

Learning From Postcards: Architecture, Labor, and Montage

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“To the form of the new means of production, which to begin with is still dominated by the old, there correspond images in the collective consciousness in which the new and the old are intermingled. These images are ideals, and in them the collective seeks not only to transfigure, but to transcend, the immaturity of the social product and the deficiencies of the social order of production. In these ideals there also emerges a vigorous aspiration to break with what is out-dated—which means, however, with the most recent past.”

Walter Benjamin, “Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century”¹

CHICAGO POSTCARDS AND THE LEGACY OF ALVIN BOYARSKY

The fate of architectural history is marked in many ways by the architect's attitude towards the modes and techniques of production. The historiographies of modern architecture are particularly rich in attempting to analyze and utilize the progressive character of industrial production for various aesthetic purposes. Le Corbusier's images of ocean liners and Giedion's images of automatic hog-weighing devices conveyed the ideas of interdependency between the market economy, mechanization and architectural production. Furthermore, these often shocking images tried to mobilize the architectural and general public behind the social and formal ideals of modern architecture. By looking at one of the later examples of such mobilization, namely Alvin Boyarsky and his collection of popular picture postcards, I would like to address the possibility of maintaining a critical position through the appropriation of industrial and material imagery.

Alvin Boyarsky was one of the most influential architectural educators of the XX century. He acted as Associate Dean and Professor at the University of Illinois at Chicago College of Architecture and the Arts from 1965 to 1971, before becoming

the Chairman of the Architectural Association in London — a position he held until his death in 1990. He elevated the Architectural Association from deep crisis into one of the most prestigious architectural schools in the world. Although Alvin Boyarsky represents one of the most significant and most famous architectural educators in Europe, his role in US architectural education and practice is yet to be examined. His written body of work is scattered through many periodicals. One of his most intriguing texts, “Chicago a la Carte,” was first published in *AD*, December 1970, and again in *The Idea of the City*.² Rather than a conventional scholarly essay, “Chicago a la Carte” is actually a collection of lecture notes and fragmented theses in the manner of Walter Benjamin. It represents an examination of the current state of architectural practice, and in particular it examines modernity through postcards and newspaper articles. His collection of popular picture postcards includes vintage postcards of Chicago and other American cities, dating from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, and covering a wide range of urban imagery, such as streetscapes, parks, industrial sites/sights, infrastructure, aerial views, etc.

The discussion in this essay is two-fold. First, it examines the postcard as a uniquely modern medium — its origin, architectural use and its complex relations to the economy, labor and montage. Second, the essay looks more specifically at Alvin Boyarsky and examines his use and critical articulation of picture postcards for architectural and urban purposes. By using the popular imagery of the postcard, one is faced with an almost impossible to achieve task: how to maintain a critical position and yet address the complexities of everyday life. This task represents a continuous challenge for architects, and I will argue that Alvin Boyarsky's use of the everyday visual vocabulary differs from that of Siegfried Giedion or Rem Koolhaas for example — both of whom extend the legacy of the modern avant-garde. Siegfried Giedion's book *Mechanization Takes Command*³ is a particularly important example, because it heavily relies on the exact same industrial imagery of Chicago

that can be found in the postcards. In *S.M.L.XL* on the other hand, Rem Koolhaas is more reflective of the global economy and calls for operational strategies that can reposition the architectural profession within an increasingly globalized context of practice. Alvin Boyarsky did not leave a book of such magnitude and his writings are yet to be excavated, pieced together and interpreted.

POSTCARDS AS SITES OF LABOR AND LEISURE

The earliest postcards of Chicago show streetscapes full of people and images of parks with pedestrians strolling in a calm pre-industrial landscape. The images of urban *flaneurie* represent congested streets of Chicago, with individuals engaged in shopping and the pursuit of qualitative leisure time. State Street in particular, was a favorite subject of such postcards, with images of curious customers and department stores storefronts. These images of streets full of human bodies are still based on early industrial notions of density, where city is at the same time the site of production, leisure and housing. But it is precisely in the XIX century that this congestion is perceived as overly aggressive and in contrast to attempts to improve sanitary and infrastructural conditions of the early modern metropolis. It is because of these conditions that the early images of a dense and busy downtown Chicago were supplemented by many postcards with images of public parks that are less crowded with people or buildings. They show relaxed individuals, mostly women, strolling in an artificially cultivated, but yet very naturally appearing landscape. Compared to the images of streetscapes, the human body is much smaller and usually depicted as an integral part of nature. The images of human bodies relaxing on green meadows, or sitting alongside irregularly shaped ponds are carefully re-touched or blurred with exaggerated presence of plants and even animals. The pastoral imagery is characterized by the disappearance of the human body, or at least its loss of domination within the image. This abstract character and absence of the human body will become a permanent feature of almost any future postcard.



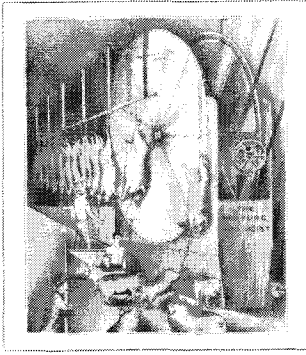
Fig. 1. Postcard – Sheep in Washington Park, Chicago, Illinois.

Many postcards from Alvin Boyarsky's collection use industrial imagery as their point of departure. They demonstrate an enthusiasm for industrial production, depicting stockyards, steel mills and grain elevators. These Benjaminian wish-images of industrialized ideals demonstrate the myth of technological progress and stand in sharp contrast to the most recent pre-industrial past. The postcards depict industrial machinery and technical inventions that rationalize the production line, including the images of hog-killing and hog-measuring devices, proudly invented in nineteenth century Chicago. Various devices for catching, weighing and suspending hogs provided a fast and efficient route from the abattoir to the dining table. In his book *Mechanization Takes Command*, Siegfried Giedion uses very similar imagery of Chicago stockyards and their technological advancements. He says that union workers often received such innovations with hostility and skepticism.³ Fearing for his or her own job description and wages, the worker saw scientific management as a new mean of exploitation. Giedion concludes:

“Not to be overlooked are those aspects which have to do with the class struggle. They, however, lie outside the actual problems of this book, whose task is to describe the impact of a mechanized world on the human organism and on human feeling.”³

Although he calls for the appreciation of the anonymous history of mechanization, Giedion does not seem to be interested in the social or cultural issues that underpin those processes, namely the class struggle. The culture is seen as a mere product of such mechanization, which endlessly evolves with industrial revolution. The case with ‘industrial’ postcards is very similar – they convey this socially and culturally neutral idea of progress, depicting modes of production, but not referencing to issues such as class, race, gender or ethnicity. The postcards of the Union Stockyards on the South Side of Chicago depict a city that believes in industrial progress and the pioneering nature of its inhabitants – a city dominated by a work ethic and belief that a better life is possible through the acceleration of capitalist development. Needless to say, these beliefs are not shared by the workers movement of the late nineteenth century, whose ideas about better life were in no way compatible with the existing social and economical order. It is worth noting that there are no references to sites of social and ethnic unrests, such as the Haymarket Affair – neither in the postcard, nor in the writings of modernist historiographers, such as Siegfried Giedion for example.

Other postcards focused on public works that took place in Chicago, mostly on the network of railroads and on the infrastructural networks of highways and airports. Images of bridges, canals, underground passages, railroads, harbors and airports encompass an early ideal of a working class city as a site of large-scale public works. They also symbolized national and global aspirations of Chicago to become a leader of the



UNION STOCK YARDS
CHICAGO

Fig. 2. Postcard – Union Stock Yards, Chicago, Illinois.

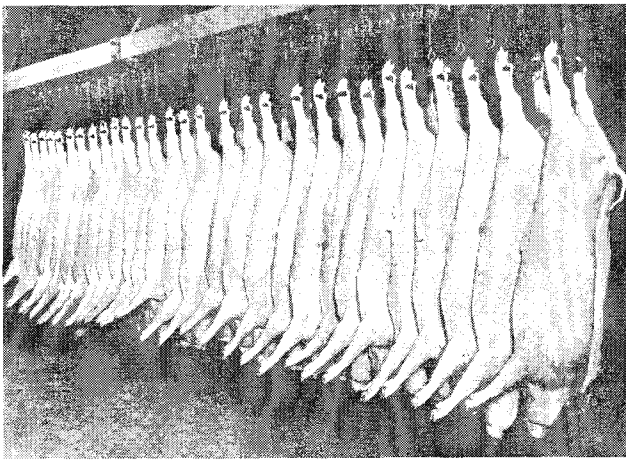


Fig. 3. Carcasses in Chicago Slaughter House. from Siegfried Giedion. *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to the Anonymous History*, 1948.

industrialized world.⁶ Similarly to some other midwestern cities, such as St. Louis and Cincinnati, Chicago was also perceived as a site of innovation, but more than anything else, it was perceived as a site in which “first nature” is conquered and from which the “second nature” is built. In his book *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, William Cronon writes:

“A ‘kind of ‘second nature’, designed by people and ‘improved’ towards human ends, gradually emerged atop the original landscape that nature – ‘first nature’ – had created as such an inconvenient jumble. Despite the subtly differing logic that lay behind each, the geography of second nature was in its own way as compelling as the geography of first nature, so boosters and others often forgot the distinction between them. Both seemed quite ‘natural.’”⁷

This unique blending of the natural and industrial landscape was highly visibly on postcards. They depict the blending of the vast landscape of the prairie with Chicago’s canals, cultivated lakefront, railroads, elevated trains, highways and airports.

These artifacts blend into the prairie landscape, giving rise to the idea that such infrastructural improvements will lead to a much better, cleaner, and efficient life; technological progress will meet all human demands, ensuring no need for change of existing social or power structure. The sole fact that highways and airports are proudly put on the postcards of Chicago is telling; the imagery of public works efficiently shifted the discussion from social change to economic progress through existing political system. This attitude is very close to Le Corbusier’s old dilemma (architecture or revolution), but it is also close to Giedion’s plea from the introductory notes of *Mechanization Takes Command*, in which he calls for a stronger bond between industry on the one hand and art, culture and everyday life on the other hand:

“Once historical consciousness is awakened, self-respect will awaken too, a self-respect that inspires every true culture. This renewed awareness will find means of preserving the key sources to American history.”⁸

Again, historical consciousness for Giedion is not class-consciousness. Rather, it is technological consciousness based on industrial inventions and their impact on everyday lives. It is no coincidence that this technological fetishization is looking so closely at American material culture, which is often used as progressive modernist examples owing to its high level of industrial development. Russian constructivists for example, and Kazimir Malevich in particular, looked at American skyscrapers as architectural ideals that embody all progressive aspects of labor and technology. By calling the O’Hare International Airport “Chicago’s Versailles”⁹, Alvin Boyarsky is interested in this same validation of the material culture.

Another set of postcards depicts the city through aerial views. This is again, inspired by new technologies – aerial photography in particular, which for the first time offered the possibility of accurate surveillance. Furthermore, these postcards focused on the large scale of a modern metropolis and depicted the city as an abstract composition of superstructures, infrastructure and the horizontal plain of the prairie. The human dimension and representation was completely lost in these postcards, thus enabling postcards to participate in the modernist tradition of *designing for the abstract universal subject*.

The postcards of large buildings, such as the Merchandise Mart, the Main Post Office, or the Sears Tower demonstrate Chicago’s *fascination with large structures, which beyond a certain scale depart from their architectural features and start to acquire the characteristics of the city itself*. Rem Koolhaas defines these buildings as “bigness” – a new species of architecture that obscures the relationship between the skin and the interior spaces and which depends on accelerated construction, the elevator, electricity, air-conditioning and steel.¹⁰ Chicago is the site of many technological inventions and Koolhaas extends modernist optimism with technology by saying that such large



Fig. 4. Postcard – Eisenhower Expressway at the Chicago Circle Center.

structures have “potential for the reorganization of the social world.”¹¹ It is here that we start to see the continuity of ideas, stretching from Giedion and Le Corbusier to Boyarsky and his pupil Koohaas. This continuity replaces the traditional redeeming power of beauty with the redeeming notion of technology and in the case of Koolhaas with the redeeming power of global capitalist development.

POSTCARDS AND MONTAGE

The origin of the postcard is closely related to the development of photography, mechanical reproduction, and in particular to the development of montage as a new artistic medium after the First World War. Montage is a specific representational strategy first developed by Berlin Dadaists, in which the *monteur* or the artist of montage produces an assembled work of art. Montage practices bridge the worlds of art, design, cinema and architecture, establishing a complexity of relations between high art, mass media and everyday life. The Dadaists utilized the industrial ready-mades, such as newspapers or photographs, and often thought of themselves as engineers, rather than artist.¹² The art of montage aimed at the representation of an

industrial world, and unlike traditional paintings, was conceived for the possibility of mechanical reproduction. John Heartfield and Hannah Hoch were two of the most important representatives of the art of montage. Montage strategies in their work were based on working with altered photographs and newspaper cuts, implying the strong relationship between the parts and the whole, displacement of elements from their original context and most importantly – communication of *meaning*.



Fig. 5. John Heartfield. *The Sleeping Reichstag*. 1929.

The art of montage usually communicated meaning through strong political messages, which were often associated with political left. The art of John Heartfield was in particular politically engaged, aiming at the disruption of Nazi propaganda and revealing social injustices and political oppression. His montage *Sleeping Reichstag* (see figure 5) embodies compositional devices of dramatic scale differences and displacement of elements from their original scale and context in order to provide social critique. This montage, like many others from the same period, encompasses one of the most important characteristics of montage – “shock effect.” Through the use of shocking imagery, *monteurs* tried to mobilize the public around certain political agendas and to confront social injustices. The shock effect spread quickly from artistic montage into other fields of art, like cinema or architecture. Mies Van Der Rohe for example used montage to advertise the progressive and shockingly simple character of his projects for Berlin. He superimposed crystal-like forms of his office buildings for the Alexanderplatz over the dense city fabric of Berlin. In *Mechanization Takes Command*, Siegfried Giedion uses stills from Louis Bunuel’s *Un Chien Andalou* in order to drastically draw attention to changed notions of life and death in the context of industrialization.¹³ Stan Allen in *Points+Lines: Diagrams and Projects for the City* uses the same film with the same shocking scenes of the cut eyeball.¹⁴ This continuous interest in the power of montage and the collision of different images is a demonstration of the architectural avant-garde’s continued

interest to define itself in regard to society and its context in general. Weather reflective, like in Giedion's case, or more critical, like in the case of Allen, these strategies aim at addressing wider audiences – ideally the mass audience of the postcard.

But there is an important aspect of ethical difference between montage and postcard. The *monteur's* aim is very close to that of the critical theorist and the Frankfurt School, which typically assigned positive function to art only if it stood up against



Fig. 6. Luis Bunuel, *Le Chien Andalou*, 1929, The Eye After the Cut, from Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command*, 1948.



Fig. 7. Luis Bunuel, *Le Chien Andalou*, 1929, from Stan Allen, *Points + Lines: Diagrams and Projects for the City*, 1999.

hegemony and domination. Obviously, such noble ethical goals were not associated with postcards, but it is precisely in the art of the postcard that photo-manipulation and photo-amusement for the masses was first widely exercised. It is also through the art of cinematic and artistic montage that the first active interchange between the historical avant-garde and mass culture took place, potentially bringing the avant-garde's social agenda closer to the masses. Both media – the postcard and the artistic/cinematic montage – shared the same visual vocabulary and streamed towards at least two common goals: to find a visual means to represent the modern metropolis and to establish advertising precedents in the age of global consumerism and mechanical reproduction.

Like architects and artistic *monteurs* themselves, the postcard faced a challenge, and that was to establish its relationship towards social critique. While the art of montage criticized the position of art and the artist in a given society, it also criticized society at large. The art of postcard was less socially engaged. Having in mind its origin in popular sensibility and mass media, some of the reasons for this disengagement are self-explanatory. Rather than being critical, the postcards are more reflective of society and modes of production. They truthfully depicted the division of labor and sites of production. They were just one of many manifestations of the modernist division of time – they either represented sites of leisure or sites of labor. For the first time in history, people were able to devote their leisure time to activities such as commercial travel, shopping, and entertainment. Postcards were introduced in order to record the site/sight of such popular activities. Various sites were advertised through the use of easily recognizable imagery distributed globally. This imagery includes photographs of shoppers on the streets of Paris and Chicago, or leisure activities on Coney Island in New York or London's Hyde Park. In order to compress the number of attractive images, the producers of postcards played with photographs, altering, reducing, or retouching them in order to reach the desired effect. The desired effect was usually associated with the advertisement of

certain site specificities, and the best way to achieve such effect was to use the most shocking images available. It is this strategy of shock, and the experimental use of ready-made texts and photographs, that bring together the art of the postcard with the art of montage. Both media communicate their messages directly, and rely on the ready-made imagery of everyday culture.

The ideological montage strategies in postcards were achieved through the use of a new industrial imagery, that stood in sharp contrast with the most recent pre-industrial past, still symbolized by the congested metropolis struggling to overcome problems with sanitation and manual modes of production. The modernist myth of the metropolis, belief in science, technology and industrialization were the messages delivered by postcards. Images of infrastructural networks and industrial machinery were not only aimed at representing Chicago as a site of leisure and good shopping. Rather, their message was more complex, and looked at conceptualizing Chicago as an embodiment of modernity. The city was not only a good place to visit, but also a good place to live and work. The working class character of the city was idealized through its industrial sites, such as the Steel Mills, Stockyards or Harbors. Sites of political unrests, such as the Haymarket Affair, and the iconography of workers movements were carefully hidden and omitted. Unlike the art of montage, the postcards deny any kind of political activism, associating themselves with the market economy and the current social order. The question that remains unanswered is: if the position of postcards was more reflective than critical – does that imply the same kind of conclusion for architects and theorists who utilized a similar vocabulary. I will argue here that although Siegfried Giedion and Alvin Boyarsky shared visual vocabulary, the character of their individual engagement with such vocabulary was different.

POSTCARDS AS IDEOLOGICAL CRITICISM

This discussion brings us to the second concern of this essay and that is – why did Alvin Boyarsky use postcards as late as the 1970s, almost seventy years after the majority of postcards from his collection were published and more than thirty years after Le Corbusier and Siegfried Giedion used the same imagery. I will argue here that Alvin Boyarsky returned to the original sociological ideals of modernity and used shocking images of the sites of labor in order to revive a belief in the possibility of architecture *with* utopia – a society and architecture qualitatively different from the one he lived in. This ideal is very close to the social ideals of John Heartfield and other *monteurs*, who sought to represent reality through its ready-mades, but, also to extend that idea of reality to something new, unseen, and yet to be accomplished. Unlike traditional picturesque paintings, the art of montage collapsed many opposing views into one re-assembled message that encompassed all three horizons at the same time: the real, the desired, and the utopian. It is with

these three critical horizons in mind that Alvin Boyarsky looked at postcards and their messages.

A passionate participant during the 1968 political events in Chicago, Alvin had no illusions that the real world – faced with the rapid advancement of late capitalism and information technology – was disenchanting and that the modern project was rapidly losing its social energy. To use postcards with images of slaughterhouses and highways was an attempt at a shock effect, at a time when architects started to (again) look for historically beautified images of the bourgeois society (and with that abandoned any possibility of social change). Faced with the collapse of a modernist project for a better society, the “new” context of the 1970s engaged in irony rather than activism. It resonated with pessimism, rather than social optimism. This new condition, which many will call the condition of post-modernity, offered a series of fragmented formal options that were unable to provide real social or architectural alternatives. Faced with such a questionable notion of history, Alvin looked for historical and formal alternatives. He found them in his postcards, and like Giedion before him, he praised this anonymous history and wondered how architects could benefit from the radical futuristic visions that postcards offered. Alvin Boyarsky writes:

“ . . . they (postcards) appear relieved of the laws of historical continuity and purely compositional activities involving good taste, harmony and delicacy of expression. Plotted with a compass whose co-ordination is indefinitely future, these self-regulating models of empirical efficiency appear to glean immediate benefit from science and technology.”¹⁵

Although aware of the crisis of modern architecture, Boyarsky is still devoted to the “future” as an ultimate architectural horizon. His criticism is therefore two-fold. First, Boyarsky is critical of the role of architecture in society. His use of postcards was a voice of concern and criticism of a profession that had rejected to accept the painful *reality* in which some tasks have been taken away from architecture by the capitalist development.¹⁶ This ideological criticism of the architectural profession is part of the wider context of the critique of modernity in the 1970s. The most radical view is probably the one of Manfredo Tafuri, in which architecture fully collapses under the deployment of capitalist development and its technologies, negating any possibility for a better world or architecture for the working class. Similarly, by using the images of political protests at the Daley Plaza in Chicago, Boyarsky questions the future of public space and architecture’s ability to generate such spaces. He calls the unveiling of the rusty steel Picasso sculpture at the Daley Plaza an “orgy”¹⁷ and that “today’s generation has not the ability to make large plans to inspire the future.”¹⁸ But unlike Tafuri, he is not completely pessimistic, although he is very critical of the neo-classical tendencies in Chicago architecture; he only sees Goldberg’s

Marina City as a bright ray pointed towards the future – architecture of the future that is based on expanded and accessible public space. He also sees Marina City’s layered infrastructural network as a true expression of Chicago’s large public works – canals, harbors, and railroads – works, which are so clearly depicted in his postcards. Second, he is not only critical of the position of architects in society, he is also critical of society in general. In his essay, Boyarsky also raises skepticism about the outcome of the political unrest of 1968 and the impossibility of the architectural profession to adequately address those events. His critique goes beyond conventional (and formal) discourse, revisiting an almost abandoned concept of social change and public realm, leaving the question of style as less important. Boyarsky’s article “Chicago a la Carte” might give a misleading stylistic impression about the author’s devotion to everyday consumerism and pop culture commodities. But, his interest in the everyday is closer to that of Walter Benjamin, in which the everyday lived experience requires critical interpretation and search for alternatives, rather than being a formal role model.

Alvin’s courageous ability to look at diverse sets of architecturally disturbing images, such as political protests and sites of industrial production has transcended upon his students at the Architectural Association. This creates a continuity of ideas that are interested in the economic world outside architecture and the shock effect of images that such a world provides. In his essay Atlanta, Rem Koolhaas writes:

“ . . . Alvin probably influenced to some degree my subconscious, and I would like to dedicate this lecture to the lack of sentimentality he was displaying and to the evident pleasure with which he discussed dangerous situations in architecture.”¹⁹

Although seduced by Alvin’s ability to shockingly animate the audience, Koolhaas does not lament upon the abandonment of the modernist social agenda, nor does he lament upon the disappointing outcome of the 1968 events. He sees architectural possibilities in the dangerous condition of the *real* and looks for operational models through which design can operate within this condition. His position is very close to that of Siegfried Giedion, who repositions architecture within the context of mechanization. But Alvin Boyarsky’s lack of sentimentality should not be confused with a lack of passion for causes greater than architecture. Although not sentimental about architectural forms, Alvin is very passionate about the social production of space, especially about the future of urban public spaces. The front page of Chicago Tribune, published in his essay, juxtaposes the images of the Sears Tower with violent images of political riots. Such montage strategies maintain his critical position, close to that of a 1920s *monteur*. Even though he uses socially disengaged postcards, he manages to maintain the critical discourse by criticizing all totalizing and disengaged political and architectural models. Boyarsky’s witty analysis of postcards and newspaper articles calls for the possibility of a diversified architectural practice with continued commitment to a greater social cause. It goes without saying that this remains to be the main challenge of architectural practices today.



Fig. 8. Sears Tower vs. Political Riots, from Alvin Boyarsky, *Chicago a la Carte*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Mr. Nicholas Boyarsky of *Boyarsky Murphy Architects*, London, for his generous help and permission to publish postcards from his father’s collection.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS:

- Figure 1: Postcard – Sheep in Washington Park, Chicago, Illinois.
- Figure 2: Postcard – Union Stock Yards, Chicago, Illinois.
- Figure 3: Carcasses in Chicago Slaughter House (Courtesy Kaufman and Fabry), from Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to the Anonymous History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), p.123.

Figure 4: Postcard – Eisenhower Expressway at the Chicago Circle Center.

Figure 5: John Heartfield. *The Sleeping Reichstag*, 1929, from Dawn Ades, *Photomontage* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd, 1976), p.16.

Figure 6: Luis Bunuel. *Le Chien Andalou*, 1929. The Eye After the Cut, from Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to the Anonymous History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1943), p.245.

Figure 7: Luis Bunuel. *Le Chien Andalou*, 1929, from Stan Allen, *Points + Lines: Diagrams and Projects for the City* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999).

Figure 8: Sears Tower vs. Political Riots, from Alvin Boyarsky, ‘Chicago a la Carte’, in Robin Middleton, *The Idea of the City* (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 1996).

NOTES

¹ Walter Benjamin, ‘Paris Capital of the Nineteenth Century’, in *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet of the Era of High Capitalism* (New York: Verso, 1983), 159.

² See Robin Middleton, *The Idea of the City* (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 1996), 10–48. This publication has grown from a symposium, ‘The Idea of the City’, that was held at the Architectural Association in London in memory and celebration of the achievements of Alvin Boyarsky as Chairman of the AA School of Architecture from 1971–1990. The symposium was chaired by Dalibor Vesely and Charles Jencks, and included talks from John Hejduk, Peter Eisenman, Rem Koolhaas, Daniel Libeskind, Bernard Tschumi, Leon van Schaik and Peter Cook. The publication includes all their talks, plus papers about Alvin from other authors, such as Zaha Hadid, Ben Nicholson, Peter Wilson, etc.

³ Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to the Anonymous History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1943).

⁴ Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command*, p. 123.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ For discussion on Chicago’s position in the world economy and its global status see Saskia Sassen, *Cities in a World Economy* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1991[2000]) and Saskia Sassen, *The Global City* (New York, London, Tokyo (New York: Princeton University Press, 2001).

⁷ William Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 1992), 56.

⁸ Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command*, vi.

⁹ Alvin Boyarsky ‘Chicago a la Carte’, in Middleton, *The Idea of the City*, 44.

¹⁰ Rem Koolhaas, ‘Bigness’ in *S.M.L.L.XL* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995), 493.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² For more information on the origins of montage as an art medium see Dawn Ades, *Photomontage* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976). Ades discusses the origins of montage in relation to the industrial and technological revolution and gives etymological explanation for the word montage, which is derived from the German word *montieren*, which means “fitting” or “assembly line.”

¹³ Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command*, 245.

¹⁴ Stan Allen, *Points + Lines: Diagrams and Projects for the City* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999).

¹⁵ Boyarsky ‘Chicago a la Carte’, in Middleton, *The Idea of the City*, 16.

¹⁶ See Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1976[1999]). Tafuri’s analysis of modern architecture and its social goals resonate with sincere pessimism and belief that it is impossible to provide new architecture in current social or economic order. Unlike Fredric Jameson, he does not believe in the modernist power of utopia. For Jameson’s analysis of Tafuri’s critique of ideology see Fredric Jameson, ‘Architecture and the Critique of Ideology’, in K. Michael Hays (Editor), *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1998), 440.

¹⁷ Boyarsky ‘Chicago a la Carte’, in Middleton, *The Idea of the City*, 46.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁹ Rem Koolhaas, ‘Atlanta’ in Middleton, *The Idea of the City*, 85. In his lecture, Rem Koolhaas describes his first encounter with Alvin, while Alvin was giving a lecture on Chicago.