



COMUNICAR LA ARQUITECTURA

DEL ORIGEN DE LA MODERNIDAD A LA ERA DIGITAL

eug

The background of the cover is an abstract composition of broad, expressive brushstrokes in various shades of teal and dark blue. A prominent, dark, textured square, resembling a piece of fabric or a different material, is positioned in the center-right area, overlapping the brushstrokes.

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TOMO I

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a la era digital

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(EDS.)

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del origen de la modernidad a la era digital

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Pivotal Constructions of Unseen Events: Five Architectural Narratives from United States History, 1871-2020

Pivotal Constructions of Unseen Events: Cinco narrativas en la historia de los Estados Unidos entre 1871-2020

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Abstract

Pivotal Constructions of Unseen Events es un proyecto editorial que descubre y recupera un conjunto de historias olvidadas de la arquitectura estadounidense entre 1871 y 2020. Este período estuvo marcado por el crecimiento de nuevas ideas y costumbres que transformaron no solo las estructuras construidas (y el entorno físico), sino también los valores y la estructura social de la sociedad estadounidense. A través de cinco capítulos sobre cinco edificios, el libro plantea una narrativa ampliada por un estudio de la arquitectura más allá del artefacto histórico, hasta su entendimiento como evento histórico. De esa manera, el sujeto arquitectónico también puede considerarse un acto, teniendo un significado histórico más extenso. Así, su importancia no viene solamente de su consideración como método diagnóstico de la historia (es decir, como artefacto), sino más bien como un acto potente que se transforma y contribuye a la historia (es decir, un evento). La propuesta muestra ambas identidades a la vez: la arquitectura como obra de arte y como momento formativo de la Historia.

Pivotal Constructions of Unseen Events is a book project that uncovers and recovers forgotten histories of architecture, swept aside during the period in the United States from 1871 through 2020. This period is marked by tremendous national growth and building, alongside the rise of new shared ideas, practices, and customs that have shaped—and continue to shape—the structures of American society as well as America's built environment. Through five chapters for five buildings of architecture, the project considers an expanded narrative of architecture as both historical artifact and historical event. In this way, the architectural object can also be considered an act, one whose historical significance is not limited solely as a diagnostic clue to history (i.e., an artifact), but rather reframed as influential acts that transform and shape history (i.e., an event). The proposal reframes the history of these architectures as pivotal events in American history that affect social change.

Keywords

Arquitectura, edificios, eventos sociales, artefactos, sociedad
Architecture, buildings, historical events, artifacts, society

Introduction

It is important to draw the understanding that architecture is the product of more than the aesthetic concerns of the architect and the practical concerns of the client. In fact, architecture, both the disciplinary and the professional forms, straddles two realms: that of the fine arts and that of the highly practical and utilitarian service. In its dual nature, architecture is most often cast as a high art; the outcomes of architectural thinking and making are celebrated, analyzed, and documented for their aesthetic significance as art objects. The historical significance of architecture as the “highest art” can not only be traced back to antiquity, but also sees the origins of its modern form during the Renaissance and more concretely in the French Beaux-Arts academy. With the institutionalization of the atelier, with the apprentice-master studio structure, architecture rose to a very high position with the social structures of French society.

Today, architecture’s impact as a service, being practical and useful, are deemed less worthy by both the discipline and profession. Many scholars, such as Robert Gutman, a sociologist by training, have characterized architecture as “a strong art but a weak profession, a major art but a minor profession”.¹ Consequently, there is a very powerful attraction for architects to identify with the side of their work that offers the higher position in the social order: the aesthetic dimension. *Pivotal Constructions of Unseen Events* reconstitutes a new reading of American history from 1871-2020, a period marked by tremendous national growth and building, alongside the rise of new shared ideas, practices, and customs that have shaped—and continue to shape—the structures of American society alongside the structures of its built environment. The proposal at the heart of the book project, is to not only understand architecture as historical artifacts (or art objects), but also to launch a new framework of understanding buildings of architecture as historical events that not only impact the history of our societies, but also continue to act as agents of change within our contemporary society through the built environment.²

A Framework for Public Scholarship

This project aims to expand the views of architecture as a set of singular historical artifacts (or art objects), to a critical understanding of architecture as interwoven acts and events that shape and influence our histories and our societies. One example is to take an analogy: thinking about buildings of architecture as historical events is like studying the impacts and history of the polio vaccine. On the one hand, the polio vaccine is a “thing” (i.e., object), and can be considered a historical artifact. On the other hand, the release of the polio vaccine into society functions like an event (or an act) that completely shifted and impacted the course of human history. Even today, the legacy of the polio vaccine continues to have ripple effects in our current world. To that end, *Pivotal Events* hopes to bring to light the role of architecture,

¹ Robert Gutman, “Emerging Problems of Practice”, *Journal of Architectural Education* 45, n.º 4 (1992): 198-202.

² For the *IV Congreso Internacional Cultura y Ciudad: Comunicar la arquitectura: del origen de la modernidad a la era digital*, this author presents an overview of the five case study narratives from the book, with particular emphasis on the first three.

especially buildings of architecture, in shaping not only the history of our societies, but also our present and futures. In particular, I am interested in increasing architectural literacy, especially in the US context, where architecture resides at the periphery as a rarefied good and service. In this way, this project is the opportunity to build public-facing scholarship in architecture, and as a means to connect with experts and non-experts.

As we face tremendous societal challenges like dwindling resources, overcrowding, structural inequity, climate change, and racism, the shaping of the built environment addresses those challenges in a multitude of ways. Since those ways range from protecting and preserving existing structures and beliefs to forging entirely new structures and beliefs, this work sheds light on how architecture generates pivots in our historical record. This scholarship questions and considers architecture's position in US society, studying the extents of how architectural knowledge and production participate in social change, regarding the character of governing laws, to distribution of labor, to housing inequity, to public health and education, to global capitalism.

The Gamble House (1908), Pasadena, Greene and Greene: "The American Dream as a Democracy of Inequity"

This chapter begins in 1893 at the *World's Columbian Exposition* in Chicago when Charles Sumner Greene (1868-1957) and Henry Mather Greene (1870-1954) visited the global architecture section of the exposition. With its origins in India, the Bungalow was featured at the Exposition in Chicago by way of Europe and 19th century colonialism. Its original meaning, "coming from Bengali" became associated with a type of building during the English colonial period in India when these low-rise structures, flanked with open-air porches, were used by British imperialists as useful and temporary housing that could easily be constructed in sites and locations to support basic needs of shelter and inhabitation. As the Greene's incorporated global architectural principles into their work, the 1908 Gamble House became a prototype for a new model and mode of living in the post-industrial progressive era of early 20th century America.

The Greenes lauded simplicity and modesty, as well as called for a native-born, distinctly modern and American architecture through a return to craftsmanship. These ideas were a reaction to the negative social and physical consequences that emerged from industrialization. Slums, tenements, and factories of America's industrializing urban centers became symbols of the ills sowed by the Industrial Revolution. These hastily built and neglected tenements were cheap, nasty, and unsafe, wholly lacking light or ventilation. They were not only a terrible place to live, but were seen as a contagion and corrupting force that would literally infect and promote an unnatural and unhealthy life in the people and communities that they housed.

The Greenes designed and built a to express a new progressive vision for a wealthy family heir, David Gamble, whose father, the industrialist James Gamble, along with William Proctor built one of the largest enterprises in the United States. Like the lore of Proctor & Gamble's Ivory soap, a product so clean and pure that "it floats!", the architecture of the Greene brothers was seen to provide all the health-bringing elements of morally correct

living. At the time of its construction, the Gamble House was a unique luxury, inaccessible to most Americans. Yet, its construction and acclaim cast an originating archetype of what the ideal American home should and would be: the wood frame, single-family detached house, sitting within a plot of grassed lawns and gardens, a haven for every family.³

That image of the American Dream endures through today: In 2020, 89 percent of US homebuyers still most prefer a single-family detached house over any other type of housing. In the United States, the single-family detached house represents over 60 percent of homes, a figure that has not budged since at least 1940. In comparison, attached, single-family homes, like a townhouse or rowhouse, represent only ~5.6 percent of homes. Apartments and other types of multifamily housing constituted 17 percent of the housing stock in 2000, rising slightly to ~25 percent in 2018. While the actual numbers have varied small amounts over time, most US citizens have and continue to overwhelmingly prefer to be homeowners over renters (over 60 percent own their homes) and to live in single-family detached houses over multifamily dwellings. This has not only shaped the physical character of the entire US residential landscape in the image of the Gamble House, but it has also shaped the moral and economic attitudes of the American people when it comes to houses and home.

Born out of a philosophy and values that sought to create a modern, distinctly American type of housing architecture, the Gamble House, a Greene and Greene Craftsman bungalow, was an event in history that occurred because of and in response to industrialization. Once the Gamble House happened, its architecture seeded the tectonic and symbolic values of the distinctly American ideology of the single-family, detached house as the defining element and symbol of a patriotic, respectable, and honorable American life.

The Home Insurance Building (1885, demolished 1931), Chicago, William LeBaron Jenney: "Grain, Mills, Meat, Metal, and Mud Gives Rise to a Capitalism of Entitlement"

In the aftermath of the Great Fire of 1871, Chicagoans coalesced around the shared priority of fireproofing their city. The areas that were most devastated by the fire were the commercial and governmental districts, and was at the time, the largest, most damaging urban fire in the United States.⁴ As the city, and its mayor, who headed a city government mostly concerned with public capital projects, faced a huge recovery effort that overwhelmed and intimidated. Instead of taking on the work of healing the city himself, Mayor Roswell Mason turned to the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, a private group led by powerful Chicago businessmen.

³ Robert C. Ellickson, "The Zoning Straitjacket: The Freezing of American Neighborhoods of Single-Family Houses," *Indiana Law Journal* 96, n.º 2 (2021): 395; Sonia Hirt, "The Rules of Residential Segregation: US Housing Taxonomies and their Precedents," *Planning Perspectives* 30, n.º 3 (2015): 367-395.

⁴ Maureen A. Flanagan, "The Whole Work Has Been Committed to the Hands of Women: Women Respond to the Fire of 1871", in *Seeing with Their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871-1933*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 13-30.

Based on this leadership, these men directed the relief and recovery effort of the Great Fire's aftermath to best benefit business and enterprise.⁵ While their efforts extended over a range of activities, longer term repercussions of the devastating fire began to shift attention to instituting reforms designed to lend more safety to the community. In the business sections of the city, while the brick buildings were seemingly able to better resist the spread of fire, the presence of wood window frames, along with exposed wood elements in roofing were the first to burn rapidly and with extreme temperatures. A contemporary periodical, the *Railway Times*, notes "The supervising architect of government buildings... bears witness to the prevalence of the vicious system of which we have adverted, of erecting showy and insecure structures, instead of safe and stable ones."⁶ The earliest outcomes of this type of thinking was found in Boston, where an elected officer was tasked to "prevent the erection of dangerous buildings without some safeguards to protect the neighborhood."⁷ To that end, zoning regulations started to take hold, establishing areas of the city where the construction of wooden buildings were prohibited. Also at this time, early building codes emerged from the ashes of the Chicago Fire, with the influence of owners and architects.⁸

The call for "Fire-proof buildings" in late 19th century America, not only led to the creation of new laws and regulations, it also became a new call for architecture and architects. As businessmen led the city's recovery efforts, they also began to coalesce around the shaping of long-term objectives about the future construction of buildings. What could architecture do to protect the buildings as the site of commerce? There was a tremendous desire to make buildings more fire-proof, with the increase of non-combustible materials and the development of construction methods to increase fire resistance of buildings overall by slowing or stopping the spread of fire and subsequent damage. In both Chicago and New York City, the transition from an economy of handicrafts and artisanal labor to full industrialization and industrial capitalism, created a need for increasing services to support the massive industries taking hold in Chicago. The geography of the Midwest and the richness of its natural resources, made Chicago a natural coalescing point for commerce, manufacturing, railroads, and financiers.⁹ By 1871, right before the fire, the city's population of 300,000 needed buildings to support them. As commercial real estate exploded, well-located office buildings, warehouses, and factories proliferated.

In this context, and after the Great Fire, architect and engineer William LeBaron Jenney was commissioned to design an office building for the Home Insurance Company. Like the railroads, meat packing, and countless other industries growing in Chicago at the time, insurance companies moved into the fire underwriting business to protect the city's financial

⁵ Flanagan, "The Whole Work...", 13-30.

⁶ "Fire-Proof Buildings", *Railway Times* 23, n.º 45 (1871): 358.

⁷ "Fire-Proof Buildings...", 358.

⁸ "Fire-Proof Buildings...", 358.

⁹ Thomas Leslie, *Chicago Skyscrapers, 1934-1986: How Technology, Politics, Finance, and Race Reshaped the City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2023): vii-xii, preface.

wealth and assets, while firefighters protected human life.¹⁰ For Home Insurance, Jenney drew on the latest building technology and design of the time to create the building that bears the designation of the first skyscraper. While there are many qualities that define a modern skyscraper, Jenney designed a building that had the first masonry-clad, structural-steel frame. While other tall buildings had begun to incorporate the use of cast + wrought iron as structural elements, Jenney was the first to use steel, a material which led to the full realization of the “skeleton” frame construction of the contemporary skyscraper. (While Jenney’s Home Insurance Building used the steel frame to bear the loads of the building, it was not constructed to resist the wind and shear forces withstood by a true skeleton frame.) That said, the building’s recognition as the first skyscraper was secured —ironically— at its demolition in 1931, as a team of architects and engineers performed a post-mortem on the steel frame, affirming that it was indeed the first to realize the “basic principle” of the skeleton design.¹¹ Additionally, Jenney’s building design, especially in its construction, was driven by a need for light at all levels of a tall building. With traditional masonry and stone construction, the ground floors of buildings of 10-12 stories would be mostly occupied by thick structural bases, reducing not only usable office floor space, but also created dark, cramped spaces.

As a historical event, the Home Insurance Building holds tremendous significance because it stood at the moment when the concentration of office workers in office buildings, located in urban city centers was made possible by the construction of tall buildings. These tall buildings, which collected more and more people working in the professional services, were crucial in the rise of the professional managerial class, which began during industrial capitalism, and flourished through the entire 20th century in the US and beyond. The Home Insurance Building event, was the tipping point whereby the genders split in spatial terms: where men and women had previously worked in the same homestead or artisanal shop, the late 19th and early 20th century marked the pivot to the office man (husband and father), ritualized commuting with millions of his brethren into the city centers each day, and the women (wives and mothers) staying home to maintain the domestic spheres. Even today, the legacy of the physically divided work realms, continues to impact women in the workforce, who continue to bear the assumptive role of homemaker.¹²

Supreme Court Building (1932-1935) Washington DC, Cass Gilbert: “Equal Justice Under Law (The Rule of Law and Judicial Supremacy)”

At No. 1 First Street, in Washington DC is a building that was built in 1935, that most Americans believe to be much, much older. Directly across, on axis from the US Capitol and beside the Library of Congress’s 1897 Jefferson building, sits the US Supreme Court

¹⁰ Mark Tebeau, *Eating Smoke: Fire in Urban America, 1800-1950* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 1-10.

¹¹ “Debating Tall: Was the Home Insurance Building The ‘First Skyscraper?’” *CTBUH Journal*, Council on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat, n.º 4 (2022): 5; Tebeau, “Eating Smoke...”, 1-10.

¹² Kristy Buzard, Laura Gee, and Olga Stoddard, “Who You Gonna Call? Gender Inequality in External Demands for Parental Involvement” (May 22, 2023), pending: 1-36.

Building, designed by architect Cass Gilbert. While the Library of Congress holds millions upon millions of thoughts, perspectives, and ideas, and the US Capitol holds both houses of congress and the legislative branch of the government, the Supreme Court Building, equal in stature and majesty, was built at the cost of nearly \$10 million in 1925 (or \$175 million in 2023) for nine white men.

In contrast to the contemporary US Supreme Court, the early Court began as the weakest of the three branches of the US federal government. In the interim after the 1787 Constitutional Convention (in which the Constitution was written and signed), Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison wrote essays, collectively known as *The Federalist Papers*, to persuade the citizens of the US states to ratify the Constitution. In Federalist paper No. 78, “The Judiciary Department”, Hamilton writes, “The judiciary, on the contrary, has no influence over either the sword or the purse; no direction either of the strength or of the wealth of the society; and can take no active resolution whatever.”¹³ The judiciary, in this case the proposed Supreme Court, lacked the power that was held by the president and congress. This status, as the weakest branch, was reflected in the physical status of the Court. In 1801, a dozen years after the Court’s establishment, there was surprisingly little attention and interest in the court by the general public, as reflected by its general absence in the new reporting of the time. Historian Bernard Schwartz writes:

The lack of press interest illustrates both the Court’s low prestige at the time and the fact that it had not yet begun to play its important role in the constitutional structure. The Court’s lack of prestige was strikingly shown by the fact that, as seen, no chamber was provided for it when the new capital was being built.¹⁴

For 146 years after its founding, the Supreme Court of the United States was located “temporarily” in the Capitol building: the first 70 —as a seeming afterthought— in a basement antechamber, situated alongside the Capitol’s graneries and bread ovens, and where justices suffered from “drafts, dampness, and mildew.”¹⁵ The chamber was “so very damp... and cold as the weather in the open square”,¹⁶ which Benjamin Latrobe (architect of the Capitol) noted to be, “only half finished and ‘meanly furnished, very inconvenient.’”¹⁷

For the next 76 years, the Supreme Court got an upgrade when it came to occupy the old Senate chamber. That until 1935 (for nearly 150 years) the Supreme Court was located in the Capitol holds significance in that it conveyed to the American public that the judicial and the legislative branches of government were related, sharing a common building and space. Yet, as early as 1803, with *Marbury v. Madison*, the Court began to increase its powers. By

¹³ Alexander Hamilton et al., *The Federalist Papers* (New York: Signet Classics, an Imprint of New American Library, a Division of Penguin Publishing Group, 2005), pp. n/a (in the public record).

¹⁴ Bernard Schwartz, *A History of the Supreme Court* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 37.

¹⁵ Peter Charles Hoffer, *The Supreme Court: An Essential History* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 56.

¹⁶ George Cochrane Hazelton, *The National Capitol: Its Architecture, Art and History* (New York: J. F. Taylor, 1906), 109.

¹⁷ Schwartz, “A History of the Supreme Court...”, 38.

establishing the concept of judicial review, the unanimous opinion authored by Chief Justice John Marshall, empowered the Court to not only decide if behaviors and actions were constitutional, but also to determine if laws themselves (as passed by Congress) were constitutional. In his opinion, Marshall writes, "the province and duty of the judicial department is to say what the law is." Unlike similar democratic court systems, such as that of Britain, the US Supreme Court was, and is, able to strike down the laws, acts, and orders of both the executive and legislative branch of government. This power was expanded in 1925, when pressured by William Taft, Congress expanded the Court's discretion when they "amended the *Judiciary Act of 1789* to allow the High Court to select those cases it wanted to hear."¹⁸ This power of "granting certiorari" means that the Supreme Court can focus on only those cases where they are considering constitutional matters, and is relieved of the duty of other appellate courts which are most often required to hear all the cases on their dockets. Initiated by former President William Howard Taft, and Chief Justice at the time, the 1935 building can be thought of as a "shrine to justice."¹⁹ The nine justices were guaranteed the reverence and privacy of high-ranking priests: "... the entrance hall is a noble conception. Corresponding to the nave of a cathedral, it has the character of simple but monumental grandeur which connotes the spirit of the people as citizens of a free Nation."²⁰ The courthouse design was presented and understood as a monument to not only justice, but also to the men who served as justices. The main court chamber, located at the terminus of the entrance hall, functions much like a high altar: the justices sit high above the lawyers and spectators, flanked by Ionic columns. Echoing Vitruvius, who wrote:

The construction of temples of the Ionic order to Juno, Diana, Father Bacchus, and the other gods of that kind, will be in keeping with the middle position which they hold; for the building of such will be an appropriate combination of the severity of the Doric and the delicacy of the Corinthian [...].²¹

Gilbert's choice of Ionic columns conveys the symbolism of the scales of justice and the motto of "Equal Justice for All" which is inscribed in the building's west pediment. Under the scholarship of Matthew Hofstedt from the *Journal of the Supreme Court*, a close reading of the building's history through the Supreme Court's and other national archives, indicates that in all likelihood, the origin of the building's most defining inscription was architect Cass Gilbert—and *not* a former Supreme Court Justice or great philosopher or figure from the past as is most commonly assumed—.²²

¹⁸ Hoffer, "The Supreme Court...", 220.

¹⁹ Hoffer, "The Supreme Court...", 253.

²⁰ *The Sunday Star Washington* newspaper clipping, Cass Gilbert Archives, NY Historical Society, archival document.

²¹ Vitruvius Pollio, *De Architectura Libri Dece* (Como: Gotardus de Ponte, 1521), English translation, p. n/a, in the public record.

²² Matthew Hofstedt, "The Words Not Chiseled: Unused Inscriptions for the Supreme Court Building", *Journal of Supreme Court History* 43, n.º 2 (2018): 125-140.

And, if we consider the presentation of the Justices as reminiscent of a priesthood, not only are they elevated apart from the public and “regular man”, they are also shielded from physical and social interaction with the masses, where the building grants them special, privileged spaces and rights that underscore the sanctity of their intellectual, emotional, and physical entities:

One particularly interesting feature of the plan lies in the fact that the Justices are assured of complete privacy, not only in the building, but upon their arrival and departure. Their automobiles proceed directly down a ramp into the basement and are there parked, while the Justices ascend in private elevators to a corridor closed to the public, connecting all the suites and the Court Room itself.²³

In 1935, during the Great Depression, the Court’s move into its permanent location: a white-marble “temple of justice” that occupied an entire DC city block, signaled to all Americans that the third branch of government had finally arrived at its proper and “fitting” home. Architect Cass Gilbert designed the Court’s building to look ancient and old, as if it had been there “since the country’s founding”, the actual configuration of the Supreme Court marked a shift in the Court’s powers and legal authority.²⁴ Thus, not only did the changing nature of the Court’s powers induce an architectural event in the form of a new-white-marble-temple-home, from 1935 onward, the architecture of the building has gone on to play a crucial role in the American public’s perception and regard of the judiciary. Arguably since, as the Supreme Court has become the most powerful of the three federal branches of government in the US, the building’s physical and stylistic character not only captures a set of values from the era, but this author proposes that like all significant historical events, the current state of our society continues to be determined and shaped by them. In the case of the Supreme Court building, the architecture conveys, over and over, the sense of authority and power regarding the court and its justices.

Ford River Rouge Complex (1917-1928) Detroit, Albert Kahn: “A New Standard (Labor and the Redistribution of Wealth)”

Henry Ford’s perfecting of the assembly line not only transformed factory production, but also transformed the very way that Americans lived, worked, and went about their daily lives. That the Ford Motor Company was not only producing useful products, but also, “shaping human life, and the conditions of social life”,²⁵ was evident to the company’s principal architect, Albert Kahn. His design drawings for Ford’s principal plant in Detroit, the River Rouge Complex, demonstrate how assembly line principles and technological developments in construction came together to not just organize machines and car parts, but also to frame

²³ Cass Gilbert Jr., “The United States Supreme Court Building”, *Architecture Magazine* LXXII, n.º 6 (December 1935): 1-35.

²⁴ Judith Resnik and Dennis Curtis, “Inventing Democratic Courts: A New and Iconic Supreme Court”, *Journal of Supreme Court History* 38, n.º 2 (2013) 207-251.

²⁵ Federico Bucci, *Albert Kahn: Architect of Ford* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993), 8.

the social structure and hierarchies of those human bodies contained in the factories. Subsequently, through the design and development of Ford's factory buildings across the US, the River Rouge's architectural principles of spatial ordering infiltrated school buildings, office buildings, neighborhoods, towns, cities—a direct shaping of the structure of 20th century American society—.

World Trade Center Site (2001), New York City + 9/11 Memorial (2011) Michael Arad, One World Trade Center (2014), SOM: "Out of Dust and Dollars (Shared Beliefs and Individual Interests)"

In July 2001, Silverstein Properties signed a lease-purchase agreement, which for the first time, transferred rights of the World Trade Center (1973-2001) from the Port Authority, a public agency, to a private leaseholder, Larry Silverstein. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, the history of the World Trade Center Site redevelopment is often reduced to one of architectural design and rebuilding. In that narrative, the focus was on portraying the completion of the 9/11 Memorial and One World Trade (aka, the Freedom Tower), primarily as a means to "cauterize the immediate trauma of 9/11."²⁶ Yet, this project proposes an additional reading: one that unfurls the geopolitical forces residing at the core of Americanness, where the World Trade Center redevelopment is the powerplay between public versus private interests, the battleground of individual versus collective values, and a proving ground for the global supremacy of American capitalism.

²⁶ Lynne B. Sagalyn, *Power at Ground Zero Politics, Money, and the Remaking of Lower Manhattan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), xv (prologue).



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