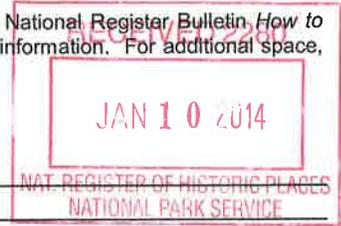


### National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items

New Submission  Amended Submission



#### A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residential Architecture on Outer Cape Cod, 1929 – 1979

#### B. Associated Historic Contexts

Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Architecture Movement in the United States, 1920 – 1979  
Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residential Architecture in Massachusetts, 1929 – 1979  
Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residential Architecture on Outer Cape Cod, 1929 – 1979

#### C. Form Prepared by

name/title Virginia H. Adams/Sr. Architectural Historian; Jenny Fields Scofield AICP, Laura Kline, and Quinn Stuart/Architectural Historians; and Blake McDonald/Assistant Architectural Historian  
organization PAL (The Public Archaeology Laboratory, Inc.) date February 2011  
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#### D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.  
(         See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Adrian H. Potter Deputy FPO January 10, 2014  
Signature and title of certifying official | Date  
National Park Service  
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Patrick Andrews 2/25/2014  
Signature of the Keeper | Date of Action

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**Table of Contents for Written Narrative**

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

	<b>Page Numbers</b>
<b>E. Statement of Historic Contexts</b> (if more than one historic context is documented, present them in sequential order.)	
See Continuation Sheets.	3-50
<b>F. Associated Property Types</b> (Provide description, significance, and registration requirements.)	
See Continuation Sheets.	51-63
<b>G. Geographical Data</b>	
See Continuation Sheets.	64
<b>H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods</b> (Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.)	
See Continuation Sheets.	65
<b>I. Major Bibliographical References</b> (List major written works and primary location of additional documentation: State Historic Preservation Office, other State agency, Federal agency, local government, university, or other, specifying repository.)	
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**Estimated Burden Statement:** Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, PO Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503

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## SECTION E. Statement of Historic Contexts

### I. Introduction

The *Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residential Architecture on Outer Cape Cod, 1929 – 1979* Multiple Property Documentation Form incorporates shared historical themes, patterns, and trends for historic properties within three tiered contexts:

- Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Architecture Movement in the United States, 1920 – 1979
- Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residential Architecture in Massachusetts, 1929 – 1979
- Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residential Architecture on Outer Cape Cod, 1929 – 1979

The development of mid-twentieth-century Modern residential architecture in the United States, as embodied in the minimalist summer vacation cottage, is crystallized within the four Outer Cape Cod towns of Eastham, Wellfleet, Truro, and Provincetown that partially encompass the Cape Cod National Seashore (Cape Cod NS).<sup>1</sup> Mid-twentieth-century Modernism extolled a radically novel approach to residential design, structure, and materials that intersected with the distinct freshness, informality, and forward-looking energy of post-World War II culture. These characteristics and qualities are conveyed in a loosely configured group of simple, wood-frame, warm-weather and year-round cottages that engage minimalist form, essential structure, basic materials, functional designs, and the surrounding natural coastal landscape. The unique factors underlying the extraordinary and quiet phenomenon of these houses thread inextricably through events, trends, and individuals that caused the flourishing of mid-twentieth-century Modern houses in the Outer Cape summer communities. These houses emerged from a burgeoning recreational industry combined with the extraordinary confluence of Modern international and American architectural, artistic, intellectual, and social forces within Massachusetts, the region, and the nation.

The historic context for the *Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residences on Outer Cape Cod, 1929 – 1979* multiple property nomination possesses state level of significance, and individual properties may be significant at the national, state, or local level. Each of the three tiered historic contexts begins at a date specific to that context and ends in 1979, marking the increasing presence of Postmodernism.

*Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Architecture Movement in the United States, 1920 – 1979*: The beginning date of 1920 encompasses the earliest known presence and works of mid-twentieth-century Modern architects in the United States. The end date of 1979 encompasses the ongoing construction of mid-twentieth-century Modern residential designs through the 1970s and the transition to the Postmodern style in the United States.

*Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residential Architecture in Massachusetts, 1929 – 1979*: The year 1929 registers the founding of the Harvard Society for Contemporary Art in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the first organization in the country with changing exhibits of recent art, and a watershed in Modernism awareness and advocacy. It held the first Bauhaus exhibit in the United States in 1930, two years before the famous Museum of Modern Art show in New York. The end date reflects the continuing design and construction of locally significant, and some potentially state-level significant, mid-twentieth-century Modern residential works in Massachusetts through the 1970s, concurrent with growing interest in the Postmodern style.

*Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residential Architecture on Outer Cape Cod, 1929 – 1979*: In 1929, designer/builder Jack Phillips inherited 800 acres on the Wellfleet/Truro line, which he used for his own Modernist designs and subdivided for sale to Marcel Breuer, Serge Chermayeff and others aspiring to build a Modern seasonal house on the Outer Cape.

<sup>1</sup> The Outer Cape was defined for the purposes of this MPDF as including the Towns of Eastham, Wellfleet, Truro, and Provincetown, which encompasses the majority of Cape Cod National Seashore (NS) land. The Nauset Beach section of the Cape Cod NS extends into the Towns of Orleans and Chatham, which are commonly included in geographic definitions of the Outer Cape. There are no mid-century Modern houses on the narrow barrier beach.

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The date marks the beginning of a prolific period of incubating and experimenting with mid-twentieth-century Modern summer cottages on the Outer Cape by noted international, regional, and local architects. The end date of 1979 testifies that there are examples of mid-twentieth-century Modern style houses by prolific local architects Charlie Zehnder, Paul Krueger, and others that were constructed into the late 1970s on the Outer Cape and possess at least a local level of significance within this historic context. The end of the period is punctuated by Charles Jencks' Postmodern "Garagia Rotunda" of 1976–1977 in Wellfleet, erected the year he published his influential book, *The Language of Postmodern Architecture*.

Further discussion and justification of the extended end date for the historic context is presented in the final section of this historic context under Criteria Consideration G for properties that are less than 50 years old.

### Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Houses on Outer Cape Cod Listed in the National Register

There are no Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Houses on Outer Cape Cod currently listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

## II. Modern Architecture Movement in the United States, 1920–1979

### Roots of Mid-Twentieth-Century Modernism

#### Emerging Modernism

The architectural theories and practices that coalesced as mid-twentieth-century Modernism in the United States beginning in the 1920s established a radically new aesthetic, which broke with the historical past and advocated design based on function, economy, efficiency, simplicity, planar forms, new technologies and materials, and an intimate relationship with site and nature. Modernism's antecedents emerged in the late nineteenth century from Industrial Revolution technological breakthroughs in building materials combined with the design and production ideals of the Arts and Crafts movement, which together generated new architectural forms, engineering structures, and naturalistic decorative modes.

In the United States three highly influential American architects developed distinctive individual and innovative approaches to architectural design, technology, materials, and site relationship. Henry Hobson Richardson's (1838–1886) massive masonry buildings in the Northeast and Midwest emphasized clarity of form, attention to function, and minimal historical references that established Richardsonian Romanesque as the first American style. Working in Chicago and the Midwest, Louis Sullivan (1856–1924) pioneered the use of steel frame and curtain wall technology for high rise buildings that defined the "Chicago School" or Commercial style and originated the phrase "form follows function." His designs reflected no clear historical precedent, but instead manifested simplified rational forms that also embraced a unique floral decorative idiom. Sullivan's protégée, Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959) oversaw all the residential work in the Chicago firm of Adler & Sullivan, before cultivating his own enduring organic, "Prairie School" Modernist aesthetic defined by low horizontal massing, sculptural forms, deep overhangs, open floor plans, and integration with the natural landscape. Publications of Wright's designs inspired European Modernist architects to visit and apprentice at his Taliesin studio and to move to the United States in the 1920s, and his extraordinary influence continued well past mid-century.

Several threads of early Modernism developed in Great Britain and Europe by the first decades of the twentieth century. English architect Charles F.A. Voysey (1857–1941) designed simplified and horizontal houses with concentrations of fenestration. In Europe, engineer Gustave Eiffel's (1832–1923) Eiffel Tower (1887–1889) in Paris celebrated the potential of all-metal construction. The sinuous ornament that defined the Art Nouveau spread from Victor Horta (1861–1947) in Brussels in 1892, to Hector Guimard (1867–1942) in France, and was recast as the restrained and abstracted renditions of Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868–1928) in Scotland (Hitchcock 1971:376–410). The theoretical underpinnings of European Modernism advocated addressing social issues of housing and the quality of the built environment through technology and architectural design solutions. Embracing the machine aesthetic and emphasizing the

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intellectual connection between the mode of production, function, and physical form, architects like Peter Behrens (1868–1940) and Adolph Meyer (1868–1949) in Germany, Swiss national Charles-Edouard Jeanneret (Le Corbusier) (1887–1965) in France, and Gerrit Rietveld (1888–1964) and J.J.P. Oud (1890–1963) in Holland declared their minimalist buildings to be rational and objective responses to specific design challenges. Behrens' AEG Turbine Factory, Berlin (1910) and Le Corbusier's Villa Savoy, Poissy-sur-Seine (1929–1930), along with his treatise "Vers un architecture" (1923), influenced generations of Modernists.

### The Bauhaus

In 1919, the enormously influential German Bauhaus opened as a design cooperative and teaching center for architecture and the visual arts, crystallizing current European ideas within a non-traditional and experiential school that merged technical knowledge and artistic aspiration in a workshop-based educational model. The three Bauhaus directors became major international intellectual figures, and along with their cadre of influential teachers and students, disseminated Modernism in all the plastic arts throughout the western world. Founder and director, Walter Gropius (1883–1969), declared a "new unity" that viewed all creative effort "as inseparable components of a new architecture" (quoted in Bergdoll and Dickerman 2009:10). Gropius was followed by Hannes Meyer (1889–1954) from 1928 to 1930, and lastly by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886–1969) from 1930 until the Bauhaus closure by the Nazi regime in 1933. During this period, American enthusiasts of Modern architecture visited and admired Gropius's Bauhaus School at Dessau (1925–1926), Gropius toured the United States in 1928, and Mies van der Rohe designed the seminal Modernist "Barcelona Pavilion," at the 1929 International Exposition in Barcelona, Spain. Bauhaus philosophy generally emphasized architectural function and structural efficiency, seeking to provide inexpensive housing and solve social problems through design. Over time, however, the school's legacy manifested the divergent views of its three leaders toward democratic design (Gropius), functionalism and Marxism (Meyer), and formalism (Mies van der Rohe).

### Establishing Mid-Twentieth-Century Modernism in the United States

Grounded in the accomplishments of Richardson and Sullivan and inspired by Wright, trends toward new approaches to building concepts and structural systems were also making a significant contribution to the development of technology and design in the United States. Albert Kahn's (1869–1942) prolific Detroit, Michigan firm pioneered the use of reinforced concrete and other innovative approaches in the industrial design epitomized in the Ford Motor Company's Highland Park (1909–1910) and River Rouge (1917–1928) plants. High-rise structural techniques benefited from Raymond Hood's (1881–1934) neo-Gothic Chicago Tribune Building (1924) in Chicago and Art Deco Rockefeller Center (1933–1937) in New York City. Tall building design achieved new levels with the first International style skyscraper in the United States, the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building (1932) in Philadelphia by George Howe (1886–1955), an École des Beaux-Arts trained architect from Massachusetts, and Swiss émigré, William Lescaze (see below). Howe later served as chairman of the architecture department at Yale University from 1950 to 1954. The evocative drawings of Hugh Ferriss (1889–1962), a New York architectural delineator, helped shape the contemporary image of Modern architecture and the city. Two younger influential Modern architects emerged in this period. John Lautner (1911–1994), worked for Frank Lloyd Wright from 1933 to 1939 in California before completing the well-received Lautner House (1940) and starting his own practice in Los Angeles. Eero Saarinen (1910–1961), the son of celebrated Finnish architect Eliel Saarinen (see below), studied and taught at Cranbrook and Yale University, becoming a major figure in the mid-twentieth-century Modern corporate, institutional, and residential architecture.

Young European Modernist architects who came the United States beginning in the 1920s, in part drawn by the pioneering designs of Wright, were responsible for key commissions that propelled mid-century Modernism forward from both coasts and the center of the country. Initial expressions in the late 1920s and 1930s tended to exhibit the streamlined machine aesthetic hallmarks of the International style, and the full impact of mid-century Modernism was largely delayed until after World War II in the late 1940s. Austrian Rudolf M. Schindler (1887–1953) connected with Wright when he arrived in 1914 and settled in Los Angeles where he oversaw construction of Wright's Barnsdall (Hollyhock) House (1921) before setting up his own practice and completing the first European Modern houses in the United States—Schindler House, Los Angeles, CA (1922) and Lovell Beach House, Newport Beach, CA (1926). Another Austrian, Richard Neutra (1892–1970), came in 1923, briefly worked for Wright, and then practiced in Los Angeles, specializing in

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luxurious houses designed with a detailed understanding of client program needs. On the east coast, Swiss architect William E. Lescaze (1896–1969) established a practice in New York in 1923, designing the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building (1932), regarded as the earliest International style commercial building in the United States, under a brief partnership with George Howe and went on to produce a number of important residential and commercial buildings. Sun Terrace, also known as the Frederick V. Field House, (1929–1932) by Lescaze in New Hartford, Connecticut is considered to be the first International style “country” house in the United States.

Nordic design influences initially came to the United States through Finnish architect and urban planner Eliel Saarinen (1873–1950), who was instrumental in combining traditional Nordic medieval, Art Nouveau, and Richardsonian Romanesque elements in a National Romantic style after Finland’s independence from Russia in 1917 (Quantrill 1995:37). Following his acclaimed second place design in the Chicago Tribune building competition, Saarinen moved to the Chicago area in 1923. He designed the Cranbrook Academy of Art campus in Bloomfield Hills near Detroit, Michigan in 1925 and was appointed president of Cranbrook, which was modeled after the Bauhaus, in 1932. He also taught at the University of Michigan. His prominent Modernist students included furniture designers Ray Eames (1912–1988), Charles Eames (1907–1978), and Florence Knoll (b. 1917); his son architect Eero Saarinen (1920–1961); and city planner Edmund N. Bacon (1910–2005).

### MoMA Exhibit and Education

Two major events in the early 1930s marked a watershed in mid-century Modern architecture’s development in the United States. The Museum of Modern Art’s (MoMA) 1932 exhibit of European and American buildings, entitled “The International Style: Architecture Since 1922” in New York City, followed MoMA’s founding in 1929. Co-directed by noted architectural historian, Henry-Russell Hitchcock (1903–1987), and head of MoMA’s Department of Architecture and Design, Philip Johnson (1906–2005), the exhibit initiated an ongoing mission to educate the public about Modern architecture. Its widely read catalog defined the term “International Style” and served as a manifesto of Modernism calling for the expression of volume bounded by planes rather than mass, balance instead of symmetry, and the elimination of ornament (Hitchcock and Johnson 1932).

The Bauhaus closure in 1933 created an energetic diaspora of talented designers and intellectuals who fled the oppression of Nazi Germany. Among the first Bauhaus émigrés to the United States were textile artist Anni Albers (1899–1994) and artist and educator Josef Albers (1888–1976), who came in 1933 at the invitation of Philip Johnson to teach at the experimental Black Mountain College in North Carolina. In 1937, American architectural education and design shifted dramatically from traditional *École des Beaux-Arts* training to the Bauhaus Modern canon and ideals when Joseph Hudnut (1887–1968) engaged the former Bauhaus director Walter Gropius to head the newly founded (1936) Harvard University’s Graduate School of Design (GSD) in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Gropius asked Marcel Breuer, noted furniture designer and architect to join him. Shortly after their arrival in New England, Gropius and Breuer completed houses for themselves — the Walter Gropius House (1938) and the Breuer House I (1938–1939) in Lincoln — along with several other residences. In the Midwest, Chicago became a hub of Modernism. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe headed the architecture school at the newly created Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT) in 1940, and Lazlo Moholy-Nagy founded the New Bauhaus in 1937, which was renamed Illinois Institute of Design in 1944 and became part of IIT in 1949. By the late 1930s, large numbers of renowned European intellectuals, artists, architects, engineers, and designers had arrived in America, including architects Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer, and Hans Bayer, and artists Vassily Kandinsky, Lazlo Moholy-Nagy, Paul Klee, and Gyorgy Kepes.

Alvar Aalto (1898–1976), perhaps the most significant proponent of Finnish Modernism, was instrumental in bringing his personal Nordic interpretation of Functionalist Modern design and architecture ideas to the United States (Quantrill 1995:79). Aalto became acquainted with Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, and European Functionalism in the 1920s and first visited the United States in 1938, lecturing at Cranbrook, Yale, and in New York (Helamaa and Jetsonen 2007:17). Although his personal philosophy of Modern architecture differed somewhat from the American pragmatic approach, Aalto’s leadership role in using modular, pre-fabricated, low-cost, and standardized housing in Finnish postwar reconstruction was instrumental in his appointment as a visiting professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) starting in 1940 (Quantrill 1995:89–90). His impact was also felt through his designs for the Finnish Pavilion at

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New York's World's Fair (1939) and MIT's Baker House residential dormitory (1948, in association with Perry, Dean, and Shaw, Boston) in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and in his widely popular furniture designs (Norton 1965; Wormley 1947). Chechen-born Modern architect, designer, and educator Serge Chermayeff (1900–1996) left a successful British practice in 1940 to immigrate to the United States. Chermayeff taught at the Chicago Institute of Design, Harvard GSD, MIT, and Yale University.

### Exhibits and Publications

Widespread American popular engagement with mid-twentieth-century Modern design and ongoing critical assessment expanded through exhibits that provided physical examples and publications that offered analysis and images. The 1933 Chicago World's Fair showcased a "House of Tomorrow" Century of Progress Exposition displaying a Masonite House. In 1938, New York's MoMA reprised its pivotal 1932 exhibit with a new presentation entitled "Bauhaus." In 1939, the New York World's Fair presented an array of Modernist expressions and introduced Nordic Modern design styles through exhibits like the "House of Ideas" designed by Edward Durrell Stone (1902–1978) with furnishings by renowned Danish designer Jens Risom (b. 1916) and the Alvar and Aino Aalto's Finnish Pavilion. Demonstration homes included "The House that Chemistry Built," "The Town of Tomorrow Design," and a house of glass (Jester 1995:183; Ryan n.d.). Books such as prominent architectural historian, –Henry-Russell Hitchcock's *Modern Architecture, Romanticism and Reintegration* (1929), *The Modern House in America* by Katherine Morrow Ford and James Ford (1940), and Sigfried Gideon's *Time, Space and Architecture* (1941) helped disseminate ideas. Hitchcock's influential scholarship and prolific writings defined architectural Modernism in the United States as a distinct style in contrast to the contemporary European emphasis on technology, function, and social underpinnings. Gideon's conviction that the Modern movement reflected the logical outcome of a linear historical development supported and celebrated the efforts of Modern architects. Professional journals including *Architectural Forum*, *Progressive Architecture*, *Architectural Record*, and *American Architect and Building News*, along with popular outlets like *Life* and *Woman's Day*, published articles and photographs reaching a wide audience.

The regional growth in Modernism prompted New York's MoMA to publish the 1940 *Guide to Modern Architecture: Northeast States* edited by John McAndrew, curator of architecture, to "help increase public interest in the new architecture" (McAndrew 1940). Distributed at the museum and through MoMA's normal publication channels, the *Guide* illustrated the variety of contemporary interest in functionality and economy of design and materials, claiming that, "It is only by seeing a good deal of modern design that one can really come to understand and like it" (McAndrew 1940). The *Guide* listed and described recent Modern buildings, mostly houses, with owner and contact information and was intended to be used as a self-guided automobile tour.

### Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residences

By 1940, it was recognized that American mid-twentieth-century Modern residential architecture was evolving from the juncture and cross fertilization of European Modernism with certain elements of contemporary American design. International functionalism promoted strictly rational, intellectual, and revolutionary designs relying on a refined machine aesthetic expressed in rectilinear forms that were typically executed in steel and concrete with smooth white walls, flat roofs, and ribbon windows. In contrast, native American vernacular buildings provided a legacy of straightforward, economical, and comfortable forms built of local materials and sympathetic to regional design habits. The structural and functional solutions displayed in industrial architecture and in skyscrapers and commercial buildings, along with advances in mass production and standardization, offered the potential for practical, honest, and cost-effective American Modern architecture (McAndrew 1940). Furthermore, Frank Lloyd Wright's modern, but not austere, pioneering open plans, horizontality, and organic designs used traditional materials and bands of windows to integrate indoors and outdoors. Wright's individualistic vision of architecture and modern life significantly contributed to mid-twentieth-century Modern design through his many houses designed in the horizontal Prairie Style between 1900 and 1917 and important commissions such as the Robie House (1909) and Fallingwater (1935). The Usonian houses, from the Jacobs House of 1937 through the 1950s, previewed the popular Ranch House, providing democratic, high quality design for modest budgets. In 1940, when New York's MoMA presented "The Work of Frank Lloyd Wright," a major retrospective exhibition, Wright had been actively designing houses, writing, and training apprentices for 50 years.

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**Post-World War II in the United States, 1945–1965****Modern Life**

The end of World War II in 1945 allowed the resumption of non-essential construction for the first time since the United States entered the war in 1941. These four years had not been completely fallow, however, since they provided an incubation period in which the military industrial complex developed technological innovations, while architects and advocates investigated Modern design ideas and prepared for peacetime by promoting Modernism as the appropriate postwar style. New aspirations for Modern lifestyles, unprecedented affluence, and the freedom provided by the automobile helped to spur construction of primary and vacation homes outside of existing urban centers. Increased emphasis on prefabricated, modular, and affordable houses, and the profound infusion of European Modernist ideas and practitioners into the American architectural community accelerated the pace. New technologies and government policies also expanded the possibilities for where and how houses were built.

The postwar decades of accelerating economic activity generated a buoyant confidence and fostered a relatively affluent American society with an exponential increase in the number and variety of consumer goods. The period between the late 1940s and the 1960s in the United States has been described as a “quarter century of sustained growth at the highest rates in recorded history” and as “the greatest prosperity the world has ever known” (Patterson 1996:61). The demand for housing and the Federal programs supporting integration of veterans into the country’s social and economic fabric, such as low interest mortgage loan programs, encouraged community development based on the concept of the single-family suburban house and automobile transportation. The longstanding belief in American culture that progress is vital and beneficial coalesced with the potential of technology and research to create a vision for an improved modern way of life that aligned with Modern architecture’s design aspirations.

Post-World War II American domestic culture developed out of an unprecedented emphasis on family life, individuality, and the ideal that the average citizens, especially returning veterans, each deserved their own private utopia in the form of an affordable single-family suburban house with a comfortable amount of interior and exterior space for enjoyment. Patterns of work and leisure were changing, and the mass retreat from cities that expanded the suburbs was connected to mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture and the desire to be close to nature (Scully 1965; Wright 1983:253). This renewed interest in an enhanced quality of life, paired with the development of innovative new construction materials and mechanized conveniences, revolutionized preferences for residential design. Modern technologies like electricity, time-saving kitchens, air conditioning, hot water or forced air heat, plastics, and the automobile were within reach for many Americans and allowed a conscious celebration of a simplified modern life. By the early 1960s, many contemporary homes incorporated mid-twentieth-century Modern inspired design concepts such as of open-plan living spaces, picture windows or glazed walls with views of a natural or suburban setting, and the placement of rooms to promote privacy and efficient child rearing. Bedrooms and play areas were located in specific zones, separate from a spacious living room and kitchens typically defined the center of the house, to provide efficient access to every domestic work space. Views from the kitchen often allowed observation of the yard and communication with the main dining and living rooms. The emergence of consumer marketing targeted at the “professional housewife” and related growth of the industrial and interior design professions amplified the popularity of the Modern aesthetic and desire for mechanized household appliances (Massey 1990:163–165). At the same time, the relationship between architects and residential clients became more fluid and democratic. Modernists claimed that “The new client of this new architecture is the ordinary citizen” (Von Eckhardt 1961:6).

Residential and corporate growth expanded during this era as a new, modern culture informed by “technological media, machine production, global communication, and postwar politics” developed (Bergdoll and Dickerman 2009). In the United States, major corporations and educational institutions in California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, Illinois, and elsewhere commissioned architects who worked in a Modernist mode to design large and highly visible office, industrial, and commercial projects.

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**Single-Family Houses**

The single-family house held a position of great importance in traditional and postwar American culture. In contrast to Europe, where the community responsibility to provide societal housing prevailed, America's concept of community revered the freestanding, land-rooted residence that represented the fundamental ideas of individuality, freedom, and personal development. During the postwar period, booming prosperity, along with Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration generous mortgage programs, drove a phenomenal growth of new-single family homes, mostly in the suburbs. In 1944, construction started on 114,000 single-family homes, and by 1950 the number of home starts had skyrocketed to a record high of nearly 1.7 million. Between 1945 and 1955 approximately 15 million housing units were constructed in the United States, and the number of homeowners increased from 50 to 60 percent. Most were primary homes, but automobile-based regional tourism and the wish for escape, leisure, sport, nature, and freedom motivated nearly one-quarter of Americans to also own, rent, or share a vacation home by 1967 (Ames & McLelland 2002:65; Gordon 2001:76; Patterson 1996:71–72).

Exhibits and expositions supported the dialogue between home-owning consumers' demand for new products and industry marketing. New York's MoMA continued its crusade to educate the public about Modern design through exhibits and publications. The popularity of a prefabricated all-metal demonstration house by the Lustron Company inspired MoMA's model house project for Marcel Breuer's "House in the Museum Garden" in 1949, which drew record crowds, and Gregory Ain's "Exhibition House in 1950" (Bergdoll and Dickerman 2009). The New York World's Fair of 1964 showcased mid-twentieth-century American culture and technology including the New York State Pavilion by Philip Johnson with Richard Foster. George Nelson and Henry Wright's *Tomorrow's House* of 1945 and architect and prefabrication advocate Carl Koch's *At Home with Tomorrow* of 1958 were among many books published that inspired prospective homebuyers. Leading trade journals, shelter magazines, and newspapers such as *Architectural Forum*, *Architectural Record*, *House and Garden*, *House Beautiful*, *Holiday*, *American Home*, *Woman's Day*, and *Life* publicized new work and sponsored design development. In 1945 John Entenza, editor of *Arts & Architecture* magazine, initiated perhaps the most influential program on Case Study Houses. He commissioned major architects to design and build affordable houses for average Americans that used new techniques and materials, could be duplicated, and embodied postwar living (McCoy 1962). Charles Eames, Pierre Koenig, Richard Neutra, Raphael Soriano, and others participated with projects built primarily in California and the West until 1962. These demonstration houses showed approximately 400,000 visitors how good single-family house designs could be developed using inexpensive materials. Other magazines followed suit with a plethora of programs over the following decades.

Enthusiasm for Modern architecture and design surged in the United States starting in the mid-1940s and proliferated in the popular magazines and professional journals, pivotal architecture schools, and in influential pockets of the emerging profession and its clientele. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of Americans clung to familiar traditionally based, simple and modest house forms like the classic colonial Cape Cod house promoted by well-known Massachusetts architect Royal Barry Wills (1895–1962) and the Spanish Colonial ranch house re-interpreted by California architect Cliff May (1909–1989). Modernism's influence on traditionally inspired houses was expressed through the use of modern technologies and materials, the introduction of new house types such as the split-level and ranch, and the increasing use of open floor plans. One significant impediment to the wider spread of Modern residential designs during the mid-twentieth century was the quiet opposition of skeptical building officials and lenders. Obtaining a building permit or a mortgage for a mid-twentieth-century Modern design residence was often notoriously difficult. The execution of Modern houses also required some flexibility on the part of builders in their willingness to use non-traditional materials, methods, and designs. However, some builders specialized in Modern construction, both unique and prefabricated designs, and a number combined construction with real estate development.

Significant concentrations of mid-twentieth-century Modern houses were constructed in the United States around the major schools associated with former Bauhaus leaders and European Modernists in Cambridge, MA (Harvard and MIT), Chicago, IL (IIT), Detroit, MI (Cranbrook), and New Haven, CT (Yale). New Canaan, CT in particular, along with Fairfield and Litchfield counties, and parts of eastern New York State were key centers of Modernism in the New York City metropolitan area after World War II. California had a long and enduring connection with European Modern architects starting in the 1920s, and parts of Florida and Texas developed enclaves of postwar mid-century buildings. The

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East Coast subset of mid-twentieth-century Modernism devoted to beachside summer houses arose primarily in two locations: in the Hamptons on Long Island, NY and on Outer Cape Cod, MA. Within the New England region, Connecticut and Massachusetts claimed the most robust and important mid-twentieth-century Modern design activity, while Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island experienced relatively limited Modern suburban and vacation house construction.

### Prefabricated, Semi-Prefabricated, System, and Prototype Houses

The quest for the prefabricated house has been a long and seldom realized persistent theme in twentieth century architecture. This category of houses is comprised of three basic types: the “kit of parts” house, the modular panelized house, and the self-contained volumetric unit (Walker Art Center 2006). Aladdin started offering semi-prefabricated housing kits of precut and numbered factory parts in 1906. Sears Roebuck & Co. was perhaps the most commercially successful firm that marketed a line of kit houses, with 100,000 units sold between 1908 and 1940. Modernist architects envisioned prefabricated houses, and related standardized system and modular houses, as the logical consequence of efficiency and good design. Le Corbusier wrote about mass production houses in a treatise on the beauty of the “house machine” in 1919. Walter Gropius and Adolph Meyer developed “Building Block,” a standardized housing system in 1923, and Buckminster Fuller unveiled an early concept for his round metal *Dymaxion House* in 1929. During the 1930s General Houses Corporation and American Homes, Inc. introduced steel houses selling for as little as \$3,000, and Wally Byam unveiled his iconic aluminum Airstream “Clipper” automobile trailer. More than 750,000 visitors toured George Fred Keck’s “House of Tomorrow” at the 1933 Chicago World’s Fair. In 1936, Frank Lloyd Wright proposed his *Usonian House*, a system of modular units and standardized details; although not intended for factory production, more than 100 examples were eventually built. The General Panel Corporation commissioned Walter Gropius and Konrad Wachsmann to design a panelized house, the “Packaged House,” in 1942. While a technical success, the project failed financially (Ames and McLelland 2002:65; Walker Art Center 2006). The same year, Marcel Breuer, who had a long-standing interest in industrial production, proposed two semi-prefabricated, demountable building types intended as assembly-line products: the “Yankee Portables” and the “Plas-2-Point” (Blake 1948:80). During World War II, 150,000 Quonset huts, a prefabricated semi-cylindrical, metal structure designed by engineers Peter Dongh and Otto Brandenberger in 1940, were erected (Walker Art Center 2006).

The huge post-World War II demand for housing to serve an exploding population and returning veterans fueled a spurt of efforts to design and mass-produce semi-prefabricated houses for assemblage on site and complete prefabricated houses units. Architects and critics enthusiastically promoted the concept of manufactured housing to address the nation’s housing shortage. John Entenza’s essay, “What is a House,” in the July 1944 issue of *Arts & Architecture* extolled the possibilities of modern prefabrication technologies. Federal Housing Administration (FHA) loan financing encouraged this trend in order to meet the need for new homes and help shift factories to peacetime production. The increasing availability of relatively inexpensive mass-produced materials and new building and manufacturing technologies, as well as the creation of a reliable distribution system, supported by the newly constructed interstate highways and the newly standardized trucking industry, also encouraged the development of manufactured house parts and designs.

The postwar housing boom saw new single-family housing starts increase eight-fold from 114,000 to 937,000 between 1944 and 1946 and reach an unprecedented high of 1,692,000 by 1950. A number of house manufacturers, such as National Homes Corporation and Gunnison Homes in Indiana, engaged well-known architects like Royal Barry Wills (1895–1962) and Charles M. Goodman (1906–1992) to design traditionally inspired homes with the latest conveniences and features and readily adapted their conventional building products factories to these postwar opportunities (Ames and McLelland 2001:65). Mid-twentieth-century Modern architects, on the other hand, celebrated new, often experimental, building materials and construction methods to fulfill the vision of a simplified home lifestyle improved by time-saving technologies, organization, and open-concept plans with aesthetic views of exterior landscapes. This approach necessitated experimentation, testing, and collaboration with materials industries. Affordable and standardized new materials were showcased in model homes and integrated into both high style Modern and mass-produced, manufactured designs. Many architects developed semi-prefabricated or prototype system designs both as early exercises, and in response to contests and commissions sponsored by popular magazines and professional journals. Bauhaus ideals conveyed by Walter Gropius directing architects to design functional and comfortable homes that could be inexpensively

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replicated to enrich the life of masses and improve human condition, alongside post-World War II federal housing programs supporting affordable and efficient modern housing, encouraged experimentation in reproducible designs. Experimentation with innovative materials and building technologies was a hallmark of many mid-twentieth-century Modern houses. Affordable designs often incorporated inexpensive lumberyard products like plywood, Homasote, and Masonite, as well as attempts to utilize steel and aluminum.

Despite the fact that nearly 300 prefabricated homebuilders existed by 1946, their combined output accounted for only a small percentage of new house construction. The reasons for lack of success varied but were attributed to design, production, and cost issues. At the same time the assembly line approach proved the most efficient and cost effective method, as dramatically demonstrated by William J. Levitt through construction of 17,500 houses between 1947 and 1951 at the nation's first large-scale suburb, Levittown on Long Island, NY (Ames and McLelland 2002:65; Walker Art Center 2006).

By 1950 with the immediate postwar transition period over, FHA and other federal agencies had shifted attention to conventional technologies and housing, leaving the climate "unhealthy for experimenters" (*Architectural Record* 1950). Nevertheless, determined efforts to devise a viable Modernist prefabricated house were ongoing. In 1947, industrial designer Henry Dreyfuss and architect Edward Larrabee Barnes collaborated on a paper core and aluminum skinned panel house for the Vultex Aircraft Company. In 1948, MIT architecture school graduate John Bemis, along with architect Carl Koch and others, erected the first demountable, unfolding Acorn House in an apple orchard in Concord, MA using a honeycomb sandwich of corrugated resin paper faced with plywood, but only two were sold (Koch and Lewis 1948:108). The Lustron House was developed in the Midwest by the Swedish-born engineer, inventor, and entrepreneur Carl Strandlund using porcelain enameled-steel panels as component parts. During its short existence from 1947 to 1950, the company rejected initial concepts that incorporated Modern elements in favor of more traditional designs with mass appeal modeled after a small ranch. Lustron sold approximately 2,500 houses around the country before it closed ([www.lustronpreservation.org](http://www.lustronpreservation.org); Walker Art Center 2006; Vairo 2009). In contrast to these reproducible houses based on specially manufactured materials, the Charles and Ray Eames House of 1949 in Pacific Palisades, CA, which was one of *Arts & Architecture's* Case Study houses and a one-off design, demonstrated the use of easily available industry standards like steel framing, glass, and metal panels.

In 1953, Carl Koch, who was arguably the nation's premier designer of mid-twentieth-century Modern semi-prefabricated buildings, introduced the Techbuilt House, a wood-based system with a post-and-beam frame and four-foot modules for wall, floor, and roof panels. Koch reduced costs by eliminating the divisions between the main floor with the attic and basement, and providing component parts that could be delivered by truck and erected in a few days. The design included opportunities for customization and adaptation to specific building sites (Walker Art Center 2006; *House & Home* 1953). Starting with the two-story *Excursion*, Koch added multiple types and presented one-story house and vacation cottage versions beginning in 1956, which constituted two-thirds of sales by the early 1960s (*House & Home* 1963). The innovative Techbuilt House was advertised as a design for the expression of individual family living requirements and proved to be Koch's most commercially and critically successful project for middle class suburban homes and vacation cottages (Techbuilt n.d.). The Techbuilt concept focused on providing a basic space suitable for families to adapt over time by rearrangement, improvement, or expansion. Amenities offered included mechanical systems, Techbuilt's "Spacemaking Furniture," lighting, kitchen fixtures and appliances, and wall and floor finishes (Koch and Lewis 1958; *House & Home* 1954a).

Sales increased from \$600,000 in 1954 to approximately \$2,400,000 in 1956, then began to drop off in line with national trends (Koch and Lewis 1958:174; Price 1957:7). In 1958 Koch published *At Home with Tomorrow*, his manifesto on the nation's modern housing. Koch noted that the company offered 22 different house models that were designed to be customized depending on location, site, degree of finish desired, carport or garage, landscaping, and life style. Four factories and 90 builder-dealer franchises had produced houses in 32 states. (Koch and Lewis 1958:146). Despite initial challenges, within 10 years of startup, by 1963 Techbuilt had sold about 3,000 packages and had a current volume of over 300 sales a year. Techbuilt attributed its success to its distinctive and high quality contemporary design, efficient construction methods, interest at the builder franchise level, and an effective marketing approach (*House & Home* 1963). Television coverage, magazine and newspaper articles, and print advertisements attracted people seeking a well-designed,

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modern, convenient, and cost conscious home. Techbuilt Houses received national merit awards from *Parent's Magazine* (1954) and *House & Home* (1956) and were featured in *American Builder*, *Better Homes & Gardens*, *American Home*, *Popular Science*, and *Bluebook* (Koch 1956). Techbuilt houses were built in modest quantities, mostly in ones and twos, in most states across the country (Koch and Lewis 1958:145). Production and sales tapered off in the 1960s.

Several other Boston-area architects created other semi-prefabricated building systems that were advertised in professional and popular magazines nationwide and saw varying degrees of commercial success, Deck House started in 1947 by William Berkes, a Harvard GSD graduate and student of Walter Gropius, as well as Core House started by Charles Cuetara (Walker Art Center 2006; Gordon 2001:119). A number of notable architects designed prototype houses for which only a few repeat plans were sold, including Marcel Breuer's 1940's Llong House that he built in Wellfleet, MA, and in New Canaan, and Litchfield, CT, as well as Philip Johnson's Wiley Speculative House (1954–1955) and John Black Lee's System House (1961, with Harrison DeSilver) in New Canaan, CT.

### Planned Residential Neighborhoods and Colonies

The Federal Housing Authority (FHA) encouraged national subdivision trends after its establishment in 1934, and government-backed development financing and associated mortgage insurance resulted in the creation of federally standardized design preferences. The FHA promoted site planning that protected property values through deed restrictions, retained natural landscape features, and promoted public safety and quality of life. FHA-recommended subdivision standards published between 1936 and 1940 encouraged designs that incorporated curvilinear blocks and cul-de-sacs, and merged the City Beautiful park-like setting concept with the Garden City ideal of suburban separation. FHA loans enabled builders and architects to act as developers, which emerged as an important trend to address the nation's demand for housing following World War II. These institutionalized concepts of neighborhood planning created the repetitious post-World War II suburban landscape across the United States (Ames and McLelland 2002: 26, 48-51). At the other end of the spectrum, the long-standing, camping based tradition of clusters of similar rental or owned cottages continued in seasonal resort areas. After World War II, these colonies shared some architectural and layout characteristics with automobile served tourist court motels that sprang up across the country.

### The Harvard Five and Modernist Perspectives

A small group of highly influential Modern architects, all of whom had studied under Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer at the Harvard GSD, came to be known as the "Harvard Five," (Earls 2006). Comprised of Marcel Breuer and his former students Landis Gores (1919–1991), John Johansen (b. 1916), Philip Johnson (1906–2005), and Eliot Noyes (1910–1977), these architects and the others who joined them firmly established the Bauhaus derived stream of Modernism in Connecticut in the mid- to late 1940s. They created a hub of architectural offices and spurred a concentration of more than 100 Modern houses in the traditional New England town of New Canaan. Their work was closely monitored by mid-twentieth-century Modern enthusiasts, architects, and scholars nationwide. John Johansen recently commented on the social and creative circle in New Canaan, noting that, "We gathered in the area for the company and friendship and started designing our own homes. We built our homes as examples of our work to which we invited guests and friends, and those who were curious, including officials of the Museum of Modern Art" (Gibson 2005).

Mid-twentieth-century Modern architects did not adhere to a completely unified theoretical underpinning, and postwar iterations of the Modern sensibility varied widely (Neumann 2001). Some Modern architects, especially those trained at Harvard's GSD, emphasized social responsibility in design as advocated by Gropius. Others were inspired by the formalism, beauty, and elegance of exposed structure that interested Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and Johnson and which they expressed in their two most iconic buildings. Philip Johnson's Glass House in New Canaan, CT (1945–1949, NHL) a glass box set on the ground and pierced with an off-center brick chimney column, was built as his weekend home. Former Bauhaus director, and head of the IIT in Chicago, Mies van der Rohe designed the Farnsworth House in Plano, IL (1946–1952, NHL) as a vacation home for Dr. Edith Farnsworth. Each building asserted a radically new definition of the "house" as an entity co-existing with, but independent of, the landscape, a theme that rippled through Modern design. Concurrently, many architects were inspired by aspects of Frank Lloyd Wright's view of the house as organically evolved from and inter related with its site. Investigations into the possibilities for applying technology to discover efficiency

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and affordability in modular or prefabricated houses occupied a number of architects and for a few it became their sole focus. Shifts in the overall trends of Modernism over time and in the designs of individual architects through the course of their careers are apparent.

### Unification of the Arts

The Bauhaus educational model applied the European craft guild tradition that had underpinned the nineteenth-century English Arts and Crafts movement to unification of all the design arts within mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture. As a result, Modern architects, especially those schooled in the European tradition, had multidisciplinary training in other Modern design fields including military and industrial design, landscape architecture, interior design, textiles, lighting, furniture, graphic design, painting, sculpture, and photography. The crossover relationship between architecture, interior design, and furnishings was exemplified in Mies van der Rohe's and Breuer's earlier Bauhaus furniture. Close collaboration continued in the furniture design affiliations of George Nelson, Charles and Ray Eames, and Isamu Noguchi with the Herman Miller company in Michigan, and Eero Saarinen, Le Corbusier, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Marcel Breuer with the Knoll company of New York. In Cambridge, Benjamin Thompson of The Architectural Collaborative founded Design Research, a home furnishings design and import business. Paintings, sculpture, textiles, lighting, and electrical appliances all fit into the design schemes. Richard Kelly (1910–1977) was among the pioneers in the field of lighting design in architecture and collaborated with the most important architects and designers of the period including Mies van der Rohe, Phillip Johnson, Eero Saarinen, and Louis Kahn (Neumann 2010). A number of architects developed early and longstanding successful industrial design practices including Victor Civkin with General Electric and Eliot Noyes with IBM and Mobil.

### Publicity and Education

Design professionals, critics, and the general public immediately recognized the importance and impact of the mid-twentieth-century Modern movement on architecture, design, and lifestyle. In addition, Modernists were self-reflective in the sense that “Modern design was conscious of being modern” (Docomomo n.d.). This recognition manifested nationally, regionally, and locally in a variety of venues and sources. MoMA exhibits and publications reaching a wide audience and local house tours such as those held in New Canaan starting in 1949 allowed the public to learn about and directly experience Modern architecture. Philip Johnson's Glass House in New Canaan caused an immediate nationwide sensation and attracted a steady stream of the curious public and admiring students from its construction in 1945–1949 to the present day. Trade and popular magazine sponsorship of architects to address specific design problems encouraged and highlighted experimentation. *Arts & Architecture's* Case Study Houses from 1945 to 1962 and the *Woman's Day Magazine* competitions were among a wide variety of such endeavors. Award programs and annual compilations of notable buildings by the American Institute of Architects, *Architectural Forum*, *Architectural Record*, and *Life* recognized and publicized outstanding new projects. Popular, professional, and scholarly publications provided critical analysis and told the story of Modernism in newspaper and magazine articles such as Lewis Mumford's “Skyline” column in the *New Yorker*, as well as books and pamphlets such as *The International Style* (Hitchcock and Johnson 1932), *Modern House in America* (Ford and Ford 1940), and “New Canaan Modern: The Beginning 1947-1952” in *The New Canaan Historical Society Annual Report* (Ely 1967). Institutions supported Modernism through exhibits and the formation of contemporary archival collections, pioneered by the New Canaan Historical Society, which collected Modern memorabilia and materials starting in the late 1940s. These resources enabled the contemporary cross-pollination of ideas, the spread of influences, and the education of the general public.

### Finnish Summer House Tradition Influences

Nordic design in general, and Finnish architecture in particular, influenced American mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture through Finnish architects and designers, such as Eliel Saarinen, Eero Saarinen, and Alvar Aalto who practiced in the United States. In addition, the Finnish culture celebrates a lifestyle close to nature with a summer home tradition stretching back to the early nineteenth century and continuing to the present day that extended to the Modernist vacation enclave in Outer Cape Cod through the designs of Olav Hammarstrom. Finland's extensive and undulating coastline marked by protected seashores and small archipelagos, along with its many densely forested lakes and ponds,

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have long provided idyllic seasonal retreat settings. The contrast between extended dark cold winters and the brief, lush, intense, sunlit warm days of summer inspired Modern houses that invite outdoor living and create a dialogue with the surrounding landscape through the use of moveable and glazed walls, protected courtyards, and framing of panoramic or selected views. The forest symbolizes independence and individuality in Finnish culture, and the rhythm of viewing buildings within the landforms and trees is central to the Finnish perception of space (Jetsonen and Jetsonen 2008:14–15). Summer houses also served as seasonal wilderness ateliers used for painting, sketching, and other artistic pursuits (Helamaa and Jetsonen 2007:7).

Nineteenth-century Finnish summer houses were influenced by Russian designs, the nationalistic Jugend or Art Nouveau style, Swiss chalets, and Italian villas, and later by the English Arts and Crafts movement. In the 1930s, following Finnish independence from Russia in 1917, the upper class dominated lifestyle became available to middle-class citizens seeking leisure, the experience of nature, and a simple life, with a folk-based undercurrent. Small weekend cottages and sauna cabins supplanted the earlier large bourgeois villa (Hautajävi 2006:7). Many architects viewed the summer cottage as an opportunity to test their ideas about technical, functional, and spatial concepts. The resulting houses tend to be highly personal design statements representing a realization of the architect's and client's dreams (Jetsonen and Jetsonen 2008:10–11).

The summer houses emphasized a way of life that was informal and minimalist, related to nature, and freed from the structures of normal everyday life. Early summer house designs were derived from vernacular architecture and classical precedents with an increasing connection to the landscape of place. Examples include Eliel Saarinen's focus on multi-layering of spatial uses in the house he designed for his parents, Villa Pulkanranta (1900–1901), and the creation of domestic and comfortable spaces at Villa Flora (1926) and Villa Mairea (1938–1939) by Aino Aalto (née Marsio), who was Alvar Aalto's wife and design partner (Jetsonen and Jetsonen 2008:13).

After World War II, minimal and cost efficient small house designs for leisure seekers and workers' housing became a central concern under Alvar Aalto, chief architect for Finland's postwar reconstruction. Aalto announced a five-point plan for rebuilding cities in *Architectural Forum*, remarking that, "A native tradition of frame construction, special ways of living, peculiar climatic conditions – these form a sound beginning for a new architecture" (*The Washington Post* 1940). Summer house construction expanded dramatically after World War II, becoming predominantly Modernist by the mid-1950s and was subject to building permits after 1959. The number of leisure buildings increased by over 40,000 in the 1950s and more than twice that number in both the 1960s and 1970s (Hautajävi 2006:24). In the late 1950s, contemporary observers conducted a design tour of four Nordic countries and noted cultural and landscape distinctions that were manifested in varied expressions of Modern design. Denmark's farmland produced warm forms and colors, while the contrasting rugged mountains of Norway and Sweden inspired a clearly stated functionality. Finland's "thousands of lakes and impassable forests" resulted in the strongest individuality and creativity in glass, ceramics, weaving, and architecture, with buildings that "submit" to natural features and landscape patterns (Andresen and Jordan 1958:6, 96).

An early enclave of Modernist summer houses developed in south Finland when architect Väinö Vähäkallio donated 74 acres to the Association of Finnish Architects in the 1930s as a recreational retreat. The first house constructed, Kaj Englund's Villa Silla (1947), is a low gabled, wooden structure emphasizing minimalism and the importance of place (Jetsonen and Jetsonen 2008:72). Alvar Aalto's innovative Experimental House at Muuratsalo (1952–1954) combined elements of the classic Mediterranean courtyard with the traditional Finnish farmhouse yard enclosed by brick structures with wood-frame wings, and the adjacent forest as a reference and touchstone. A planned atelier or studio wing was never realized (Helamaa and Jetsonen 2007:10, 88; Jetsonen and Jetsonen 2008:12). In the 1960s, explorations of structure, machine-made materials, space, and form included Mikko Pulkinen's steel framed and plywood cottage (1967) and Aarno Ruusuvuori's row of connected cabins resembling vernacular storehouses (1968) (Jetsonen and Jetsonen 2008:13). By the late 1960s, a variety of prefabricated, ready-to-assemble summer cottages and saunas designs were being marketed to eager Finnish vacationers (Hautajärvi 2006:27).

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### Role of Women

Women began entering the architecture field at the turn of the twentieth century and achieved some measure of opportunity and success in the 1920s and 1930s. The number of women architects who were active in the mid-twentieth century was still relatively small, a gap that can be partly attributed to the trend in post-World War II culture that encouraged women who had been employed during the war to retire, and younger women to stay at home and not join the work force (Allaback 2008:40). However, at the same time, during and after World War II previously all male private schools, including the Harvard GSD and Yale School of Architecture, began admitting and awarding degrees to women designers.

Eleanor Raymond (1887–1989), whose 1931 Raymond House in Belmont, MA was one of the seminal Modern houses in New England, was one of the first female Modernist architects in the country. Jean Bodman Fletcher (1915–1965) and Sarah Pillsbury Harkness (b. 1914) studied under Walter Gropius while they were attending the Cambridge School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture in Cambridge, MA which was affiliated with Smith College and Harvard. Both became founding members of The Architects Collaborative (TAC) firm established by Gropius and a group of his students in Cambridge in 1945. TAC was known for its collaborative team approach to design, concern with social responsibility, and prolific output of mid-twentieth-century Modern residences, schools, and other buildings.

Anne (née Binkley) Rand Ozbekhan (b. 1918) studied with Mies van der Rohe at the Illinois Institute of Technology, along with her brother, well-known Modern architect Roy Binkley (1922–1994), and received a degree in the early 1940s. Ozbekhan was married to the renowned Modern graphic designer Paul Rand, and later to Hasan Ozbekhan, one of the founders of the Club of Rome, a global think tank established in 1968. She designed five houses for herself – three in Rye, NY, one in Truro, MA, and one in Weston, CT (Westport Preservation Alliance 2010a).

The architect and noted furniture designer Florence Knoll Bassett (b. 1917) studied under Mies van der Rohe and Eliel Saarinen. After her husband, Hans Knoll, died she was president of the Knoll furniture company from 1955 to 1960 and remained as head designer until 1965. She is known for her refined and minimalist corporate and residential furniture design.

Two pioneer woman in the field of architecture established notable careers in the Chicago firm of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM). Natalie de Blois (b. 1921) studied architecture at Columbia University and joined SOM in 1944 where she was the first woman to reach the level of senior designer. De Blois specialized in high-rise design and worked on some of the firm's most significant projects, including Lever House (1951–1952), Pepsi Cola (1959), and Union Carbide (1960) in New York City and the Connecticut General Life Insurance Headquarters (1957) and Emhart Corporation (1963) in Bloomfield, CT. Gertrude Lempp Kerbis (b. 1926) studied at the University of Illinois, the Harvard GSD with Walter Gropius (1949–1950), and with Mies van der Rohe at the Illinois Institute of Technology, where she received her master's degree in 1954. Kerbis worked for a number of architects and SOM before opening her own architectural firm, Lempp Kerbis in 1967. A founder of Chicago Women in Architecture and the Chicago Network, she was elected to the College of Fellows of the American Institute of Architects in 1970. One of her best known projects is the immense open span Dining Hall (1958) completed with SOM at the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, CO (NHL 2004) (National Trust for Historic Preservation 2010).

Overall, women appear to have most directly affected mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture, particularly residential design, as forward-thinking and persuasive clients. Women's demand for innovative domestic forms spurred imaginative solutions and they were often the driving force behind the selection of a Modern house design (Friedman 2007). Professional women also may have found more openings for their creative talents in the related design fields of interior design and landscape architecture.

### Landscape Architecture

Modernism in American landscape architecture evolved gradually from its earlier legacy, rather than as a distinct schism with the past. The earliest expressions of Modern design ideas in landscape occurred in France during the 1920s,

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appearing notably in the 1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs and the 1920s architectonic and angular garden designs of Gabriel Guévrékian (1900–1970). Several years later, Mies Van der Rohe's comprehensive design for the Barcelona Pavilion of 1929 set in a spare landscape, punctuated by a single bronze sculpture reflected in a small pond and the building's glass and marble, was a watershed in modern concepts of architecture and landscape. Canadian-born landscape architect Christopher Tunnard (1910–1979) worked in England in the 1930s when he wrote the influential book, *Gardens in the Modern Landscape* of 1938, and he later taught at the Harvard GSD and Yale University.

In the United States, while the interplay of formal classicism and naturalistic designs in the tradition of Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903) remained dominant, two transitional landscape architects, Fletcher Steele (1885–1971) on the East Coast and Thomas Church (1902–1978) in California, heralded a new generation of designers. A protégé of influential designer Warren Manning (1860–1938) who had promoted naturalistic wild gardens, Steele absorbed European Modernism through travels starting in 1913. While his designs for elite clients primarily followed traditional practices, his originality manifested in his celebrated Blue Steps of 1938 and other elements at the Naumkeag estate in Stockbridge, MA. Steele's 1924 book *Design in the Little Garden* and his articles on contemporary non-axial design and functional domestic arrangements had a profound influence on the establishment of Modern American landscape architecture (Trieb 1993:39–40; Rogers 2001:436–439). Thomas Church (1902–1978) received his B.A. degree in landscape architecture from the University of California at Berkeley and his master's degree in city planning and landscape architecture from Harvard University in 1923. He focused on employing aesthetic principles introduced through avant-garde architecture and art in residential design. He published *Gardens for People* in 1955, in which he described how fundamental shifts in casual living and home entertainment had affected the arrangement of buildings and the landscape (Rogers 2001:450).

Mid-twentieth-century Modern landscape designers generally retained existing, familiar materials and conceptual structures in their approaches to site climate, and ecology, with only a few individuals focused on creating new forms and aesthetics (Trieb 1993:ix). Progressive views and the spirit of radical innovation fostered in Modern architecture translated into landscape architecture as experimentation with new forms and nontraditional materials, the use of spatial continuity and overlapping spaces rather than axial organization, and the introduction of nonassociative and often abstract focal elements including modern sculpture. Three major influential figures in landscape architecture emerged in the 1930s who reshaped the American garden aesthetic. Garrett Eckbo (1910–2000), James Rose (1913–1991), and Dan Kiley (1912–2004) were classmates at the Harvard GSD in the mid-1930s. They used abstract and layered arrangements of three-dimensional spatial volumes delineated by points, lines, and planes that were inspired in part by contemporary painting (Trieb 1993:40–43; Birnbaum 1999:15; Cultural Landscape Foundation 2010; James Rose Foundation 2010). Eckbo's California background inspired free-flowing and dynamic compositions that focused on serving ordinary humanity, which he underscored in his 1950 book titled *Landscapes for Living*. Kiley drew on a variety of historical and avant-garde sources for his work. In his quintessential design of 1955 for the J. Irwin Miller House, in Columbus, IN that he completed in collaboration with architect Eero Saarinen (1910–1961), Kiley fused classical geometric planning with abstract asymmetrical yet balanced concepts into an iconic functional and ornamental garden. Inspired by Japanese gardens and Zen Buddhism, Rose's designs interlocked indoors and outdoor forms with close attention to craftsmanship and ground texture (Rogers 2001:451–455).

Lawrence Halprin (1916–2009) who studied at the Harvard GSD and worked with Thomas Church, and Hideo Sasaki (1919–2000) a Harvard GSD graduate, also contributed significantly to mid-twentieth-century Modern landscape design in the public realm. Scottish landscape architect and environmentalist Ian McHarg (1920–2001) introduced the concepts of ecological planning in his 1969 book *Design with Nature* (Walker and Simo 1994:144–169, 219–223, 224–257).

In general, the literature record of Modern residential landscape architecture is limited to published writing and commentary that resulted from the designers themselves and not from contemporary professional journals or scholarly treatises. According to Grady Clay, publisher of *Landscape Architecture* from 1959–1984, "I took the firm position that the magazine should look to the future, to unexplored territory, not to celebrate what was being done . . . Most of the work that landscape architecture firms were doing was pedestrian, repetitious, and unimaginative and I didn't think it was worth publishing" (quoted in Johnson 1991:13).

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## Decline of Mid-Twentieth-Century Modernism, 1965–1979

By the mid- to late 1960s, many mid-twentieth-century Modern architects had begun to experiment more freely with explicit sculptural forms and volumes. Eero Saarinen employed forms suited to the project, including the sweeping curves at TWA Terminal at Kennedy Airport, NY (1962), Ingalls Rink at Yale University (1958), and Gateway Arch in St. Louis (1963–1965). Edward Larrabee Barnes (1915–2004), Ulrich Franzen (b. 1921), John Johansen (b. 1916), Victor Lundy (b. 1923), I.M. Pei (b. 1917), and Paul Rudolph (1918–1997), all 1940's graduates of the Harvard GSD, had moved away from formal box-like geometry to a range of more individualistic expressions (Meredith 2006). Barnes captured the changing perspective in the comment that, “Philosophically, the difference between architecture and sculpture has to do with use, with its relation to an activity of man. However, just as a monument, or a pyramid, is something in between art and architecture, so there are bound to be buildings in between. These ‘in between’ buildings are pure examples of expressionist architecture” (quoted in Heyer 1978:329).

MoMA's “New York Five” exhibit of 1967 featured designs by Peter Eisenman (b. 1932), Michael Graves (b. 1934), Charles Gwathmey (1938–2009), John Hejduk (1929–2000), and Richard Meier (b. 1934) that reached back to the “pure” Modernism of the 1920s and 1930s (MoMA 1975). Six houses were in the Hamptons on Long Island, a New York summer resort area that served as a launching pad for many young architects' careers in the 1960s (Gordon 2001:130). A series of essays titled “Five on Five” (*Architectural Forum* 1973) served as a response from the “grays”, comprised of Romaldo Giurgola (b. 1920), Allan Greenberg (b. 1938), Charles Moore (1925–1993), Jaquelin T. Robertson (b. 1933), and Robert A.M. Stern (b. 1939). The “grays” rebuked the “whites” for creating Modern buildings that were indifferent and unworkable. Stern and Robert Venturi (b. 1925), author of *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966) and *Learning From Las Vegas* (1972), were among those who deliberately returned to traditional historical classicism and vernacular references.

At the same time, many Americans rejected mid-twentieth-century Modernism's “soulless” symbolic emptiness, anti-human scale, and lack of connection to traditional vernacular architecture. Public reaction decried the plethora of poorly designed, flimsily built, and badly functioning buildings and urban plans that had been allowed by simplicity of form and experimentation with less expensive materials. Critics and scholars underscored Modernism's failure, including Peter Blake in *Form Follows Fiasco: Why Modern Architecture Hasn't Worked* (1977) and Klaus Herdeg in *The Decorated Diagram: Harvard Architecture and the Failure of the Bauhaus Legacy* (1983). Mid-twentieth-century Modern buildings continued to be built until Postmodernism prevailed in the late 1970s. Political and economic events fostered by the recession and oil embargo of 1973 to 1974 temporarily reduced the pace of construction in the country and shifted the architectural paradigm to better insulated, more energy-efficient structures. When new construction accelerated again in the late 1970s, the dominant designs and forms were no longer mid-twentieth-century Modern.

The noted writer, landscape architect, and architect Charles Jencks (b. 1939) helped to popularize the use of the term “Postmodern” as applied to architecture in his 1977 book *The Language of Post-modern Architecture*. The debate has continued in writings such as those by the *New York Times* architecture critic Paul Goldberger (b. 1950) and exhibits like *The Bauhaus Era in Germany and America*, held by the Smithsonian Institution at the Boston Public Library in 1986 (Brown 1986). Postmodernism achieved widespread public attention in the early 1980s with the completion of Michael Graves's Portland Building (1984) in Portland, Oregon, heralded as first major public Postmodern building, and by the AT&T Building (1984, Johnson-Burgee) in New York City.

## Architectural Characteristics of Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Houses

### Design Concepts Overview

Mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture is generally defined by its distinct break with earlier classical and vernacular styles through an emphasis on simplified building form and functional efficiency in lieu of ornamentation, its use of new and often experimental materials and technologies, its comprehensive integration of the building with the existing environment, and its incorporation of other visual arts. The holistic concept of design, site, and furnishings celebrated and supported modern priorities in living and working.

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In place of the traditionally massed motif, Modern architects organized building forms structurally and visually using intersecting planes and volumes or alternating solids and voids. Large expanses of full-height windows and glazed doors embraced natural light and—along with courtyards, breezeways, terraces, and decks—connected inside and outside spaces. The resulting open floor plans and a preference for asymmetry allowed and encouraged a new informality and freedom of lifestyle and workflow. Construction methods and framing and finish materials emphasized “honesty,” affordability, and ease of maintenance. Contemporary Modern painting, sculpture, textiles, freestanding and built-in furniture, and lighting were integral components of the architectural expression. Buildings exhibited a fresh relationship and sensitivity to their site. Energy considerations motivated the directional orientation to solar cycles as well as the inclusion of architectural elements such as sunshades, while at the same time the design of the approach and provisions for the automobile recognized modern realities. The aesthetic dynamic between buildings, their settings, and the human occupants’ experience dictated placement in the natural landscape, the importance of scenic and spatial views, and the introduction of minimal or no complementary landscaping.

Modern residential architecture captured the essence of mid-twentieth-century ideas of the home. The modern industrial age offered multiple benefits, including engagement in fewer labor-intensive domestic activities and increased access to shops and mass-produced goods, which translated to reduced activity space and storage needs. The impact of industrial and inventive products resulted in innovative construction modes, labor-saving layouts, and time-saving devices. Houses embodied a rational simplicity with organic plans derived from the modern family lifestyle of the time. The design “. . . discarding styles, lets the house grown from the inside outwardly to express the life within”; therefore, the house is not a “machine for living” in the famous phrase of Le Corbusier, “. . . but a perceiving utilization of machine products to ease, facilitate, and even inspire each process of daily living for each member of the family” (Ford and Ford 1940:11). In fact, the architect and critic Peter Blake contends that Le Corbusier really meant, “A house should be *as beautiful as a machine* [emphasis added]” (Von Eckhardt 1961:14).

A pivotal concept expressed in mid-twentieth-century Modern houses is the value of spaciousness and the enhancement of the perception of visual space as a modern way of seeing. Former Bauhaus teacher and noted designer Gyorgy Kepes observed in 1944 that “Our age, no less than any other needs to find a consistent orientation, to harmonize its inner and outer vistas” (quoted in Istenstadt 2006:230). One approach, exemplified in the work of Marcel Breuer and discussed in a 1952 *House & Home* article, is the house formulated as a camera with the viewfinder (window wall) framing a selected image of nature. Views were also created where none existed, as noted by George Nelson and Henry Wright in a 1945 *Tomorrow’s House*, who observed, “And on the ordinary suburban lot, where nature does not provide the view, it is possible to manufacture it” (quoted in Istenstadt 2006:234).

Residential architecture occupied a valuable place within the body of work of mid-twentieth-century Modern architects, allowing investigation and experimentation with new design and engineering ideas. The more lucrative commercial, corporate, institutional, and civic commissions formed the mainstay of most Modern architects’ practice, and some designed houses only for themselves or a few friends. Marcel Breuer contended that the usefulness and visual impact of a house goes beyond being a mere self portrait of the architect or client to being a place where “structure, function, and pure form are developed to the same degree.” He considered residential buildings as laboratories for exploring ideas on a small scale that could be translated to larger projects (Masello 1993:9).

## Design

The spectrum of mid-twentieth-century Modern houses erected from 1930 to 1979 encompasses a wide diversity of forms influenced by several different threads of Modernist theory. Often the work of a single architect matured and evolved over the course of an individual career to represent different elements of the spectrum. Typical International style houses of the pre-World War II period in the 1930s were smooth, white stuccoed, flat-roofed boxes with steel windows, steel-and-cable balconies, and other industrial-derived features. By the postwar decades, at least three strains of influence in mid-twentieth-century Modernism rose to prevalence, from Frank Lloyd Wright, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer. The austerity of the earliest residences gave way to more nuanced expressions using a variety of regional and vernacular materials and forms to offer a richer and warmer experience of the house. In the 1960s,

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a renewed interest in classicism manifested itself in symmetry and a sense of formality. Despite such variations, mid-twentieth-century Modern houses possess shared characteristics that make them unmistakable in the built landscape, in contrast to houses from previous eras. The following discussion is intended to set out the array of design elements that characterize mid-twentieth-century Modern houses overall.

The overall massing of mid-twentieth-century Modern houses consists of a rectilinear box or a series of articulated geometric or organic sections. The configuration is typically but not always asymmetrical, while maintaining a balanced sense of proportion and arrangement of elements. The massing and articulation of the elevations in Modern houses often but not always emphasize horizontality and reference the horizon in one, sometimes two, stories. Designers conceived buildings as juxtaposed or intersecting volumes and planes using cantilevers, open cut-out bays, balconies and decks, open breezeways, and privacy walls. Attics and basements are rare, since the modern lifestyle was simplified by new technologies and a wide array of readily available consumer goods and services, minimizing the need for storage space and ancillary space for maids' quarters, sewing and laundry rooms, etc.

Roofs are flat or low-pitched gable or shed, and eaves might have a modest or broad cantilevered overhang or none at all. Some houses are raised up on wood, concrete, or steel piers, while others hug the ground on a poured concrete slab, concrete block, or poured concrete foundation. Depending on the site characteristics, the foundation may be built into a slope. Some buildings emphasize structure and others, the wall planes or volumes. Fenestration is a paramount component of the relationship of mid-twentieth-century Modern houses to nature and the surrounding landscape. Windows and other openings in solid walls are placed, dimensioned, and arranged to optimize views from within the house as well as the infiltration of natural light. Window walls, full-height glazing, and sliding glass doors make the character and function of walls, windows, and doors interchangeable. Ribbon or strip windows, clerestories, and roof skylights with plexiglass bubbles invite light inside. Sun screens, or *brises soleil*, and roof overhangs protect against the strongest summer sun. The primary entrance is most often asymmetrically located and is not always obvious. The approach might consist of a few steps, low broad deck, terrace, or a wide ramp.

On the interior, the plan is typically open with the public living, dining, and kitchen areas separated from the private bedrooms. In simple houses, rooms are arranged within a single square or rectangular footprint. Minimalist plans use freestanding storage units, massive chimneys, kitchen counters, and open shelving to delimit different functional areas. In more complex houses, designated zones, separate wings, small level changes, and multiple floors serve to differentiate spaces. Lofted spaces and bridges further articulate spaces in some houses. The owner's program, the site features, and the architect's creative preference dictate the placement of different functions vertically and horizontally in the house. Built-in seating banquets, kitchen cabinet units, and other integrated furnishing optimize space use.

Many houses have freestanding garages or carports, while some integrate the garage within the main structure. In one type of expansible plan, connected garages frequently were later claimed as living area.

### Siting Considerations

Designers of mid-twentieth-century Modern houses typically began with the interior configuration of spaces and worked outward. Consequently, architects often paid less attention to the creation of a formal facade or the establishment of a relationship with the street. Considerations of the site and environmental characteristics generally dictated the positioning of structural units. These serendipitous factors, usually unique to each project, generated inward-focused individual houses that might be clustered together but did not easily lend themselves to larger planned communities.

The siting of mid-twentieth-century Modern houses in the natural environment was a hallmark of their design. Clients and architects paid careful attention to the site selection process and often preferred properties with elevation changes and landscape focal points that helped to shape the design. Difficult and rocky parcels, unsuitable for traditional buildings, often offered creative challenges to Modern house designers. The configuration of the building and its placement and orientation on the land derived from the specific characteristics of the site. Designs strove to extract the most visual benefit from topography and landscape features, optimizing short-distance views and long vistas as well as the interplay

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of light and shadow throughout the daily sunlight cycle. Some houses were set on flat land, but an equal number intersected with a hillside, and others were perched on top of a ledge or at the edge of a bluff or cliff.

Landscaping at mid-twentieth-century Modern residences typically deferred to the characteristics of the natural environs. Designers minimally augmented the existing woodland, meadow, or dune setting of modest houses and vacation cottages with driveway and entrance elements; outside decks, terraces, and seating areas; and garden or woodland plantings. Occasionally, low walls lined gravel driveways and parking areas delineated the edge of outdoor spaces.

### Construction Methods and Materials

An explosion of new building materials and technologies occurred in the post-World War II era, many of which became hallmarks of mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture. Stock building materials, manufactured in standard sizes and readily available at any local lumberyard, radically changed the construction industry, increasing the speed and efficiency with which buildings could be erected. Many Modern designs took advantage of the abundance of mass-produced manufactured materials available, juxtaposing contrasting materials to create visual interest from otherwise standardized components and espousing the machine aesthetic of industrial American society. Architects did not eschew traditional materials, however, but often used them in new ways alongside modern innovations.

The fundamental nature of the building frame changed as traditional wood-frame post-and-beam construction was reinvented. Thinner and lighter walls supporting increased roof spans allowed for larger openings and open floor plans. Architects manipulated standard two-by-four wood beams in new ways through the addition of cross-bracing or variations in positioning (e.g., laid on end to create slats, or paired with other beams to create conduit spaces). In addition, steel and concrete framing systems developed as alternatives to the conventional wood frame that allowed for modular and prefabricated building construction. In mid-twentieth-century Modern houses, the supporting structural system was most often wood, either balloon frame or the modern post-and-beam (also known as post-and-plank) variant, but could be steel or concrete. Slender steel columns, or *pilotis*, were used to support buildings so that they appeared to hover just above the ground and to hold up dramatic overhanging projections. The building frame continued to evolve rapidly, so that by the 1950s, it had become a skeleton on which the walls could be hung (Prudon 2008:79, 111).

The availability of new materials also allowed builders and architects to experiment with new foundation systems. Hollow concrete blocks, also known as concrete masonry units, were mass produced as early as 1900 and appeared in building foundations in the early decades of the twentieth century. These and other forms of concrete supports (columns, piers, and *pilotis*) were a standard choice for Modern architects (Jester 1995:80–83). The reinforcing of concrete with metal bars greatly expanded the material's potential architectural applications in slab, beam, and column form. Frank Lloyd Wright in particular "elevated the cantilevered slab and mushroom column to an aesthetic form" (Jester 1995:97). Architects like Breuer, Rudolph, and Wright explored the possibilities of poured concrete to create buildings that resembled textured sculptures. Many architects also continued to use random-laid field or quarry stone with wide mortar joints for foundations, exterior walls, and freestanding privacy walls.

In contrast to the foundations of Modern buildings, roof treatments remained relatively traditional. Rolled tar and gravel composite roofs, a treatment developed in the nineteenth century, continued to be the most common type of roof covering through the mid-twentieth century. The technique worked well on the flat roofs often found on Modern buildings. Asphalt shingles, cut from rolled roofing sheets, appeared on buildings as early as the 1910s and 1920s (Jester 1995:248). Many houses have large masonry (brick, stone, or concrete) chimneys.

Exterior and interior architectural treatments evolved along with the structural framework. In addition to traditional wood (redwood or cedar) sheathing components (flushboard, shingles, clapboards, planks, or tongue-and-groove vertical siding), Modern buildings were clad in stainless-steel, plywood, fiberboard, stone, and precast concrete wall panels, all of which could be prefabricated in standard sizes. Wood walls were typically stained a natural hue or painted, usually white. Modern architects including Richard Neutra and Lawrence Kocher used plywood, an assembly of thin sheets of hardwood or softwood bonded together with an adhesive, in their designs as early as the late 1930s (Jester 1995:132–135). Fiberboard (also called wallboard) was mass-produced and readily available by the 1910s. Commonly produced from

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wood pulp, some fiberboard products were made from recycled consumer materials, the first being Homasote made of repulped newsprint. Other popular brand names of fiberboard included Celotex, Masonite, and Beaver Board (Jester 1995:120–125). By 1920, precast concrete was available for wall facings and curtain walls. Concrete and stucco houses, typically white, were more commonly built at the beginning and end of the mid-twentieth-century Modern period than in the 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s. Brick and locally quarried fieldstone was used for chimneys and occasionally on exterior walls.

Interior finishes tended to be simple, durable, and easy to maintain. Floors were slate, fieldstone, ceramic tile, quarry tile, wood, and cork. Straw mat carpet was originally used in many houses. Walls were finished with sheetrock, tongue-in-groove boards or plywood, stone, or composite panels. Gypsum board, a factory-produced panel of noncombustible gypsum faced with paper, and drywall wall and ceiling finishes were less expensive, easier, and faster to install than traditional plaster. The smooth wall finish also corresponded to the streamlined Modern design aesthetic and was typically painted white in mid-twentieth-century Modern houses. For his Techbuilt houses, Carl Koch specified a type of vinyl-covered wallboard introduced in the 1950s that needed no additional trim (Jester 1995:268–271).

Interior stairs, located where the open plan demanded, were typically constructed of naturally finished wood and metal supports and were not enclosed. Many mid-twentieth-century Modern houses had built-in architect-designed cabinetry and furniture. Contemporary manufactured furniture and lighting, both interior and exterior, were important aspects of furnishings, which also included modern textiles, art, and moveable furniture. Fireplaces and chimneys of stone or concrete, sometimes brick or metal, were treated as major interior features set either at the end of the building or located to serve as a divider between spaces and functions.

Modern architects used glass in new ways, letting it define volumes and incorporating expansive and conspicuous fenestration in their designs. Polished plate glass was first manufactured in the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Following World War I, the automobile industry fueled innovations in the production of plate glass, and in 1959 the introduction of the float process eliminated the need for grinding and polishing the sheets, which further decreased production time (Jester 1995:182–185). The availability of large sheets of thick, strong plate glass enabled the development of the curtain-wall structural systems used in early twentieth-century skyscrapers and other commercial buildings, as well as the sliding glass doors and full-height windows in mid-twentieth-century Modern residences. Wood, steel, or aluminum frames supported the windows. Another innovation in glazing was the introduction in the 1930s of machine-made hollow glass blocks, which appeared in industrial and architectural applications until the late 1970s. A 1940 *Architectural Forum* piece on glass block featured Walter Gropius's 1938 house in Lincoln, Massachusetts, and the 1939 MoMA building by Philip L. Goodwin and Edward Durell Stone (Jester 1995:194–198).

Mid-twentieth-century Modern houses also used the most up-to-date heating and cooling systems including radiant floor heating. In many cases, these systems are no longer in service since leaking pipes embedded in concrete slab floors could not be traced and repaired. Innovative approaches to the control of environmental systems included the orientation and siting of the building and the use of passive solar designs with large windows, deep roof overhangs, and concrete slabs with high thermal storage capacity.

### III. Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residential Architecture in Massachusetts, 1929–1979

#### Early Trends

Important events and activities that set the stage for mid-twentieth-century Modernism in Massachusetts occurred in and around the Boston area at the turn of the century. Henry Hobson Richardson, the renowned American architect whose expansive sensibilities were instrumental in initiating examination of new architectural concepts at the end of the nineteenth century, designed numerous public and private buildings in the eastern part of the Commonwealth. His innovative designs had already rebalanced the regional architectural landscape in Massachusetts with major commissions like Trinity Church (1872) in Boston, Sever Hall (1878) at Harvard University in Cambridge, and Ames Library (1877) in Easton. The influence of Frank Lloyd Wright and Louis Sullivan was less immediate in the Commonwealth, as they

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worked primarily in the Midwest and West, but Wright designed one house in Massachusetts—the Baird House in Amherst (1940, NR listed 1984). Their contributions to contemporary design theory and practice were certainly well known to architects, design educators, and architectural enthusiasts. Two of the first Modern residences in the eastern United States were built in Falmouth on Lower Cape Cod -- the Purcell and Elmslie's Prairie Style Bradley House (1912) in Woods Hole, and an experimental functionalist villa for G. Lyman Paine (1929) on Naushon Island by J. C. B. Moore (Fixler 2004).

The concentration of intellectual, creative, and academic individuals and institutions in the Boston-Cambridge area created a crucible for the incubation of Modernist ideas and experimentation. The Harvard Society for Contemporary Art founded in 1929 in Cambridge was not only the first organization in the United States with changing exhibits of recent art, but also held the first Bauhaus art exhibit in the country in 1930, two years before the watershed show at New York's MoMA. The Society hosted an exhibit on Buckminster Fuller's *Dymaxion House* that same year (Harvard Crimson 1931). Six years later, both the Boston's Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA) and the Harvard GSD were established, firmly rooting Modernism in Massachusetts.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Massachusetts architects continued to be educated and to practice in a creative and intellectual environment based in École de Beaux Arts training and regional vernacular traditions. However, glimmers of Modern influences existed in the local architecture of Richardson, and architects gained exposure to international Modernist ideas through travels and study in Europe, helping to disseminate their expression in Massachusetts. At Harvard University's School of Architecture, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and the Cambridge School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture (Cambridge School) a number of teachers and graduates began investigating and helping establish a foundation for Modernism.

### Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Experimentation and the Harvard GSD

Prior to construction of the Gropius House in 1938, a number of Massachusetts architects had already identified with Modernist tenets, completing a handful of houses that exhibited Bauhaus and International style elements with emphasis on cubic massing with smooth finishes or natural materials, open floor plans, and integration with nature. The earliest Modernist houses in Massachusetts were built in secluded sites and were usually intended for the architect's own or family use, or for other artists. Each designer came to the projects through their personal education, training, travel experience, and interest in Modernism.

Eleanor Raymond (1888–1989) completed a house for herself and her sister, the Rachel Raymond House in Belmont (1931, demolished 2006) and Peabody Studio in Dover (1932) after visiting the Bauhaus with her partner, *House Beautiful* editor Ethel Brown Power. As reported by *Architectural Forum* in 1931, the Raymond House was “probably the first modern house in Massachusetts,” and it was one of first European Modern houses in New England (*Architectural Forum* 1931; Docomomo-us 2006). A graduate of the Cambridge School in 1919, Eleanor Raymond was a pioneer Modernist architect in the region and one of the most prominent American woman architects of the twentieth century. Raymond opened her own office in 1928 and focused on residential designs and the use of new materials in a synthesis of avant-garde European Modernist principles with local and regional building traditions. Raymond designed several experimental houses in Dover including the Peabody Plywood House (1940), Peabody Masonite House (1944), and Peabody or Dover Sun House (1947), and many other projects (Hull 2007). George Sanderson's Morris Studio in Lenox (1932) was also a small private commission.

Nathaniel Saltonstall (1903–1968), an MIT graduate, completed a Modernist house for himself, the Nathaniel Saltonstall House (ca. 1932) in Medfield. A scion of an old and prominent Boston family, Saltonstall became deeply involved in the promotion of modern art, as well as known for his mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture and passive solar house designs in Medfield and Wellfleet. In 1934, MIT alumnus, Edwin “Ned” Goodell, Jr. designed the Field House in Weston, the first Modernist house situated in an ordinary suburb and easily visible to passersby. Goodell's travels in France in 1931 inspired new ideas about architecture and egalitarian design, and he devised a minimalist form that used local New England fieldstone and connected with its sloped site, painting the building shades of green with a red door.

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Goodell and his clients, Richard and Caroline Crosby Field, shared progressive social views and worked on international political causes (Wright 2001).

The influential residential architect, Royal Barry Wills (1895–1962), graduated from MIT in 1918 in marine engineering and became a registered architect in 1925, opening his office as “Wills Architectural Service.” Wills was best known for his fine Colonial Revival and traditional Cape Cod residential designs. However, his interest in providing well-designed and affordable housing for the middle class, and flexible and open plan designs appeared throughout his career. The office produced a number of Modernist designs when Hugh Stubbins worked there from 1935 to 1937 including the Thomas Troy House (1936) in Needham and the Colby House in Marblehead (1938) (Hull 2007; www.royalbarrywills.com). Other Modernist houses built during the mid-1930s in Massachusetts included nationally renowned architect, William Lescaze’s Cates House in Melrose (1935) and Paul Wood’s Wells House (1933) in Southbridge (NR listed 1989 as part of the Southbridge MRA) (Hull 2007).

In 1936, one of the most profoundly important national and international events for mid-twentieth-century Modernism took place when Joseph Hudnut founded the Harvard University Graduate School of Design (GSD), bringing together the University’s schools of architecture, landscape architecture, and regional planning. Hudnut served as dean from 1936 to 1953 (*Harvard Crimson* 1968). Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer arrived at the GSD in 1937 and propelled the far-reaching diffusion of Bauhaus Modernist ideas in the United States. Among those assisting Hudnut and Gropius were several architects affiliated with Harvard who had established respected teaching and professional careers and were instrumental in the pedagogical paradigm shift in teaching architecture that occurred in 1937. Walter Bogner (1899–1993) studied architecture in Austria and at Harvard, then traveled and studied in Europe from 1925–1927. Upon return he taught at Harvard from 1927 and helped guide the Modern shift in GSD’s pedagogy until his retirement in 1966, collaborating closely with Walter Gropius after 1937 on the education curriculum (*Boston Globe* June 20, 1993; Hull 2007). G. Holmes Perkins (1904–2004), an untenured faculty member of the Harvard architecture department by the 1930s, was a close friend and confidante of both Hudnut and Gropius (Hull 2007). Hugh Stubbins (1912–2006) received his master’s degree from Harvard in 1935 and worked for Royal Barry Wills for three years. He taught in the Harvard GSD from 1940 to 1953, starting as an assistant to Walter Gropius and became chair of the department in 1953. Stubbins built a Modern house for himself in Lexington in 1946, as well as other residences in the greater Boston area. He opened his own firm, Hugh Stubbins and Associates, in Cambridge in 1949, developing a portfolio of well-regarded tall buildings, most notably the Citicorp building in Manhattan (1978) (*The New York Times* July 11, 2006; Hull 2007).

The Bauhaus vision of a new architecture became fully manifest in the United States when Gropius and Breuer designed and built, in eastern Massachusetts, the first two houses that layered Bauhaus sensibility with native New England materials and sites. Shortly following their arrival in Cambridge, Modern enthusiast, civic leader and philanthropist, Helen Storrow, gave land in rural Lincoln to Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer, and Walter Bogner so that they could design and build Modern houses for themselves. The Walter Gropius House (1938, NHL 2000) which introduced Bauhaus smooth white walls, steel and glass block, and novel kitchen appliances, followed by the Breuer House I (1938–1939) with its open plan and two-story living room, and the Walter Bogner House (1939), explored the structural and aesthetic problems of Modern architecture. Breuer designed the Ford House (1939) in Lincoln for the authors and Modern enthusiasts, James Ford and Katherine Morrow Ford. The Gropius House, Breuer House, Bogner House, and Ford House are all part of the Woods End Road Historic District (NR listed 1988). Harvard professor, G. Holmes Perkins also completed a brick and cypress-clad Modern house for himself in Brookline in 1938 (Ford and Ford 1940:41–51, 97–99). These houses inspired other Modernist houses in the area and served as demonstration houses for hundreds of architectural students over the ensuing decades (Robbat 2002). Gropius and Breuer formed a partnership from 1937 to 1946 with Gropius focused on planning and Breuer on details and construction techniques. Together they designed the beachside Hagerty House in Cohasset (1939) (NR listed 1997) and the Henry G. Chamberlain House in Wayland (1940). Breuer kept an office in Cambridge when he moved to New York City and opened an office there in 1946, and Gropius remained head of Harvard GSD until 1952. Gropius also designed the Frothingham House in Wayland (1939). Breuer designed five houses on Cape Cod in the late 1940s (discussed below) and two houses in Andover, the Grieco House and the Laaff House (both 1954-55) (Driller 2000: Cat. 80, Cat. 83).

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### Massachusetts Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Houses

During the 1930s and 1940s, some already practicing Massachusetts architects became inspired by Modernism and joined newly trained architects emerging from Harvard GSD, MIT, and elsewhere in developing regional expressions of the new architecture and modern lifestyle. The tremendous surge in Modern house construction that followed the opening of the Harvard GSD started modestly and grew exponentially in the post-World War II years after 1945. Progressive architects affiliated with Harvard's GSD and MIT catalyzed the dispersion of Modernist design ideas throughout the country and were instrumental in the development of a significant concentration of mid-twentieth-century Modern buildings in Greater Boston. From 1930 to 1979, more than 900 mid-twentieth-century Modern houses are known to have been built throughout Massachusetts, with large clusters of them concentrated in specific counties and communities, notably the greater Boston area towns within commuting distance of the major universities and business centers, the Outer Cape, and the Berkshires.

The rural town of Lincoln, 10 miles from Cambridge, became an early fulcrum of contemporary design, when several local architects designed individual residences and neighborhoods of Modern houses near the Gropius, Breuer, and Bogner houses. Henry B. Hoover (1902–1989) completed his master's of architecture degree at Harvard in 1926 and worked in the design office of noted landscape architect Fletcher Steele (1885–1971) before opening his own architecture practice in 1936. Hoover designed a house for himself in 1937, the first Modern house in Lincoln, and numerous other houses in the town. Although Steele was not a Modernist he incorporated many new ideas into his work and trained key members of the emerging generation in the landscape design field, including Dan Kiley (Robbat 2002:69–72). Russian émigré Constantin Pertzoff (1899–1970) received his master's degree from Harvard in 1924 and following travel to Europe in 1937, designed his own home (1939) and two sensitively planned neighborhoods. His trip confirmed his growing belief that “the proper field for a modern architect is modern architecture, in the true sense of the work – that is architecture which fully recognizes the existence and implications of new methods of building and new ways of living.” (Pertzoff 1956, quoted in Robbat 2002:75). Columbia-educated John Quincy Adams (1907–2003) met Gropius and proceeded to explore Modernist designs and the use of cinderblock construction in the Francis C. Gaskill House (1940) and the Abigail Adams House (1949) in Lincoln, as well as developing carefully planned subdivisions of Modern houses (Martin 2010). G. Holmes Perkins designed the Monks House (1939), and Thomas McNulty and Mary Otis McNulty designed the poured concrete McNulty House (1964–1965). More than 25 mid-twentieth-century Modern houses were built in Lincoln between 1937 and 1950.

Frank Lloyd Wright's sole house design in Massachusetts was built in Amherst during this initial phase of Modernist growth. Wright's Baird House of 1940 for an English professor at Amherst College followed the Usonian democratic: a simple, efficient house of high-quality design, standardized construction, and inexpensive materials that characterized the second period of Wright's career from 1935 to his death in 1959. In Cambridge, close to Harvard and MIT, several students who subsequently became well-known architects completed projects that significantly contributed to the Modernism conversation. Carl Koch and Edward Durrell Stone designed the first Modern house in that community for Koch's parents in 1937, and Philip Johnson completed a house for himself on Ash Street in 1943. Eliot Noyes, who like Johnson, was later part of the Harvard Five group active in New Canaan, CT, designed his first house, the Jackson House, in Dover, MA (1940–1941). Noyes later completed several houses for himself and others on Martha's Vineyard. Other active Modernists included Samuel Glaser (1902–1983) who emigrated from Latvia with his parents at age four and received a master's degree from MIT in 1926. The commercial and residential work of Samuel Glaser and Associates embraced Modernism and the use of concrete (*Boston Globe* August 8, 1983; Hull 2007). Lawrence B. Anderson (1905–1994) was an important teacher at MIT, later becoming dean in 1965, and designed houses in Lincoln and elsewhere.

The MoMA 1940 *Guide to Modern Architecture: Northeast States* listed 26 houses in 15 communities across Massachusetts, although many times that number existed, alongside a handful of exemplary institutional, commercial, and industrial buildings (McAndrew 1940:5, 31–39). The Massachusetts houses ranged from a 1935 prefabricated residence in Cambridge by General Houses, Inc. to the 1940 Baird House in Amherst designed by Wright, then under construction. McAndrew applied a broad set of criteria in his choice of buildings, attempting to provide examples of contemporary works of architecture that shared key qualities of “a recognizable new style” (McAndrew 1940:9). In his opinion, these included buildings constructed of traditional as well as new materials and familiar as well as unusual forms. All of them,

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however, could be categorized as Modern based on their economical, efficient, and functional designs and suitability to their respective sites. The *Guide* provided a snapshot of the state of Modern architecture in Massachusetts prior to World War II. Early International-style architects like William Lescaze and well-established Beaux Arts-trained firms like Coolidge, Shepley, Bulfinch & Abbott were represented, as was the vanguard of men working at Harvard's new Graduate School of Design that included Gropius, Breuer, Stubbins, Bogner, and Perkins. The houses that Gropius, Breuer, and Bogner designed in 1939 for themselves and several colleagues in suburban Lincoln all appear in the *Guide*. McAndrew enthused about Gropius' combination of solid New England architectural elements—e.g., wood-frame construction and clapboard siding—with an open plan composed of “interpenetrating spatial relationships” (McAndrew 1940:36). He also praised multiple examples of Perkins's residential work, including his own house in Brookline, for “traditional materials used in a fresh way” (McAndrew 1940:33). Carl Koch's community of five houses, including his own, built at Snake Hill in Belmont in 1940, was highlighted as a typical example of “recent developments in modern American architectural design” (McAndrew 1940:31). In these designs and in Koch's earlier house in Cambridge (1938), the incorporation of the natural landscape into the structure was inspired by Modern architectural ideals.

### Single-Family Houses

After 1940, Modern architects in Massachusetts continued to explore unique personal expressions of mid-twentieth-century Modernism through individual house commissions. In 1946, Hugh Stubbins, Jr. designed his own minimalist Modern residence in Lexington, and completed several additional Modern houses in the towns of Brookline (Residence, 1951), Cohasset (Plummer House, 1949), Concord (Residence, 1949), Hingham (William Aiken House, 1948-49), Lincoln (Davison House, 1948) and Weston (Kronenberg House, 1948; Trumbull House, 1950-51; Lombard House, 1951). In Lincoln, Anderson and Beckwith completed the Abbott House (1949), and Lawrence B. Anderson designed his own house (1950).

Robert Woods Kennedy (1911-1985) studied in Paris and graduated from Harvard in 1936, then worked for Gropius and Breuer Associates from 1937 to 1940 before opening his own practice. Kennedy taught at MIT and was a prolific writer who wrote articles for magazines such as *House & Garden*, *Progressive Architecture*, and the *AIA Journal*, and published *The House and the Art of its Design* in 1953 (AIA 1956:295). He was responsible for three houses in Hingham: the Talbot House (1949), Rust House (1950), and Stokes House (1951). Samuel Glaser completed the Max Katz House in Brookline (1947) and Leventhal House in Newton (1948). Another Newton residence, the Kaplan House (1946) and the Clarence Howlett House in Belmont (1949) was designed by TAC (see below). Carl Koch and Associates built individual houses, including the Dr. Joseph Michaels House (1947) and Elizabeth Bryant House (1948) in Belmont, as well as the Nichols House (1946), Holmes House (1949), Deane House (1949), and Christopher House (1948-49) in Weston (Hitchcock 1957:36-62).

Farther afield from Boston in rural countryside settings, prominent architects designed a small number of exemplary high style mid-twentieth-century Modern houses in the mid-1940s. One of Frank Lloyd Wright's most well known apprentices, Edgar Allen Tafel (1912-2011), completed a design for a house (ca. 1946) in the coastal community of Dartmouth. At the far western part of the state, Marcel Breuer laid out a binuclear plan and employed field stone masonry, weathered cypress, extensive glazing, and a butterfly roof to take advantage of sweeping views of the Berkshire Mountains around the Robinson House in Williamstown (1946-1948). At about the same time, in a similar Williamstown mountain-view setting, Edwin Goodell Jr. designed Field Farm (1948) for avid modern art and furniture collectors, Lawrence and Eleanor Bloedel. The Bloedels later commissioned noted architect, Ulrich Franzen to design a pinwheel shape, shingled Guest House “The Folly” (1965). In Groton, west of Boston, MIT graduate and professor, Maurice K. Smith (b. 1926) designed Indian Hill House / Blackman House (1962-1963), which he conceived as a functionally evolving form of interrelated units. In 1963, Cornell graduate Earl R. Flansburgh (1931-2009), formed his own firm and designed a house for himself in Lincoln. Flansburgh was known for his numerous school and university designs throughout the Northeast. The *Architectural Record's* publication *Record Houses of 1965* included the Gatos House by Flansburgh in Weston and the Schiffer House by Joseph J. Schiffer (died ca. 1969) in Concord.

The summer communities on Cape Cod and the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket were popular sites for seasonal houses. On the Lower Cape, Carl Koch designed a house erected in Sandwich in 1941 and published in

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*Architectural Forum* that year, and another, the Estes House, was completed in Barnstable in 1948 (*Architectural Forum* 1941a). Developer George B. Cluett, II and local architect and 1929 graduate of MIT Ernest Gunnar Peterson partnered to develop 40 lots in Falmouth with Modern houses. They used variants of a standardized plan and different color schemes. Despite resistance from the FHA to underwrite mortgages, this “Cape Cod Rebellion in Architecture” proved popular with officers from nearby Camp Edwards and other tenants (*Architectural Forum* 1941b). David Fried designed a Modern house in West Dennis in 1947, the same year that Marcel Breuer completed his only Cape design outside of Wellfleet, the Scott House (1947) in Dennis, which exhibits the “long house” form he was experimenting with at the time (*Progressive Architecture* June 1947:75–77). Benjamin Thompson of TAC designed his own summer house overlooking Barnstable Harbor in the early 1960s. In Orleans, Wellfleet-based Finnish émigré Olav Hammarstrom completed plans for the Grunebaum House (1955), a colony of residences at Crystal Lake (1956), and the Thayer Brooks House (1962). Also in Orleans, Charles Gwathmey designed the Cooper House (1968, storm damaged and altered). Eliot Noyes of the Harvard Five built four houses on Martha’s Vineyard including his own summer house (1956) and the Rantoul House (1963). Richard Stein (1918–1990) and several other architects also designed a small enclave of Modern houses on the Vineyard during this period.

The design of mid-twentieth-century Modern residential architecture in the New England states has been viewed since the 1940s as a regionalist response to European principles and iconic forms translated into local building traditions of wood frame structure, vertical board sheathing, natural fieldstone, and occasional sloping roofs. The Modern approach to nature, combined with new building materials and systems technologies, allowed New Englanders to embrace the natural landscape year round, in the summer and during the relatively harsh winter (Fixler 2002). The variety of mid-twentieth-century Modern houses designed by regionally distinguished and internationally acclaimed architects in Massachusetts exemplify the discipline’s quest for exploring to the edges of building design and structure, and thereby deriving insights into human comfort requirements and potential for social good.

Eminent architects who taught and designed residential buildings in Massachusetts received the American Institute of Architects’ Gold Award for lifetime achievements, including Frank Lloyd Wright (1949), Walter Gropius (1959), Alvar Aalto (1963), Marcel Breuer (1968), Philip Johnson (1978), and Benjamin Thompson (1992).

### Prefabricated Houses

In the 1940s, Massachusetts mid-twentieth-century Modern architects were in the forefront of investigations of modified standard plans and prefabricated or semi-prefabricated houses with associated carports, garages, and contemporary naturalistic landscaping. Carl Koch (1912–1998) traveled to Europe in the 1930s and received his architecture degree from the Harvard GSD in 1937, the same year Gropius and Breuer arrived there. His experience as a senior architect with the National Housing Agency during World War II cultivated his interest in creating affordable family homes with a contemporary design, which led to his emergence as one of the most successful producers of prefabricated houses. The Lustron Corporation, a short-lived manufacturer of prefabricated steel houses, hired Carl Koch in 1949 to design a luxury house, but it was not one of the most popular designs (Wolfe and Garfield 1989). At least one Lustron House was built in Framingham, MA (ca. 1950).

Koch invented Techbuilt Houses and formed a company located in Cambridge, MA in 1953, following a decade of experimentation that included the commercially unsuccessful model Acorn House in Concord (1948). Koch was among the pioneers of modern residential developments, and standardized house designs for new neighborhoods at Snake Hill Road, Belmont (1941) and Conantum, Concord (1951). The Techbuilt House consisted of a standardized timber post-and-beam frame variant, comprised of a wood post and laminated beam, with a modular wall, floor, and roof system of stressed skin, plywood and drywall, prefabricated panels (Koch and Lewis 1958:146). Techbuilt Houses minimized construction and material costs by adjusting the depth of the foundation and raising the height of roof kneewalls to transform traditionally underutilized basement and attic spaces into the main floors of the house. Techbuilt Houses are constructed with a long, rectangular, low-pitch gable-roofed form, and are often set on sloped sites that allow for walk-out basements and expansive glazing on the gable ends. Koch typically centered the main entrance of Techbuilt Houses on one of the long sides of the building, to provide easy access to a central stairway between both levels. The first Techbuilt enclaves were both one- and two-story models constructed at Middle Ridge in Lexington (1956–1959, 38 Techbuilts) and

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at Spruce Hill Road in Weston (1955–1969, 16 Techbuilts). Two Techbuilt Houses were constructed at Snake Hill Road, which limited the number of identical house types that were allowed. Only two other individual Techbuilt Houses have been recorded to date in the statewide inventory (MHC 2011), and perhaps a dozen extant scattered examples have been verified to exist in Massachusetts.

Another type of semi-prefabricated house erected on the Outer Cape was the repurposed surplus World War II Barracks that Jack Phillips purchased after the war and offered as ready-made, inexpensive housing to people who bought land from him. Originally designed to serve as temporary military shelters, the standardized plan units include a distinctive, long, narrow, rectangular building and a squarish plan building, both with low-pitch gable roofs. Phillips erected the buildings either singly or in clusters about 1945 around the Truro ponds, including the Arthur Schlesinger House (ca. 1945) and the Charles Jencks House (ca. 1945; 1978).

### Planned Neighborhoods

Carl Koch's planned residential developments in close proximity to Cambridge, integrated current concepts of layout, landscaping, house design, community amenities, and societal structure. Koch's design for the 1951 Conantum neighborhood in Concord (1951) demonstrated his implementation of national design principles through a corridor of shared community open space and a sinuous street pattern that follows natural features (Hitchcock 1957:31; Koch and Lewis 1958).

One of Massachusetts' initial planned neighborhoods of mid-twentieth-century Modern houses, Six Moon Hill in Lexington of 1947, epitomizes the expression of Bauhaus design in the United States by The Architects Collaborative (TAC), which Walter Gropius founded in 1945 in Cambridge with seven of his GSD students: Norman Collings Fletcher (1917–2007), Jean Bodman Fletcher (1915–1965), John Cheesman Harkness (b. 1916), Sarah Pillsbury Harkness (b. 1914), Robert S. McMillan (1916–2001), Louis Albert McMillen (1916–1998), and Benjamin C. Thompson (1918–2002). The pathbreaking firm adhered to Gropius' belief in design as a social exercise and the importance of the humanism in architecture, espousing the Modernist principle of architecture as a "response to real forces working in society" and approached design as a "collaboration of equals" (TAC 1966:8). A "partner-in-charge" coordinated each project, but the entire group contributed to the designs through weekly meetings. Almost all members of the firm studied architecture at Harvard or Yale, and many also taught at Harvard. In a 1966 retrospective on the company's work, Gropius articulated TAC's concept of "Total Architecture" by stating, "The key for a successful rebuilding of our environment will be the architect's determination to let the human element be the dominant factor" (TAC 1966:20). Another member, Sarah Harkness, stated simply, "Architectural music is orchestral rather than solo" (TAC 1966:26). The firm's social experiment hoped to combine the power of "group consciousness...[and] collective intuition" with the "exercise of individual leadership" to produce "an integrated whole of new and enriched value" (TAC 1966:24). TAC remained in business for 50 years, closing in 1995.

The architects of TAC consciously avoided specialization in their field and consequently worked on projects ranging from single-family homes to educational campuses. Their residential designs included two progressive planned communities in Lexington, MA. Seven of the eight founding members built affordable homes for themselves and their colleagues at Six Moon Hill in 1947. The neighborhood demonstrates the common Modern practice of building on challenging sites while respecting the natural landscape and exhibits TAC's regard for social responsibility through the creation of common amenities and design parameters. In 1951, TAC initiated a larger planned community at Lexington's Five Fields, which offered a lush, wooded natural landscape with private, spacious lots and affordable homes generated from standardized plans. The firm created three building types to accommodate changes in the slope of the natural terrain. Although TAC buildings varied broadly in scope and form, their designs consistently expressed a sensitivity and respect for the site and function, as well as a focus on spatial compositions that incorporated views from and circulation through the spaces.

Five Fields was contemporaneous with the construction of the nearby 65-lot Peacock Farm development designed by MIT graduates W. Danforth Compton (1919–1955) and Walter Smith Pierce (b. 1920). The Peacock Farms neighborhood includes the individualized house at 16 Trotting Horse Drive, which Pierce designed for himself and continues to occupy. Compton and Pierce's design for the Peacock Farm house prototype achieved mass appeal and was reiterated in four more Lexington subdivisions completed between 1957 and 1966 by developers Edward Green and Harmon White. After

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Compton died in 1955, Pierce maintained his own architectural practice based in Cambridge. He moved the office to Boston by 1962 (American Institute of Architects 1956, 1962, 1970).

#### IV. Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residences on the Outer Cape, 1928—1979

##### Community Histories and Landscape Character

Cape Cod is a narrow curved spit of sand jutting into the Atlantic Ocean from the southeastern shore of Massachusetts. Shaped like an upheld crooked arm, the peninsula tapers to a hook at its outermost point with Cape Cod Bay on the west and south and the Atlantic Ocean on east and north. The landscape of the Lower or Outer Cape, the sickle-shaped section beyond the Upper or Inner Cape, is characterized by rolling terrain dotted with scrubby oak and pine woods, salt marshes, kettle ponds, and bogs. Sandy beaches emerge as extensive dunes along the perimeter and high bluffs on the ocean side. Secluded pond settings and stunning open views of dunes and ocean create a varied and sunlit landscape that has attracted settlers and recreationalists for several centuries. The shifting sands and interweaving of land and water create a dynamic and ever-changing landscape. The furthest extent of the Outer Cape is comprised of four towns – Eastham, Wellfleet, Truro, and Provincetown. Each community possesses a unique character within the general features of this distinctive region whose identity as a scenic destination was reinforced by the creation of the Cape Cod National Seashore in 1961.

Eastham is the first town encountered when heading to the lower tip of Cape Cod after turning at the “elbow” in Orleans. Initially a large tract of land incorporated in 1651, Eastham figured in Colonial history as the site of the first encounter between the Pilgrims and Native Americans in 1620. The town’s early economy through the mid-twentieth century was based in agriculture and fishing. A large Methodist summer camp meeting started in the northwest part of town in 1830. A series of light stations and lifesaving stations along Nauset Beach served seagoing travelers. Eastham has remained the most architecturally and socially traditional town on the Outer Cape and has the fewest number of mid-twentieth-century Modern houses of the four communities. The National Park Service’s Cape Cod NS Salt Pond Visitor Center opened in 1966 in Eastham (MHC 1984a).

Wellfleet separated from Eastham in 1763 as a new town. Situated between Eastham to the south and Truro to the north, it occupies the widest part of the outer peninsula. The Cape Cod Bay side of Wellfleet consists of a remote, undeveloped, and forested area comprised of four former islands created by the network of tidal rivers flowing between the Cape Cod Bay to the west and Wellfleet Harbor to the south and east. A vibrant fishing community developed on Wellfleet Harbor concentrated at the town center and port located on west side facing the Bay. Early whaling, shellfish gathering, and mackerel fishing dominated residents’ livelihood in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As seafaring activities declined, construction of the Chequessett Inn on the abandoned Mercantile Wharf about 1900 initiated the town’s tourist industry. In the early and mid-twentieth century Wellfleet attracted a summer colony of artists, architects, writers, and intellectuals, creating the second highest concentration of art galleries on the Outer Cape, after Provincetown. Pioneering interest in mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture on the Cape occurred in Wellfleet, and numerous houses are clustered around the town’s scenic ponds, hollows, high bluffs, and Bound Brook Island (MHC 1984d).

Located beyond Wellfleet in a tapering section of the peninsula, Truro incorporated in 1709 as a separate town from Eastham (then including Wellfleet). Early fishing, whaling, and shipbuilding stopped after the East Harbor port at Pilgrim Lake and the Pamet River harbor were destroyed by infilling sand in the 1850s and 1860s. The opening of Highland House for summer visitors in 1850 and the completion of the Cape Cod Central Railroad connections between the lower Cape and Boston in 1873 signaled a growing summer community of cottages and a dispersed settlement with a small town center area. Expansive Pilgrim Lake and an immense area of dunes, beaches, and shoreline bluffs along the Truro Highlands contrast with the rolling hills and protected Pamet River valley. Truro has attracted many artists, writers, and mid-twentieth-century Modern house architects, homeowners, and enthusiasts to its secluded landscape (MHC 1984c).

Originally recognized as the Provincelands in 1692, Provincetown established its first government in 1714. Whaling and fishing out of the port located on the protected south side of the hook at the end of the Cape Cod peninsula supported its residents in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the 1890s, Provincetown boomed with locals, Portuguese

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immigrants, writers and artists, and a growing summer community. By the early twentieth century, the artistic and literary community comprising the Provincetown art colony had achieved an international reputation. The creative and lively community continued to expand and was tempered around the middle of the century by a burgeoning tourist industry that came in large part to see and be part of the artistic energy. Provincetown's landscape consists of the densely built town center and surrounding open dunes. As a result, few mid-twentieth-century Modern houses were built in the town, and it served as a vortex of creative energy and commercial galleries for the Outer Cape (MHC 1984b).

### Recreational and Tourism Development of the Outer Cape

Cape Cod became a popular recreation destination in the late nineteenth century, particularly with the coming of the Boston railroad in 1870 that extended to Provincetown in 1873. On the remote, sparsely populated, and somewhat desolate Outer Cape, advised a railroad brochure, there were no "immense hotels" and accommodations were sparse and modest. Wellfleet's Chequessett Inn erected by Captain Lorenzo Dow Baker in 1870 and Truro's Highland House that opened in the 1880s were among the few hotels. Three early beachside cottage colonies – Baker's Corn Hill Beach Colony (Wellfleet), Sheldon W. Ball's Ballston Beach Colony (Truro), and the Longnook Beach Colony (Truro) – provided rustic housing and established a regional tourism industry attracting Bostonians and New Yorkers. Local land owners, viewing the property as undesirable, readily sold to summer visitors and to savvy real estate developers such as Baker and Ball who acquired extensive land tracts that fueled the subsequent mid-twentieth-century subdivision and construction boom (O'Connell 2003:43–44).

In the first part of the twentieth century, the Cape's vacation industry fluctuated, dropping precipitously during the Depression years of 1932–1933 and World War II period of 1941–1945, when gas was rationed and the Cape shores were in the war zone, vulnerable to attack by German U-boats. A notable exception was the areas of the Upper Cape, including Camp Edwards, used by the military starting in the summer of 1942 for war preparations. By the middle of the twentieth century, the shift from travelers who arrived by rail and steamer and stayed for extended periods to an automobile-based regional tourism network connecting the Outer Cape to New York and Boston was well established. Visitors often came for shorter durations, and with the advent of recreational motoring, were able to explore the entire Cape. The Cape Cod Chamber of Commerce formed in 1921 to shepherd the Cape's economy forward and became a leader in promoting a balance between development and protection of the town centers and natural resources (O'Connell 2003:51, 62).

Construction of the Sagamore and Bourne Bridges over the Cape Cod Canal in 1935–1937 increased access to the more remote parts of the Cape. The Works Progress Administration guide estimated that 175,000 vacationers visited Cape Cod in 1936. Planning for the Mid-Cape Highway (Route 6) started in the 1930s and the first two lane section opened to the West Barnstable Rotary in 1950, followed by stretches to Dennis in 1955 and Orleans in 1959. The highway was widened to four divided lanes as far as Dennis in 1971. The four lane section of Route 6 between North Truro and Provincetown opened in 1955 (O'Connell 2003:48, 97). One motel opened on the Cape in Craigville Beach in 1939, and was joined in the 1950s by approximately 125 motels, motor courts, or motor lodges, as well as many detached cottage colonies, the preferred housing for most transient vacationers (O'Connell 2003:99, 101). With the opening of the Provincetown Municipal Airport near Race Point in November 1948, commercial air traffic provided direct flights to Boston and eventually to New York and elsewhere. Business and private activity at the airport increased steadily over the decades (*Provincetown Advocate* Oct. 28, 1948; Jan. 18, 1958). This series of continuous improvements made it increasingly possible for summer vacationers to access the Outer Cape, including those seeking to buy land and build their seasonal dream cottage.

The Outer Cape attracted people drawn to its traditional farmland, forest, and seaside charm, the presence of an artistic and intellectual colony in the town centers and surrounding area, its remoteness and sense of uniqueness, and the amenities of the natural terrain and water landscapes for relaxation, recreation, and artistic inspiration. The sublime minimalist and constantly shifting landscape of the Outer Cape's ocean-facing "Great Beach" has inspired a literary tradition of contemplative exploration starting with Henry Thoreau's 1865 *Cape Cod* commentary on his ramblings through the Outer Cape in 1849 to 1857 and Henry Beston's 1928 *Outermost House: A Year of Life on the Great Beach of Cape Cod* chronicling a winter spent on Nauset Beach in Eastham (Beston 1928; Robinson 1985). The sand beaches and dunes had a long history of life saving stations, emergency shelters, and fishing shacks. By the early twentieth century,

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writers, artists, intellectuals, and a few intrepid vacationers had discovered these minimalist “found” structures and the remote, wild natural setting, claiming it as their summer studio and home (Scofield et al. 2010). The architects, writers, and intellectuals who built mid-twentieth-century Modern houses in the woods, moors, bluffs, and dune edges shared with the rugged dune residents an appreciation of the area’s relative solitude and natural beauty.

Tourism became the region’s major industry after World War II, including both temporary visitors and those with means to purchase land and a house. The increased accessibility to Cape Cod enabled by the completion of major infrastructure and transportation projects between 1910 and 1950, coupled with the national postwar building boom and regional tourism trends, resulted in a massive increase in the construction of single-family seasonal houses on Cape Cod. The Cape’s population increased by 50 percent between 1950 and 1960 (UMass Amherst and NPS 2004:18). Unlike earlier visitors who may have been attracted to the natural scenery and historic lore of the Cape, postwar automobile vacationers were largely drawn to the recreational and beach access opportunities (O’Connell 2003). The massive increase in single-family seasonal houses after World War II across Cape Cod mirrored the national rush in second, vacation home construction. In 1962, approximately 1,000,000 vacation houses existed in the United States, and an estimated 2,000,000 were expected to be started by 1970 (*Time* 1962). This building explosion, enabled by cheap land and a strong market for vacation homes, offered owners, architects, and builders numerous opportunities for architectural diversity and daring creative experimentation. Large-scale real estate developers such as Louis Byrne with his son-in-law Tom Powers and Davenport Realty on the Mid-Cape, and others constructed thousands of homes, reinforcing the claim of the Cape Cod cottage as a national style (*Architectural Forum* 1949; O’Connell 2003:101–104). The high volume of construction also resulted in rampant land subdivisions, speculative building, and repetitive architectural forms across the Cape. As early as 1941, the *Provincetown Advocate* ran a series of advertisements sponsored by the Cape Cod Chamber of Commerce, under president Arthur L. Sparrow, on the “big business” of the summer tourist trade remarking that \$20 million in private hands would be directed and fostered, but that “Well, here on the Cape our huge summer business has ‘just growed’ without direction or supervision. In some places the growth has been pretty good. In others awful” (*Provincetown Advocate* Jan. 16, 1941).

From a local economic perspective, tourism on the remote Outer Cape after World War II continued the Cape Cod local custom of channeling land and natural resources to eke out a living by maximizing use to achieve the greatest economic benefit. The effects of tourism and residential development, however, were relatively irreversible and permanent when compared to earlier endeavors (Kneedler-Schad et al. 1995:44). As illustration, despite the Knowles family efforts to preserve Nauset Moors Farm in Eastham, in 1960, new owners sold a portion to developers who planned to divide the property into 33 lots linked with new private roads. By May 1961 Mel-Con had registered its subdivision and road layout, graded the roads, and sold 10 of 33 lots. One house was built prior to the establishment of Cape Cod NS in 1961 (Kneedler-Schad et al. 1995:xiii, 44–45). Population growth continued unabated through the twentieth century. From 1940 to 1990, the year-round population on Cape Cod increased from 30,000 to more than 175,000, with an additional 500,000 summer residents (Finch n.d.:76).

### Art Colony Associations and Studios

The scenic natural qualities of Outer Cape Cod attracted visitors in the nineteenth century and initiated a long-standing tradition of art and writing inspired by the inherent beauty of the rural maritime environment. The magnetism of the area’s picturesque setting and special luminous qualities resulted in the establishment of Charles Hawthorne’s Cape Cod School of Art in 1899 and a total of five painting schools in Provincetown by 1916, which rapidly incubated a vibrant, artistic nucleus in the town center (Finch n.d.:70; Seckler and Kuchta 1977:25). Playwrights and writers seeking a recreational retreat followed painters to the area and collectively founded innovative groups including the Provincetown Players (1916), Provincetown Art Association (1914), and Beachcomber’s Club (ca. 1920). Following the 1913 International Exhibition of Modern Art or “Armory Show” in New York City, the Modern movement caused a split in the Outer Cape’s artistic community. By 1927, there were two big summer art shows in Provincetown – the “Modernistic” show in July and “Regulars” show in August – which a decade later were combined in a single show (Provincetown Art Association 1999:62). Abstract Expressionism, the first specifically American art movement that achieved international recognition, was furthered locally when renowned painter Hans Hofmann (German, 1880–1966) opened an art school in 1934 that imparted avant-garde cachet to Provincetown for first time. Hofmann’s presence attracted many abstract artists

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to spend summers painting in Provincetown including Fritz Bultman, Helen Frankenthaler, and Robert Motherwell (O'Connell 2003:86).

The Outer Cape Cod summer stock theater scene also formed around this time with the establishment of the Provincetown Players in 1916 and the presence of prominent playwright, Eugene O'Neill, among other authors and a cadre of actors. Additional theaters opened elsewhere on the Cape over the next decade, notably the Cape Playhouse in Dennis (1927) and the University Players in Falmouth (1928) (O'Connell 2003:59–60).

Beginning in the 1920s, the Outer Cape, especially Wellfleet and Provincetown, became a favored seasonal destination for freethinking writers, artists, academics, and intellectuals, further establishing the ground for Modernism. The isolated sections of these remote towns attracted individuals seeking to enjoy solitude and the natural environment, while art galleries, schools, and businesses concentrated in the town centers. A number of Cape-based artists participated in the federal arts programs of the Works Progress Administration through the national economic downturn of the 1930s. In the 1940s, during World War II and postwar years, as the United States became the international center of Modern art, artists working on the Outer Cape sought fresh and experimental modes of personal expression that emerged full blown in the mid-1950s. This outstanding concentration of notable architects, artists, actors, and writers sought out existing houses, including those that had been abandoned, to rent or purchase. They also helped to create a demand for new Modern housing on the Outer Cape. Social and professional connections between the radical Bohemian intellectual society of Greenwich Village in New York City and the Outer Cape fueled year-round interactions and spurred a range of living and working experiments that embraced the strikingly scenic and wild natural landscape and spartan lifestyle in the woods, moors, and dunes outside of downtown. Traditional New England family ties, large landholdings, and the local vernacular architecture created an opportunity for independent-minded land owners and artists to settle in isolated and protected woodland or exposed dune locations.

The relationship between architects, artists, designers, clients, and collectors formed a private social network that was critical to the formation and development of the Outer Cape summer community. Between 1951 and 1958, six important galleries opened in Provincetown that provided a locus for art viewing, critiquing, and purchasing. One of them, the Kootz Gallery, later the HCE (“Here Comes Everybody”) Gallery, was started in 1953 by Sam Kootz, a successful NYC art dealer and early champion of Abstract Expressionism in a new Modern building (architect not identified). In 1955 Walter Chrysler purchased the Methodist church for an art museum. In Wellfleet, architect and avid supporter of modern Art, Nathaniel Saltonstall, completed the gallery at The Colony in 1949 and the Wellfleet Art Gallery on Route 6 in 1955, which was run by his longtime companion Tom Gaglione and served as a center of the art and social scene (CCMHT n.d.; *Provincetown Advocate* May 29, 1952).

By the 1960s, Provincetown was the center of a lively art community of artists, patrons, and appreciators, as well as curious tourists. Simultaneously, Provincetown increasingly became a summer tourist mecca with trinkets hawkers, food emporiums, crowded streets and parking lots, and escalating studio and housing rental prices beyond the reach of young artists. The impacts to the art community were considered in a 1970 Forum at the Provincetown Art Association titled “What is Happening to Our Art Colony?” The following year, in 1971, Walter Chrysler moved his art collection to Norfolk, VA. The founding of the Truro Center for the Arts on Castle Hill in 1972 by sculptor Joyce Johnson established another Outer Cape arts venue. In 1976 Provincetown bought the Methodist Church to create a Heritage Museum, and the Fine Arts Work Center in Provincetown was established in 1978 to encourage and support young artists and writers (Commissioners of Barnstable County 1985:271–272).

The natural beauty and vibrant art communities of Provincetown, Truro, and Wellfleet attracted numerous prominent artists to live, work, and exhibit in the area, including Hans Hofmann, Karl Knaths, Boris Margo, Peter Busa, Chaim Gross, Nanno De Groot, Herman Maril, Ilya and Resia Schor, Ben Shahn, Walker Evans, Myron Stout, Leo Manso, Richard Florsheim, Jack Tworokov, Fritz Bultman, Tony Smith, Sideo Fromboluti, Nora Speyer Fromboluti, Lillian Swann Saarinen, Marianne Strengell, Franz Kline, Mark Rothko, Tony Vevers, Adolph Gottlieb, Robert Motherwell, Caleb Arnold Slade, Jerry Farnsworth, Helen Alton, Farnsworth Sawyer, Xavier Gonzales, George McNeil, Jan Muller, Judith Rothschild, Lester Johnson, Alex Katz, Mary Frank, Red Grooms, Paul Resika, Varujan Boghosian, James Lechay, Gilbert Franklin, Peter Watts, and Dimitri Hadzi. (Mazur 2010; O'Connell 2003:86). Edward Hopper built his studio in

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South Truro overlooking the bay in 1934 and painted quietly there avoiding the Provincetown and Wellfleet art scenes. Robert Motherwell came to Provincetown in 1953 for a brief time, and was one of a number of artists who had summered and worked in New York's Hamptons on Long Island from the 1940s, but retreated to the Outer Cape due to influx of "prosperous bohemians" to the Hamptons. The Cape's art and cultural scene was largely derived from the bohemian and political left intellectuals from the Greenwich Village circle in New York City, while the Hamptons attracted a more affluent social group from the New York metropolitan area.

Provincetown boasted the densest population of artists, while Wellfleet and Truro, in particular among the Outer Cape towns, established a dispersed artistic community of summer ateliers with painters and sculptors working in private studios and spending leisure time at houses tucked into the forested landscape. A number of artists bought properties with old ramshackle Capes or cottages which they fixed up and then added studios as freestanding or attached structures. Others did not build specific studios, but like sculptor Lilian Swann Saarinen (1912–1995) whose house was designed in 1960 by Olav Hammarstrom, simply used their homes and outdoor settings as a place to reflect, sketch, and explore ideas (Archives of American Art 1976–1981). The creative community of the Outer Cape at that time achieved a high degree of cross fertilization in architecture and the fine arts through individuals like Serge Chermayeff and Jack Hall who embraced both painting and building design and in the web of social networks that linked so many of the designers and residents. The scenic landscapes around the Outer Cape houses and studios served as subjects or inspiration for many artists' work.

The earliest mid-twentieth-century Modern studio on the Outer Cape was a multi-faceted sculptural structure in Provincetown designed in 1944 by celebrated abstract sculptor, Tony Smith (1912–1980), for friend and eminent Abstract Expressionist artist, Fritz Bultman (1919–1985). Many of the local studios were built in the 1950 and 1960s at the height of the artistic community's free creative period before escalating tourism and land prices caused a contraction in the Outer Cape art scene. Many were designed by stellar architects for nationally and internationally prominent artists. Others, often architect designed for lesser known artists, may have served as both studios and guesthouses, such as Victor Civkin's Sirna Studio in Wellfleet (1961).

Architect, painter, designer, and educator Serge Chermayeff's lifelong passion for abstract painting translated to an innovative design for the original studio he built for himself about 1952. He considered his studio design as a prototype and created two other recreational house variations of it for the Sigerson House and the Wilkinson House in Wellfleet (discussed below). Chermayeff built a second studio addition to his cottage in 1972, where he painted regularly into his 90s (Powers 1996). Finnish émigré architect Olav Hammarstrom designed a studio in Wellfleet (1957) for New York abstract artist Xavier Gonzales (1898–1993), whose work was being shown and well received at the Wellfleet Art Gallery. Gonzales was born in Spain and became an American citizen in 1932. The accomplished American abstract painter, Judith Rothschild (1921–1993), commissioned her Wellfleet neighbor, self-taught designer/builder Jack Hall, to design a small, wood-frame studio (1972). Hall completed an addition to a traditional Cape Cod cottage for painter, Peter Watts, the same year (CCMHT n.d.). Hall designed and renovated many small artists' studios in Wellfleet using spare, functional, designs and easily available, inexpensive materials. Another self-taught local designer/builder Hayden Walling completed a studio in 1959 for his friend celebrated abstract expressionist painter, and Wellfleet resident, James Lechay (1907–2001). Sideo Fromboluti (b. 1920) and Nora Speyer Fromboluti (b. 1923), both Abstract Expressionist painters in the New York School, commissioned local architect Charlie Zehnder to design their Truro house and studio in 1965. In 1977, they joined with other established artists, mainly from New York, on the Outer Cape to open the Long Point Gallery, a cooperative venture located in Provincetown until 1998. In 1961, Marcel Breuer added a studio addition to his house (1945–1948) with the same materials and attached by an open elevated breezeway, so as to appear as a continuous structure. Gyorgy Kepes and his MIT students designed a studio adjacent to his house (1945–1948), linked by a long wood walkway raised on piers. Charles Jencks, well-known architectural theorist, critic and author, as well as an accomplished architect and landscape architect, assembled his 'Garagia Rotunda' studio of 1976–1977 in Truro using a ready-made garage and applied ornamentation. This Postmodern statement stands near his contemporaneous house, which is composed of surplus World War II military barracks, both constructed by Jack Phillips. "Garagia Rotunda" signifies the nominal end of the Bauhaus and mid-twentieth-century Modern period on the Outer Cape.

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## Writers and Intellectuals

The cluster of numerous prominent individuals associated with American intellectual and art culture who lived and worked in Provincetown, Wellfleet, and Truro during the first half of the twentieth century included authors, literary critics, libertines, and leftists such as e e cummings, Mable Dodge, John Dos Passos, Harry Kemp, Mary McCarthy, Mary Heaton Vorse, Hazel Hawthorne Werner, Edmund Wilson, Edna St. Vincent Millay, and Margaret Sanger; playwrights such as Susan Glaspell and Eugene O'Neill; and Lee Falk, Helen Sawyer, Jerry Farnsworth, Robert Nathan, and Caleb Slade. Preeminent intellectuals, academics, and authors associated with Modern residences as summer renters, regular visitors, or homeowners included the editors of *Time*, *The Nation*, *Architectural Forum*, and writers for the *New Yorker*, among others, including Arthur Schlesinger, Peter Blake, Charles Jencks, Robert Hatch, Robert J. Lifton, Betty Jean Lifton, Dorothy Trilling, Robert B. Nathan, Lee Falk, Charles Abrams, and Dwight McDonald.

## Forum 49

The extraordinary creative energy swirling around the Outer Cape in the 1940s generated Forum 49, a major event conceived by Weldon Kees (1914–1955), a poet, painter, jazz musician, novelist, and critic, along with painter and sculptor Fritz Bultman and poet Cecil Hemley. Kees won the Blumenthal prize for poetry in 1948 and frequently contributed to the *New Yorker*. He lived in New York but spent summers in Provincetown, studying painting with Hans Hofmann. Bultman and Hemley lived in Provincetown year-round (*Provincetown Advocate* June 23, 1949a). All three men cultivated dynamic connections with other like-minded artists and collected participants for the Forum from among the progressive intellectual communities of Wellfleet and Truro (Reidel 2007:196–197). They were later joined in their efforts by Hofmann and fellow painter Karl Knaths, who had been a spokesman for Modernism in Provincetown for three decades (*Provincetown Advocate* June 30, 1949b; Vevers 1994:62).

Forum 49 consisted of a summer-long series of weekly lectures, panel discussions, and exhibitions related to the exciting and provocative new ideas filling the contemporary art world. The events were held in a former Ford garage at 200 Commercial Street that Don Witherstine, a successful local art dealer, had converted to an art gallery. Gallery 200 opened on July 3 with a cutting-edge exhibit of abstract painting organized by the Forum 49 group and a panel discussion on the subject “What is an Artist?”. The space held 200 people, but an estimated 500 people were turned away (Vevers 1993:58). Abstract Expressionist painter, editorial associate for *Art News* magazine, and wife of the highly influential artist Willem de Kooning, Elaine de Kooning (1918–1989) covered the show, considered “one of the finest exhibitions of abstract paintings ever assembled,” for the *Cape Cod Standard-Times* (*Provincetown Advocate* July 7, 1949c; Vevers 1994:62). It featured works by 50 artists, including four pioneers of the local scene: Oliver Chaffee, Agnes Weinrich, Ambrose Webster, and Blanche Lazell. Other exhibitors included Hofmann, Bultman, Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, Robert Motherwell, Adolph Gottlieb, Peter Busa, Kenneth Campbell, Judith Rothschild, Bryan Browne, Perle Fine, and Leo Manso (Vevers 1993:58). Hofmann, George Biddle, Adolph Gottlieb, and Serge Chermayeff participated on the panel. Interestingly, Kees introduced Chermayeff as the head of the Chicago Institute of Design and a painter, writer, and lecturer but did not mention that he was an architect. In his remarks, Chermayeff said “The artist is only another specialist in a world of specialists. . . . The artist is a craftsman like a plumber. . . . The tool or message that works has always been accepted” (Seckler and Kuchta 1977:64). In 1949, Chermayeff was head of Chicago’s Institute of Design and spending summers in Wellfleet where he may have been expanding the small cabin he purchased from Jack Philips in 1944. He did not complete his first Cape Cod building – his studio – until 1952 when he moved to Cambridge.

Ten other forum sessions held that summer discussed topics related to politics, architecture, psychiatry, literature, and music. They were all headlined by speakers “at the forefront in the world of arts and letters,” who deliberately confronted the public with new ways of thinking about art (*Provincetown Advocate* July 7, 1949c; Vevers 1994:62). The provocative panels and exhibitions attracted national attention. New York art critic Clement Greenberg was quoted as saying “What you have scheduled looks like the most exciting thing in art ever to be run outside of New York in the summer – or winter too” (*Provincetown Advocate* Aug. 4, 1949d). Although the inherently conservative Provincetown Art Association was not involved in planning the event, several of the artists involved later recalled a rich camaraderie and intense spirit of cultural and artistic exchange within the community, drawing on the town’s heritage as a sponsor of the avant garde (Seckler and Kuchta 1977:15; Vevers 1994:62). Forum 49 inspired a resurgence in the local art scene that continued

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throughout the 1950s and 1960s, when Commercial Street galleries exhibited distinguished American art equal to that shown on Fifty-Seventh Street and Madison in New York (O'Connell 2003:90).

The initial buzz about the Forum 49 project subsided after the opening, and later forums, although enthusiastically attended, received less press outside the area. On August 18, two well-respected authorities, Gyorgy Kepes (1906–2001) and Marcel Breuer (1902–1981), both born in Hungary and both with Breuer-designed summer homes in Wellfleet, discussed “Directions in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Architecture” with Peter Blake (1920–2006). Blake was an architect and the head of the architectural division at New York’s MoMA, who was soon (1950) to become an associate editor and eventually editor-in-chief (1965) of *Architectural Forum* (*Provincetown Advocate* Sept. 1, 1949e; Seckler and Kuchta 1977:66). All three men were, and remained, long-term summer residents of the Outer Cape. Kepes, a painter, photographer, and designer, as well as author of *The Language of Vision* (then in its sixth printing) and head of the Center for Advanced Visual Studies at MIT, spoke on the influence of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century painting and on the ways in which Modern architects manipulated light, color, and space. Breuer, an architect and designer known for his tubular furniture designs, and a teacher at the Bauhaus school and Harvard GSD, described how space had become an architectural object itself, rather than a background for buildings. Many of the audience’s questions related to Breuer’s controversial and compelling design for a model single-family house, “House in the Museum Garden” which had recently been built and was on view that summer on the grounds of MoMA, and his treatment of public versus private spaces (*Provincetown Advocate* Sept. 1, 1949e). The debate highlighted the evolving relationships between architecture and modern society. Breuer had completed two nearly identical houses for himself and Gyorgy Kepes in Wellfleet the previous year following his “long house” prototype, which he had developed for a seaside setting and first constructed in New Canaan, CT in 1947 (Breuer House II). The long house type is discussed below in the “Modern Houses in the Woods and Dunes” section. The year 1949 was also a milestone in the development of mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture marked by the completion of Philip Johnson’s Glass House in New Canaan, CT (NHL) to much acclaim and publicity.

### Creating the Modern Design Environment

At least 160 mid-twentieth-century Modern, single-family houses by more than 20 known architects and design/builders, including the major figures of Marcel Breuer, Serge Chermayeff, and Charles Jencks, were constructed on the Outer Cape during the mid-twentieth century. The scenic natural environment, recreational opportunities, and tranquil, isolated qualities of the remote dunes and scrub-pine landscape of the Outer Cape attracted regional tourism and a progressive artistic and intellectual seasonal community. Inaugurated by European Bauhaus-inspired houses erected by self-taught local designer/builders in the 1930s, internationally renowned European-trained architects and American Modern architects began constructing recreational houses in the area by the mid-1940s and developed a unique variant of Modern architecture that flourished in the years following World War II. The houses reflect the influences of the preeminent icons of Modernism – Walter Gropius, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier, Eero Saarinen, and Frank Lloyd Wright in their attention to simplified massing, efficient plans, experimental structural systems, and interrelationship between the building and the natural setting. Architects designing on the Outer Cape filtered the Modernist canon through the unique qualities of the local natural environment and the requirements of a simple, enlightened way of living in a progressive summer community. The designers and their clients sought innovative experiments in materials and spatial organizations, simple compositions, honest use of plain, locally available materials, and total integration of the arts. Architects and designer/builders created houses imbued with the freshness and youthfulness of the Modern aesthetic that responded to the Outer Cape’s delicate ecology through siting and orientation, materials, and simplicity of form. The houses merged the spare rustic simplicity of the area’s distinctive building traditions with the high style tenets of international Modernism. The Breuer House, Hammarstrom House, and Hatch Cottage use elements such as experimentations with weathering characteristics of wood, inexpensive and sometimes recycled materials, and structural systems that lightly touch the land, in conjunction with formal structural grids, planar wall surfaces, and interpenetrating interior and exterior components. Many of the houses also bear affinities with the attention to the relationship among environment, building, site, and outdoor lifestyle that is characteristic of the Finnish summer house tradition. These remotely located retreats on Outer Cape Cod are more modest than the Modernist summer homes built for very wealthy New York area clients in the other major mid-twentieth-century Modern beach community in the region, the Hamptons on Long Island (Bailey et al. 2006; Fixler 2004:37; Gordon 2001; Jetsonsen and Jetsonsen 2008).

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The introduction of mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture to the Outer Cape in the late 1920s and 1930s reflected heightened interest across the United States in Modernism in all art forms. The vanguard consisted of three well-to-do, largely self-taught, and youthful landowner/designer/builders based in Wellfleet who were inspired by their personal interests and exposure to Modernism. By the late 1930s Jack Hall, Jack Phillips, and Hayden Walling had become lifelong friends and collaborators and subsequently created a welcoming and inviting environment for the European Modernists who arrived in the mid 1940s. They worked on architectural design and construction projects together and also assisted each other in real estate development and management. Phillips, Hall, and Walling catalyzed the influx of Modern architects to the Outer Cape by introducing them to the area and subdividing land for them to build on (CCMHT n.d.).

In 1929, John “Jack” C. Phillips, Jr. (1908–1978), a Harvard-educated Boston Brahmin, inherited an 800-acre ocean-side wood and pond property on the Wellfleet-Truro line from his uncle, Dr. William Herbert Rollins. This seminal event in the mid-century development of the Outer Cape created a natural laboratory for Modernist experimentation. Jack Phillips knew early European Modernist architecture from his travels and studies, and attended the Harvard GSD for one year in 1937, the first year that Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer taught in the United States after leaving the Bauhaus. He designed and built the initial, lightweight, functional, and experimental Modernist summer houses in the area, the Phillips/Wilson House (ca. 1937), Phillips 2 House/“Paper Palace” (ca. 1938), the Phillips Studio/“Bug House” (ca. 1938, not extant), and at least four other subsequent buildings. During World War II, Phillips built a pond-side Modern cottage and a cluster of small, one-room, wood-frame sheds where he raised turkeys, referred to as the Turkey Barns (1943). After the war he converted the sheds into sleeping cabins. Phillips was pivotal in making a Modernist enclave possible when in the mid-1940s he sold land around the Wellfleet Ponds to Serge Chermayeff, Paul Weidlinger, Marcel Breuer, and others (CCMHT n.d.).

John “Jack” Hughes Hall (1913–2003) graduated from Princeton University in 1935, then studied industrial design, and was involved throughout his life in a variety of architectural and design practices. He lived in New York City and, from the mid-1930s, in Wellfleet when he bought 180 acres with an old farm complex on Bound Brook Island on the bay side of Wellfleet for \$3,500 from Katie Dos Passos, the wife of noted writer John Dos Passos. In the 1940s Jack Hall served on the committee to save Wellfleet’s Colonial Hall and was a member of the Wellfleet Board of Trade. He was referred to as the “lord” of Bound Brook and was the only year-round resident of the island (*Provincetown Advocate* June 6, 1940). In 1946 Hall started a design-build business and by 1951, he had become involved in real estate sales and rental properties, acting as leasing agent for Hayden Walling and Jack Phillips, among others. He managed rentals to New York individuals like urbanist and housing expert Charles Abrams (1902–1970), American writer, editor, film critic, social critic, philosopher, and political radical Dwight McDonald (1906–1982), and painter Xavier Gonzales (1898–1993) whose work was in high demand at the Wellfleet Art Gallery (*Provincetown Advocate* April 19, 1951). Hall moved year-round to Wellfleet in the 1970s (CCMHT 2010). Hall worked on at least nine houses, studios, and renovations, including his most well-known work, the design of the Hatch House (1961) which was erected by local designer/builder Jean Kaesela in Wellfleet for Ruth and Robert L. Hatch, Jr. (1910–1994), editor of *The Nation* magazine.

Hayden Walling (1917–1981) summered in the Outer Cape from childhood with his parents, prominent early socialists William English Walling (1877–1936) and Russian-born Anna Strunsky Walling (1878–1964), who were among the founders of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People and the International Ladies Garment Union. Mrs. Walling counted as her lifelong friends the actress and writer Ida Rauh, and writers Mary Heaton Vorse and Harry Kemp (*Provincetown Advocate* Mar. 19, 1964). After attending Amherst College and graduating from Bard College, Walling became a self-taught architect and builder. He worked on renovation and additions to his summer home, the Walling (Reily) House (1937–1960s) in Wellfleet. Walling, a Quaker, was a conscientious objector during World War II and held varied interests through his life. Starting with the Flato House Renovation (1953) in Wellfleet, Walling designed at least 13 houses, studios, and renovations on the Outer Cape in the 1950s and 1960s, including the Xavier Gonzales Studio (1957) and the James Lechay House and Studio (1959). He also built architect-designed houses in Wellfleet and Truro, including Olav Hammarstrom’s Lilian Swann Saarinen House (1955) and Tisza House (1960) (CCMHT n.d.).

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### Modern Cottages in Woods and Dunes

When compared to Wellfleet and Truro, few mid-twentieth-century Modern houses were built in Provincetown and Eastham. Approximately 160 Modern style, single-family houses were constructed on the Outer Cape during the mid-twentieth century. The majority are in Wellfleet, slightly fewer are in Truro, and both Eastham and Provincetown have a considerably smaller number of properties.

During and after World War II, Europeans and other Modernist architects began to arrive on the Outer Cape broadening the international overlay to the local culture that existed through the presence of the painter, teacher, and catalyst of the Abstract Expressionist movement, Hans Hofmann in Provincetown, and many other influential abstract artists. The remote Outer Cape served as a critical laboratory of mid-twentieth-century Modern residential design for internationally recognized architects like Marcel Breuer and Serge Chermayeff, and for local and regional Modernists including Phillips, Hall, Walling, Nathaniel Saltonstall, and the architects who later followed. Throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, a significant social network of architects, designers, and their clients from Boston and New York City built summer or year-round homes for themselves and their friends in the Modern style, which was easily adapted to the seaside climate.

### Early Arrivals and Houses, 1940s

The years 1944 and 1945 marked a pivotal turning point for mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture as a series of acquaintances and referrals brought key European architects and designers to the Outer Cape. Many visited the Cape within their first few years of residency in the United States and promptly established enduring connections to the area, creating an international expatriate enclave. The scenic landscape and inexpensive land costs not only offered the promise of seaside vacation cottage ownership, a long standing European tradition, but the existing artistic and intellectual community provided opportunities for creative collaboration and comradeship within the kind of multidisciplinary ethos extolled by Bauhaus training. These designers preferred the secluded and protected areas around ponds and in hollows to the harsh and wild terrain of the ocean shore edge, where some contemporary artists and writers were deepening the local fishing and lifesaving tradition of occupying and maintaining survivalist dune shacks (Scofield et al. 2010). The Modernist enclave that coalesced in Provincetown, Wellfleet, and Truro evolved in a relatively short period of time due to intentional searches for a certain kind of natural and social environment and serendipitous chance events. This loosely configured community that was forged in the 1940s by independent designers, artists, and intellectuals who shared a passion for the arts and engagement with the Cape's quiet, natural landscape endures through the continued ownership by original families of many properties.

In the summer of 1943, art collector and heiress Peggy Guggenheim (1898–1979), who had been living in Paris, rented Jack Phillips' recently-built Phillips House 2 House/"Paper Palace" (ca. 1938) with three surrealist painters and war refugees – her then husband Max Ernst (German, 1891–1976), Roberto Matta (Chilean, 1911–2002), and Arshile Gorky (Armenian, 1904–1948). Gorky's work bridged European Surrealism and American Abstract Expressionism, which dominated the modern art scene from the late 1940s to the 1960s. Phillips married Gorky's widow, Agnes "Mougouch" Gorky, in 1949 (CCMHT n.d.; Herrera 2009). Phillips had sited the two-story, Bauhaus-inspired "Paper Palace" on a bluff with dramatic views of the ocean and extensively used Homasote, a pressed paper board and popular inexpensive building material that gained widespread use for a variety of industrial and construction applications after about 1910.

In the mid-1940s, Phillips sold parcels of his land to several well-known European Modern architects, designers, and others seeking vacation properties. Architects like Marcel Breuer and Serge Chermayeff designed their own inexpensive houses and houses for their friends and clients. Phillips was able to offer an alternative affordable house type to new property owners when, at the end of World War II, he obtained a number of semi-prefabricated barracks buildings from an Army base in Georgia for the cost of shipping them to Provincetown. He assembled these rudimentary wood-frame and plywood clad buildings about 1945 at various locations around the ponds on his Truro part of his property. He built his either as a single structure (Hebbeln House), or two connected units set end to end for Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (1917–2007) and for a three-barrack house later owned by Charles Jencks (b. 1939), who both would become prominent in their respective fields of history and politics, and architectural criticism and design (CCMHT n.d.).

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Noted abstract sculptor, Tony Smith (1912–1980), came to the Outer Cape drawn to the art scene and designed one of the earliest mid-twentieth-century Modern buildings, the Bultman Studio (1944) in Provincetown. Bultman and Smith had both studied with Gyorgy Kepes at the New Bauhaus in Chicago in the late 1930s. Bultman was later one of the 28 prominent New York School artists, including Mark Rothko and Jackson Pollock, who protested New York's Metropolitan Museum treatment of contemporary art and were dubbed "The Irascibles" in 1950 by *Life* magazine. Smith, a minimalist sculptor and an architect, had studied architecture and then design and worked for Frank Lloyd Wright at Taliesin West. Newlyweds Fritz and artist Jeanne Lawson Bultman (1918–2008) forewent a fancy wedding in order to purchase a house in Provincetown where they erected the studio (CCMHT n.d.; *Provincetown Banner* Dec. 25, 2008). The Bultmans initially rented the studio to influential Abstract Expressionist painter and Provincetown art school founder, Hans Hofmann. Tony Smith applied his experiences at Taliesin to his abstract and sculptural design using a ground-hugging base, multi-faceted canted wall and skylight planes, and a flaring roofline (Mazur 2008). The Bultman Studio's angular volume presaged Smith's interest in crystalline structures, which he experimented with between 1944 and 1962 on Eastern Long Island, including the Theodore Stamos Studio, a hexagon-shaped house raised on posts (Gordon 2001:59–62).

Also in 1944, California-born architect, Peter G. Harnden (unknown-1971), a friend of Jack Phillips, introduced Serge Chermayeff to Phillips.<sup>ii</sup> Serge Chermayeff (1900–1996), was the first of the European architects to come to Wellfleet, four years following his immigration to the United States, when he purchased a pond-side parcel with a small existing cabin. An architect, writer, painter, and educator who was born in the Chechen Republic and was trained and already an established Modernist architect in England, Chermayeff taught at the California School of Fine Arts (1940–1941), Brooklyn College (1942–1946), Chicago Institute of Design (1946–1951), as well as Yale, Harvard, and MIT (between 1952 and his retirement in 1970).

In 1952, Chermayeff began enlarging the cabin that he continued to work on until 1972, and completed his prototype Studio house. The house and detached studio consist of a series of low, elongated, rectangular forms accented with punches of glazing and primary colors and demonstrate Chermayeff's prototype bow-tie timber truss system, with cross-bracing laid over homasote/fiberboard paneled walls. The X-bracing divides the exterior wall into triangles, which Chermayeff painted in contrasting colors to resemble festive pennants or tents from a distance. Chermayeff intended for the resulting volume of multiple, compact components and brightly colored surface treatments to minimize the effect of the building on the landscape, making it appear as a collection of objects, rather than a permanent interruption of the natural setting. In 1959, Serge Chermayeff wrote a letter to a Boston newspaper in support of the proposed Cape Cod NS saying "My all-the-year-round cottage . . . is a constant source of pleasure to myself, my family, and our friends, who delight to share with us this pleasant retreat from urban and suburban wear and tear" (*Provincetown Advocate* May 14, 1959).

Chermayeff considered his design for the studio a prototype and created two other variations of it for the Sigerson House (1952) and the Wilkinson House (1953) in Wellfleet. The design was published in *House & Home* magazine in 1954 and in Karl Kaspar's *Holiday Houses* (1967). Chermayeff also used the same cross-braced and infilled structural system for his design for the Cape Codder newspaper office building (1957) in Orleans (CCMHT n.d.; Powers 1996). Chermayeff continued to work on the Outer Cape for many years, designing at least ten more houses and commercial buildings, including the Flato House (1954) in Truro and the O'Connor House (ca. 1956–1957) in Wellfleet. He exhibited abstract paintings in a group show at the Provincetown Art Association in 1946 (*Provincetown Advocate* July 11, 1946). He died in Wellfleet in 1996.

Kirk Cook Wilkinson wrote in a letter to *Time* magazine regarding an article on summer vacation homes that featured his house and the Lilian Swann Saarinen House (1960, Olav Hammarstrom), "My own house is so much the expression of an

<sup>ii</sup> Peter G. Harnden became a captain in US Military Intelligence and married Princess Marie Vassiltchikov (Russia, 1917–1978), who later wrote a memoir, *Berlin Diaries, 1940-1945* (Sheppard 2010). After the war, he opened an architectural office in Paris. In 1959 he designed a Modern house (destroyed 2010) with his Italian collaborator Iianfranco Bombelli for American socialite Ethel de Croisset, née Woodward, in Alhaurín de la Torre on the Costa del Sol, Spain (Jamieson 2010).

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individual talent that publishing it without giving credit to the architect, Serge Chermayeff, is like showing a painting without giving the name of the artist" (*Time* 1962). Wilkinson (1909–1995) studied watercolor painting at the Parson's School of Design in New York City and taught graphics there from 1931 to 1932 before entering the publishing field. He served as art director for *Country Life*, *American Home* (1935–1936); *House Beautiful* (1936–1937); and for Condé Nast (1937–1939). Carolyn 'Caps' Wilkinson (1909–2006) had a background in carpentry and worked for and eventually headed *Women's Day*, a popular national journal sold in markets. Her magazine sponsored the competition that resulted in European émigré architect Olav Hammarstrom's *Woman's Day Magazine House* (1967) in Wellfleet, a simple, compact, one-story house employing inexpensive mass-produced materials and prefabricated construction concepts. Upon retirement the Wilkinsons moved to Wellfleet year round and opened the Kendall Gallery, which served an important role in the development of Wellfleet as an art center (*Provincetown Banner* Nov. 17, 2006).

In 1944, Marcel Breuer, then living in Cambridge, also arrived on the Outer Cape "looking for" his friend, Serge Chermayeff, who was based in Brooklyn, New York. Marcel Breuer (1902–1981), born in Hungary, is renowned as an extraordinarily influential Bauhaus designer, teacher, and architect. He taught at the Harvard GSD and practiced with Gropius from 1937 to 1941 when he moved his office to New York City with business partner Herbert Beckhard. He built a cantilevered variant of his long house prototype in New Canaan, CT in 1947.

Although Breuer acknowledged the importance of siting and oriented his houses to incorporate scenic views or natural lighting, he perceived his buildings as intercepting, rather than blending with the landscape. Breuer's residential work has been categorized in four types by architectural historians, known as the Multi-level, Binuclear, Villa, and Long House types. The Multi-level house is typically a two-story box with a central open living room and an annex. The Binuclear plan is a visual expression of the separation of public and private space, arranged in two separate rectangular sections linked by a hyphen or arranged in a slightly overlapping stack. Breuer used the Villa type for large homes with complex systems of rooms. The Long House type is most prevalent on Cape Cod and consists of a horizontally oriented box with a linear plan. This building type has been compared to resemble a freestanding, self-contained cabinet (Von Vegesack and Remmele 2003:219). After his arrival on the Outer Cape, Breuer also bought a pond-side lot in Wellfleet from Jack Phillips and began planning a small community of cottages between Higgins, Herring, and Slough ponds in Wellfleet, based on a shed-roofed prototype of his long house plan. The community was never built, but Breuer used the long house prototype as the design for his summer home in Wellfleet, completed in 1948 and three others in Wellfleet, including the Kepes House (1948), the Stillman/Halloran House (1953), and the Wise House, a mirror image of the Breuer House (1963) (CCMHT n.d.; Von Vegesack and Remmele, Ed. 2003). Howard Wise (1903–1989) was an art dealer and patron who showed Abstract Expressionists at the gallery he operated between 1960 and 1971 in New York City. He pioneered exhibiting kinetic art and supported technology in the arts.

Breuer made specific modifications of the long house prototype to address the harsh Cape Cod climate including roofing and screening the porch and the use of tongue and groove cedar rather than plywood. *Architectural Record* referred to these simple and informal houses as an "economical adaptation of typical New England frame construction" (*Architectural Record* 1966). The Breuer and identical Kepes houses were built at the same time by local builder Ernest (Ernie) Rose at a combined cost saving price of \$5,000. Breuer and his protégé Herbert Beckhardt later designed a studio addition to his house, which was also built by Ernie Rose in 1961. Breuer designed five houses on the Cape between 1945 and 1963, four in Wellfleet and one, the Scott House, in Dennis (1948), which echoes the butterfly roof of his 1949 acclaimed demonstration House in the Museum Garden at MoMA. He and his wife Constance spent summers in Wellfleet until the end of his life. Breuer retired in 1976 and his ashes are buried on the Wellfleet property (CCMHT n.d.).

Breuer and Chermayeff soon brought another Hungarian and Bauhaus colleague, Gyorgy Kepes (1906–2001), to the Cape. Kepes was a painter, designer, educator, and art theorist who had worked with Lazlo Moholy-Nagy and followed him to Chicago in 1937. In the United States, Kepes taught at the New Bauhaus in Chicago, then at Brooklyn College in New York with Chermayeff. In 1947 he founded the Center for Advanced Visual Studies at MIT, where he taught until his retirement in 1974. His friend Breuer designed the Kepes Cottage as a "long house" identical to Breuer's own house in 1945–1948 on a pond in Wellfleet. The Kepes House never had running water, and Kepes explained that he was seeking a secluded, "low-energy," tranquil sanctuary where "commonplace experiences—a sunset—a branch of a tree"

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could guide him “to the rich potential values inherent in the new landscape of the scientific world” (Kepes quoted in Piene 1973). Kepes served on the building committee for the St. James the Fisherman Church and Coffee-house (1957) designed by Olav Hammarstrom in Wellfleet (*Provincetown Advocate* Aug. 23, 1956).

Finnish architect, Olav Hammarstrom (1906–2002), and Finnish textile designer, Marianne Strengell (1909–1998), first came to Wellfleet in 1948, the year he left Helsinki and joined Alvar Aalto in Boston to supervise construction of Aalto’s Baker House dormitory at MIT. In the United States, Hammarstrom worked with Eero Saarinen in Michigan while Strengell was teaching at Cranbrook. He also worked at TAC and taught at Yale and MIT. Strengell’s mother was an accomplished weaver and her father, Gustaf Strengell, was an architect and colleague of Eliel Saarinen. Saarinen asked her to come to Cranbrook Academy in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan in 1937 where she led the textile design department from 1937 to 1961 and taught Charles Eames, Ray Eames, Harry Bertoia, Lily Saarinen, and Florence Knoll. Strengell became one of the twentieth century’s most influential textile designers and executed many commissions for the Ford Foundation, Knoll International, and the Saarinens. She designed furnishings for Breuer’s 1949 House in the Garden at MoMA in collaboration with Knoll. Strengell and Hammarstrom visited Wellfleet in 1948 after Anne Dickey, an architect with Skidmore Owens and Merrill, showed her pictures of the area, and noted modern furniture designer, Ward Bennett, arranged their lodging on the Outer Cape. Hammarstrom and Strengell were married in Wellfleet in 1949 with New York architect Henry Hebbeln as best man. Hammarstrom designed their house, his first Cape Cod project, in 1952. Although altered, the essential elements of the original house remain, composed of only two rectangular sections set at an angle to each other and connected by a breezeway. The insulated and enclosed northern section contained the bedrooms and kitchen. The larger southern section containing the dining and living areas had a glass window wall along the east elevation and a large brick fireplace on the west wall. The breezeway had a slate floor and two large barn doors set on tracks that could be opened entirely to the elements in warm weather. When these doors were open, one could see directly through the house, giving it the feel of an open-air porch. Strengell wove all the rugs, upholstery, and curtains in the house (*House & Home* 1954b). In August 1964, Strengell and Hammarstrom put on a combined exhibition of creative work at the Wellfleet Art Gallery on Route 6 owned by Nathaniel Saltonstall (*Provincetown Advocate* Aug. 6, 1964).

Hammarstrom went on to design approximately 20 houses, studios, and additions on the Outer Cape in the Modern style through 1974. The Lilian Swann Saarinen House (1955) was designed for sculptor and first wife of Eero Saarinen (1910–1961), Lilian Swann Saarinen (1913–1995). Hungarian-born Laszlo Tizsa (1907–2009), an MIT physicist, and his first wife Vera Tizsa, a child psychologist and teacher, commissioned Hammarstrom for the Tizsa House (1960). Hammarstrom’s Lifton House (ca. 1964) was built near two existing cottages that were converted to studios. Psychiatrist and author Robert J. Lifton (b. 1926) founded the Wellfleet Psychohistory Group at this property with his mentor Erik Erikson (1902–1994) in the late 1960s to apply psychology and psychoanalysis to the study of history, particularly human evil and violence. Adoption expert Betty Jean Lifton (1927–2010) authored a number of books on the subject, including *Twice Born*, published in 1975. Hammarstrom also designed the Chapel of St. James the Fisherman in Wellfleet (1957, AIA Award) and one of the few mid-twentieth-century Modern houses in Eastham, the Edwards House (1960) (CCMHT n.d.). His designs often emphasize the connections between the buildings and their sites, seamlessly integrating the open floor plans on the interior with the natural landscape on the exterior, while incorporating the horizontality and simplicity characteristic of the Modern style. The Lily Saarinen house incorporated an existing, early-twentieth-century one-story cottage on the site to an attached long, narrow rectangular box to form a T-shaped plan that maximizes the views of the adjacent pond below. The Saarinen House shares many characteristics with the original form of Hammarstrom’s own house in Wellfleet, including the horizontality, orientation to scenic views, and the use of open and closed spaces. It was featured in a *Time* magazine article on vacation cabins that also showed Chermayeff’s Wilkinson House (*Time* Aug. 17, 1962). Hammarstrom was also familiar with the modern concepts of prefabricated construction and relied on inexpensive and easily available materials. This interest led him to develop a design for a *Woman’s Day* magazine prototype house. In an interview conducted in 1982 after Hammarstrom and Strengell had moved into Wellfleet village, Strengell noted that their arrival in Wellfleet had been accidental. They had found many designers cloistered in the area, she commented, “You can’t imagine how many, but they are all in the woods,” and “they’re very subtle.” The Wellfleet house was a home base from which Strengell and Hammarstrom traveled for 34 years (Archives of American Art 1982).

American Modern style architect Henry Hebbel Hebbeln (1915–1962) studied with Eero Saarinen at Cranbrook Academy and worked with Abstract Expressionist artists including Andre Breton and Arshile Gorky in New York in the 1950s and

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1960s. He designed many Modern style residences throughout the Mid-Atlantic and Northeastern United States (Browne 2009). His only known house on Cape Cod is the Hebbeln House of 1953, which created a one-story roofed house to complement the existing prefabricated wood-frame former Army barracks that Jack Phillips had previously erected on the site.

Pioneering structural engineer Paul Weidlinger came to Wellfleet about 1950 at invitation of Breuer. He purchased a pond-side lot near Breuer's house and designed the Weidlinger House in 1954 as his own vacation residence, his sole executed design on the Outer Cape. Weidlinger (1914–1999), originally from Budapest, Hungary, graduated from the Swiss Polytechnic Institute in 1937, the same year that Marcel Breuer joined Bauhaus founder Walter Gropius at Harvard. Weidlinger subsequently apprenticed with pioneering Swiss-born Modern architect Le Corbusier, presumably in France. After spending time in Bolivia designing dams and teaching engineering, Weidlinger moved to the United States in 1943 and found employment with various aircraft and housing companies before settling in New York City (Levy 1999). He apprenticed with Hungarian-born painter and Bauhaus professor Laszlo Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946) who directed the "New Bauhaus" school and Institute of Design (later Illinois Institute of Technology) in Chicago. Weidlinger's connections to other Jewish-Hungarian émigrés helped him secure positions as an adjunct lecturer at the Harvard GSD and MIT in Cambridge, and exposed him to the Outer Cape community (Levy 1999). The Weidlinger House is an elevated, box-shaped Modern style building designed as a construction-efficient, pure geometric form that incorporates exterior living space within the structural frame. The house exhibits a precise, flat-roofed rectangular form raised high above the steeply sloping terrain by wood posts secured in concrete footings, with a spaced-beam variation of a plank-and-beam structural system and light-weight, textured plywood walls. Breuer, Gropius, and Le Corbusier all gave him advice on the design of his summer house, and Le Corbusier reportedly advised him not to pave the driveway that provides a dramatic approach to the house. Weidlinger operated his own prolific engineering practice in Washington, D.C. from 1949 to his retirement in 1993. He pushed the boundaries of engineering in collaboration with numerous influential architects, including Marcel Breuer, Gordon Bunschaft, Walter Gropius, Eero Saarinen, and José Luis Sert, as well as renowned sculptors to produce some of the country's most celebrated mid-twentieth-century Modern buildings and many notable works of art (CCMHT n.d.; Weidlinger Associates Inc. 2010a, 2010b). Weidlinger's Outer Cape vacation house is a rare example of his small-scale work and of a building designed solely by him.

Art patron and architect Nathaniel Saltonstall (1903–1968) was instrumental in forging connections among the artist community and summer residents and visitors in Wellfleet. A graduate of Harvard and MIT, and a partner in Saltonstall and Morton, Saltonstall was deeply engaged in supporting modern art in the 1930s. He served as founder, first president (1936-1948), and architect for the Institute for Contemporary Art's remodeling of the former Back Bay Police Station (1886) building that is now occupied by the Boston Architectural College. In his genteel regional residential designs, Saltonstall applied the Bauhaus design principles that he absorbed through his architectural training and appreciation of contemporary art. He often used passive solar elements and also designed commercial buildings such as motels and art galleries. In the 1940s through 1960s, Saltonstall completed The Colony and the Wellfleet Art Gallery, as well as four houses on the Outer Cape, including the volumetric and minimalist Thomas Kuhn Cottage (1960) in Wellfleet for Samuel and Minette Kuhn, an MIT-educated engineer and a writer.

The Mayo Hills Colony Club, or "The Colony," as it was known, was built ca. 1948–1955 on Chequessett Neck as a cluster of 13 sleek wood-frame Bauhaus-inspired Modernist buildings with Modern furnishings. *Progressive Architecture* described it as "More than a motel and not quite an inn . . . rented on a vacation basis for a week or more" with "extraordinary attractions" (*Progressive Architecture* April 1952:110–111). The founders intended The Colony to be a seasonal social destination for contemporary artists and their patrons, with housing adjacent to a gallery where artwork was displayed and sold. The concrete block, plywood, and glass gallery featured a sculptural concrete relief wall by Xavier Gonzales. It was surrounded by nine residential cottages with furnishings by Charles and Ray Eames and Hans Krull, and set in a landscape designed by Boston area landscape architect, Stanley B. Underhill (1910–1992) (*Progressive Architecture* 1952:110). The gallery opened in June 1952 with a show devoted to Maine's Skowhegan School, for vacationers interested in viewing and purchasing contemporary painting and sculpture. Pre-opening press quoted National Saltonstall's idea that, "The fun of collecting is to put your money on some young painter because you like his work, and think he has a future. We hope to encourage this idea at the Mayo Hill Galleries." The Colony was located next to the Wellfleet Golf Course and had the added attraction of a gift shop stocked with luxury items, many imported from Europe

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(*Provincetown Advocate* May 29, 1952). Many well-known artists and writers, including American literary critic and author Diana Rubin Trilling (1905–1996) and painter Henry Varnum Poor (1887–1970), enjoyed vacationing at the resort. Saltonstall also designed the nearby Wellfleet Art Gallery on State Route 6, which along with the Colony served as integral gathering spaces for the town's vibrant cultural and social scene (CCMHT n.d.). In 1957, Saltonstall completed a new house/studio on Bank Street in Wellfleet for artist Xavier Gonzales (Wellfleet Building Permit Log 1957-1972).

A number of other notable international individuals in the history of mid-twentieth-century Modernism came to the Outer Cape in the 1940 and 1950s. Walter Gropius occasionally summered in Wellfleet where he rented a house across the pond from Marcel Breuer and Gyorgy Kepes. John Johansen, one of the Harvard Five architects originally based in New Canaan, CT in the late 1940s, began summering in Wellfleet with his wife Ati Gropius (daughter of Bauhaus founder Walter Gropius and a graduate student of Josef Albers at Black Mountain College) in the 1940s. Johansen is a major figure in mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture, but is not known to have designed any houses on the Outer Cape. The prominent architects, Eliel Saarinen, head of the Cranbrook School, and his son, Eero Saarinen, began summering in Wellfleet during this period, but are not known to have designed any houses or purchased property. Eero's former first wife, sculptor Lilian Swann Saarinen, commissioned a house by Olav Hammarstrom where she spent summers most of her life. Saarinen exhibited her "delightful ceramic and metal animal sculpture" at the Galleria di Bellardo on Commercial Street in Provincetown in 1961, and she and Marcel Breuer volunteered as judges for the Art Association's annual costume ball in 1963 (CCMHT n.d.: *Provincetown Advocate* June 29, 1961).

Xanti Schawinsky, an original Bauhaus faculty member, artist, and set designer who taught at Black Mountain College with Josef Albers, was a friend of Chermayeff and Kepes. He spent summers in Wellfleet at "Aunt Mary's Ice House" (not extant) in Truro. Henry Hebbeln (1915-1962), trained at Cranbrook with Eero Saarinen and was best man at Olav Hammarstrom and Marianne Strengell's wedding in 1949. He had an office in New York and was noted for his Modern houses. The Grossman House in Truro (1953) is his only Cape Cod project (CCMHT n.d.).

The family of architecture critic and theoretician, author, landscape architect, and designer, Charles Jencks (b. 1939), began summering in Wellfleet and bought land on Bound Brook Island around the 1940s. Jencks received his graduate degree from Harvard GSD in 1965. He later purchased one of Jack Phillips' Barracks House in the dunes, and designed his "Garagia Rotunda" (1976–1977), which is nestled safely in the woods nearby (CCMHT n.d.).

Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, author, and John F. Kennedy cabinet member and presidential advisor Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. (1917-2007), summered with his family at the unassuming pond-side Schlesinger House in Truro built by Jack Phillips in 1945 using surplus World War II barracks. The local press reported in August 1962 that Mr. Schlesinger asked to be left to "lie on the beach, play some tennis, sleep and renew acquaintance with my children" (*Provincetown Advocate* Aug. 2, 1962). Noted economist, Dwight MacDonald was also an Outer Cape resident during this time. Luminary authors, critics, editors, and designers joined the dispersed Outer Cape design community during the summer months in the 1960s. While they are not associated with a specific Modern house, they were connected socially and professionally with the elaborate network of creative individuals, and their presence contributed to the vibrancy of the community.

Influential designer, writer, and critic George Nelson, who was the art director for Herman Miller furniture in Michigan, and architect Henry Wright, managing editor of *Architectural Forum* magazine, spent many summers in Wellfleet. They jointly authored the widely read book *Tomorrow's House*, published in 1945 and developed the Storage Wall, a system of modular, free-standing, storage components. Wright was instrumental in planning for improvements to the Wellfleet Library. Florence Schust Knoll, a talented furniture designer, studied architecture and design at Cranbrook, interned with Gropius and Breuer and completed an architecture degree at IIT under Mies Van de Rohe. She became president of Knoll International after her husband's death, and in 1961 she was the first woman to be awarded the Gold Medal for Industrial Design by the American Institute of Architects. The Herman Miller and Knoll Furniture companies established the mass production of, and market for, architect-designed mid-twentieth-century Modern furniture. Knoll knew the Eliel Saarinen family from a young age and after visiting Wellfleet with them continued to vacation there on and off for many years.

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### Second Wave of Residents and Houses, 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s

In the 1950s, architectural experimentation with light structural frames continued with a series of Outer Cape houses by different architects, starting with Serge Chermayeff's Studio (1952) prototype house sited in the woods. Local designer/builder Jean Kaeselau (1928–2000), who had studied architecture and formed a local building firm with his wife, possessed a profound understanding of Modern structure and built many Modern houses, as well as the Provincetown Airport and part of the Provincetown Art Association and Museum. In 1954, he and his wife constructed a copy of the "Lewis House" on Long Island, designed by Robert Rosenberg for which plans were available through *American House* magazine. The house, which is not extant, was raised on braced stilts over a dune site and was composed of an irregular arrangement of solids and subtracted voids contained within a rectangular footprint (CCMHT n.d.). Six years later, Kaeselau constructed the Hatch House (1960) with its designer Hayden Walling on a similar beach moor site. The simple yet dramatic Hatch House has a unique modular wood-frame structural system that integrates indoor and outdoor living spaces to maximize the experience of the landscape. Enclosed building pods for different functions flank uncovered "hallways" on a raised platform within a fully framed unit-based grid with no clear facade or front entrance. Hinged wood panels rise up to form awnings sheltering oversized screened sliding doors or smaller screened transoms. The informal seasonal residence can be opened wide to let in the sea breezes and water views or closed completely to the elements.

Partners in the Cambridge-based TAC firm designed just a few residences on Cape Cod. TAC partner Robert S. Macmillan designed the Murchison House (1957–1959) in Provincetown. It is the only known mid-twentieth-century Modern residence in the Cape's most outlying town and an exceptionally high-style design exhibiting Japanese influences with more complex details than most of the TAC work. Carl Murchison (1887–1961) was a noted psychologist and department chair at Clark University in Worcester, MA who moved to Provincetown to focus on editing four psychological journals. The Murchisons hired TAC for its associations with Walter Gropius, although Robert McMillan served as the partner-in-charge for the project. Design Research Inc., founded in 1953 by TAC partner Benjamin Thompson, designed all of the furniture for the house. *Architectural Record* magazine named it one of the best-designed homes of 1959, and it remains a "mint-condition artifact of 1950s Modernism" (*Architectural Record* 1959; Blanton 2007; Reed and PHC 2007).

Two semi-prefabricated Techbuilt houses by architect Carl Koch's Cambridge company were erected in Wellfleet, Maserian/Wilkinson House (1960) and Hughes/Gussack House (1960–1961). Koch's 1958 book on his prefabricated design odyssey, *At Home with Tomorrow*, was marketed in a jacket design by noted Bauhaus and MIT teacher, and Wellfleet summer resident, Gyorgy Kepes (Koch and Lewis 1958).

Ukrainian émigré and architect, Victor Civkin (1898–1968), who pioneered in the design of modern kitchens at General Electric and had a successful private practice in Fairfield, CT specializing in houses, was one of the few non-Massachusetts architects to design houses on the Outer Cape. He completed a pond-side house and an ocean bluff studio (both 1960) in Wellfleet for the Sirna family from New York. The simple one-story, flat-roofed form of the studio is notable and locally unusual for its trapezoidal plan and convex, fully glazed facade wall, which opens the building toward the ocean and provides panoramic views. Harry Portnoy (1922–2010) served as MIT campus architect from 1967 to 2004. His Coser House (1963–1964) in Wellfleet, designed when he was still in private practice, arranges a two-story building with a glazed curtain wall and hyphen connector behind a pre-existing fishing shack, affording views of the adjacent pond. (AIA 1970:729; CCMHT n.d.; Westport Preservation Alliance 2010b). Paul Krueger (b. circa 1933) studied structural engineering under Paul Weidlinger and received his master's degree from Harvard. He began spending summers and weekends in Truro in the 1960s, where he built his own house (1968) and the 12-foot wide Mark House (1966), which received an *Architectural Record* House award in 1973. Krueger has been a prolific architect, designing more than 200 homes, many on Cape Cod (CCMHT n.d.).

In 1967, one of the few mid-twentieth-century Modern women architects, Anne Ozbekhan (b. 1918) purchased property in Truro where she designed a formal minimalist summer house that reflected the Bauhaus influence of her teacher Mies van der Rohe at the Illinois Institute of Technology, where she received a degree in the early 1940s (*Provincetown Advocate*

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Mar. 23, 1967). Ozbekhan's brother was the well-known Modern architect Roy Binkley (1922–1994), and her first husband was the renowned Modern graphic designer Paul Rand with whom she wrote four children's books. She vacationed in the Wellfleet house with her second husband, economist Hasan Ozbekhan, who founded The Club of Rome global think tank, and counted as her local friends Connie Breuer, the Chermayeffs, and Jack Hall and his family.

Charlie Zehnder (1929–1985) graduated with a degree in industrial design from the Rhode Island School of Design and went to Wellfleet in 1957 to help a friend build a house. In 1959, he established a design/build practice with fellow RISD graduate Alan P. Dodge who had settled in the Provincetown dunes to paint. That year, Zehnder and Dodge volunteered with a group of 12–13 carpenters in a project to provide the dune poet Harry Kemp with his own living quarters (*Provincetown Advocate* Dec. 31, 1959). Carrying on the deeply ingrained Wellfleet tradition of design/build inaugurated by Hall, Phillips, and Walling 20 years earlier, Zehnder designed and built at least 40 houses, additions and renovations between 1958 and 1985. Dodge started his own firm in Wellfleet in 1970 and pursued his ideas for modular housing.

Zehnder designed more mid-twentieth-century Modern residences on the Outer Cape than any other single architect or designer/builder. His designs were both comfortable and innovative as he explored the application of different geometries and materials within the environmental context of the Outer Cape over his 27-year career. An evening spent with Frank Lloyd Wright when he was a student was instrumental in shaping the direction of his design vision, which was largely inspired by Wright's Prairie-style houses. In the early 1960s, the "My Pamet" column in the local newspaper reported that there was a "New modern house a-building off North Pamet" for the Hess family, and that Charlie Zehnder had broken ground for the third in a series of houses in the Frazier-Lesser development on Snow's Hill in Truro, commenting, "We like the way Charlie's buildings hug the ground and blend in so well with the pine-clad hills" (*Provincetown Advocate* Apr. 27, 1961, Nov 21, 1963).

Construction of Modernist summer houses on the Outer Cape tapered off in the mid 1960s, although experimental houses continued to be constructed outside the Cape Cod NS through the 1970s. Charles Jencks built "Garagia Rotunda" in 1976-77, and Charlie Zehnder experimented with poured concrete and designs based on seacoast fortifications, erecting four concrete houses on the Outer Cape, including the tower-like Brodeur House (1977) with butt-glazed windows and a hexagonal main living floor (CCMHT n.d.).

### Modernist Design Laboratory

The woods, ponds, moors, and dunes of Outer Cape Cod provided an extraordinary outdoor workshop for architects to explore a range of mid-twentieth-century Modern house design problems at the most profoundly simple and fundamental level. The most avant-garde of these minimalist houses investigated primary ideas about human shelter and expanded dedication to the craft of building in order to seek comfort and convenience at the sparest end of the Modern lifestyle spectrum. Each architect utilized the principles of mid-twentieth-century Modernism and responded to the delicate environmental characteristics of the Outer Cape to produce house designs that were simultaneously modest, experimental, and deeply connected to place. These houses were essentially personal, secluded, and private retreats where the occupants enjoyed family, leisure, and communing with nature. They were not intended for press and public view, and not surprisingly received limited publication.

The Outer Cape Modern houses express a regional vernacular that ranges from prefabricated structures, to the barest rustic simplicity, to more robust construction for withstanding the rigors of the New England climate. The architecture invariably respected the local Outer Cape ecology with lightweight structures that often barely touch the land and have minimal or no landscaping (Fixler 2004). Efficiency and affordability prevailed with lumberyard materials often dictating elements of design. Architects optimized locally available sources such as inexpensive composite and plywood exterior sheathing, standard window sizes and units to form gridded curtain walls, and groups of stock sliding doors to create glazed walls. The houses of the 1940s and 1950s had basic utility systems using minimal or no heat for occasional weekend and holiday use.

The international giant of Modern architecture, Marcel Breuer, along with the eminent architectural and design theorist, painter, and educator, Serge Chermayeff, built their own summer houses in the woods following understated designs that

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they considered to be experimental models, and which they repeated nearby for friends, three and two times, respectively. Breuer deliberately designed residences throughout his career and considered houses to be laboratories for contemporary and future living, which he felt provided “an opportunity for the closest examination of the man of our time” and the promotion of an informal and healthier life (Breuer quoted in Driller 2000:11). Breuer had prepared a number of designs for prototype modular housing beginning in the 1920s. He came to Wellfleet about 1944 and developed a plan for a group of five standard plan modest cottages in the dunes based on an earlier vacation house idea. The version published in *Interiors* magazine in 1945, set on silts with an open deck and *brise soleil*, is similar to the first house in this type cluster that he built for himself in New Canaan, CT in 1947. Breuer set the New Canaan house against a slope on a walkout basement. He experimented with using diagonal siding to stiffen the light frame and tested two cantilevered elements – one end of the house, and the open porch. Both projections proved to be under-engineered and Breuer modified the design by providing fieldstone support piers. Similarly, Breuer is reported to have had difficulties with securing the marine plywood sheathing and sealing the joints on the Breuer and Kepes Houses (1945–1948), a problem that seems to have been resolved. Breuer wrote to Gropius in a letter dated May 18, 1949 “We have a new little cottage with 3/8-inch plywood and nothing else” (Breuer quoted in Driller 2000:262). In addition to the five long house variants on Cape Cod (including the Scott House in Dennis) and one in New Canaan, Breuer designed one other long house residence for Rufus Stillman in Litchfield, CT, which was a direct result of his 1949 House in the Museum Garden at New York’s MoMA. As his career advanced, Breuer concentrated on other design forms that were not specifically intended to be repetitive. Breuer maintained his office and home in New York and traveled internationally, yet his connection with Wellfleet and his house was profound, and his ashes are interred on the property.

Serge Chermayeff’s 1952 Studio, built on property he had owned since 1944, is one of the very few buildings he designed in the United States after his arrival in 1946 and turned his attention to teaching, criticism, and writing. He designed two other houses in New Haven for himself, one in 1962–1963 (Hawkes 2002; Powers 1996). The Chermayeff Studio, Wilkinson House and Sigerson House were published in a 1954 *House & Home* article, and again in *Bauen und Wohnen* [*House & Home*] in 1956 with caption text in English, French, and German, as well as in *Time* magazine in 1962. These festive houses conceived by a painter-architect who was one of the twentieth century’s most influential architectural theorists and educators merge geometrical abstract imagery with architectural form in a regular and rational grid framework. Although he was not trained at the Bauhaus, Chermayeff’s use of strong primary colors recalls the Bauhaus early interest in brightly patterned color in housing design as related to connections between Josef Albers abstract paintings, stained glass, and the crystalline forms of glass architecture that was both transparent and reflective. Tony Smith’s angular Bultman Studio of 1944, which predates both the Breuer and Chermayeff houses, also appears to hark back to the use of crystalline forms in Bauhaus designs of the 1920s and to Gropius’ first Bauhaus manifesto calling for “the new building of the future,”... “which will rise one day toward heaven from a million hands as the crystal symbol of a new faith” (quoted in Lane 2010:431–432).

Distinguished structural engineer, Paul Weidlinger had a great appreciation for architecture, and his house built in 1952, conceived with guidance from mentors Breuer and Gropius, is the sole house he designed on the Outer Cape. In it, Weidlinger distilled his broad reaching knowledge of how structures and materials behave into an exercise for a relatively diminutive building that juts off a slope over the edge of a wetland. Olav Hammarstrom’s house for himself and Marianne Strengell of 1952, which appeared in *Interiors* magazine, slid open at the center creating a covered flagstone passageway that captured views of sunrise and the ocean in one direction and sunset on the other. His 1960 house for Lilian Swann Saarinen was published in *Time* magazine in 1962. Saltonstall’s “The Colony” of 1949 injected a high level of comfort into minimalist retreat cottages for artists and patrons, appearing in *Progressive Architecture* in 1952. TAC’s Murchison House of 1957–1959 achieved a fully integrated design of exterior form and interior furnishings.

The work of other state and regional architects is well represented on the Outer Cape including Carl Koch’s Techbuilt semi-prefabricated houses, New York region architects Victor Civkin and Henry Hebbeln, and Boston architects Harry Portnoy and Paul Krueger. This period of great creativity and examination was supported by Jack Phillips, Jack Hall, and Hayden Walling, intrepid self-trained designer/builders who designed the first Modern houses in the late 1930s, and nearly 30 years later produced Jack Hall’s remarkable Hatch House of 1961, which leans toward the rudimentary shelter of the local dune shacks or a seaside bathhouse row. From the late 1950s, Charlie Zehnder’s eclectic, idiosyncratic, and highly varied designs helped inform the later phase of mid-twentieth-century Modern design on the Outer Cape. Finally,

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experimentation underlay Charles Jencks's Garagia Rotunda of 1976–1977, which has been described as bringing to a logical conclusion “the particularization of building parts and the disjunctive qualities of form that Breuer began” (Bailey et al. 2006:3).

### Landscape Architecture

Formal landscape architecture had little presence in the development of mid-twentieth-century Modern residences on Outer Cape Cod for several reasons. Most Modernist landscape architects concentrated their practices on designing public spaces, corporate headquarters, and high end residences. Small residential commissions for a specifically Modern design from individual homeowners were rare in general and apparently nonexistent on the Outer Cape. The landscape as a design focus in itself was not a concern within the simplified and low maintenance summertime life style sought by Outer Cape Modern house residents. Furthermore, the Cape architects considered themselves adept at applying landscape architectural principles within the total scope of designing a building. Most seldom worked with landscape architects on smaller projects. Modernist architects viewed the natural landscape as a factor that determined the siting aspects of a building's design, served as the subject of views from the building, or functioned as a buffer between buildings. Nevertheless, Modern architects reinforced key landscape architectural principles in their articulation of the connection to nature, minimalist aesthetic, siting and orientation of buildings, deliberate framing of views, and use of forms and materials that related to the setting.

The perspectives of two master designers and Wellfleet residents offer some insight into the intellectual, creative, and visceral response to placing a house in the Cape's natural landscape. Marcel Breuer wrote in his 1956 book *Sun and Shadow* that “The formation of the land, the trees, the rocks . . . all these will suggest something about the design of the building. The landscape may traverse the building, or the building may intercept the landscape. [But] I cannot believe that the two should be mixed up, confused, or joined by imitation or assimilation” (quoted in Von Vegesack and Remmele 2003:235). Breuer conceived his Outer Cape houses as self-contained forms set lightly within, or “intercepting,” the landscape. Before coming to the United States, in 1937 Serge Chermayeff had engaged noted landscape architect and author, Christopher Tunnard (1910–1979), to design the landscape at Chermayeff's house near Halland, Sussex, England. In the adjacent woods, Tunnard removed selected beech trees and planted an understory of daffodils. Near the house, a glass wall at the end of a protected sundeck was punctuated by a Henry Moore (1898–1986) sculpture. Chermayeff is reported to have later remarked that “shaping the place” had been more important than the house itself (Kassler 1984:84; Rogers 2001:443). Chermayeff may have applied this experience with a light touch in undertaking minor selected pruning at his Wellfleet house. Contemporary photographs portray dense vegetation close to the buildings (*House & Home* 1954c). Beyond the house siting, the landscape of a Techbuilt house was handled by the builder and owner; yet Carl Koch commented that, “since it relates to the outdoors, what happens on the land immediately around it is important, such as the care taken to preserve terrain features, and, if there is planting, the need to plant things pleasant to look at” (Koch and Lewis 1958:174). Understanding and analysis of Outer Cape Modern residential landscape designs must be derived from historic photographs and commentary on the buildings, as no record of these published landscapes has been found in contemporary professional journals and magazines (Johnson 1991:13).

### Builders and Subdivisions

After World War II, Cape Cod transformed from a remote region of small towns, seafaring traditions, Yankees, and a three-month vacation economy to a highly desirable automobile tourism destination. The Outer Cape building boom resultant from the regional tourist economy and postwar, national housing finance programs provided ample opportunities for the establishment of new local realty, development, contracting, and building supply businesses. Local entrepreneurs often purchased large tracts of land to subdivide and resell as individual house lots. Outer Cape towns began considering building and zoning codes in the mid-1940s; which they eventually adopted starting in the 1960s. The 1955 Cape Cod directory lists approximately 80 builders and contractors, including both large firms and small contractors: J. W. Anderson/A & M Construction Company, Philip S. Horton Sr., and M.F. Roach Company, asphalt pavers, in Eastham; Cape Cod Realty & Builders Incorporated and Manuel G. Thimas, a backhoe and bulldozer operator in Wellfleet; N.R. Lee and John F. “Ducky” Noons, excavation contractor, in Truro; and Joseph Bent in Provincetown (*Cape Cod District Telephone Directory* 1955). Surveyors active in delineating and recording subdivided land included Schofield Brothers of

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Framingham and Orleans and Arthur L. Sparrow Company of Orleans. Nickerson Brothers in Orleans was the principal lumberyard serving the Outer Cape construction industry (Crowell 2010).

Louis Byrne became one of the Cape's first large-scale housing developers and constructed more than 1,000 small houses on the mid-Cape in the 1940s and 1950s (O'Connell 2003:101). Wellfleet resident, Luther Crowell (1912–1989) established Cape Cod Realty & Builders, Inc. in Wellfleet in 1952 and constructed approximately 100 houses in Wellfleet, Eastham, and Truro beginning in 1940 (Crowell 2010). Crowell started out as a builder, constructing primarily seasonal vacation homes in popular styles and plans. He generally followed plans provided by his clients, although he did create some simple house plans of his own. Crowell built the two-story Techbuilt Hughes House (1960–1961) and the Conover House (1961) in the Surfside neighborhood (Wellfleet Building Department 1957–1972). He designed and built the Kohlberg House (1961). He eventually moved into the real estate business, selling off parcels of his own land and then building houses on the lots for the purchasers. Crowell was one of several small-scale, small-volume developers in the area, with typical subdivisions consisting of 10 or 15 lots (Crowell 2010; Wellfleet Building Department 1957–1972). Prominent builders in the Outer Cape who constructed many of the mid-twentieth-century Modern houses included Jean Kaeselau (Hatch House, 1961) and Hayden Walling (Tisza House, 1960), both of whom also designed houses, as well as contractors Ernest T. Rose (Pope House, 1960; Breuer House Addition, 1961; Wise House, 1962) and Edward T. Whiting (Kuhn House, 1960; Sirna Studio, 1961; and others) (Wellfleet Building Department 1957–1972).

While the majority of mid-twentieth-century Outer Cape development consisted of subdivisions with individually designed houses, cottage colonies, which evolved from earlier campground and tourist boarding homes, offered an effective way to meet the elevated demand for vacation homes and rentals in the 1950s. The Outer Cape along Route 6 saw the earliest and largest numbers of colonies, mostly conceived as clusters of traditional, gabled and shingled Cape Cod cottages (O'Connell 2003:54–55). The avid interest in Modern architecture that permeated the region, however, resulted in several colonies with mid-twentieth-century Modern designs.

### Eastham

Development in Eastham remained dispersed along the winding roads radiating out from the central spine of the town, which is traversed by State Route 6 and the historic route of the Old Colony Railroad. In the 1940s, residential development and road improvements were occurring along networks of dirt roads leading to Coast Guard stations, light stations, and public beaches lining the bay and ocean. The quiet forested lots located alongside ponds, bays, and the ocean provided ideal sites for houses designed to provide an experience of the isolated natural landscape through the integration of interior and exterior living spaces.

One of the local subdivisions developed in this period is located off Doane Road. By 1944, Doane Road extended east from Route 6 and Nauset Road to the oceanfront Coast Guard Beach, encouraging the gradual subdivision of land along the north edges of Nauset and Salt Pond bays. In 1954, Nauset Bay Realty, Inc. of Eastham and Norwood, with Henry J. McCusker Treasurer, purchased land on Nauset Bay from Charles E. Cotting et al. and others. Arthur L. Sparrow Co., Engineers laid out the Nauset Bay Shores subdivision in February 1955 with a new road, Tomahawk Trail, off Doane Road, a public way to the water, and 24 house lots. Subsequently another 50 lots were added. Sale deeds allowed owners to build one detached single-family dwelling and appurtenant outbuildings that could include a boathouse. The location and design of the dwelling and any structures required approval by Nauset Bay Realty before beginning construction. Mid-twentieth-century Modern houses were constructed on four lots sold between 1955 and 1959: the Deane House (1958), Welles House (1960), Moran House (1958-1959), and Whitlock House (1961). Although other lots were sold, they had not been built out when the Cape Cod NS was created in 1961 (BCRDO 2010).

At least one complete Modern colony was developed in Eastham, the Hidden Village Cottage Colony (1960) comprised of about five similar small wood-frame houses designed by John Rudd Falconer (b. 1925) with low pitched flying V-shape roofs, recessed porches, and eaves windows. In 1958 and 1960, Malcolm W. Phillips of Springfield, MA purchased four lots in the Campground Road area of Eastham and built two mid-twentieth-century Modern houses.

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### Wellfleet

Wellfleet development remained concentrated around Wellfleet Harbor and Route 6 through the 1940s. The east edge of town along the Atlantic coastline retained an isolated quality with vast expanses of unimproved land. A collection of kettle ponds nestled in the forested northeast corner of Wellfleet provided ideal sites for houses. Gull Pond, Gross Hill, Long Pond, and Cahoon's Hollow roads provided access around the ponds by 1937 and a network of trails connected the area by 1944 (Schofield Brothers 1937; USGS 1944). Records of Jack Phillips's land subdivisions in the 1940s are limited.

When Wellfleet voters denied the first attempt to pass a building code, supporters focused on educating residents that the purpose would be protective rather than restrictive. They hoped to preserve "Wellfleet's value as a lovely Cape village, its residential and other attractions" (*Provincetown Advocate* Oct. 23, 1947). In 1965, Charles E. Frazier, Jr., chairman of the selectmen since 1939, commented that the town still was not inclined to adopt zoning. But, he said, "I can tell you this. It has been solely due to the foresight of those who own tracts of Wellfleet land in placing on them restriction far more stringent than any that would ever be adopted in a zoning code, that we are not now in the difficulties besetting some towns on the Cape and elsewhere. Private owners have, themselves, zoned large areas of Wellfleet" (*Provincetown Advocate* July 19, 1956). While the veracity of Frazier's opinion may be open to question, it is undeniable that Jack Phillips around the ponds and Jack Hall on Bound Brook Island were among the local landowners who helped establish this pattern. The Outer Cape Towns adopted building codes in the 1960s.

Ocean View Drive was laid out through the east edge of Wellfleet in the 1950s, which provided easy access to Wellfleet's previously remote beaches. Ocean View Drive extends from Gross Hill Road, Gull Pond, and Newcomb Hollow Beach south past Long and Great ponds to LeCount Hollow Beach. In 1950, Charles Frazier reported that between 250 and 2,300 parcels of 100–1500 acres were to be sold by the town along both sides of newly constructed Ocean View Drive (*Provincetown Advocate* Aug 24, 1950).

Local resident, surveyor, and president of the Cape Cod Chamber of Commerce, Arthur L. Sparrow, purchased large tracts of land from the Captain L.D. Baker Estate in 1935. Sparrow began selling lots in the early 1940s, a business later continued by his son, Eldredge Sparrow. The Sparrows' 1960 Gull Pond Village subdivision included lots that were sold for a number of Modern houses, including Tisza House (1960), Maserian House (1960), Sirna Studio (1961), and Porter Studio (1961). The Schofield Brothers developed the deGeoffrey Plan subdivision on land purchased from Leroy B. Wiles on Long Pond. The subdivision includes the Sirna House (1961), Porter House (1961) and the Peter Kugel House (1970) (Wellfleet Building Department 1957–1972).

The neighborhoods near the early railroad resorts on Chequesett Neck Road and at Lecount Hollow (Wellfleet by the Sea) were infilled during the mid-twentieth century with auto-served cottage colonies, including the Mayo Hill Colony Club (The Colony) built on Chequesett Neck Road in 1949 (discussed above) and the Surfside cottage development at Lecount Hollow Beach beginning in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Wesley S. Reid and Michael D. Ulrich of Springfield started the Surfside Colony as a residential community on both sides of Ocean Drive in the 1940s and bought the first lot for \$75. By 1959 the area was an active vacation community with 18 cottages, including about eight designed in a uniform Modern style, all set close together in a natural setting of untamed vegetation. Luther Crowell built several houses at Surfside in the early 1960s, including the Conover House (1961). The architect for this house and the other Modern Surfside cottages has not been identified. They all exhibit a mid-twentieth-century Modern style aesthetic that is strikingly similar to Saltonstall's Colony buildings, incorporating low, compact rectangular forms with cantilevered horizontal planes at varied heights. As creation of the Cape Cod NS halted further development of the area, Surfside represents a rare example of period residential development captured in mid process (Kneeder-Schad et al. 1995:103, 207; *Provincetown Advocate* Jun 27, 1963; Wellfleet Building Department 1957–1972).

### Truro and Provincetown

Development in Truro at the middle of the century continued to focus along Route 6, which was crossed by the Pamet River and flanked by woodland hollows extending to the remote dunes of the Atlantic coast and the more gentle shore of

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Cape Cod Bay. One of the first, largest, and most famous cottage colonies of the Outer Cape, Beach Point, opened in 1931 on the Bay side in North Truro and continued to expand at mid-century (UMass and NPS 2004:99). Additional roadside cottage colonies were built farther south on Shore Road, Route 6, and Coast Guard Road (Dray and Schuler 2010). Hi-Land View Cottages (1960s) is a cluster of minimalist Modern buildings situated on the elevated bluff overlooking the Atlantic Ocean that was developed in 1960 by Schofield Brothers.

No Modernist cottage colonies or subdivisions with concentrations of mid-twentieth century Modern houses have been identified in Provincetown.

### **Establishment of Cape Cod National Seashore**

The National Park Service (NPS) publicly released plans for the creation of the Cape Cod National Seashore (Cape Cod NS) in March 1959, partly in response to the encroachment of increased development on the region's natural resources and beauty. Congress, under President John F. Kennedy, passed public law 87-126 on August 7, 1961, officially establishing the Cape Cod NS. The park overlays the northerly and easterly sides of the tip of the Cape Cod peninsula from Chatham to Provincetown and contains 43,604 acres. One-half to one-third of four Outermost Cape towns (Eastham, Wellfleet, Truro, and Provincetown) are within its boundaries. The law establishing the Cape Cod NS authorized the acquisition of existing privately owned property within the park boundaries through "purchase, gift, condemnation, transfer from another Federal Agency, [or] exchange" (Burling 2000:59). It required that the NPS pay up to fair market value for the purchase of a property. Owners of single-family, non-commercial residences in their possession on or before September 1, 1959 were offered an option to retain use and occupancy for life or up to a maximum of 25 years. In these agreements, the NPS offered property owners fair market value, reduced by one percent of the fair market value for each year of continued occupancy. In many cases, property appraisals and purchase agreements were not completed until the early 1970s and the 25-year lifetime leases extended through the late 1990s. Original owners retained 25-year or lifetime use and occupancy rights. In certain cases, the NPS has allowed further occupancy of houses by the original owners or families through annual special-use permits.

### **V. Justification of Exceptional Significance (Criteria Consideration G)**

The period of significance for the Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residences in Outer Cape Cod historic context extends from 1929 to 1979. These five-decades frame the mid-twentieth-century Modern period based on empirical evidence of built projects, while allowing for the recognition, comprehensive scholarly analysis, and appreciation of the important events, buildings, and architects active during these years. This historic context meets the less-than-50-years-old eligibility guidelines under Criteria Consideration G for exceptional significance due to the fact that some of the United States' most illustrious architects designed Modern houses up to 1979, including Outer Cape architects and designer/builders. The mid-twentieth-century Modern movement, while not internally uniform or crisply bounded, did show an overall pattern of arising into sharp focus and eventually fading into the shadow of Postmodernism. A full understanding of its principles, social networks, and architecture is well served by incorporating the complete careers of Modernism's leading figures.

While Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius both died in 1969, Richard Neutra in 1970, and Joseph Eichler in 1974, other pivotal international and national figures in mid-twentieth-century Modernism remained active well into the 1970s and beyond. This illustrious group includes Harvard Five members Marcel Breuer, Landis Gores, John Johansen, Philip Johnson, and Eliot Noyes, as well as Serge Chermayeff, John Lautner, and Paul Rudolph, to name just a few examples. In addition to Breuer, who was not engaged in Cape projects after 1963 and Chermayeff, who may have designed some later buildings on the Outer Cape, mid-twentieth-century Modern architects designing houses there through the 1970s included Olav Hammarstrom, Paul Krueger, and Charlie Zehnder. This continuum of building history warrants a flexible application of the 50-year criterion in the face of a remarkable rate of loss and lack of recognition of the significance of these resources (Stiles 2010).

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Furthermore, preservationists and scholars are generally in agreement that mid-twentieth-century Modern houses, and indeed all Modern buildings, are particularly vulnerable to misunderstanding, neglect, demolition, and inappropriate alterations, thus eliciting special preservation concerns. Some point out that the fundamentals of preservation have seismically shifted due to “environmental, technical, and economic expectations (among others)” related to mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture (Prudon 2010:9). The balance between permanence and impermanence is filtered through questions of material authenticity vs. enduring cultural presence, functional obsolescence, density, energy efficiency, and sustainability (Prudon 2008, 2010:9). In some instances, sufficient inventory information about specific Modern buildings, ranges of buildings, and appropriate historic contexts has not yet been compiled to allow historians and preservationists to evaluate their significance. The general public and some preservationists may consider mid-twentieth-century Modern buildings too recent to be worthy of serious attention. Finally, many mid-twentieth-century Modern houses are small by today’s housing standards and are located on ample and desirable lots, creating market pressures that can lead to the replacement of Modern houses by larger homes. This multiple property nomination is one of a number of evaluation studies being undertaken around the country that are intended to correct misconceptions, educate preservationists and property owners, and inform members of the public about the significance and value of our mid-twentieth-century Modern architectural heritage.

The Outer Cape area served as a secluded haven of privacy for architects and clients. Most houses were hidden in the woods, so they were not as visible, well known, or publicized (both by press and architects) as houses in places such as the Boston area, New Canaan, CT or the Hamptons on Long Island, NY. These houses are extremely fragile resources and their future as a group is uncertain due to pressures from increasing land values, different homeowner aspirations, a lack of awareness and appreciation, and management challenges facing the National Park Service as steward of the Cape Cod NS. These issues affect not only individual buildings like one house in The Colony that was recently threatened by demolition, but also impinge on the scale, character, and delicate sense of place in the Outer Cape as a whole (Fixler 2004).

The historical and architectural importance and the preservation needs of mid-twentieth-century Modern buildings are receiving attention, as sufficient time has passed to dispassionately view these buildings as historic resources that are highly valuable and seriously threatened as a group. From today’s perspective of the early twenty-first century, the mid-twentieth-century Modern period has receded into the past, been subject to a period of general neglect, and now comes back into focus more clearly as a profoundly important period in American architecture and history. Numerous projects undertaken by agencies, organizations, and individuals around New England and the United States are directing their attention to filling the gaps in scholarly and practical information concerning mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture. Surveys and research are being conducted to allow informed evaluation of the design and historical context of modern buildings. Through these efforts, great progress is being made to better understand mid-twentieth century building materials, construction systems, and designs in order to provide owners and architects with the information necessary to preserve, sustain, restore, and sensitively modify mid-twentieth-century Modern properties (Prudon 2008; Webb 2001a, 2010b).

A growing number of preservationists, planners, homeowners, and real estate agents are recognizing the value of mid-century Modern buildings as a record of their time, as works of art, and as worthy of preservation. *The New York Times* architecture columnist, and often critic of Modernism, Paul Goldberger, summarized the importance of this changing perspective as follows:

Not the least of values to our culture in the historic preservation movement is its ability to rescue architecture from the cycles of taste that, even in a visually sophisticated society, are still inevitable. It is a way to protect architecture from what we might call the tyranny of the majority – a way to assure that those things that we know have value remain extant, no matter how much their popularity may wax and wane . . . As modernism itself becomes more clearly a historical period, we are likely to see more and more cases of modern architecture in need of rescue (*The New York Times* March 8, 1987).

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### **Nomination Requirements**

A justification of exceptional significance under Criteria Consideration G is required in each nomination for individual properties and groups of properties on the Outer Cape whose period of significance began within the past 50 years, or which underwent substantial physical alteration in the less-than-50-year period. However, the fact that the property's significance can be placed within the *Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residences in Outer Cape Cod, 1929–1979* context and that considerable scholarship exists on the subject provides a foundation to make a case for exceptional importance. The Associated Property Types analysis under Section F establishes registration requirements defining several specific ways in which the exceptional importance may be demonstrated. Section F states how Criteria Consideration G applies to properties, and defines within the context of the overall theme what qualities support continuing historical importance beyond the 50-year mark and/or qualify a resource as “exceptionally important.” The date of construction, as well as the date when a resource took on its current appearance (in the case of a property remodeled or substantially added to within the past 50 years), should be considered in deciding whether Criteria Consideration G needs to be applied and exceptional importance justified.

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## SECTION F. Associated Property Types

### Introduction

The **Associated Property Types** for the **Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residences in Outer Cape Cod, 1929–1979** historic context are derived from two interrelated sources. The primary organizing factor for identifying property types is the physical characteristics of properties that reflect the designer’s architectural intent distilled from Modern aesthetics, personal objectives, client program, and site characteristics. The secondary associative attributes are affiliated with the themes of summer tourism, mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture, and the social network of noteworthy American and émigré architects, artists, and intellectuals who populated the remote Outer Cape towns of Eastham, Wellfleet, Truro, and Provincetown, MA.

No commonly used property typology for mid-twentieth-century Modern residences was identified in professional literature or through discussions with individual architects and architectural historians knowledgeable about houses of this period in the Northeast region during preparation of this multiple property nomination. Consequently, this property type framework has been logically developed from empirical field data and extensive research information to serve as the organizing basis for property type groups identified in the Outer Cape Cod multiple property nomination. The typology is consistent with Modern residences designed throughout the United States, across the New England region, and within Massachusetts. Recent research and analyses for the *Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residences in Connecticut, 1930–1979* multiple property nomination (Adams et al. 2010, NR listed 2010) support the applicability of this typology. Section E. Historic Context outlines the field observation, archival research, and analysis of form, function, design, materials, and artistic qualities that formed the basis for the identification of tangible attributes of property types, as well the history of the important individuals, activities, and events that factored in the development of the Outer Cape properties.

The Associated Property Types are architect- or designer/builder-conceived, modest-scale, single-family dwellings that were typically constructed as seasonal summer residences and used historically as second homes. They include both primary vacation houses and ancillary buildings designed as living and working artists’ studios and/or guest houses. Recognized architects, including nationally and internationally known figures, designed the houses either for their own use or as commissions for clients who were progressive intellectuals, writers, artists, and social activists desiring to inhabit Modern dwellings and enjoy relaxed, seaside living and the beauty of the Cape’s natural landscape. Local designer/builders, a number of whom had received professional design and architectural educations and training, deliberately adopted the Modernist aesthetic for specific commissions and speculative projects on the Outer Cape. The majority of houses were unique designs, and a few are among a small number of house derived from a notable architect’s prototype. The associated property types also encompass other important options employed to create a Modernist summer cottage on the Outer Cape, including architect-designed prototype houses, assemblages of re-purposed preexisting structures, clusters of similar houses, and commercially available semi-prefabricated “kit” houses. The mid-twentieth-century Modern prefabricated and semi-prefabricated house types included in this nomination are specific manufactured and highly recognizable buildings. They are a subset of an important longstanding current in United States construction and housing, as well as a testament to the mid-century search for efficient and low-cost housing. Sprinkled across the seaside landscape as summer retreats, all the associated property types exist primarily as discrete entities suited to individual evaluation. There are also a few examples of grouped residences that were designed and built as an intentional “colony” of small summer rental cottages that initially remained under one ownership.

The Outer Cape mid-twentieth-century Modern residences are simple and economic houses whose minimalist designs are an experimental exercise and an environmentally driven response to the regional climate and locally available materials. They follow a seaside summer vacation aesthetic of sitting lightly on the land and providing a basic shelter that accommodates a rhythmic flow of indoor and outdoor living on a secluded site. The structures intentionally either blend in organically or stand out as objects within the surrounding setting of pale sandy earth, expanses of blue ocean and pond surfaces, green vegetation, and direct or filtered brilliant light.

Three Associated Property Types encompass the range of mid-twentieth-century Modern houses found within the Outer Cape region of Eastham, Wellfleet, Truro, and Provincetown and are defined in this MPDF. Each of the three Associated

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Property Types is discussed below, followed by a section on Shared Characteristics of All Property Types, which consist of Outbuildings and Landscapes.

**Name of Property Type: F.1 Box**

**Description**

The Box type represents the purest and absolute minimalist house form that provides basic shelter and reveals its essential materials, structural components, and volume, stripped of extraneous ornamentation. It is a quintessential mid-twentieth-century Modern expression. The classic and iconic Box exhibits a sleek and narrow rectangular form; a variant found in Outer Cape vacation houses has varying dimensions and may be almost square. Boxes are one-story tall, four-sided, self-contained single rectangles, with a flat or very low pitched shed roof. A projecting or recessed porch or entrance element expresses the interpenetration of the self-contained building and its landscape setting. Boxes typically are conceived and treated as objects in and distinct from the landscape, with the choice of materials and color affecting the contrast between the building and its surroundings. The Box presents as a balanced, but asymmetrical composition within its spare form. The “floating” Box appears suspended in mid-air either raised on piers or cantilevered from a raised basement foundation on steeply sloped sites. The “grounded” Box rests on a pad at the same elevation of the surrounding terrain. Grounded Box buildings constructed into a sloped site may appear as two stories on one elevation. The building’s layout may consist of a main Box house and appurtenance structure(s) linked by a covered breezeway or open deck. Ramped entrances occasionally appear in houses built on sloped sites.

Construction is predominantly wood structural framing, which may be exposed and highlighted in the design. Roofs may be flush with the building envelope or incorporate overhangs designed to provide shelter from the climate. Exteriors are a combination of smooth wood sheathing, such as marine plywood or tongue-and-groove cedar siding, composite panels, and glass. Glazed wall sections are often comprised of sliding doors that open to connect the interior and exterior. Windows capture light and blur divisions between inside and outside, predominating either on all elevations or as glazing emphasis on the private, rear side oriented to natural views and provide ambient light in studios. Architects typically employed full-height glazed walls of muntin-divided windows rather than expansive sheet glass to maximize locally available materials on the remote Outer Cape and as protection from extreme weather conditions in the exposed marine environment. Buildings are supported on concrete or steel *pilotis*, and on concrete block and poured concrete foundations. Some Box type houses have received later additions that expanded their plan, but left the original massing clearly identifiable. The interior plan of the Box centers on an open main living, kitchen, and dining space with adjacent private sleeping and bathroom areas. The living area may contain half-height partitions that define spatial divisions, built-in furniture, and a masonry or metal fireplace and chimney.

An early and pivotal manifestation of postwar mid-twentieth-century Modernism, the Box was often used by individual architects in the 1940s and 50s to establish their Modern design credentials. The iconic examples of the Box are Philip Johnson’s Glass House in New Canaan, CT (1949, NHL), Mies van der Rohe’s Farnsworth House, Plano, IL (1952, NHL), and Marcel Breuer’s “long house” form, illustrated by the Breuer II House in New Canaan, CT (1949, NR) and present in four related examples on the Outer Cape in the Breuer III House (1948), Kepes House (1948), Stillman House (1953–1954), and Wise House (1963). Serge Chermayeff’s Studio (1952), Sigerson House (1952) and Wilkinson House (1952–1953), Olav Hammarstrom’s Saarinen House (1955) and Lifton House (1964), and Weidlinger’s Paul Weidlinger House (1953–1954) are also boxes. Both Breuer’s “long house” and Chermayeff’s studio were conceived as prototypes and a number of examples were constructed on the Cape.

**Significance Statement**

The Box represents the most pristine, stripped down, iconic, elegant and efficient manifestation of mid-twentieth-century Modern design tenets. The minimalist box with its planar simplicity epitomizes the Modern ideal as it emerged from European Bauhaus principles and as it was captured in Ludwig Mies van der Rohe’s statement that “less is more” and Walter Gropius’s concept of a “new architecture.” The Box established architectural form as a symbol of the Modern

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canon. This type was usually designed by a well-known architect as a radical statement to establish Modernist credentials and sometimes as a reproducible prototype.

### Registration Requirements

Eligible Box properties are typically associated with an established and well-known architect in the locality, region, or nation whose work received contemporary acknowledgement and is recognized by scholars and preservationists. These houses always evoke the ideals of mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture and the intellectual, artistic, leisure, and social life of Outer Cape Cod's summer community. Boxes designed by local designer/builders whose strong associations with Modernist tenets and influential role furthered the cultivation of Modernism on the Outer Cape are eligible if they employ modern architectural theory and/or unusual experimentation with materials or forms. Properties designed by these local builders may also be eligible if they were designed for themselves or for an important individual within the Outer Cape's Modernist social network. A record of publication in contemporary print media and receipt of design awards enhances significance but is not a requirement.

Certain studios on freestanding lots or associated with older houses may be individually eligible if they possess high artistic merit as examples embodying mid-twentieth-century Modern design and strong association with a well known and influential artist.

### Integrity

Eligible Box properties possess integrity of design intent, architectural form, plan, texture, and materials. They retain integrity of site and relationship to the landscape and setting. Modest modifications, replacement in kind, and some deterioration of materials and finishes over time are to be expected. Replacement of original single glazed windows with double-glazed or insulated glass windows is an acceptable alteration as long as window openings and configuration remain intact. Sensitively designed additions that do not detract from the visual effect of the original design intent may be considered benign and in some cases may achieve significance in their own right. Interior updating of kitchens and bathrooms are common and admissible. Minor changes made to secondary buildings; new construction of freestanding or connected garages, guesthouses or studios and similar structures that are sited and designed to be compatible with the original building; and minimally modified landscape settings are generally considered to be acceptable.

### National Register Criteria

All individually eligible Box properties will meet **Criterion C** for their significance in the area of Architecture as a distinctive example possessing the characteristics of mid-twentieth-century Modern residential design for this property type. In addition, the majority of eligible properties will be the documented work of a Modern period architect or designer/builder, whose life and work are well documented and influential, and some may be the work of an important master. Certain properties may also be significant for secondary associations with the fields of art, landscape architecture, and/or engineering. Some properties may exhibit notably high artistic values of Modern design and materials, including the use of experimental and innovative technologies.

Certain properties may clearly reflect the characteristics of the mid-twentieth-century Modern style, but lack the distinction to qualify for individual eligibility. These properties will be eligible as contributing resources if they are part of a distinguishable historic district grouping of contiguous buildings that constitutes an eligible historical entity meeting Criterion C, and possibly Criterion A.

Most eligible Box properties will also possess significance in the area of Social History, meeting **Criterion A** for their embodiment of postwar Modern lifestyle and culture within the artistic and intellectual context and historical events and patterns of the Outer Cape. Advocates of mid-twentieth-century Modern design valued social networks of progressive, intellectual, and artistic individuals and the ideals of a life simplified by technology and set in a natural environment, as exemplified by "functional" houses with open plans and interconnection of inside and outside spaces.

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Eligible properties will meet **Criterion B** if the associations with an important owner or occupant meet the necessary significance standards as one of the most notable properties affiliated with the productive life of that individual person.

### Level of Significance

Individual Box properties are evaluated within the historic context for mid-twentieth-century Modern residences in the Outer Cape and may possess significance at either the local, state, or national level. Locally significant properties are important within the sphere of the Outer Cape communities. Properties of state significance have demonstrated historical influence and associations with mid-twentieth-century Modern design themes across Massachusetts. This includes the experimental or best representative examples of the work of individual designers whose main practice was elsewhere but who designed a limited number of houses on the Outer Cape, which are their only residences in Massachusetts, such as Victor Civkin and Olav Hammarstrom. It also encompasses the work of designers who were important figures in Massachusetts art, architecture, and design circles who designed houses on the Outer Cape, such as Nathaniel Saltonstall. In order to possess a national level of significance, a property must be of exceptional value and contribute to understanding of the nationwide impact of mid-twentieth-century Modernism in residential architecture. It must be an important work of a nationally renowned designer, embody unusually influential experimental design or construction methods, or have unique association with a person or event(s) of national significance. The Marcel Breuer House III and the Serge Chermayeff House and Studio potentially meet the highest level of significance standard.

### Criteria Consideration G

Properties that are less than 50 years old, or that underwent substantial physical modification in the less-than-50-year-old period, must meet National Register Criteria Consideration G for exceptional significance achieved in less than 50 years. Criteria Consideration G is discussed under Nomination Requirements at the end of Section E. Historic Context of this MPDF. Properties that are less than 50 years old and are associated with mid-twentieth-century Modern residential architecture in the Outer Cape may have exceptional importance as an outstanding representation of a particular property type or as a highly distinguished example that powerfully embodies the values associated with this period and movement in architecture. Some properties may have particularly strong and important associations with significant events, architects, property owners, and patrons of Modern buildings that were instrumental in forging or maintaining the state or local community's identity. Exceptional properties might include a particularly exemplary example or a "rare" and intact survivor of a period of construction or type of construction, or a property of extraordinarily high integrity.

### Name of Property Type: F.2 Geometric

#### Description

The Geometric type is a one- or two-story house consisting of single or multiple geometric units with flat, shed, or varying pitched gable roofs. Geometric houses can have simple basic forms but also exhibit varieties of scale and plan and often have multiple building sections. They emphasize alternating solids and glazed or open voids. Patterns of contrasting solids and voids may be expressed within a single volume or on an elevation, as intersecting and sliding wall planes or volume units on a right-angled orthogonal grid. Recesses or voids, decks and balconies, breezeways, and wide roof overhangs create a dynamic dialogue between light and shadow and explore the intersection of inside and outside spaces. A variant of the Geometric type has been identified in Connecticut, but no examples have been located to date on the Outer Cape. This group is based on organic curves and/or complex angular geometries when compared to the rectangular or square based more common Geometric type (Adams et al. 2010:47–48).

The Geometric type group includes unique designs, houses designed as reproducible prototypes, and houses that grew from a single earlier structure such as a barn or cottage, if the overall design intent is Modern. Semi-prefabricated houses and those whose original design incorporates preexisting buildings such as an assemblage of war surplus prefabricated structures, are related types (see Property Type F.3 below). The Geometric composition is asymmetrical but balanced when the program and plan organically create the shape (e.g., as L-plan, bi-nuclear, and bi-level houses) or may be

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symmetrical when the house's strict rectilinear or cubic geometry dictates the plan layout. The building's configuration may consist of a main house and appurtenance structure(s) linked by a hyphen in the form of a covered breezeway or open deck. Ramped entrances occasionally appear in houses built on sloped sites.

The main house level is set at, or close to, grade on low piers, or on a raised basement/first floor, commonly configured against a hillside. Construction is predominantly wood structural framing, which may be exposed and highlighted in the design. Sheathing is smooth surfaces of natural or stained flush marine plywood, channeled tongue-and-groove wood boards, or composite panels. Buildings rest on concrete block or poured concrete foundations, or on concrete or steel footings. Horizontal lines, clerestories, and triangular sections at the intersection of walls and sloping roofs are accentuated by large full glass panels and ribbon windows that allow light and views into the house. Glazed wall sections are often comprised of sliding doors that open to connect the interior and exterior. Windows capture light and blur divisions between inside and outside. They may predominate on all elevations, or more commonly, create one transparent wall on the private, rear side that is oriented to natural views. Windows and skylights are also used to provide ambient light in studios. Architects typically employed full-height glazed walls of muntin-divided windows rather than expansive sheet glass to maximize locally available materials on the remote Outer Cape and as protection from extreme weather conditions in the exposed marine environment. Some Geometric type houses have received later additions that expanded their plan, but left the original volume clearly identifiable. The interior plan of Geometric houses arranges zoned living and sleeping functions with primary views in the living area, which may contain built-in furniture and a masonry or metal fireplace and chimney. The differentiated social and private spaces are often separated in concurrently designed wings or levels of the house.

The highly adaptable Geometric type houses constitute the largest group of mid-twentieth-century Modern residences on the Outer Cape. The numerous architect-designed unique commission houses include the Phillips House 2/ "Paper Palace" (1936) by Jack Phillips; Hammarstrom House (1952) and Tisza House (1960) by Olav Hammarstrom; the Conover House (1961) and Kuhn House (1960) by Nathaniel Salstonstall; the Edwin O'Connor House (1963) by Serge Chermayeff; Hatch House (1960–1961); Sirna Studio by Victor Civkin (1961); and Charlie Zehnder's Paul Kugel House (1970).

Geometric houses using conjoined preexisting buildings include the Charles Jencks House (ca. 1945: 1978) and Schlesinger House (ca. 1945). Among the houses that developed from existing cabins are the Serge Chermayeff House (1952–1972), Philips House I / Wilson House (1930s–1940s). Olav Hammarstrom's Woman's Day House (1967) stands as an example of a prototype reproducible house plan. Geometric properties also include studios and guesthouses.

### Significance Statement

The square or rectangular Geometric form house is significant as the most widely appearing, variable, and versatile expression of the American mid-twentieth-century Modern canon. It embodies the evolution of the Modern design paradigm from European and Bauhaus antecedents, combined with indigenous American Modern principles from Frank Lloyd Wright and others, manifesting in the regional interpretation of individual designers. Many were designed by nationally known and regional architects as eminently livable houses and sometimes as a reproducible prototype. Some of these houses embody experimental ideas that appeared in different residential iterations over time, or were tested on a small scale prior to being incorporated into larger projects.

### Registration Requirements

Eligible individual Geometric houses are typically associated with an established and well-known architect in the locality, region, or nation whose work received contemporary acknowledgement and is recognized by scholars and preservationists. These houses always evoke the ideals of mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture and the intellectual, artistic, leisure, and social life of Outer Cape Cod's summer community. Geometric houses designed by local designer/builders whose strong associations with Modernist tenets and influential role furthered the cultivation of Modernism on the Outer Cape are eligible if they exhibit a high degree of design sophistication and/or unusual experimentation with materials or forms. Properties designed by these local builders may also be eligible if they were

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designed for themselves or for an important individual within the Outer Cape's Modernist social network. A record of publication in contemporary print media and receipt of design awards enhances significance but is not a requirement.

Certain studios on freestanding lots or associated with older houses may be individually eligible if they possess high artistic merit as examples embodying mid-twentieth-century Modern design and strong association with a well known and influential artist.

### Integrity

Eligible individual Geometric properties possess integrity of design intent, architectural form, plan, texture, and materials. They retain integrity of site and relationship to the landscape and setting. Modest modifications, replacement in kind, and some deterioration of materials and finishes over time are to be expected. Replacement of original single glazed windows with double-glazed or insulated glass windows is an acceptable alteration as long as window openings and configuration remain intact. Sensitively designed additions that do not detract from the visual effect of the original design intent may be considered benign and in some cases may achieve significance in their own right. Interior updating of kitchens and bathrooms are common and admissible. Minor changes made to secondary buildings; new construction of freestanding or connected garages, guesthouses or studios and similar structures that are sited and designed to be compatible with the original building; and minimally modified landscape settings are generally considered to be acceptable.

### National Register Criteria

All individually eligible Geometric properties will meet **Criterion C** for their significance in the area of Architecture as a distinctive example possessing the characteristics of mid-twentieth-century Modern residential design for this property type. In addition, the majority of eligible properties will be the documented work of a Modern period architect or designer/builder, whose life and work are well documented and influential, and some may be the work of an important master. Certain properties may also be significant for secondary associations with the fields of art, landscape architecture, and/or engineering. Some properties may exhibit notably high artistic values of Modern design and materials, including the use of experimental and innovative technologies.

Certain properties may clearly reflect the characteristics of the mid-twentieth-century Modern style, but lack the distinction to qualify for individual eligibility. These properties will be eligible as contributing resources if they are part of a distinguishable historic district grouping of contiguous buildings that constitutes an eligible historical entity meeting Criterion C, and possibly Criterion A.

Most individually eligible Geometric properties will also possess significance in the area of Social History, meeting **Criterion A** for their embodiment of postwar Modern life style and culture within the artistic and intellectual context and historical events and patterns of the Outer Cape. Advocates of mid-twentieth-century Modern design valued social networks of progressive, intellectual, and artistic individuals and the ideals of a life simplified by technology and set in a natural environment, as exemplified by "functional" houses with open plans and interconnection of inside and outside spaces.

Properties will meet **Criterion B** if the associations with an important owner or occupant meet the necessary significance standards as one of the most notable properties affiliated with the productive life of that individual person.

### Level of Significance

Individual Geometric properties are evaluated within the historic context for mid-twentieth-century Modern residences in the Outer Cape and may possess significance at either the local, state, or national level. Each locally significant property is evaluated within the sphere of the Outer Cape community in which it resides and is shown to be an important element of the record of mid-twentieth-century Modern design and social history in that town. Properties of state significance have demonstrated historical influence and associations with mid-twentieth-century Modern design themes across Massachusetts. This includes the experimental or best representative examples of the work of individual designers whose

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main practice was elsewhere but who designed a limited number of houses on the Outer Cape, which are their only residences in Massachusetts, such as Victor Civkin and Olav Hammarstrom. It also encompasses the work of designers who were important figures in Massachusetts art, architecture, and design circles who designed houses on the Outer Cape, such as Nathaniel Saltonstall. In order to possess a national level of significance, a property must be of exceptional value and contribute to understanding of the nationwide impact of mid-twentieth-century Modernism in residential architecture. It must be an important work of a nationally renowned designer, embody unusually influential experimental design or construction methods, or have unique association with a person or event(s) of national significance.

### Criteria Consideration G

Properties that are less than 50 years old, or that underwent substantial physical modification in the less-than-50-year-old period, must meet National Register Criteria Consideration G for exceptional significance achieved in less than 50 years. Criteria Consideration G is discussed under Nomination Requirements at the end of Section E. Historic Context of this MPDF. Properties that are less than 50 years old and are associated with mid-twentieth-century Modern residential architecture in the Outer Cape may have exceptional importance as an outstanding representation of a particular property type or as a highly distinguished example that powerfully embodies the values associated with this period and movement in architecture. Some properties may have particularly strong and important associations with significant events, architects, property owners, and patrons of Modern buildings that were instrumental in forging or maintaining the state or local community's identity. Exceptional properties might include a particularly exemplary example or a "rare" and intact survivor of a period or type of construction, or a property of extraordinarily high integrity.

### Name of Property Type: F.3 Prefabricated and Semi-Prefabricated

#### Description

Prefabricated houses range from an assemblage of factory built, standardized construction units, referred to as semi-prefabricated, to complete ready-made houses. All are commercially available manufactured systems designed to minimize resources, cost, and time with the architectural style, form, plan, and materials varying by subtype. Mid-twentieth-century Modern designs in particular emphasize simplicity, repetition, and experimentation of materials, integrated into a simple, stripped down form. Demountable, wood-frame structure with modular plywood and composite panel sheathing, or a similar wood-based system, are typical for this type of mid-twentieth-century Modern house on the Outer Cape. While the designs for these standardized buildings were not site specific, the Techbuilt subtype design and specifications provided instructions and modification options to suit the actual site and family needs of the house.

Two semi-prefabricated subtypes, Techbuilt and World War II Barracks houses, have been identified to date on the Outer Cape. Each subtype is discussed below.

**F.3.a Prefabricated:Techbuilt Subtype:** The Techbuilt subtype consists of a semi-prefabricated, standardized concrete block foundation, wood post-and-beam (plank) frame variant, and modular wall panels composed of wood framing members sandwiched between sheets of plywood. The system incorporated windows of the same dimensions as the standard wall panels so that the design could be easily customizable through the flexible placement of fenestration and egress locations within the overall grid. Additional customization of the standard design was achieved by reversing the orientation of the floor plan or shifting the direction of the building on the site. Some of the approximately two dozen one and two-story models included recessed or projecting porches.

The interior plans efficiently utilized all available space within the building envelope segregating the open living, dining, and kitchen area from private sleeping and bath areas. Built-in cabinetry, closet units, and fireplaces, along with prefinished wall panels, were among the customizable amenities provided in the standardized designs.

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Techbuilt Houses are sited and oriented with respect to take advantage of natural topography and views, as specified by the company in its construction manual for builders. Landscape planting was left to the homeowner and builder.

Two examples of mid-twentieth-century Modern semi-prefabricated Techbuilt House subtypes have been identified on the Outer Cape include the one-story vacation cottage Maserian/Wilkinson House (1960) and the two-story Hughes House/Gussack House (1960–1961) in Wellfleet.

### Significance Statement

The semi-prefabricated Techbuilt subtype of Prefabricated housing is significant as a house type developed by well-known Massachusetts architect Carl Koch and sold through the Cambridge-based Techbuilt Co. starting in 1953; for using industrial technologies and variable modular design intended specifically to meet the needs of middle class families; and for its association with the mid-twentieth-century Modern interest in experimentation and in developing affordable and reproducible houses. The expansion of prefabricated Modern design coincided with advancements in industrial and building technologies, encouraged by wartime federal investments in the development of new materials, efforts to improve standardization, and the national economic and housing construction booms following World War II. Houses of Modernist design comprised a small percentage of prefabricated houses marketed in the mid-century period, and they were greatly overshadowed by the popularity of the suburban Ranch house and traditional Cape Cod house forms. Furthermore, although when compared to the entire spectrum of prefabricated house efforts in the postwar era, Techbuilt stands out as being relatively successful and modestly influential, within the context of the tremendous new housing boom of the time, Techbuilt Houses were rare, and constituted only a miniscule proportion of the industry output. Techbuilt was arguably the most successful Modernist prefabricated house company; nevertheless, the records on the total numbers and exact locations of the more than 3,000 Techbuilt Houses sold in the United States are not consolidated, and the survival rate of these houses has not yet been fully assessed. While Techbuilt Houses are known to have been erected in concentrations near Boston and at scattered locations around the country, there are only a handful of known examples on Cape Cod and in the Outer Cape.

### Registration Requirements

Eligible Techbuilt properties are by definition associated with the Techbuilt Company and Carl Koch, an established and well-known architect in the New England region whose work received contemporary acknowledgement by his peers and in the press and is recognized as important by scholars and preservationists. Eligible Techbuilts on the Outer Cape always evoke the ideals of mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture; the contemporary vision of using customizable, standardized design and prefabricated modular units to provide functional and comfortable housing; and the intellectual, artistic, leisure, and social life of Outer Cape Cod's summer community. A record of publication in contemporary print media and receipt of design awards for individual examples enhances significance but is not a requirement.

### Integrity

Eligible individual Techbuilt properties possess a high degree of integrity of design intent, architectural form, plan, texture, and materials. They retain integrity of site and relationship to the landscape and setting. Modest modifications, replacement in kind, and some deterioration of materials and finishes over time are to be expected. Replacement of original single glazed windows with double-glazed or insulated glass windows is an acceptable alteration as long as window openings and configuration remain intact. Sensitively designed additions that do not detract from the visual effect of the original design intent may be considered benign and in some cases may achieve significance in their own right. Since it is known that a high percentage of Techbuilt Houses in suburban Boston settings have been altered by additions to expand living space, unaltered building footprints and volumes should be considered relatively unusual. Techbuilts were designed to allow modification of interior floor plans, so changes within that context that retain key elements of the original layout and circulation may not affect integrity. Interior updating of kitchens and bathrooms are common and admissible. Minor changes made to secondary buildings; new construction of freestanding or connected garages, guesthouses or studios and similar structures that are sited and designed to be compatible with the original building; and minimally modified landscape settings are generally considered to be acceptable.

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In addition, Techbuilt Houses possess specific characteristics that must be retained for the buildings to have sufficient integrity for eligibility. These buildings are modular and designed with options for siting and construction either on flat ground or into slopes; therefore, preservation of the original orientation of building in relation to its site features and primary viewsheds is important. The modular structural system with plywood wall panels and glazing sections must be visible (not including temporary covering for seasonal or mothballing purposed that can be easily removed). The original number and placement of bays should be intact; for example the two-story version always exhibits six-bay side elevations with alternating solid and glazed sections. The roof features consisting of shallow-pitch gable shape, wide overhangs, and exposed rafter tails should remain intact. Replacement of deteriorated exterior wall wood sheathing and asphalt roof shingles with in-kind materials is acceptable. On the interior, key elements of the original design should be present, including visible plank and beam framing, standardized floor plans, and retention of original circulation patterns, stairs and halls, and ceiling height. To be a good example of a Techbuilt House, eligible examples should retain at least some aspects of original customization components (closet systems, doors, flooring, wall panel finishes, and fireplaces).

### National Register Criteria

All eligible properties will meet **Criterion C** for their significance in the area of Architecture as a distinctive example possessing the characteristics of mid-twentieth-century Modern residential design for the Techbuilt semi-prefabricated property type. Techbuilt Houses are by definition the verifiable design of a well-known Modern period architect, Carl Koch, whose life and work are documented in period publications and his personal archives, and also are the subject of ongoing scholarly research. These houses are significant in exhibiting Koch's application of experimental and innovative technologies in design, use of materials, and construction methods. However, not all Techbuilt houses will be eligible for listing. Techbuilt Houses were a line of standardized model designs, therefore it is important to determine the basic model and, in so far as possible, the customized features of the nominated house, as well as identifying any modifications since the original construction. Eligible properties must stand as fine examples embodying the key character defining features of a Techbuilt House. Furthermore, the house's position in the company's design and business history must be clearly understood and explained in the nomination. Some properties may also be significant for secondary associations with the fields of art, landscape architecture, and/or engineering.

Certain properties may clearly reflect the characteristics of the mid-twentieth-century Modern style and the Techbuilt property type, but lack the distinction to qualify for individual eligibility. These examples will be eligible as contributing resources if they are part of a distinguishable historic district grouping of contiguous buildings that constitutes an eligible historical entity meeting Criterion C, and possibly Criterion A.

Most eligible properties will also possess significance in the area of Social History, meeting **Criterion A** for their embodiment of postwar Modern lifestyle and culture within the artistic and intellectual context and historical events and patterns of the Outer Cape. Advocates of mid-twentieth-century Modern design valued social networks of progressive, intellectual, and artistic individuals and the ideals of a life simplified by technology and set in a natural environment, as exemplified by "functional" houses with open plans and interconnection of inside and outside spaces.

Properties will meet **Criterion B** if the associations with an important owner or occupant meet the necessary significance standards as one of the most notable properties affiliated with the productive life of that individual person.

### Level of Significance

Individual properties are evaluated within the historic context for mid-twentieth-century Modern residences in the Outer Cape and may possess significance at either the local, state, or national level. Each locally significant property is evaluated within the sphere of the Outer Cape community in which it resides and is shown to be an important element of the record of mid-twentieth-century Modern design and social history in that town. Properties of state significance must have demonstrated and elevated historical influence and associations with mid-twentieth-century Modern, Techbuilt, and prefabricated house design themes and history across Massachusetts. In order to possess a national level of significance, a property must be of exceptional value and substantially contribute to understanding of the nationwide impact of the

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prefabricated house theme within mid-twentieth-century Modernism in residential architecture. Based on information collected and analyzed for this multiple property nomination, eligible Techbuilt houses will meet the local level of significance and would need to possess extraordinary architectural and/or associative characteristics in order to rise to the level of state or national significance.

### Criteria Consideration G

Properties that are less than 50 years old, or that underwent substantial physical modification in the less-than-50-year-old period, must meet National Register Criteria Consideration G for exceptional significance achieved in less than 50 years. Criteria Consideration G is discussed under Nomination Requirements at the end of Section E. Historic Context of this MPDF. Properties that are less than 50 years old and are associated with mid-twentieth-century Modern residential architecture in the Outer Cape may have exceptional importance as an outstanding representation of a particular property type or as a highly distinguished example that powerfully embodies the values associated with this period and movement in architecture. Some properties may have particularly strong and important associations with significant events, architects, property owners, and patrons of Modern buildings that were instrumental in forging or maintaining the state or local community's identity. Exceptional properties might include a particularly exemplary example or a "rare" and intact survivor of a period of construction or type of construction, or a property of extraordinarily high integrity.

**F.3.b World War II Barracks Subtype:** The World War II Barracks subtype is a semi-prefabricated, standardized and demountable building group that was originally delivered to the Outer Cape as package kits following World War II. The buildings are either long, narrow, and rectangular or more square forms with low-pitch gable roofs. They have a wood frame, plywood wall panels, and modular windows and doors. The interior plans were completely open, so could be laid out as required by the owner. The subtype specifically pertains to residences that were designed by architects or designer/builders using these distinct buildings, and not to the barracks themselves.

Examples of mid-twentieth-century Modern semi-prefabricated World War II Barracks house subtypes on the Outer Cape include the Arthur Schlesinger House (ca. 1945) and the Charles Jencks House (ca. 1945; 1978), both in Truro.

### Significance Statement

The semi-prefabricated World War II Barracks Building subtype of Prefabricated housing is significant as an example of demountable buildings that were recycled and repurposed through intentional Modernist design to provide efficient, low cost, and rudimentary summer housing. The Barracks are also significant for their association with the historical and social patterns of development that produced the Outer Cape's Modernist community. However, not all World War II Barracks houses will be eligible for listing. They were introduced to the Outer Cape by land owner and designer/builder Jack Philips and are a remnant of the immediate Post World War II period. Philips was instrumental in fostering the initial Modernist community and was an early experimenter with a variety of inexpensive and easily erected Modern house forms. To be eligible, properties must possess high design integrity, a clear and direct connection to Jack Philips, and a strong association with important social patterns and events of the Outer Cape summer community. Only a handful of houses constructed from surplus barracks have been identified.

### Registration Requirements

Eligible World War II Barracks houses will possess distinctive characteristics of the Barracks property type and through its individualized residential design evoke the minimalist ideals of mid-twentieth-century Modern architecture and the intellectual, artistic, leisure, and social life of Outer Cape Cod's summer community. Eligible properties are also likely to have an association with a notable individual in American arts, letters, or other cultural area.

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### Integrity

Eligible World War II Barracks properties possess high integrity of the original adaptive reuse design intent, architectural form, plan, texture, and materials. They retain integrity of site and relationship to the landscape and setting. Modest modifications, replacement in kind, and some deterioration of materials and finishes over time are to be expected. Replacement of original single glazed windows with double-glazed or insulated glass windows is an acceptable alteration as long as window openings and configuration remain intact. Sensitively designed additions that do not detract from the visual effect of the original design intent may be considered benign and in some cases may achieve significance in their own right. Interior updating of kitchens and bathrooms are common and admissible. Minor changes made to secondary buildings; new construction of freestanding or connected garages, guesthouses or studios and similar structures that are sited and designed to be compatible with the original building; and minimally modified landscape settings are generally considered to be acceptable. Relocation of these moveable buildings within a similar beachside setting may be acceptable so long as the characteristics of the original site are maintained.

In addition, World War II Barracks houses possess specific characteristics that must be retained for the buildings to have sufficient integrity for eligibility. The wood frame structure, plywood paneling, and rudimentary character of the Barracks must be retained, along with the key elements of the Modernist designed residence.

### National Register Criteria

All eligible properties will meet **Criterion C** for their significance in the area of Architecture as a distinctive example possessing the characteristics of mid-twentieth-century Modern residential design for the World War II Barracks house property type. Certain properties may also be significant for secondary associations with the fields of art, landscape architecture, and/or engineering. While these buildings are standardized plans, the configuration, arrangement, and treatment of the buildings may reflect the experimental and innovative engagement of an architect or designer/builder.

Certain properties may clearly reflect the characteristics of the mid-twentieth-century Modern style and the World War II Barracks property type, but lack the distinction to qualify for individual eligibility. These examples will be eligible as contributing resources if they are part of a distinguishable historic district grouping of contiguous buildings that constitutes an eligible historical entity meeting Criterion C, and possibly Criterion A.

Most eligible properties will also possess significance in the area of Social History, meeting **Criterion A** for their embodiment of postwar Modern lifestyle and culture within the artistic and intellectual context of the Outer Cape. Advocates of mid-twentieth-century Modern design valued social networks of progressive, intellectual, and artistic individuals and the ideals of a life simplified by technology and set in a natural environment, as exemplified by “functional” houses with open plans and interconnection of inside and outside spaces.

Properties will meet **Criterion B** if the associations with an important owner or occupant meet the necessary significance standards as one of the most notable properties affiliated with the productive life of that individual person.

### Level of Significance

Individual properties are evaluated within the historic context for mid-twentieth-century Modern residences in the Outer Cape and may possess significance at either the local, state, or national level. Each locally significant property is evaluated within the sphere of the Outer Cape community in which it resides and is shown to be an important element of the record of mid-twentieth-century Modern design and social history in that town. Properties of state significance must have demonstrated and elevated historical influence and associations with mid-twentieth-century Modern and prefabricated house design themes and history across Massachusetts. In order to possess a national level of significance, a property must be of exceptional value and substantially contribute to understanding of the nationwide impact of the prefabricated house theme within mid-twentieth-century Modernism in residential architecture. Based on information collected and analyzed for this multiple property nomination, eligible World War II Barracks houses will meet the local

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level of significance and would need to possess extraordinary architectural and/or associative characteristics in order to rise to the level of state or national significance.

### Criteria Consideration G

Properties that are less than 50 years old, or that underwent substantial physical modification in the less-than-50-year-old period, must meet National Register Criteria Consideration G for exceptional significance achieved in less than 50 years. Criteria Consideration G is discussed under Nomination Requirements at the end of Section E. Historic Context of this MPDF. Properties that are less than 50 years old and are associated with mid-twentieth-century Modern residential architecture in the Outer Cape may have exceptional importance as an outstanding representation of a particular property type or as a highly distinguished example that powerfully embodies the values associated with this period and movement in architecture. Some properties may have particularly strong and important associations with significant events, architects, property owners, and patrons of Modern buildings that were instrumental in forging or maintaining the state or local community's identity. Exceptional properties might include a particularly exemplary example or a "rare" and intact survivor of a period of construction or type of construction, or a property of extraordinarily high integrity.

### Shared Characteristics of All Property Types

#### Outbuildings

All of the mid-twentieth-century Modern residences property types on Outer Cape Cod include examples of outbuildings associated with the primary residential building. These secondary building may be studios and guest houses, occasional single and multi-car detached garages and sheds that may have been constructed concurrently with the house or added later. Secondary buildings that contribute to the historic and architectural significance of a mid-twentieth-century Modern residence will fall within the period of significance and retain integrity of location, design, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association, as demonstrated through their design and materials, and their visual and spatial relationship to the principal building. Certain Box or Geometric type studios may be individually eligible as noted above for each property type.

#### Landscape and Setting

On the Outer Cape, Modernists desired to place houses in a variety of seaside settings, which are integral to the houses' design. Popular choices were primarily on gentle hillsides in the woods adjacent to ponds, on wooded hilltops to take advantage of distant water views, and to a lesser degree on bluffs or rolling dunes overlooking the ocean. Most houses were sited on isolated lots and oriented towards the views of natural features and with consideration to the daily arc of the sun. Properties were typically reached via long, individual sand driveways off main roads, or via a maze-like network of hardly marked, winding, and rutted sand roads that accessed multiple properties. Flagstone and sand paths and raised ramps provided walking circulation. Outdoor living close to the house was accommodated by a variety of measures, depending on the property, including decks and terraces located immediately around the house, and punctured cutout porches set within the frame of the house. Houses composed of multiple freestanding units are connected by breezeways, and a few houses were designed with courtyards contained within the house form.

The landscape settings of the mid-twentieth-century Modern residences property types on Outer Cape Cod are almost invariably naturalistic with minimal formal landscaping, placing emphasis on appreciating and enhancing views of the existing or modified topography, vegetation, and water elements. The modest and simple Cape houses leave the natural topography of the property and immediate existing landscape intact, with minimal grading, clearing of trees, and manicured plantings. Added vegetation consists of occasional cultivated garden plantings including subtle additions of groundcovers, flowers, shrubs, and trees. Modest herb and vegetable gardens may be present. Key aspects of setting and landscape include typically unpaved driveways and informal walkways, retention of native ground covers, shrubs, and trees, and maintenance of views from the primary vantage points within and around the house. Integrity of the landscape site and the setting of the house are expected to be assessed within the context of the original design intent, since changes

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in plant materials are inevitable over time and modifications to the landscape may have occurred. In many cases, vegetation has grown considerably over the last 50 years such that current landscape conditions and viewsheds are more restricted than when the house was originally constructed. No landscape architects are known to be associated with single-family residences. One landscape designed by a professional landscape architect, Stanley B. Underhill, at The Colony in Wellfleet (ca. 1948-1955), has been identified to date on the Outer Cape.

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**SECTION G. Geographical Data**

The geographic area of the multiple property documentation is the legal limits of the Cape Cod National Seashore, within the Outer Cape towns of Eastham, Wellfleet, Truro, and Provincetown. Boundaries of individual property and historic district nominations will typically follow property lot lines to include buildings and the surrounding landscape.

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## SECTION H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The *Mid-Twentieth-Century Modern Residential Architecture on Outer Cape Cod, 1929 – 1979* multiple property nomination was prepared as a framework for the documentation, appreciation, and current and future National Register evaluation of mid-twentieth-century Modern residential architecture within the Cape Cod National Seashore (NS) and the four towns of Eastham, Wellfleet, Truro, and Provincetown. The Outer Cape was defined for the purposes of this MPDF as including the Towns of Eastham, Wellfleet, Truro, and Provincetown, which encompasses the majority of Cape Cod NS land. The Nauset Beach section of the Cape Cod NS extends into the Towns of Orleans and Chatham, which are commonly included in geographic definitions of the Outer Cape. There are no mid-century Modern houses on the narrow barrier beach. The MPDF historic context statement and the definition of associated property types are intended to provide a basis for the identification, understanding, and preservation of mid-twentieth-century Modern houses, and to enable additional future National Register nominations under the MPDF context.

The methodology used for identification and evaluation combined research, fieldwork, analysis, and writing. The identification phase focused on properties within the boundaries of the Cape Cod NS, but also considered the history and characteristics of contemporary Modern houses throughout Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and the United States. The list of National Park Service (NPS)-owned properties to be surveyed had previously been compiled.

Archival research was conducted in the files of the NPS, the Massachusetts Historical Commission, local libraries and historical societies, town halls, and regional research institutions. The photograph and information archives of the Cape Cod Modern House Trust (CCMHT) were invaluable. Extensive use was made of a wide range of scholarly and town records sources available on the internet. Interviews and correspondence with architects and property owners, where possible, provided further information about individual property history.

Fieldwork was conducted with NPS and CCMHT staff to complete exterior site visits of surveyed properties and exterior and interior visits of six properties selected for sample nominations. High resolution photographs were taken and notes were recorded on appearance, materials, plan, structure, condition, and landscape setting.

The period of significance date ranges for each of the three sections of the Historic Context Statement, the level of significance, and the application of Age Consideration (Exception) G were carefully analyzed and considered in conjunction with project reviewers. The Associated Property Types and National Register eligibility evaluation guidelines were developed from information about mid-twentieth-century Modern design and the specific examples present on the Outer Cape, with reference to the larger contexts.

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Massachusetts

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### Exhibits and Media

Provincetown Art Association and Museum

2006 A Chain of Events: Modernist Architecture on the Outer Cape, Marcel Breuer to Charles Jencks. August 18 – October 15, 2006. Provincetown, MA.

Westport Preservation Alliance

2010a When Cool was Hot: ..... Exhibit curated by Morley Boyd and Michael R. Halstead AIA at Westport Historical Society, Westport CT.

2010b Victor Civkin Rediscovered: 1898-1968. Exhibit curated by Morley Boyd and Michael R. Halstead AIA at Westport Historical Society, Westport CT.

### Websites/Links

Cape Cod Modern House Trust: <http://ccmht.org/>

The Cultural Landscape Foundation, Icons of Modernism: <http://www.tclf.org/icons>

Docomomo U.S.: [www.docomomo-us.org/](http://www.docomomo-us.org/)

Gropius House: <http://www.historicnewengland.org/visit/tour/house.asp>

Industrial Designers Society of America: [www.idsa.org](http://www.idsa.org)

Johnson, Philip Glass House: [www.philipjohnsonglasshouse.org](http://www.philipjohnsonglasshouse.org)

Live Modern: <http://livemodern.com>

Lustron Houses: [www.lustronpreservation.org](http://www.lustronpreservation.org)

NPS Recent Past Initiative: <http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/tps/recentpast/>

NTHP Modernism & Recent Past: <http://www.preservationnation.org/issues/modernism-recent-past/>

NTHP Modern Homes Survey (BCA): <http://www.preservationnation.org/travel-and-sites/sites/northeast-region/new-canaan-ct/>

Recent Past Preservation Network: [www.recentpast.org](http://www.recentpast.org)

Some Assembly Required: Contemporary Prefabricated Houses: <http://design.walkerart.org/prefab/Main>

Vermont Modern: <http://www.vermontmodern.com>

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Wright, Gwendolyn: <http://gwendolynwrighthistory.com>