

HOMEMAKER'S WAR GUIDE





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3/ Total Mobilisation, from the Factory to the Kitchen

It is obvious that we shall have to revise our system of individual specialisation and return to something like the self-reliant competence of our pioneer forefathers. We shall have to make more things for ourselves, and fix more things for ourselves – or do without. And to do without is not the American way of life. The War-Time Guide Book for the Home. 1942

Unusual materials, designs and methods of fabrication not used in normal times are entirely justified under prevailing conditions. Herbert L. Whittemore, Engineering News-Record, 1942

From the moment that governments found themselves at the centre of a panoptic wartime organisation, no private sphere remained untouched, no space remained unaffected. Mobilisation into the armed forces or into the factories resulted de facto in the requisition of housing. At a broader scale, all raw materials, mineral or agricultural, along with every industrial material, were placed in the service of the national effort. The exclusive concentration on war production and the disruption of some traditional transportation routes stimulated scientific research and the invention of new processes and forms. There was a significant

Ralph Illigan
'Homemaker's War Guide:
Plan, Conserve, Salvage,
Air Raid Protection,
Victory Begins at Home,
Do Your Part', poster, 1942.
Harry Ransom Humanities
Research Center, The University
of Texas at Austin

increase in the number of synthetic materials, ranging from elastomers and fuels to vast assortments of products. Several new approaches emerged as a result: the substitution of other materials for steel or concrete; the employment of new substances such as plastics; but also the ingenious and economic utilisation of existing materials such as wood and cardboard, especially as a result of advances in adhesives. These developments are easier to follow in the United States, especially through the abundant advertising for new materials in professional journals and magazines for the general public, but they were equally present in Great Britain. Germany and Italy, which had embarked on a policy of autarchy in 1936, after the League of Nations imposed sanctions in response to the aggression upon Ethiopia.

War Materials

In September 1944, The Architectural Review started publication of the 'Design Review', a monthly column devoted to new materials and their future uses. The column was edited by Sadie Speight, a member of the Design Research Unit, a group founded in 1943 by the art historian Herbert Read, under the watchful eye of Nikolaus Pewsner – the editor-in-chief's assistant on paper, but far more influential in actual fact on the content of the journal. The column was meant to









enable 'a discussion of new designs, new materials and new processes . . . as a reminder of the specific visual qualities of our age which war necessities are bringing out in their purest form, and which a more carefree and fanciful post-war world should not forget'.3 In the first instalment, quasiabstract images of insulating materials such as Rosiltex and Isoflex, panels of artificial expanded rubber such as Onazote, and of fibreglass were presented like novel ideas for Christmas presents. Later instalments presented consumer products that were more deliberately frivolous.4

The first stage consisted more in economising than in innovating

The preoccupation with conserving material led to a new ethic of the project, based on economy. The issue of The Architectural Record that followed the attack on Pearl Harbor could not have been more explicit, when it affirmed that 'Total war means all-out conservation' and applied this slogan to all elements of building, including structural materials and plumbing.5 The War Production Board, created in Washington in 1942, issued more than three hundred

'Design Review'. article in The Architectural Review, June 1944.

orders of 'limitation' or 'economy of materials' in the first six months of its operation. It immediately called for 'American ingenuity' from the country's architects and engineers: 'The basic rule of conservation . . . is to eliminate the use of critical materials or to substitute materials that are less critical for the more critical ordinarily used; or through the use of materials that are entirely non-critical. To do this, changes in design and type or method of construction are usually necessary - the abandoning of the usual or "latest" forms is often essential in order that the goal may be attained. The answer is often found in "reverting to type", or those forms previously used and until recently superseded by more advanced methods.'6 Another response lay in the simplification of production processes. Thus the American Portland Cement Association claimed in its advertisements



War Speeds Concrete Progress

that using 'architectural' concrete, that is to say raw concrete showing traces of its formwork, would save in 'critical materials, transportation, equipment, construction time'.7 For his part, the modern architect Howard Robertson called for 'structural economy' in Great Britain, motivated by concern for conserving resources, as shown in a wide variety of examples in 1940.8

Wood Reinvented

Innovation became an official policy in all the nations at war. One of the most remarkable examples of this direction was the discovery of the potential of wood. Even if torrential 'storms of steel' were falling that were even heavier than those Ernst Jünger had described in 1914-1918, I would venture the hypothesis that one of the most significant materials developed during the war was wood. The kind of wood in question did not come directly from sawmills, even if the Chicago School of Design under László Moholy-Nagy worked on furniture springs and mattresses from wood strips in order to replace metal wire, a programme undertaken in another form in Great Britain as well.9 Instead, it was a reinvented wood, widely used as a substitute material, for example to take the place of steel in the truss work for the large shelters for the US Navy. In 1944, The Architectural Forum noted that 'With the suddenness of Pearl Harbor, steel virtually disappeared

'War Speeds Concrete Progress', advertisement in The New Pencil Points. CCA Collection



White noted prings out for the difficulties, so where reprings out being difficulties on to provide comfort in uphelicred furniture and bedding. A variety of types have been designed, all based on the provide confort in uphelicred for our difficulties. In addition to individual spring defense of these are now in production. In addition to individual spring defense, numerous allows are being tried sign, numerous allows are being tried sign, numerous allows are being tried sign, numerous allows are being tried with the sign, and the sign of t











as a structural material for building frames. Wood, however, in replacing it, has proven so good a substitute that it is undoubtedly slated for a peacetime popularity it has not known since the introduction of steel construction. With war, long span trusses... in turn made the rapid erection of hangars and shops possible. The wartime use of laminated wood arches and plywood girders

Top: "Sleep like a Log" on New Wood Springs", advertisement for mattress springs designed by László Moholy-Nagy at the School of Design, Chicago, in Bruce Magazine, May-June 1943. Illinois Institute of Technology Archives

Bottom: Advertisement for 'RILCO laminated wood plybeams, for flat roof structures of one and two stories', in *The Architectural* Forum, May 1943. CCA Collection are developments which designers are eager to adopt for 194X buildings. 10

Indeed, progress in the chemistry of resins and adhesives permitted the use of small pieces of wood, assembled to form beams, trusses and arches, whose strength was comparable to similar elements in metal. This recourse to smaller pieces of wood was all the more crucial as the consumption of wood became all-devouring. Glued up laminates became available in a variety of structural pieces and enabled

the construction of dirigible hangars or large sheds like the 2-million-square-foot Douglas Aircraft factory erected by the Austin Company at Orchard Place in Chicago – now the location of O'Hare Airport. The difference between these

Charles Eames
Ray Eames
Prototype for a glider nose
piece of moulded glued-up
wood laminate, in Anthony
Denzer, The Modern Home
as Social Commentary, 1943.
CCA Collection





American solutions and those imagined without recourse to phenolic resins can be gauged by reading the issue that the French periodical Techniques et architecture devoted to wood in 1942. While the patriotic precedents of the curved girders invented by Philibert de l'Orme are justifiably invoked. the assemblages built up by using dowels. braces and bolting were far from performing at the level of those made of glued-up wood laminates.11 In Italy, large three-hinged arches made of smaller elements of wood woven into lattices were also fabricated for factories and for the army.12 By combining small pieces of wood and the techniques of moulding, Charles and Ray Eames designed nose pieces for transport gliders in 1943 that were made from moulded glued-up wood laminate. And Jean Prouvé, for his part, temporarily abandoned his research into steel furniture to design a chair in 1942 that was 'entirely in wood'.13

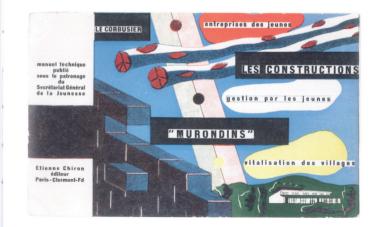
The use of plywood, a material invented in the 19th century, as Nikolaus Pevsner recounted in great detail in 1938 and 1939 in the pages of *The Architectural Review*, became widespread due to its qualities, if not its price. As the same magazine affirmed: 'In plywood the composite construction serves to tame the wood to such a degree that it is in effect an entirely different material; one about which there has been a good deal of misunderstanding, and which in the minds of many is still a cheap substitute for something better. This is a double fallacy because, in addition to being fundamentally different from solid

Charles Eames
Ray Eames
Leg splint, moulded
plywood, 1943.
The Metropolitan Museum
of Art. New York

wood, it is not in fact a particularly cheap material, 15 But this was not the problem. and its uses proliferated because powerful presses and casts were able to give it complex concave shapes, but most of all because of the new phenolic glues. Some airplanes, like the de Havilland Mosquito. had frames made of plywood impregnated with resin; this modern material was limited to military use in Great Britain. In the United States, where it became commercially available under different labels, such as Plymold, the 'wood that bends', 16 was used by László Moholy-Nagy at the Chicago School of Design to make moulded chairs. Between 1943 and 1945. Charles and Ray Eames employed it to make tailpieces for airplanes, and also for splints and litters in moulded plywood that seem to belong as much to the field of sculpture as to that of paramedical equipment. In the densely wooded country of Finland, the architect Karl Stigzelius worked on polygonal-shaped plywood tents in 1941 and 1941 with the manufacturer Parviainen.17 As wood became increasingly rare due to the extent of its use, smaller and smaller pieces were recycled, for example in Homasote panels, consisting of wood pulp and bits of newspaper. In Great Britain, the use of wood in aviation led to its rationing in other industries.18

Alongside these technical and plastic advances, trees continued to be used in much less sophisticated ways. Le Corbusier, the champion of reinforced concrete, resorted to very primitive techniques in his designs for the 'Maisons Murondins', in the context of the 'return to the land' called for by the Maréchal Pétain after the French surrender. Given the lack of shelters produced in the workshop, 'The solution appeared like the egg of Columbus: the shelter must be built in situ, with unworked for scarcely worked!

Le Corbusier Cover of *Les Constructions* '*Murondins*', 1942. CCA Collection materials found on-site, with earth, sand, wood from the forest, branches, bundles of sticks, and clumps of grass.'19 The wood was to consist of unsquared logs set by volunteers with help from the qualified craftsmen of the Compagnons de France. This project for 'provisional rural villages' was part of a series of ventures using traditional techniques for wood. The same applied to construction in Finland with trunks or logs from birch trees during the Continuation War with the Soviet Union. Conceived by the designer Ilmari Tapiovaara, among others, they are of astounding plastic quality.20 On the other side of the front. the Russians would have massive recourse to the simplest wood constructions for the needs of both the front and the rear.



In his entry for a competition organised by Gio Ponti, the director of *Stile*, Carlo Mollino developed furniture derived from wooden airplane propellers, whose characteristic features, notably their continuity, absence of visible joints and resistance to torsion were 'the modern criteria that determined the form of aircraft construction when it was based on wooden structures, and where durability, reliability and ability to resist warping are indispensable. So it is in the construction of propellers and skis, where the use of plywood is now common, due to its advantages of reliability and cost.'21

Synthetic Products The shortage of steel led to innovative solutions, the first of which were developed in Italy, starting in 1936, where reinforced concrete was recommended as a fundamental building material, to be dressed in marble or ceramic tiles for public buildings. Lightweight reinforced concretes, as well as concrete reinforced with bamboo. were also developed.²² Several modern architects, such as Giuseppe Pagano. tended to resist the excesses of these campaigns and took positions against the 'mystique of autarchy' that was a point of pride for the publications of the regime.23 At the same time, industry was finding its own solutions and developed innovative uses for aluminium, which Italy produced in quantity, Carlo Emilio Gadda, a writer trained as an engineer, had already devoted a hymn to aluminium in 1931,24 Artificial rubber, asbestos, wood particle boards - Populit - and fibreglass were all widely distributed. The leading figures

of the profession discussed the issues of autarchy in 1938 in the columns of the *Popola d'Italia.*²⁵ After studying a construction system of concrete reinforced with wood, the engineer Pier Luigi Nervi developed the technique of 'ferrocemento', using steel mesh.²⁶

Le Corbusier

Maisons 'Murondins',
plan and section, 1940.

Fondation Le Corbusier



The directives applying to construction ranged from encouragement to constraint, and in some cases, to the complete banning of civil construction. The passage occurred smoothly in Germany, where the spectre of the restrictions of the First World War, which had led to a fateful demoralisation of the population, was still present. On the other hand, British industries strongly protested in 1940 against the curtailment of non-priority programmes, and they continued the debate thereafter? — which shows in passing that democratic life continued in wartime Great Britain. In the United States, the regulation of civil production was not achieved by

interdiction, but by drawing up lists of priority materials that private builders could not obtain.²⁸ The sheer volume of construction in the United States required the invention or dissemination of new types of basic building materials, associated with the development of prefabrication. The plaster panels of the United Gypsum Company were used to build houses. One of the most successful materials in this connection was Cemesto, a construction panel of asbestos cement with a core of sugar cane fibres developed by Celotex.

But the most important changes in materials brought on by the war were

Advertisement for 'Populit', in Costruzioni Casabella, February–March 1942. CCA Collection 'Glass Fibres and their Use in Construction', article in Costruzioni Casabella, February-March 1942. CCA Collection

populit



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in the field of plastics. Although Bakelite, which had been invented in 1909, had been in widespread use before the war. an important threshold was crossed with the development of petroleum-based synthetic materials and the injectionmoulding process. Metal pieces such as valves or faucets could be successfully replaced by identical fittings in polyvinyl chloride. And invention did not stop there, leading to new uses for compounds produced in the laboratory and the search for raw materials aside from the strategic ones, such as farm products, from milk to nuts.29 Among the greatest technological successes was polymethyl methacrylate, or Plexiglas, invented in 1936 by a company of German origin, Rohm & Haas, which found its first uses in airplane canopies. Another was vinyl, which was widely

used by the US Navy as an insulating material. The Navy was also the first to use melamine formaldehyde for dishes.30 Another area of technical invention was the combination of new materials with existing ones, such as the development of sandwich panels. The Architectural Record observed in 1943 that 'men who know plastics think of them as materials which, instead of replacing standard materials, often can serve to heighten their usefulness. Plastics and wood together, for instance, can be employed where neither material would do by itself. Resin bonded plywood is an illustration. There are many others:

'Celotex Cemesto Homes', in Techniques et architecture. November 1945 CCA Collection





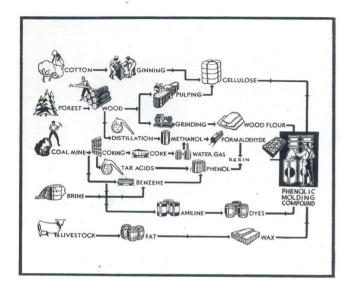


by Raymond R. Dickey, Editor, "Modern Plastics"

the glass-and-plastic sandwich which is safety glass; plastic-coated decorative fabrics; plastic-impregnated glass wool pressed into a slab with heat-insulating and structural qualities; plastic surface coatings, clear and weather-resisting, for exposed metals; canvas impregnated with plastics and moulded into a light, strong and semi-rigid shape - like the seats now made for airplane pilots.'31

Thanks to progress in synthetic elastomers, which became essential as soon as the Japanese had cut off supply of Indonesian rubber trees, there were significant advances in pneumatic equipment in all fields. The British mass-produced inflatable tanks and landing craft for use as decoys in camouflage and diversionary operations, while the use of inflatable life rafts became increasingly common on ships and aircraft.32 In construction, pneumatic structures appeared on building sites, with the American architect Wallace Neff using them as reusable moulds to make houses in sprayed-on concrete.

Raymond Dickey. 'The New World of Plastics', article in The New Pencil Points, January 1943. CCA Collection









Recycling, Insulation and Substitution

The use of earth, plaster, particles and small pieces of wood was encouraged and became a major factor in industry. Recourse to these 'poor' materials cannot in any way be seen as a technical 'regression', for it relied on innovative production methods. In addition, every possible means was explored to organise the recovery and

Top: The production of plastics, diagram, in E. F. Lougee, Plastics from Farm and Forests, 1943. Getty Research Institute

Bottom: 'Plastics catalogue', illustration in The Architectural Forum, March 1943. CCA Collection reuse of metals. In occupied Paris, monumental statues were dismantled and metted down, while in London a campaign to take down the fences around private squares was underway.³³ In Marseitle, the engineer Robert Lavocat and the architect Jacques Coüelle invented 'ceramic spindles' in the form of truncated cones to enable the construction of inexpensive vaults,³⁴

The energy consumption of dwellings was a particular focus of attention, and in America it led to what was no doubt the first campaign for thermal insulation, by means of insulating panels of wood scraps, compressed straw and cotton fibre, whose production grew rapidly.³⁵ The notion of conservation was applied to energy consumption, in building construction that used technologically simple materials in the place of thick masonry construction.

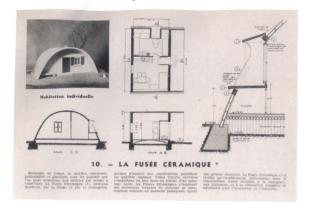
For the French, one German term more than any other came to express all the shortages of the occupation:

Ersatz (substitute), used in relation to coffee, chocolate, fabrics, etc. Issues of substitution were widespread during the war. In Paris, Henri-Marcel Magne. a professor at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers and a member of the Collaboration group, organised in 1942 an exhibition on 'replacement materials' for the Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale.36 This policy of substitution, carried forth on a global scale, occasionally led to strange results: in 1941, because the green colour on packs of Lucky Strike cigarettes contained metal, Raymond Loewy was asked to rethink the design of the packaging.

'Construction of a "balloon" house' [project by Wallace Neff], in Techniques et architecture, November 1945. CCA Collection





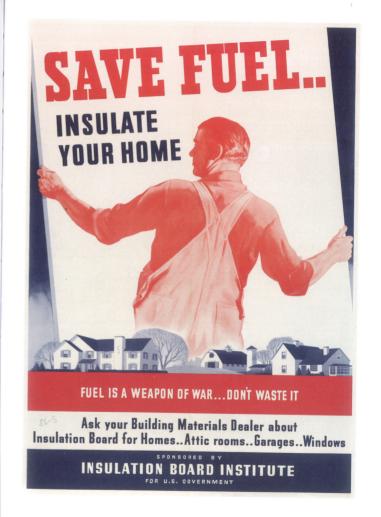


The Housewife, Combatant and Manager

While construction materials were being regulated through rationing and the administrative regulation of markets, households were also subject to significant programmes of restriction. The distribution of both organic and artificial substances, whether for food, for textiles, or for cleaning and repair of buildings was carefully and parsimoniously controlled. Cities were the bastions of the home front in the system put in place to wage total war and they in turn consisted of myriad small forts: each and every dwelling was mobilised from the very first days of war. War culture affected every practice within the house, and the domestic

component was celebrated in the press and in film and radio just as much as the military component, 37 As had been the case twenty-five years earlier, a general policy of rationing was introduced in the warring nations, which regulated access to foodstuffs, textiles and tobacco. Highly visible campaigns were launched to convince families to consume materials sparingly and to recycle waste. Every form of persuasion was put to use and applied across the board. from food to underwear. The Scandale brand of girdles, for example, invited Frenchwomen under occupation to extend the life of their intimate apparel.38 Transformed into a household manager - the French word ménagère (housewife) shares the same

Top: The ceramic spindle barrel-vault hut, in Techniques et architecture, July 1945. Collection of the author 'Save Fuel . . . Insulate your Home', poster, c. 1942. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin



root as the English 'manager' - the mistress of the house was asked to 'plan', to 'conserve' and to 'recover', according to the terms of an American poster of 1942, entitled 'Homemaker War Guide'. The domestic hattle station was transformed by these kinds of measures, and they affected the very concept of buildings and their interiors. In the United States, homes participating in these programmes displayed a sign on their window that stated 'This is a V Home' Specific manuals were developed to help builders and residents follow the technical prescriptions, such as the War-Time Guide Book for the Home, whose subtitle was 'Make It Yourself, Fix It Yourself', 39 The guiding principles were economy and selfsufficiency in maintaining and managing the home, which entailed significant revisions to home economics manuals, a very widespread literary genre.

In terms of food preparation, the war further extended the programmes for the rationalisation of domestic space that had started prior to 1914 with Christine Frederick and had developed after 1925 with the Frankfurt kitchen, the most radical form of a domestic space structured like a workspace. With the management of food supplies and the transformations in foodstuffs demanded by the war, it was no longer enough for women to simply be domestic producers. In the United States, in addition to the half a million women mobilised into the armed forces, another five million of them were employed in the defence industries.40 In the absence of men. many women became both housewives and heads of family, and they were urged by official campaigns, by food corporations,

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'Restrictions', advertisement for Scandale girdle, in L'Illustration, 24 May 1941. Collection of the author

and by women's magazines, from the Ladies' Home Journal to Good Housekeeping, to become veritable managers at the heart of the home. They organised children into squads and assigned them tasks, they planned meals and food shopping in advance, they stocked the refrigerator judiciously, and used their rationing tickets carefully.4' New types of prepared, ready-to-eat foods began to appear, in addition to the substitute foodstuffs that were currently on the menu for families of all countries, from saccharine and powdered eggs to coffee made from roasted cereals.



'Help Bring Them Back to You!', poster, 1943. The Wolfsonian-Florida International University, Miami Beach, Florida, gift of Leonard A. Lauder

From 'Useful Objects' to the Utility Scheme

Cultural institutions continued to play a distinct role in persuasion campaigns aimed at educating consumers and quiding them, when the market continued to function, towards reasonable purchases. In 1942. The Museum of Modern Art in New York put together an exhibition entitled 'Useful Objects in Wartime', imparting an aura to the most modest of domestic objects made from non-strategic materials. As the fifth in a series devoted to everyday objects costing less than ten dollars, this exhibition followed the criteria established by the Conservation and Substitution Branch of the War Production Board. The prescriptions CCA

of that administrative branch served as the programme for the exhibition, which consisted of three sections: 'Household objects made of non priority materials; articles asked for by men and women in the Army and Navy; and supplies necessary for adequate civilian defense'.42 The exhibition fulfilled a double mission: to make consumers more vigilant in their decisions, avoiding 'critical' metals such as nickel, copper, aluminium, tin and steel,

'Useful Objects in Wartime', two-page spread in the Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art, December 1942-January 1944.

along with plastics such as lucite, Plexiglas.





ALUMINUM supplies are not adequate for military needs.





LUCITE and PLEXIGLASS are





The Japanese now control the major



Don't buy BEETLEWARE or BAKELITE—they are needed for

nylon, and other materials used for aircraft and at the same time to help them acquire a taste for functional and innovative objects.

The rationing of consumer objects was already the rule around the world, but the most extensive policy was deployed in Great Britain, with the ambitious Utility Scheme. or public interest programme, elaborated by the Board of Trade in 1943. It put in place a veritable public administration for the production of everyday objects. Redefining the catalogue of producers, it promoted the most efficient use of materials and labour not only in the production of furniture, but also for glassware, clothing, lingerie and shoes.43 This series of measures affected design as much as production, and aimed at drastically reducing the range of objects

Objects on display in the 'Useful Objects in Wartime' exhibition. Clockwise, from lower left: Russel Wright. American Modern salad bowl, glazed earthenware, manufactured & Tool Corporation. by Steubenville Pottery Company, Steubenville. Ohio, 1937, Attributed to Paul V. Gardner, lower section of Flameware double boiler, Pyrex glass section of double and wood, manufactured by Corning Glass Works, Corning, New York, c. 1940. Peter Schlumbohm. Chemex coffee pot. glass, wood and leather. manufactured by Chemex Corp., New York, c. 1939. Attributed to Paul V. Gardner, double boiler. Pyrex glass and stainless steel, manufactured by Corning Glass Works, Corning, New York.

c. 1937. Designer unknown, Silver Streak iron, Pyrex glass and chromium-plated steel manufactured by Corning Glass Works, Corning, New York, and Saunders Yonkers, New York, 1943. The Liliane and David M. Stewart Program for Modern Design Salad bowl, lower boiler and coffee pot: gift of Dr Michael Sze Double boiler: gift of Eric Brill



utility furniture



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offered for consumption, shaping material culture in Britain for an entire decade. The programme was set up by a Utility Design Panel, under the direction of the designer Gordon Russell. It included manufacturers and designers, and was accompanied by a vigorous propaganda campaign, leading to exhibitions such as the one in the West End of London in 1942. Its programmes aimed at formal simplicity, at reducing redundancies between objects that simply differed in outward appearance, and especially at the elimination of decoration. which was considered too costly in terms of materials and labour. In keeping with these goals, the porcelain producer Wedgwood marketed a simplified Victory china.44 As The Architectural Review would observe in 1946, 'Much of the utility furniture that was produced during the war met with a somewhat discouraging reception from the general public. 45 The Czech architect Jacques Groag, a disciple of Adolf Loos. was one of Russell's principal collaborators. In 1946, Russell wrote up a very favourable account of the programme, and said of Groag: The modern movement was in his blood and he provided exactly the right counter-irritant to the most prosaic outlook which might so easily have grown up owing to the bludgeoning of difficulties and shortages of every kind. It was so

fatally simple to take the easiest solution. and let many details go on in the way the trade has always done them."46 The proponents of modern architecture expected this programme to bring to fruition those experiments in everyday objects that had taken place in the 1930s. particularly in the realm of public housing. The war would thus act as a kind of accelerator in the transformation of taste, as The Architectural Review indicated as early as 1943, formulating the expectation that the first attempts to link 'utility and austerity' would lead to 'utility furniture in thousands of houses, of the workmanship of this first batch and, on top of that, of cheerful design could indeed become a corner-stone of a successful housing policy. Once people could sincerely like their State-aided furniture purchases, besides appreciating their usefulness, they might very well, by such gaiety and pleasurable domesticity, be cured of their longing for bogus glamour, 47 As Loosian a proposition as ever there was.

The Victory in the Garden

Even the garden went off to war, insofar as it was used for producing food that would offset some of the deficiencies and restrictions of rationing, or even sometimes

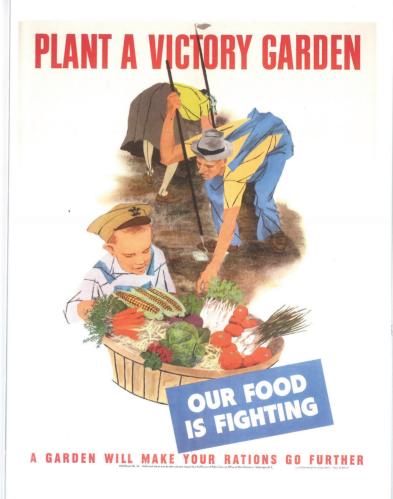
'Utility Furniture',
'Bathroom Equipment',
'Kitchen Equipment' and
'Pottery' in The Architectural
Review, October 1946.
CCA Collection

as a means of resistance, as was the case in the ghetto gardens and gardens in prison camps.48 'Victory gardens', which provided nourishment for families to supplement the foodstuffs commercially available, spread throughout Great Britain, Canada and the United States, 49 with daily labour in the flower beds serving as a simulacrum of normality, thereby boosting morale. The breakdown of economic networks and the evacuation of the cities led many families to rely on their personal agricultural activities to feed their families. This was the case of scores of architects who had been spared mobilisation but were deprived of professional employment. They transformed themselves into farmers, like Berthold Lubetkin, who withdrew to his farm in Wotton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire. His colleague Wells Coates came upon him at work in his field and described him thus: 'The farm is a mixed one, that is to say it is partly dairy and partly arable. Nowadays, of course, everybody is growing as much food as possible and the farms of England haven't been so prosperous or so busy for a very long time. There are wheat, barley,

oats, dredge corn, root crops, potatoes and other growing crops, as well as about 40 heads of cattle.'50

In the United States, the wartime vegetable gardens continued the programme that the Homestead Movement had first formulated in the nineteenth century and that had been taken up again during the New Deal with the aim of giving each household one acre for a productive garden. This new development provided retrospective justification, while making it possible to produce conserved fruits and vegetables to feed families. By 1943, twothirds of households would have a 'victory garden'. For his part, the Nazi landscape architect Alwin Seifert produced designs for wartime gardens that proliferated in Germany⁵¹ as a continuation of the policy of the Selbstversorgersiedlungen, or selfsufficient housing estates, which had grown up around the periphery of large cities after the crisis of 1929. Thus the tendencies towards de-urbanism, or at least for some reconciliation of urban dwellers with the earth, took form, under the pressure of necessity, in concrete initiatives.

> 'Plant a Victory Garden', poster, 1943. The Wolfsonian-Florida International University, Miami Beach, Florida, gift of Leonard A. Lauder



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