Corbusier predicts that:

*"Machines will lead to a new order both of work and of leisure. Entire cities have to be constructed, or reconstructed, in order to provide a minimum of comfort, for if this is delayed too long, there may be a disturbance of the balance of society. Society is an unstable thing and is cracking under the confusion caused by fifty years of progress which have changed the face of the world more than the last six centuries have done."*¹⁴

Yet despite his most technocratic pronouncements, Le Corbusier's argument is infused with a longing for the reconciliation of scientific rationality with poetic experience. Interwoven with the idealism of his "architecture, pure creation of the mind" is the material evocation that "passion can create drama from inert stone." Le Corbusier's juxtaposition of reason and passion is an attempt to overcome certain conflicts of modernity, in which the oppressive logic of production seems to negate the liberating conduits of vision and expression provided by those new means.

Nonetheless, Le Corbusier's critics seized upon what they considered the dehumanizing tendencies of his "House-Machine." In a lecture delivered at Princeton University in 1930, Frank Lloyd Wright took-on Le Corbusier's conceptual schema, though never calling him by name. Railing against what he calls "the cardboard house," Wright parodies Le Corbusier's conceit of the house as a machine for living. Wright declares that:

*"Now, a chair is a machine to sit it.
A home is a machine to live in.
The human body is a machine to be worked by will.
A tree is a machine to bear fruit.
A plant is a machine to bear flowers and seeds.
And, as I've admitted before somewhere, a heart is a suction pump. Does that idea thrill you?"*¹⁵

Despite his bluster, Wright was himself not reticent to criticize the anachronistic styles of the architectural academies, and he certainly was an innovator in the development and exploitation of new materials and building techniques, so in some regards his criticisms of Le Corbusier may seem ironic. As early as 1901, he had articulated an embrace of the machine as an instrument of modern-

ization in a speech to the Chicago Architectural Club entitled "The Art and Craft of the Machine." In that speech, Wright declared that "in the machine lies the only future of art and craft" and that "the machine was the great forerunner of Democracy."¹⁶ In the early 1900s, Wright's domestic projects gained substantial influence through wide dissemination in popular press such as the *Ladies' Home Journal*, which made Wright's and other architects' model house plans available to the public by mail order.¹⁷ Likewise, Wright's work gained early exposure in Europe and exerted influence on the emergence of modern architecture through exhibition and publication of his projects in Germany in 1910. Wright's visit to Europe at that time and his exposure to projects of the European avant-garde cemented a reciprocal influence in his own work. By the 1930s, however, with the currents of influence again flowing in the opposite direction across the Atlantic, and embarking upon a new phase in his own phenomenal career, Wright struck a resistant pose to the onslaught of European modernism in America. Though included in Philip Johnson and Henry Russell Hitchcock's pivotal exhibition on the International Style at the Museum of Modern Art in 1932, Wright was polemically derisive of the European work, promoting his own approach to an "organic architecture" as the most appropriate alternative for the architecture of the New World.¹⁸

Wright's criticisms of Le Corbusier were based upon philosophical differences that contrasted his own predilection toward "organic simplicity" in the mingling of culture and nature with his antagonist's attitude toward scientific domination and control.¹⁹ By his words, Wright was concerned, by the 1930s, about the human implications of the modernist boxes and worried that conceiving all of human praxis in mechanistic terms would have the deleterious effect of transforming humanity into that image. Wright suggests that:

"... we might now, for a time, make buildings resemble modern bathtubs and aluminum kitchen utensils, or copy pieces of well designed machinery to live in, particularly the liner, the airplane, the streetcar, and the motor bus. . . . And we are afraid we are eventually going to have as citizens machine-made men, corollary to machines, if we don't look out?"²⁰

A similar sentiment had been voiced by Lewis Mumford several years earlier when he evaluated "The Age of the Machine" in the development of American architecture and civilization. He complains that:

"The end of a civilization that considers buildings as mere machines is that it considers human beings as mere machine-tenders: it therefore frustrates or diverts the more vital impulses which would lead to the culture of the earth or the intelligent care of the young. . . . The age of the machine has produced an architecture fit only for lathes and dynamos to dwell in: incomplete and partial in our applications of science, we have forgotten that there is a science of humanity, as well as a science of material things."²¹

Mumford cites the work of Frank Lloyd Wright as an example of modernist work that, while incorporating the lessons of engineering, does not succumb to an emulation of the appearance of factory

or machine. Mumford suggests that Wright's work like "the best modern work does not merely respect the machine: it respects the people who use it."²²

Thus we can see that at a philosophical level, at least in the examples of Mumford and Wright, there is a deep ambivalence expressed toward the transformative tendencies of modernism; modernism, in this particular formulation, is looked upon with suspicion, as perhaps inevitable but to be guarded against in the preservation of perennial human values. Given Wright's spiritual affiliations with poets Emerson and Whitman and Mumford's narrative of the defeat of Romanticism by Industrialization, we can understand and contextualize the extreme form of anti-urban, anti-technological rhetoric that these arguments produce.²³

What should be evident is that in the 1930s, at the advent of the era of the travel trailer – precursor to the mobile home – there existed at least these two contrasting attitudes about the relationship between the dwelling and the machine. Le Corbusier's poetic vision emphasized the technological transformation of the house as the realization of a "new spirit" of modern existence. That spirit valorized mobility and the transgression of old boundaries of social convention, and it liberated the building from the fixity of the ground to the extent that the automobile, the steamship, and the airplane were envisioned as new domains of human habitation. Inspired by the *Maisons Voisin*, houses on wheels manufactured like airplanes, Le Corbusier proposed the *Maison Citrohan* as an answer to the problem of housing in the industrial age. On the other hand, Wright affirmed the traditional relationship between dwelling and place, exemplifying the ideal of Jeffersonian democracy in the establishment of homesteads and the extension of civilization into the frontier. Contrasting the virtual mobility of Le Corbusier's domestic model, Wright declared that:

"Any building for humane purposes should be an elemental, sympathetic feature of the ground, complementary to its nature environment, belonging by kinship to the terrain. A house is not going anywhere, if we can help it. We hope it is going to stay right where it is for a long, long time. It is not yet anyway even a moving van. Certain houses for Los Angeles may yet become vans and roll off most anywhere or everywhere, which is something else again and far from a bad idea for certain classes of our population (emphasis added)."²⁴

For Wright, civilization demands fixity and roots, and he idealizes the house as a reflection of that ontological order. The house as a moving van, the mobile home, might only be appropriate, he suggests, for people of a particular class. Notwithstanding Wright's prophecies of the spontaneous emergence in the United States of an egalitarian culture, which he called Usonia, the specter of a distinct migratory class hangs over his vision of suburban utopia. Wright projected this vision in his 1935 proposal for Broadacre City (figure 4), a dispersed metropolis of distributed social rights integrating the technological reason of automotive transportation, telecommunications, and machine production.²⁵ In the southwest quadrant of Wright's master plan, on the edge of Broadacre City between small industry and the markets, we find what would have

been by then a ubiquitous feature of the physical landscape: the “tourist camp,” precursor of the trailer park.²⁶

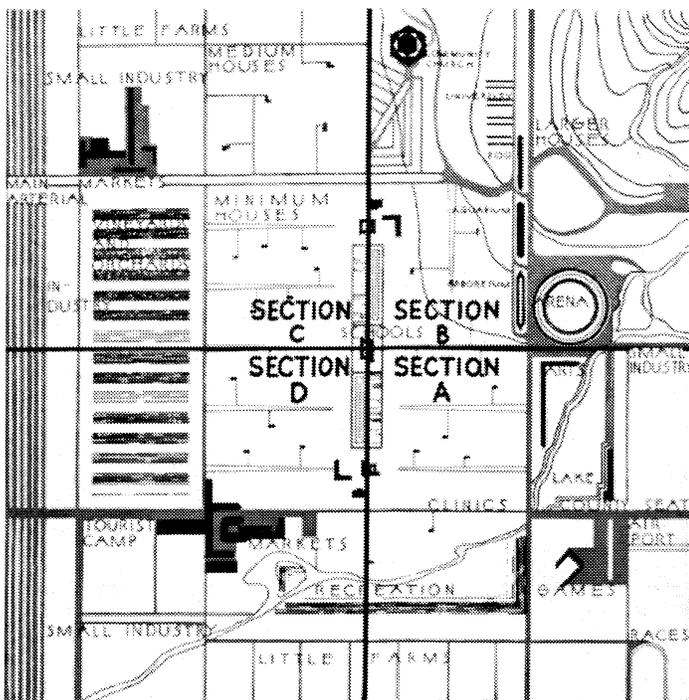


Fig. 4. Plan for Broadacre City, circa 1935. Notice the provision for “tourist camps” in the lower left quadrant. Frank Lloyd Wright. *When Democracy Builds*, 1945.

In conclusion, therefore, this study registers the degree of ambivalence toward modernism and modernity that is evident in this country and that is revealed through the simultaneous social aversion toward and economic necessity of the manufactured house. Together, the idea and the image of the house trailer or mobile home elicit a kind of collective love / hate relationship that transcends reason. A final example, again drawn from history of the Great Plains, further materializes this dichotomy. As a requirement for homesteading in the West, settlers were expected to construct permanent shelters on their tracts of land. Often, the covered wagons or tents would serve as temporary shelters while the more permanent ones were constructed. One form of shelter, however, was associated with unscrupulous landgrabbers. Small, chicken-coop sized dwellings were constructed which “could be put on wheels and moved from one claim to another as needed, allowing the claimant to swear that a building stood upon his land.”²⁷

Whether it is a form of elitism pitting high culture against a technological vernacular; or the manifestation of class and regional antipathies; or even the expression of cultural prejudices regarding the dynamics of rootedness, mobility, and property values; it is evident that more is at stake in the mix than the mere choice between competing housing alternatives. Mobility, as an attribute of modernism, is both a promise and a threat, and the mobile home / manufactured house materializes that duality. As the manufactured house increasingly emulates the scenography of the suburban house, the suburban house – through its optimized construction tech-

niques and geography of sprawl – looks more and more like the stereotypical mobile home. The mobile home, as repository of both positive and negative attributes of modernism, is symbolic of the social and spatial conflicts that pervade our itinerant landscape. For millions of Americans, it is also the place where they live everyday.

NOTES

- ¹Charles Baudelaire, “The Painter of Modern Life,” 1863 cited in David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell), 10. Harvey characterizes modernity in terms of its oscillation between the opposing poles of transience and stability, which he argues conditioned the trajectory of Western cultural development.
- ²“Maisons Mobiles en Bois,” *Techniques et Architecture*, (November 1945): 140.
- ³J.B. Jackson has described these structures as box houses, which were often used to accommodate railroad workers and other transient laborers. Box houses were one room wide, one storey tall, constructed without an internal frame, and were often transported by rail. John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 98-99.
- ⁴Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Random House, 1965), 148-152. In the second volume of his American history trilogy, Boorstin cites the fact that prefabricated houses were shipped to the American continent from Europe as early as the 17th Century. The development of the balloon frame in the 19th Century allowed further advances in domestic standardization and greatly eased the process of assembly – and disassembly. Boorstin comments that “[e]ven before the invention of the balloon frame, foreign visitors had been amazed at how Americans moved their buildings about.”
- ⁵Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, trans. Frederick Etchells (1931, reprint New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1986), 95. The classical canon of architecture, as received from the Roman-era treatise of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, posits an analogical relationship among the body, the building, and the cosmos with the building serving as mediator between the microcosmic and macrocosmic domains. Le Corbusier’s architectural theory, while establishing a dialectical opposition with certain formal attributes of classical order, nonetheless advances an argument for the reinterpretation of the “Lessons of Rome” based upon contemporary problems and means. In Le Corbusier’s formulation, the role of the architect, ancient or modern, is to reconcile available technology and its rationality with the emotion and sensuality of the human body.
- ⁶*Ibid.*, 110.
- ⁷*Ibid.*, 237-263.
- ⁸*Ibid.*, 240-241.
- ⁹Gilbert Herbert has noted that despite German architect and educator Walter Gropius’ early proposals for mass produced housing in 1910, and Le Corbusier’s possible familiarity with them, “...it is Le Corbusier, not Gropius, who ignites the imagination of a generation of architects; it is not the reasoned arguments of Gropius but the stimulating force of Le Corbusier’s visual images, and the evocative power of his prose, that leads the Modern Movement in its drive for industrialization and standardization.” See Gilbert Herbert, *The Dream of the Factory-Made House* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1984), 38-39.
- ¹⁰Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1960), 221-222.
- ¹¹*Ibid.*, 208.
- ¹²*Ibid.*, 222.
- ¹³*Ibid.*
- ¹⁴Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, 101.
- ¹⁵F.L. Wright, “The Cardboard House,” in *The Future of Architecture* (New York: New American Library, 1953), 159.

- ¹⁶F.L. Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine" (1901) in *Frank Lloyd Wright Collected Writings*, vol. 1, ed. Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 59.
- ¹⁷See for example G. Wright, *Building the Dream*, 158-176 for a discussion of the role that women's journals played in promoting the modernization of the American home.
- ¹⁸Leonardo Benevolo, *History of Modern Architecture*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1971), 247. For a discussion of this middle period of Wright's architectural career, see Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture* 5th ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941), 396-427; Peter Blake, *The Master Builders* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1960), 352-356; Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, 3rd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980), 186-191; and James Marston Fitch, *American Building: The Historical Forces that Shaped It*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), 220-228.
- ¹⁹Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 43. Lefebvre states that: "It is arguable, for instance, that Frank Lloyd Wright endorsed a communitarian representational space deriving from biblical and Protestant tradition, whereas Le Corbusier was working towards a technicist, scientific and intellectualized representation of space."
- ²⁰F.L. Wright, "The Cardboard House," 145-146.
- ²¹Lewis Mumford, *Sticks and Stones: A Study of American Architecture and Civilization* (1924; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1955), 187-188. It is only fair to note that in his 1954 introduction, Mumford backed away from these quasi-Luddite views, explaining, "...in the spring of 1923, meeting Patrick Geddes in New York for the first time, I fell under the spell of his sharp critical reaction against our machine-ridden civilization; and when I came to write this chapter [on "The Age of the Machine"] shortly after, I had not yet arrived at the balanced judgment I sought to achieve, in 1934, in *Technics and Civilization*."
- ²²*Ibid.*, 132.
- ²³Wright's affinity for the Romantic poets is well-established, and he often quoted them. See, for example, his introduction to *When Democracy Builds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), i. In *Sticks and Stones*, Mumford devotes an entire chapter to "The Defeat of Romanticism."
- ²⁴F.L. Wright, "The Cardboard House," 144.
- ²⁵Kenneth Frampton cites Meyer Shapiro's critique of Broadacre City and its class implications: "[Wright] foresees, in fact, the poverty of these new feudal settlements when he provides that the worker set up his own factory-made house, part by part, according to his means, beginning with a toilet and a kitchen, and adding other rooms as he earns his means by his labor in the factory." Frampton, *Modern Architecture*, 186-191.
- ²⁶F.L. Wright, "Broadacre City: A New Community Plan" (1935), in *The City Reader*, ed. Richard T. LeGates and Frederick Stout (London: Routledge, 1996), 379.
- ²⁷Paul Oliver, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture Worldwide*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1883.