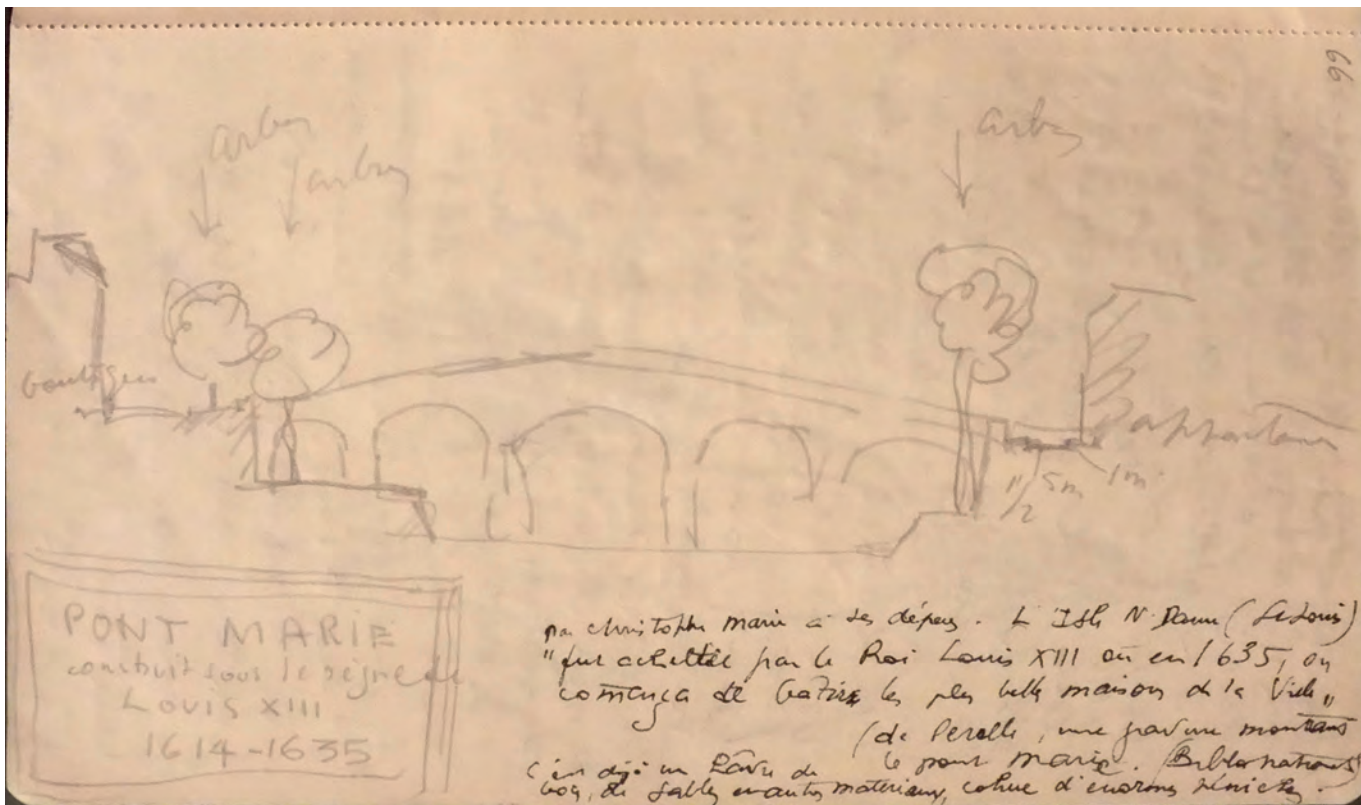


CE Jeanneret. Paris. Pont Marie. « Construit sous le regne de Louis XIII. 1614-1635 » Carnet 1915, 66.



# LE CORBUSIER IN PARIS 1915: BETWEEN PAST AND FUTURE

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**Abstract:** In 1910-11, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret wrote the draft of a handbook on the visual and aesthetic perception of the city. “La Construction des villes”, never published by Le Corbusier, was based on his detailed studies of German-language literature on “Städtebau”. The manuscript came to light partially in 1977, through Harold Allen Brooks’ research, and completely in 1999, through research by the present author. It remains a crucial and fascinating source to understand Le Corbusier’s grasp of visual perception and the aesthetic needs of a city. When in the 1920s, Le Corbusier strived to be seen as avant-garde through his radical and – at times polemic – urbanistic proposals, he nevertheless built on knowledge gained through his own studies of the years 1910/11.

This paper is concerned with the period in-between, the year 1915 in particular: it focuses on Jeanneret’s visit to Paris and his intention to rework the manuscript “La Construction des villes” for publication. For seven weeks, Jeanneret studies in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and explores Paris on endless promenades. The primary sources, Jeanneret’s library notes and drawings, filed under B2(20) at the FLC, plus a travel notebook from a private archive that has recently come to light, allow to understand a subtle shift in Jeanneret’s view of the city, and demonstrate his ability to learn from the past for the future.

**Keywords:** Städtebau, urban design, picturesque, monumental, modernist, enclosed space, greenery in the city.

**Résumé:** En 1910/11, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret composait l’esquisse d’un manuel sur la perception visuelle et esthétique de la ville. « La Construction des villes », jamais publié par Le Corbusier, est basé sur ses études détaillées de la littérature sur le ‘Städtebau’, essentiellement en langue Allemande. Le manuscrit a été découvert partiellement par Harold Allen Brooks en 1977, et complètement par l’auteur présent en 1999. Il reste une source très importante et fascinante qui permet de saisir Le Corbusier’s compréhension de la perception visuelle et les besoins esthétiques d’une ville. Quand dans les années 20, Le Corbusier s’efforçait d’être vu comme avant-garde par ses projets radicaux et polémiques, il toutefois s’appuyait sur sa connaissance qu’il avait gagné par ses études en 1910/11.

Ce papier s’occupe de la période intermédiaire, particulièrement l’année 1915 : il se concentre sur son séjour à Paris en 1915 et son intention de remanier le manuscrit « La Construction des villes » pour en préparer la publication. Pendant sept semaines, Jeanneret étudie à la *Bibliothèque Nationale* et revisite la ville durant de longues promenades. Les sources primaires, les notes et esquisses cotées B2(20) FLC, ainsi que son carnet de voyage provenant d’une archive privée, récemment mise à, permettent de comprendre un changement subtil dans la manière dont Jeanneret perçoit la ville, mais aussi démontrer son aptitude à tirer des leçons du passé pour l’avenir.

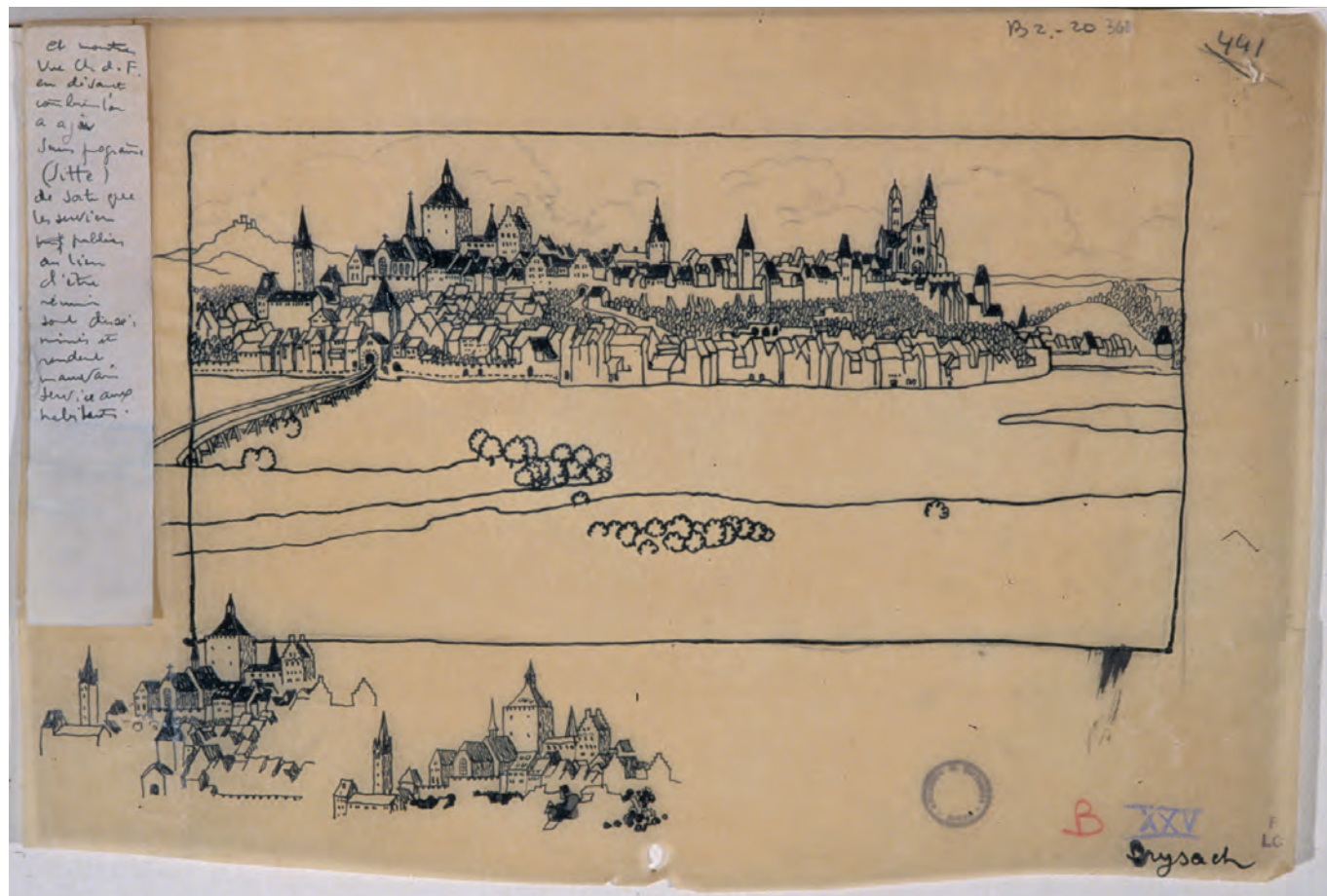
**Mots-clés:** Städtebau, urbanism, pittoresque, monumental, modernisme, espace clos, verdure dans la ville.

**Fig. 1**  
CE Jeanneret. "La Construction des villes". Matthäus Merian Breisach. FLC B2(20)360.

**Resumen:** En 1910-11, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret escribió el borrador de un manual sobre la percepción visual y estética de la ciudad. "La Construction des villes", nunca publicado por Le Corbusier, se basaba en sus detallados estudios de la bibliografía en lengua alemana sobre "Städtebau". El manuscrito salió a la luz parcialmente en 1977, gracias a las investigaciones de Harold Allen Brooks, y completamente en 1999, gracias a las investigaciones del presente autor. Sigue siendo una fuente crucial y fascinante para comprender la percepción visual de Le Corbusier y las necesidades estéticas de una ciudad. Cuando en los años veinte, Le Corbusier se esforzaba por ser considerado vanguardista a través de sus propuestas urbanísticas radicales y, a veces, polémicas, se basaba, sin embargo, en los conocimientos adquiridos a través de sus propios estudios de los años 1910/11.

Este artículo se ocupa del periodo intermedio, el año 1915 en particular: se centra en la visita de Jeanneret a París y su intención de reelaborar el manuscrito "La Construction des villes" para su publicación. Durante siete semanas, Jeanneret estudia en la *Bibliothèque Nationale* y explora París en interminables paseos. Las fuentes primarias, los apuntes y dibujos de la biblioteca de Jeanneret, archivados bajo el epígrafe B2(20) en la FLC, más un cuaderno de viaje de un archivo privado que ha salido recientemente a la luz, permiten comprender un sutil cambio en la visión de Jeanneret sobre la ciudad, y demuestran su capacidad de aprender del pasado para el futuro.

**Palabras clave:** Städtebau, urbanismo, pintoresco, monumental, modernidad, espacio acotado, naturaleza en la ciudad.



### **Introduction: “La Construction des villes” as the starting point**

Charles-Édouard Jeanneret travelled to Paris in 1915, during the First World War, to pick up work on his manuscript “La Construction des villes” from the years 1910/11, having declared his intention to prepare it for publication. He stayed for seven weeks, during which he studied at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and explored the city of Paris on endless promenades<sup>1</sup>.

At this time in his life, at 27 years of age, the young architect had already gained a reasonable amount of experience. From March 1908 to December 1909 he had already spent almost two years in Paris, during which Auguste Perret had become a mentor to him<sup>2</sup>. This was followed by a year in Germany (1910/11). In April 1910, he had left La Chaux-de-Fonds for Munich where he stayed for about six months, studying urban design literature in great detail, visiting the *Städtebauausstellung* in Berlin and listening to Werkbund discussions in the audience. As result of these studies, he had written roughly six-hundred pages of chapters and chapter drafts for a book on questions of urban design, named “La Construction des villes”<sup>3</sup>. Directly after, Jeanneret had worked in Peter Behrens’ Berlin-Neubabelsberg practice for half a year, after which he had travelled to ‘the Orient’, rather: the Balkan states, Istanbul, Mount Athos, Athens and Italy. And, not mentioning his other realised buildings of this period, he had designed a substantial and complex house for his parents in La Chaux-de-Fonds which sits between times, places and styles, but nevertheless presents itself as a synthesis, a logical entity. So when he decided to travel to Paris once again in 1915, he started by no means at zero: he was able to build on these previous experiences and develop the views he had long begun to form<sup>4</sup>.

It is of course not without risk to look back at a budding architect’s life and to read the future development into his views, his readings and drawings. But if we are to accept this proposition and ask how much of the 1920s Le Corbusier (*La Ville contemporaine*, *Plan Voisin* and the like) were already visible in 1915, we might characterise his visit to Paris as a point of germination, of the beginning of new ideas, while seeing the continuity of a long-term development of ideas.

Thus, one particular term to consider here is ‘modernity’ or ‘modern’. Is 1915 not modern yet? Does it need the 1920s with the white cubic architecture, not least by Le Corbusier himself, to make times ‘modern’? Jeanneret uses the term *moderne* all the time. To him, the time in which he lives, is modern. And yet he often positions himself between past and future, so much so that his friend and mentor, Swiss writer William Ritter reminds him in 1918 ‘to be of his time’: “D’outre où vous étudiez un peu, semble-t-il à vous montrer de votre temps. Soyez le: il faut en être!”<sup>5</sup>. With these considerations in mind, this paper investigates how much of “La Construction des villes”, its original gist and direction, is still present in 1915, and to what degree new ideas are entering into Jeanneret’s thinking about the city.

With “La Construction des villes”, Jeanneret had developed a *Practical Aesthetic of the City*, as I have called the recent English translation. Four major themes can be discerned in it: first of all, it deals with mostly aesthetic but also practical issues of a number of urban elements: blocks, streets, squares and the placement of monuments, enclosing walls, arcades. Jeanneret argues strongly for the picturesque in urban planning: for winding roads, for changes of scenery, and for irregularity in squares, following the lead of architects Camillo Sitte, Paul Schultze-Naumburg and Karl Henrici in particular. At the same time, he begins to develop a fascination for classicism in urban design, mostly through reading Albert Erich Brinckmann’s *Platz und Monument* of 1908. Made curious by Brinckmann’s mention of Laugier, he reads the *Essai* in early 1911 and excerpts Laugier’s passages on the need for a monumental appearance of the city almost in full. Thus, in Jeanneret’s manuscript, picturesque happenstance and monumental unity are being argued for side by side.

Secondly, he begins to sketch chapters that are intended to deal with a suite of ‘green’ topics: trees as sculptural elements, gardens and parks, cemeteries, and, perhaps as a summary of many of the aforementioned topics, the garden-city. Jeanneret studies trees in urban situations for their sculptural quality, he dives deeply into poetic descriptions of historic and mythical gardens and parks and he appears to be on a search for a paradise garden that would counter ‘l’enfer de la ville’<sup>6</sup>.

A central argument for Jeanneret in his 1910/11 manuscript is the visual experience of a passer-by in a town or city. Karl Henrici provides the model for his assessment of streets, arguing for 'boring and entertaining streets', Sitte and Schultze-Naumburg argue for the importance of visual enclosure of squares. And last but not least, Jeanneret develops an understanding of urban space and the significance of spatial enclosure. He uses the term 'corporalité', but instead of meaning the volume of something tangible, he refers to the volume of space, of the intangible<sup>7</sup>.

### ***An adventurous travel amidst the realities of the war***

But a difficulty was arising for Jeanneret: stemming from the Jura, the French-speaking part of Switzerland, he felt like a French person and utterly in support of France during the war. On the other hand he was aware that so much of his education in terms of architecture and *Städtebau* – 'city planning' perhaps, or rather 'urban design'? – had come from his extensive studies and work placements in Germany<sup>8</sup>. This conflict had to be dealt with, if not resolved<sup>9</sup>.

Jeanneret's decision to travel to Paris for a few weeks, exactly one year after the first World War had begun, must seem adventurous. The city was not bombed during Jeanneret's sojourn – big attacks happened later – but German airships had already dropped bombs on Paris in March 1915, albeit without much damage<sup>10</sup>. There was a risk of being attacked, if perhaps a low one.

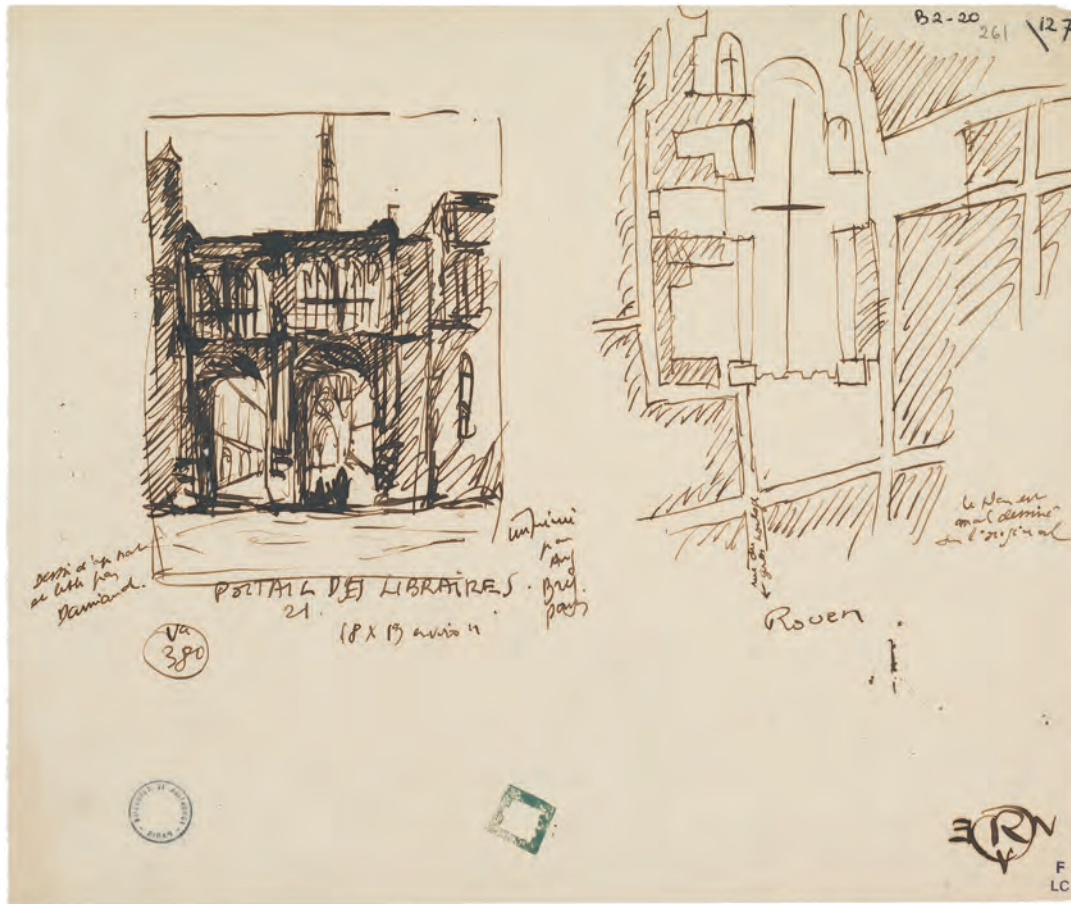
Already on 1 August 1914, two days before Germany declared war on France, Jeanneret had written to Auguste Perret, reporting "Toute la Suisse est en armes," but that he was not able to be soldier because of his poor eyesight. "On ne sait où aller ni que faire. Une seule chose, un seul désir se précise : châtier l'Allemand"<sup>11</sup>. Two weeks later he tells Perret in more detail:

"Pour nous, Suisses romands, nous étions haletants dès la fin de juillet et tous mes amis, officiers ou soldats partaient aux frontières avec un enthousiasme pour vous, une haine pour eux, que trop de causes diverses, multiples et profondes avaient fomentées déjà au fond de chacun de nous. [...] L'anti-germanisme était depuis des ans dans les coups de crayons que nous donnions, dans les lectures que nous faisons. [...] À cette heure, la patrie Suisse est divisée. Oh comme je souhaite ardemment qu'un geste immense de la France refoule l'hydre barbare!"<sup>12</sup>.

Here we see a hate towards everything German flare up that is stronger than one might expect, given Jeanneret's intense links to country and language. As we know through "La Construction des villes", Jeanneret knew to read and speak German very well, his brother Albert worked in Hellerau at Émile Jaques-Dalcroze's institute, William Ritter lived in Munich until July 1914, and August Klipstein, German art historian, had been his travel partner on the 1911 *Voyage d'Orient*.

Living in Switzerland meant to be acutely aware of the national and language division that went right through the country, as Jeanneret directly mentions. And not only is the country neutral, through his bad eyesight he is not able (luckily, we would say today) to take part in any fighting. But he regrets this perceived inadequacy and his quiet, peaceful life in La Chaux-de-Fonds: "La honte, ou moins la tristesse, est à ceux qui comme moi, dans une chambre au grands murs gris, écrivent quîètement sur la grande table et ses tréteaux, dans les parfums des roses dont le jardin est plein"<sup>13</sup>. Two months later, he thinks in a more compassionate and slightly more disengaged way about the conflict and the problem of nationalism:

"Cette exposition [by Swiss painters Valloton and Blanchet], à cette heure de cohésion nationaliste, m'a fourni l'occasion, et donné presque l'ordre, de croire quelque peu à une nation suisse, et en tous cas, à une utilisation *utile* des éléments ethniques divers. Ceci était réconfortant, venant à s'opposer à la dissociation terrible de nos deux races"<sup>14</sup>.



**FIG. 2**  
CE Jeanneret. "La Construction des villes". Portail des Libraires Rouen. FLC B2(20)261.

This is perhaps the most equivocal and balanced commentary by Jeanneret in his letters to Perret during these months. It shows that he feels and understands the difficulty of the Swiss nation being divided into speaking four different languages and therefore carrying different allegiances with themselves.

Already on 10 October 1914, in a letter to Perret, Jeanneret expresses an urgent desire to return to Paris. And while he may be looking for a way to make himself useful (for his country, for the French-speaking world) in the situation of war, he also seems to be carrying a purely nostalgic longing for Paris: "Aussi [...] n'ai-je de curiosité que pour Paris et un besoin intense de venir *revoir* dès qu'il sera possible, avant Noël j'espère, les rues, les quartiers, la Seine et les collines"<sup>15</sup>. This desire to be in Paris is repeated in further letters until mid-1915. This year, up to his departure from La Chaux-de-Fonds, shows Jeanneret in an ever-increasing impatience and urgency to act, as he puts it: "Je ne sais. Mais je mesure en moi un violent désir d'action"<sup>16</sup>.

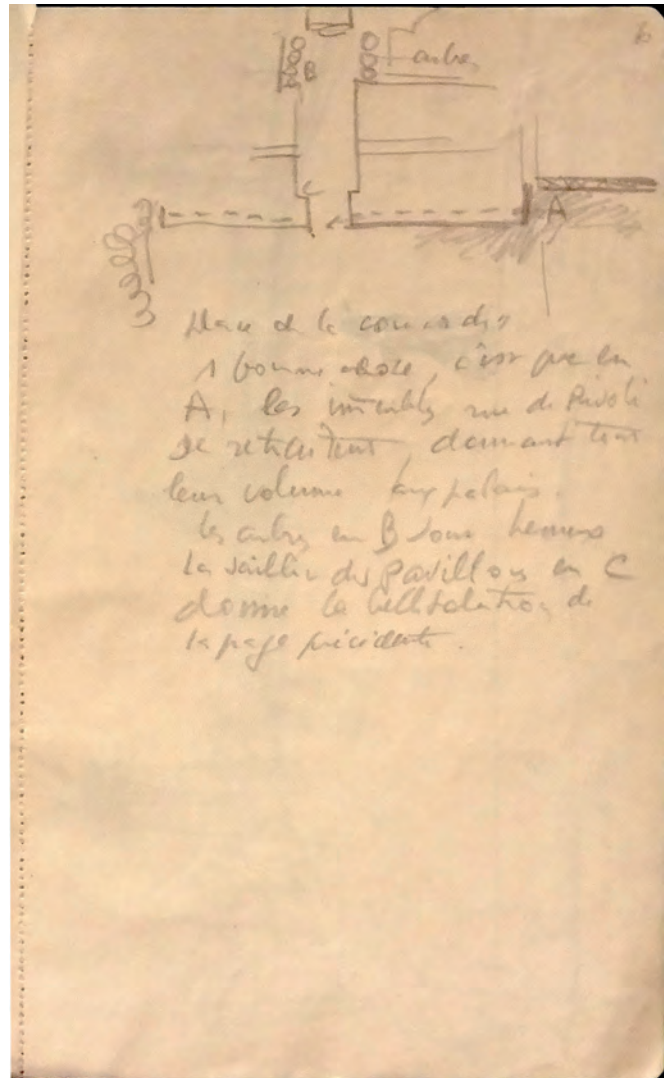
In late March 1915, in another letter to Perret, Jeanneret discusses projects. The competition for the Pont Butin near Geneva is mentioned alongside his ideas for the reconstruction of villages, the principle of what he will come to call the Maison Dom-ino: "Et puis j'ai cherché avec un ingénieur de Paris, un procédé de reconstruction de villages ou de petites villes. Le béton armé m'a fourni des ressources incroyables, et une variété, et une plasticité passionnantes en ceci que d'elles-mêmes, mes rues s'élevaient en un rythme de palais, d'une tranquillité pompéienne"<sup>17</sup>. At the end of June, finally "La Construction des villes" is mentioned. In his letter to Auguste Perret of 30 June 1915, Jeanneret writes:

**Fig. 3**  
CE Jeanneret, Rue  
Royale, Paris.  
Carnet 1915, 4.

**FIG. 4**  
CE Jeanneret, Place de la  
Concorde, Paris. Carnet  
1915, 6.

“Je pense venir bientôt à Paris, pour la publication d’un bouquin que j’avais écrit sur la construction des villes, plans d’extension etc. Un gros travail très avancé, mais écrit dans [un] esprit étroit et tortueux. Je le remanierai complètement. Je viendrai à Paris pour trouver un éditeur, me disant que l’heure est peut-être favorable de sortir cette étude de son tiroir ; et que ce modeste effort pourrait être utile, en ce moment où l’on discute des lois relatives à ce thème”<sup>18</sup>.

These rational as well as emotional aspects set the scene for Jeanneret’s visit to Paris from July to September 1915. It is an adventure, and it is meant to be one. He longs to see and feel Paris. He wishes to do something useful for France and the Suisse Romande. He is keen to see how modern urban and architectural thinking is being developed in Paris. He comes with the – useful but heavy – baggage of his own research and writing from 1910/11, based on German-language urban design literature and experiences. He is aware that he needs to come to terms with it, to perhaps adjust, modify, renew some of the thoughts and theories in it. This is a complex setting for his visit which however plays out differently from what he postulates.



### **1915: Before the departure to Paris – a reconsideration of the 1910 writing**

Before departing to Paris in late July, Jeanneret revisits the unfinished manuscript of “La Construction des villes”, sketching a whole survey of his work to date, which contains 18 pages of an enormously detailed summary of the content. If we follow Francesco Passanti, Jeanneret’s fundamental attitude towards the question of picturesque vs. classicism had already changed radically in 1911, and we would therefore expect the arguments for a picturesque arrangement of elements of the city to have been thrown out<sup>19</sup>. Surprisingly, the summary shows very little change to his 1910 version: despite having read Laugier’s *Essai* in early 1911, he has not touched the content of his treatise very much to reflect Laugier’s arguments for a monumental appearance of the city or to throw out his own arguments for picturesque planning. In his foreword, a few changes are nevertheless looming:

#### “AVERTISSEMENT

[...] Ce livre serait resté en portefeuille car encore thèse décevante. Complexité ; et désarroi actuel du goût. [...] Une chose m’a décidé de le faire : la reconstruction des villes du Nord et Flandres. Une chose m’a encouragé : c’est de voir qu’on s’en occupe en France {les chambres}; \_\_\_ de savoir qu’il n’existe pas encore d’ouvrage de vulgarisation sur ce thème<sup>20</sup>.

So Jeanneret explains why he has not published the treatise yet: the hypothesis was disappointing, underwhelming. (His own research or what he got out of it?) But now as he sees an opportunity, even a need for the rebuilding of the cities in Flanders and since France officially deals with this problem, he feels that his treatise might remedy the lack of a popularizing work on this topic.

“Les efforts comme à l’Expo de Lyon, (département construction des villes) Thème complexe, car difficile de suivre un chemin trop objectif : à chaque carrefour des idées sont suggérées, bousculées, opposées etc. Les questions affluent d’ordre pratique, d’ordre affairiste, moral, psycho, philosophique, social {politique} etc.

Mon but n’est pas de proposer une solution en quoi que ce soit. Mais en étudiant un peu partout, un peu de tout, dans tous temps et tous lieux, faire revivre [?] la question. Lui acquérir des intéressés, des adeptes, provoquer l’intérêt, la discussion.

Le faire vivre. Bref poser cette question qu’on croit du domaine exclusif des technicien, devant le grand public, qui en est juge, puisque destinataire du travail des techniciens, ce le public qui en est le maître, et dicter sa tâche au technicien. Créer une opinion, d’où action sur législateurs, et sur [sans?] techniciens. Créer comme en commerce, une demande (une ville a l’architecture qu’elle mérite. W.R.<sup>21</sup>)<sup>22</sup>.

Jeanneret attempts to popularise the question, move it away from the realm of experts and make it accessible for *Monsieur Tout le Monde* – a term that he does not use here but had come across in studying Swiss writer Georges de Montenach in 1910<sup>23</sup>. Through his own reading of Sitte, Schultze-Naumburg, Henrici and other architects, he had found that the perception of the everyday person in the street was of great value to the designer of urban spaces and that this was a valid argument for a design strategy.

He then lays the foundation for what will become his preferred *modus operandi* – a direct making use of the past for the future, the cross-over of historic, even ancient elements of architecture and most modern elements, in short: his ability to synthesize<sup>24</sup>. Here, the layers of time – past, present and future – are still separate, but this changes in his own personal, atmospheric, emotional reading of Paris.

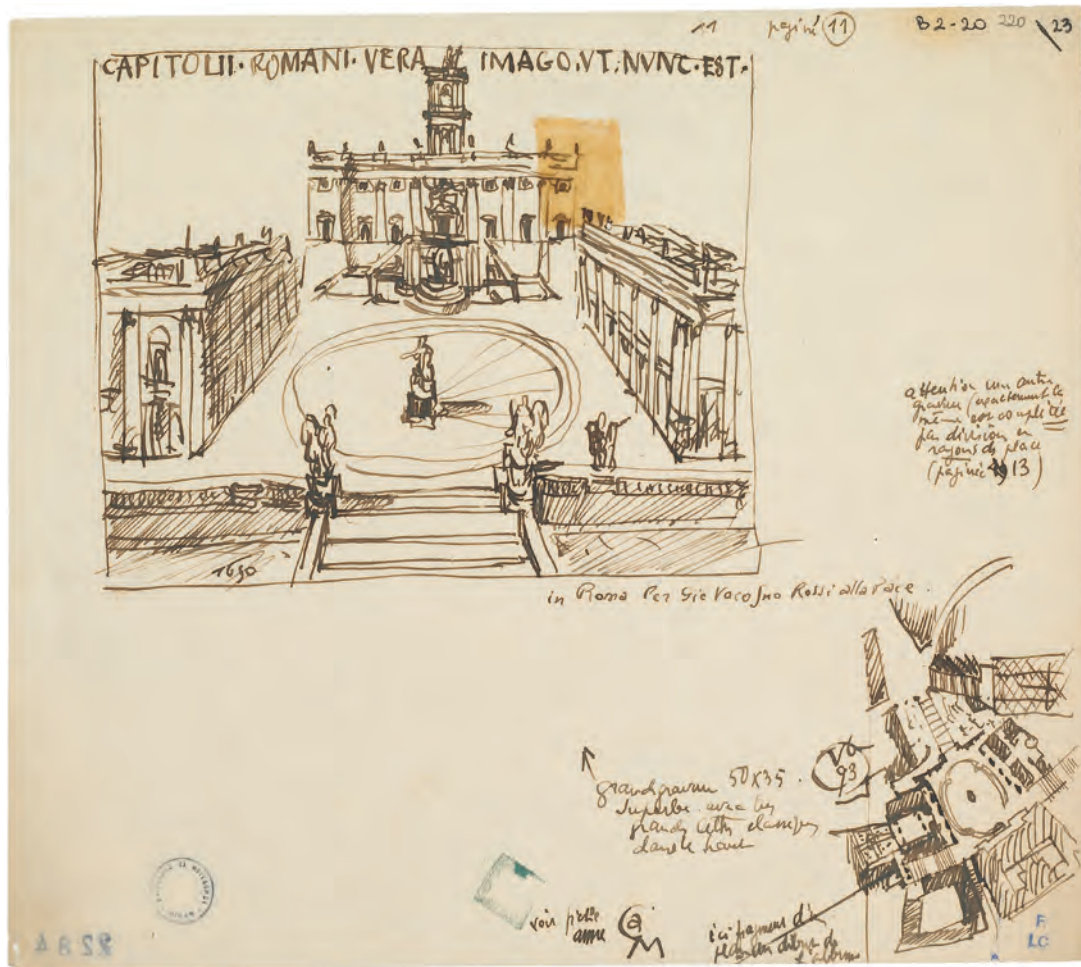
“Le mode d’argumentation : le passé / le présent / l’avenir

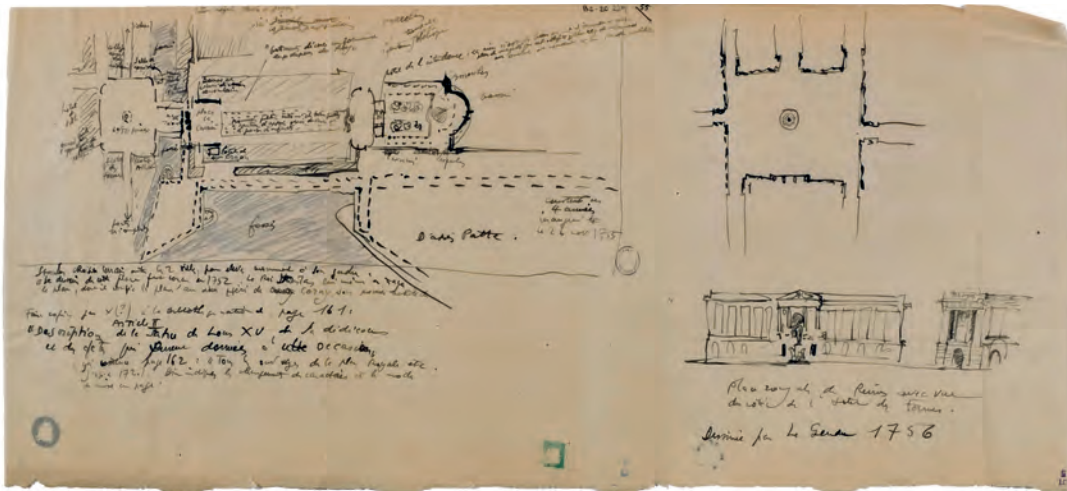
Le passé étude des causes et des résultats (expliquer les procédés multiples, les contradictions à cause époque, mœurs, goûts différents) Je signale pour qu’on puisse choisir.



**FIG. 5**  
CE Jeanneret.  
"La Construction des  
villes". Views of Venice. FLC  
B2(20)252

**FIG. 6**  
CE Jeanneret.  
"La Construction des  
villes". Capitoline Hill with  
Michelangelo's design. FLC  
B2(20)220.





**FIG. 7**  
CE Jeanneret.  
"La Construction des villes".  
Place Stanislas after Albert  
Erich Brinckmann, Platz und  
Monument. FLC B2(20)335.

Le présent ce qui se fait en Amérique, Angleterre, Allemagne, Suisse. Avance surtout où il y avait une laideur insupportable. Donc moins pressante en France.

Avenir ce qu'on pourrait faire.

Étude des facteurs différents : Matériels : coût / plastiques / pratiques / hygiéniques"<sup>25</sup>.

On the remaining pages of this 18-page summary, Jeanneret lists the chapters, and his enumeration shows that the *éléments constitutifs de la ville*, the defining elements of the city, have not changed as subject-matter, in fact he summarises in the spirit of the 1910/11 manuscript.

And he demonstrates an interesting bias towards France in claiming that France had not worked through urban reforms as England or Germany had because its cities were less ugly. Jeanneret had discussed the question of beauty or ugliness of the city in great detail with William Ritter who had advised him to let go of this aim since it was less relevant than finding out what the inhabitants needed, and who added: "on a l'architecture qu'on mérite"<sup>26</sup>. But Jeanneret does not let go of this argument which reappears in a letter to Auguste Perret in 1915:

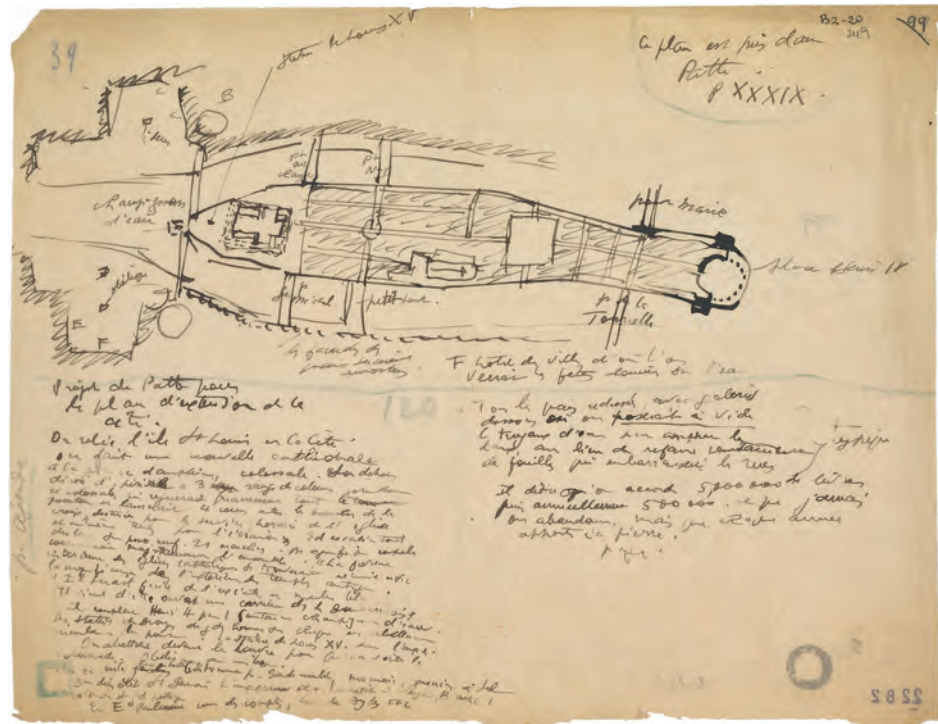
"Le tracé d'une ville ou d'un village c'est le bloc de base, sur lequel s'érigera de la beauté ou de la laideur, suivant qu'une intelligence juste des choses aura présidé à cette opération capitale. À étudier le passé, à le confronter au présent, la pauvreté de nos moyens s'avère désespérément. Remettre en mémoire du public les moyens, l'alphabet, du constructeur de villes, c'est peut-être provoquer une action salutaire sur nos bureaux de cadastres engourdis et anémiques"<sup>27</sup>.

To Jeanneret, aesthetic questions are paramount, an attitude which does not change when he slowly turns himself into Le Corbusier. Thus, he will not be listening to Ritter's advice but continue to study, investigate and query the city and its elements from his point of view of aesthetic sensibility.

### ***In Paris: establishing a new view on the city***

Two contrasting elements of Jeanneret's stay in Paris are, on the one hand, his promenades through the city and, on the other hand, the long hours at the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. These two appear to complement each other: on his promenades Jeanneret tests what he has read against what he is seeing. He is able to process the reading (and drawing) on his walks through the city, while his walks may prompt him to study certain elements of the city in more detail.

**FIG. 8**  
 CE Jeanneret,  
 "La Construction des villes".  
 Views from Gabriel Pérole  
 Topographie de France.  
 Jeanneret writes: "Ed 766  
 Œuvre de Gabrielle [sic]  
 Pérole tome III. Topographie  
 de France Biblio nationale  
 Estampes". FLC B2(20)242.



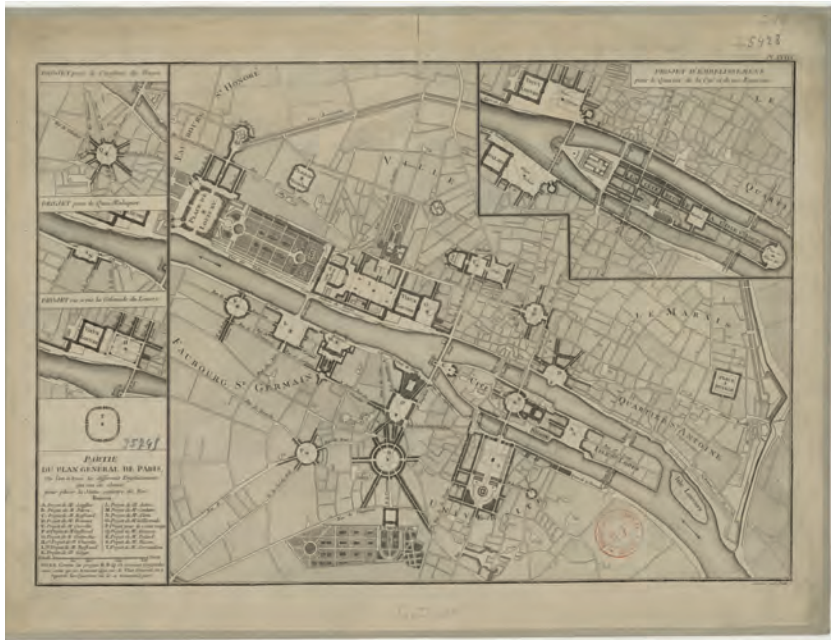
At the Bibliothèque Nationale

Once again, after his sojourn in Munich five years earlier, Jeanneret appears to be throwing himself into the thicket of a library, this time the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, reading, excerpting and sketching each working day to 5pm<sup>28</sup>. The bibliography which can be gathered from his notes covers around 80 works on architecture and urban design issues throughout the centuries. Jeanneret copies extracts in tiny handwriting. The bulk of these notes on small notepaper fill a good 160 pages<sup>29</sup>. Additionally, he draws more than one hundred new sketches as illustrations. However, he appears to be somewhat impatient during these weeks in Paris. This is clearly visible in the quality of the drawings which are often made as if in haste, whereas his 1910 drawings were mostly crafted with care; his copies of Matthäus Merian's engravings, for example, display great patience. (Fig. 1)

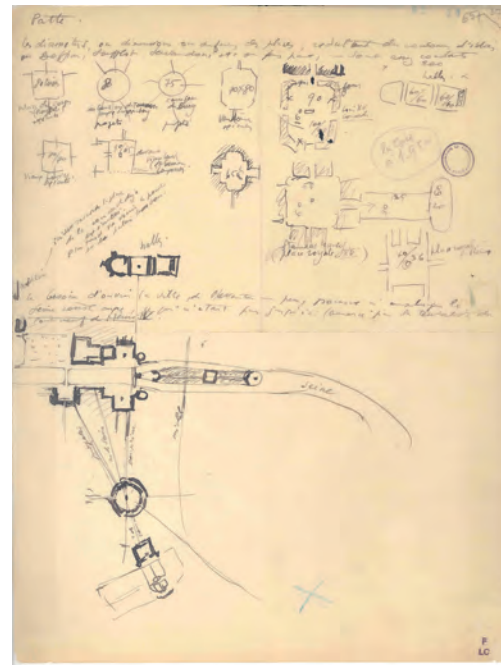
One task that Jeanneret seems to have set himself is to catch up on a broad range of canonical architectural literature which he cannot yet call his own, perhaps inspired by his many conversations with the most widely read William Ritter. Thus, Jeanneret's reading list shows Alberti and Palladio plus French theorists like Perrault, Blondel and Briseux. But at the same time, it is not entirely clear how much he is actually interested in their *Quérelle des anciens et des modernes*.

With not much time at his hand, Jeanneret appears unable or unwilling to get himself to study ideas and thoughts in as much detail as he had done in 1910. While it is indeed worthy of admiration to see that many titles listed, the bibliography of his detailed studies on the city in 1910 comprises a very similar number of books and journal articles. But that research took him the better part of half a year in 1910/11, whereas now he only has seven weeks available. Plainly said: Jeanneret does not have the time to delve deeply into the literature he has listed for himself. As much as he rushes his drawings and excerpts in order to collect as much material as possible in the short time available, his bibliography remains more a wish list than a list of literature actually studied.





Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France



had made him aware of in 1910: the royal architecture of Henri IV (1589–1610), Louis XIV (1643–1715) and Louis XV (1715–1774). Two volumes particularly attract Jeanneret's interest: Gabriel Péréelle's *Topographie de France* (Paris: Jombert, 1753) and Pierre Patte's *Monumens érigés à la gloire de Louis XV* (Paris: Desaint/Saillant, 1765). Jeanneret had carefully copied the Place Stanislas in Nancy in 1910 from Brinckmann; now he adds a comprehensively annotated sketch after Patte. (Fig. 7)

He does quick sketches from Péréelle (Fig. 8) while devoting more time to sketch plan drawings after Patte in particular (Fig. 9, 10, 11). The unrealised planning under Louis XV for the area around the Ile de la Cité captures his attention. Here, Jeanneret finds 18<sup>th</sup>-century attempts at ordering the fabric of Paris. And having studied the engravings from Péréelle, Jeanneret summarises:

“À voir les estampes de Péréelle on trouve un Paris si peu ordonné, si pittoresque et sale, qu'on s'imagine le désir de nettoyer, et aussi la quasi impuissance de réaliser un ensemble car tout sera à refaire, quais, maisons etc. Palais, clochetons, pignons, flèches, lanternes etc. On comprend que Louis XIV ait fichu le camp à Versailles ville neuve. On comprend les efforts du bon roy Henri IV pour son Paris qu'il veut sortir du fumier”<sup>32</sup>.

FIG. 10

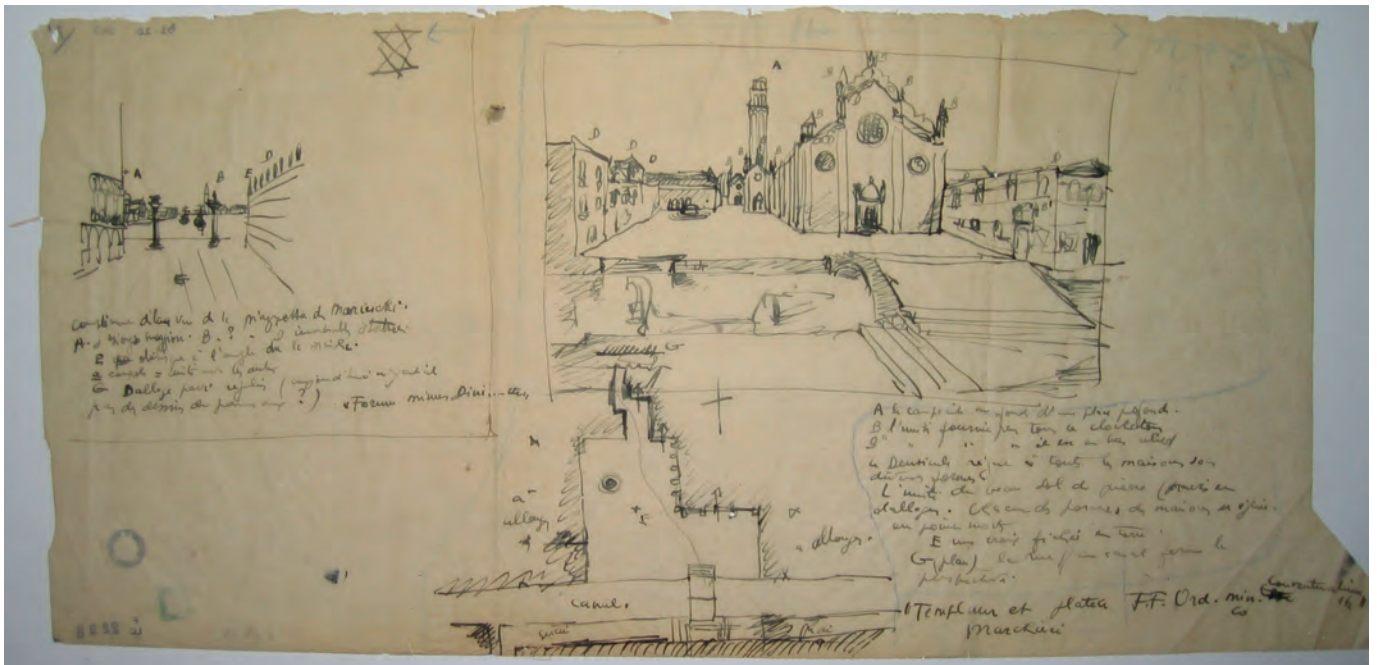
Pierre Patte,  
Partie du Plan général de Paris, <https://gallica.bnf.fr>

FIG. 11

CE Jeanneret,  
“La Construction des villes”. Various squares after Patte: “Les diamètres ou dimensions ou surfaces des places, resultant des... [etc.]”. FLC B2(20) 657.

But nothing is straightforward here: if the ‘pittoresque’ has just been used in the derogatory sense, Jeanneret manages to combine the quest for unity with the admiration of a picturesque urban situation worthy of Camillo Sitte's theories: he copies an engraving of a piazza in Venice, the Campo dei Frari, outlining the various elements that add to its sense of unity (Fig. 12):

“A le campanile au fond d'une place profonde  
B l'unité fournie par tous les clochetons – il est en bas-relief.  
Le denticule règne à toutes les maisons sous diverses formes. L'unité du beau sol de pierre Chacune des porches des maisons et église en points morts”<sup>33</sup>.



Here, he seems to simply continue his research from four years earlier. In Munich and Berlin, Jeanneret had been intensely occupied by the question of enclosure. Streets and squares were investigated according to their sense of ‘corporalité’, the bodily manifestation of space. As we have just seen, the notion of unity and enclosure is still behind many of Jeanneret’s drawings and written comments.

In revisiting Jeanneret’s drawings, today’s reader must note a wide variety of places, including even Japanese and Chinese examples (Fig. 13,14), but on the other hand, the choice of topics is limited mostly to squares and gardens (or parks). As said above, Jeanneret had already shown a deep concern for urban green in 1910/11 through his excerpts on trees, gardens, parks, even cemeteries – and his lengthy excerpt of Laugier’s critical comment on the gardens of Versailles.

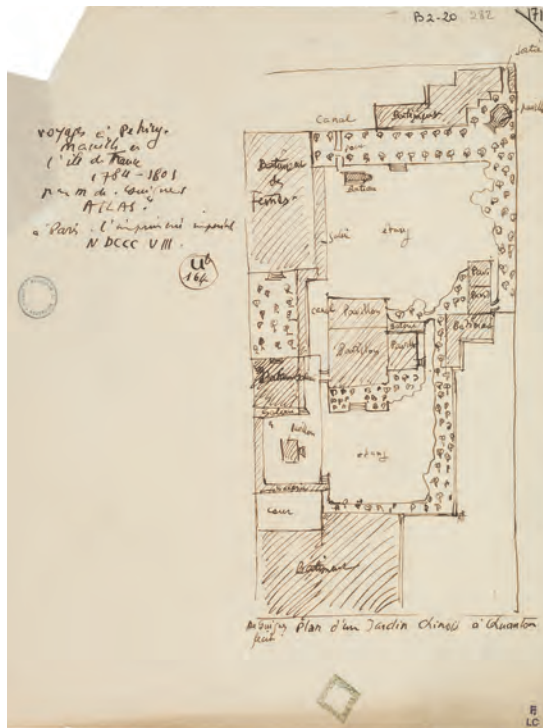
What we can gather is that instead of reading in great detail the classical texts, he begins to develop his notion of wishing to clear and clarify: to clear the city (of Paris) from too much urban chaos.

Order – cleanliness – pureté

With the discussion of order, clearing, water and its role in providing fresh cleanliness is not far for Jeanneret. He is certainly predisposed towards a longing for water: as Jean-Marc Barrelet and Jacques Ramseyer have pointed out, Jeanneret’s home town plays a particular role in the practical need, but equally in the symbolic longing for water: the big town fire in 1794 dramatically demonstrated the lack of a natural water source in the town 1000m above the sea, a deficiency that was only overcome with the installation of a pipeline, pumping water roughly 600m uphill from around the Lake of Neuchâtel in 1887. La Chaux-de-Fonds celebrated the arrival of running water with fountains<sup>34</sup>. It should therefore not surprise to see that Jeanneret devotes time and effort to the question of clean water, both in his notes and his drawings. Not only is he picking up on the requirements for water (fresh water, grey water) in his carnet, but at the library he lists: Albert Calmette, *L’assainissement des villes et les procédés modernes* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1905)<sup>35</sup>, and M. Bousquet, *Hygiène des villes. Atmosphère. Voie publique* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1912)<sup>36</sup>.

**FIG. 12**  
 CE Jeanneret,  
 “La Construction des villes”.  
 View of the Campo dei Frari,  
 Venice, source unknown.  
 FLC B2(20)235.





More significantly, Jeanneret appears to be looking both forwards and backwards on these promenades: towards a ‘modern’ future – of course without exactly knowing what this would be like, and backwards, to the models of the past. And, witness of his ability to synthesize and create, he sees, in extraordinary shifts of his inner vision, buildings of the past as models for a modernist future.

Picking up the question of order and disorder from his library studies, he views the city from Sacré-Cœur. And the verdict is not very flattering: he calls it a desert of stones and finds it lacks structure and order, asking:

“Est-ce beau Paris ? C’est pas prouvé. D’évident, ceci : le Panthéon fait admirablement, (boule) et N-Dame, cubes, Invalides, volumes gracieux. Dans une si grande étendue, les flèches ne comptent et valent rien. [...] Il manque des grandes lignes, des grands volumes, une ordonnance. C’est un hasard, au fond”<sup>39</sup>.

Similarly, walking around the Place des Victoires, Jeanneret dreams of open façades made of concrete and glass. And, as in many other places of his carnet, he does not fail to mention the need for more greenery in the city:

“A circuler dans les petites rues de Paris autour [la] place des Victoires, on sent l’impossible du tant de poussière et d’obscurité. Avec le béton il faudrait des règlements exigeantes d’énorme surface vitrées [sic] au lieu de murs. Et à tout prix du feuillage. Question de morale”<sup>40</sup>.

The question of glass – large, open glass façades: this reappears when Jeanneret records the showroom and garage of the automobile makers Panhard & Levassor, which he seems to pass daily on his walks (Fig. 17). It is less radical than Perret’s garage for Renault on rue Ponthieu, but still modern and impressive with its full glass façade of about 7 metres height<sup>41</sup>.

**FIG. 14**  
CE Jeanneret,  
“La Construction des villes”.  
“Voyages à Péking ... Plan  
d’un Jardin Chinois...” FLC  
B2(20)282

**FIG. 15**  
CE Jeanneret,  
“La Construction des  
villes”. Notes from Hénard,  
boulevards à redans. FLC  
B2(20)125



**FIG. 16**  
CE Jeanneret, Hôtel  
Lambert, Paris. Carnet  
1915, 72.



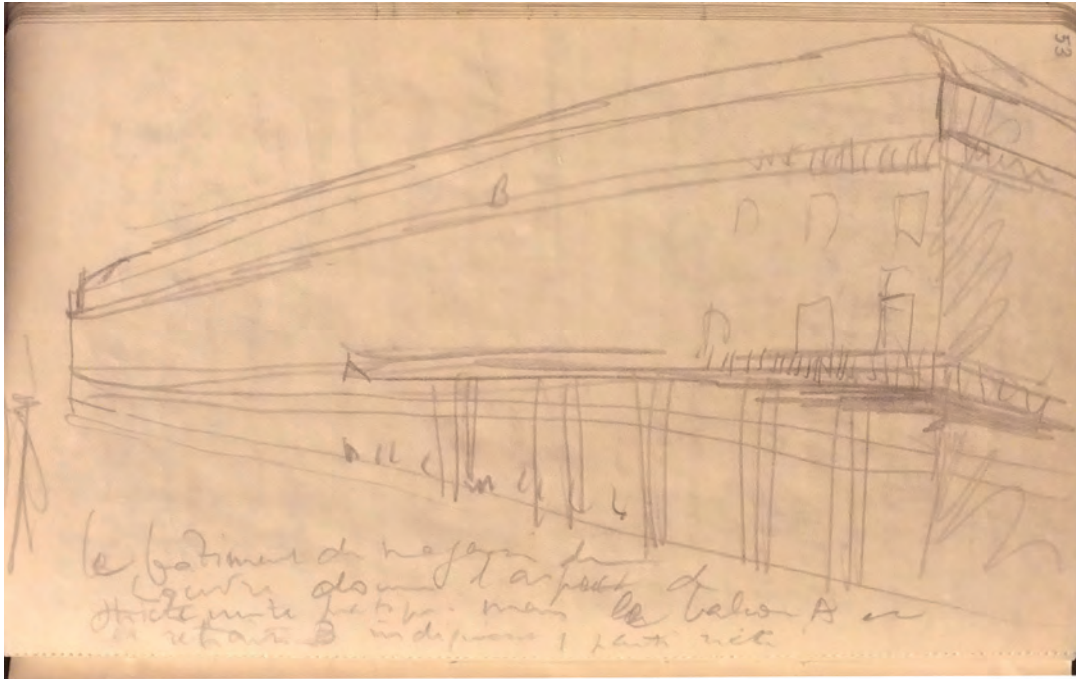
The search for large glass fronts is combined with an urge to see unity in the designs of squares and buildings: “Le bâtiment du magasin du Louvre donne l’aspect de stricte unité pratique. Mais les balcons A et le retraite B indiquent 1 partie riche.”<sup>42</sup> Situated in the Rue de Rivoli and originally the Grand Hôtel du Louvre, the department store opened in 1855 (Fig. 18). With his comment, Jeanneret follows Curt Walter Behrendt’s and Albert Erich Brinckmann’s calls for a “unified street front in urban design” of a few years earlier.<sup>43</sup> But as he always combines his search for the big lines, the overview, with an investigation of detail, he notes the department store’s modern glass windows: “Au magasin du Louvre, coté Palais Royal, les toutes récentes vitrines donnent exactement ce que j’ai fait à l’Abeille [in La Chaux-de-Fonds], étalage avec grandes glaces [...] mais ma partie basse est ici de glace miroir tout unie. [...] C’est moderne”<sup>44</sup>.

During his walks, Jeanneret draws atmospheric sketches, and he often describes the mood of a space rather than simply measuring it or asking for its functional value.

“La vie des quais est belle à voir. Aussi, des ponts on regarde bien les avancées des quais, le débarquement et le trafic des péniches, les sables, les pierres, les ballots. Si on s’y promène c’est sous les arbres qui y ont ici leur troncs en répétée colonnades [...], la vie du port, des souvenirs, des odeurs, des gestes”<sup>45</sup>.

Jeanneret appears to walk through Paris with a longing for the calm and peaceful spaces of hidden gardens. He does so with already having read about gardens in great detail during his library studies in Munich (and in Berlin), and has produced lengthy excerpts of texts by Hermann Muthesius, *Das Englische Haus*, by Georges Riat, *L’art des jardins*, and others<sup>46</sup>. These readings have served, at least in part, to find models of gardens as a ‘paradise’ and as opposed to the “enfer de la ville”<sup>47</sup>.

Jeanneret quasi draws impressionistically with words, staying away from theorising and instead emotionally taking in the atmosphere of Paris, clearly inhaling it in more than simply a visual way.



**FIG. 17**  
CE Jeanneret, Magasin du Louvre, Paris. Carnet 1915, 53.

#### Ideas, inventions pointing towards modernism

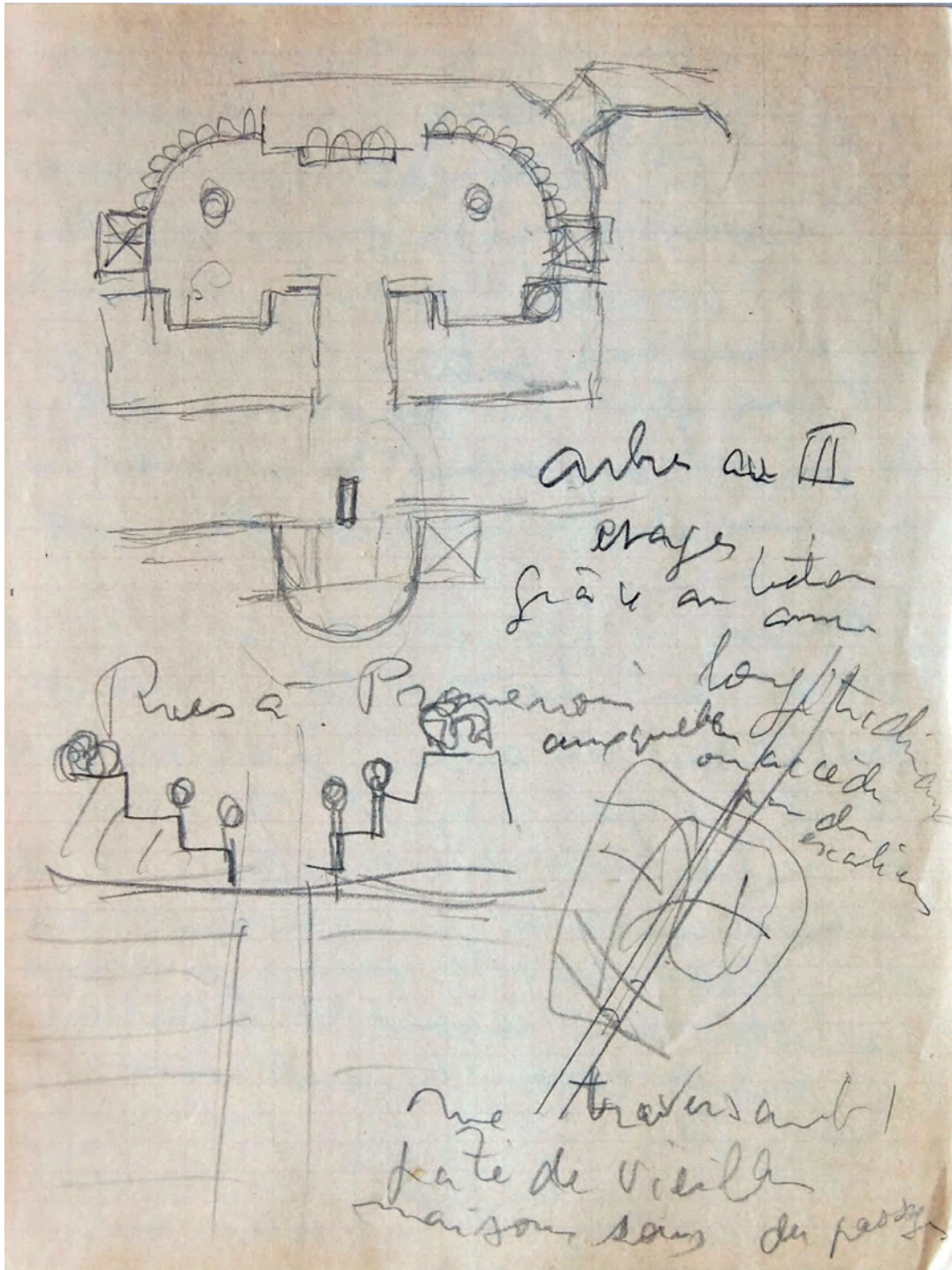
Having trained his eyes and perception in the latest architectural and urbanistic developments in Germany, Jeanneret's way of seeing Paris has changed decidedly from what it was in 1908, when he worked for Auguste Perret and spent day after day drawing and sketching the architecture of Notre-Dame. So it makes sense that he notes to devote a chapter in his book "au Paris moderne, au choses déjà réalisés", mentioning "Perret, Sauvage, Métro, Bon Marché"<sup>48</sup>.

Of particular interest for his own architectural development is the combination of architecture and notions of the garden: Jeanneret records, in the carnet, the stepped apartment building by Henri Sauvage and Charles Sarrasin in Rue Vavin (1912–13), accompanied by a sectional sketch (Fig. 19): "La maison [en] gradins de Sauvage et Sarrasin avec ses plantes me fait excellente impression"<sup>49</sup>. Surprisingly however, he had already made a drawing in 1910 that seems to have foreseen this urbanistic model: in one of the *cahiers* he drew a section through a building stepped like terraces to the left and right of a street, with trees on every level (Fig. 20). And he had mused: "Why not plant a tree or trees at half-height or at the very top of a building? [...] In the past, materials prevented this because the stones would be dislodged by the growing roots. Today, reinforced concrete permits it and allows all conceivable combinations"<sup>50</sup>.

Sensational is a drawing across two pages, on which Jeanneret begins to develop what will turn into the *Ville contemporaine* and the *Immeuble-villas* in the early 1920s, in which he will be incorporating the gardens into the dwelling<sup>51</sup>. Once again, he combines what he sees with what he imagines: Jeanneret draws a sketch of 65 Boulevard Arago, the (famous) painters' community or Cité Fleurie.

But instead of drawing it as found, he transports the two-storey ensemble with enclosed green courtyard onto the roof of an imagined seven-storey block of apartments (Fig. 21) – a residential building in form of an almost enclosed orthogonal ring, with a garden in its middle: "Ici c'est au 7ème étage la cité des artistes jadis 65 Bd Arago. Il y en a sur tous les toits. C'est une oasis de verdure. On est chez soi loin du bruit"<sup>52</sup>. And he writes, as note to self:





**FIG. 18**  
CE Jeanneret, Garage  
Panhard et Levassor,  
Avenue Montaigne, Paris.  
Carnet 1915, 10.

**FIG. 19**  
CE Jeanneret, Maisons à  
gradins by Sauvage and  
Sarrazin, Rue Vavin, Paris.  
Carnet 1915, 18.

**FIG. 20**  
CE Jeanneret, Sketch of an  
idea for housing on terraces  
with trees. LCdv 418.

Beginnings of the 'tower in the park'

In a further instance Jeanneret uses the built history of Paris to produce images of the future, exclaiming: "Il est un fait que la tour St Jacques est la plus futuristique la plus cubiste architecture qu'on puisse imaginer"<sup>55</sup>. While Jeanneret transforms historic architecture in his mind into the future city, he is aided in this process by Auguste Perret. Jeanneret's notes of early August 1915 in Paris are filled with suggestions Perret seems to have made. He advises Jeanneret about roads and buildings:

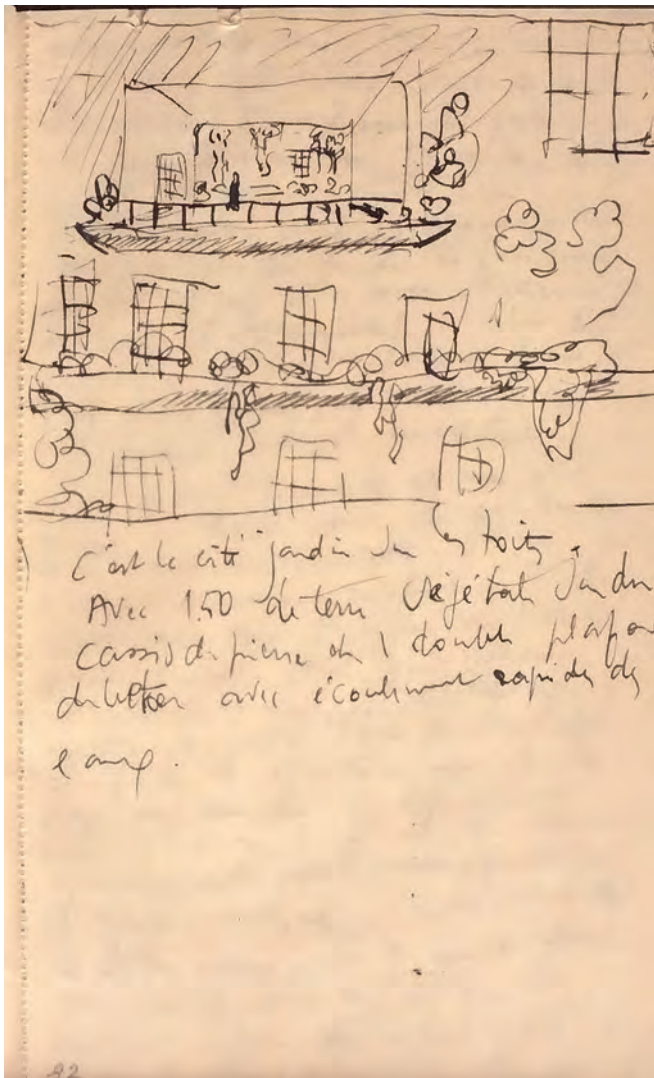
"Aug. Perret voit 2 types de rues. Préservé = rue de Rivoli. Libre, avec redans en hauteur v. profonde (système développé de 25bis [Rue] Franklin) avec alors 2 ou 4 allées d'arbre en bas, dans les redans, et végétation en profondeur et en hauteur. Il faut alors combiner des irrigations et drainages pour arrosage automatique du tout par le concierge"<sup>56</sup>.



And it appears as if Perret was pointing Jeanneret into his future, towards what would become the *Ville contemporaine*:

“Auguste Perret voit des tours. Au lieu de 4000 mètres carrés de maisons à 5 étages, prenez 1000 m<sup>2</sup> de maisons à 20 étages. Et les 3000 m<sup>2</sup> faites en du parc à grandes arbres. Alignez vos tours dans cette mer de verdure. Vous aurez l’une de plus majestueuses allées que cerveau puisse rêver. 9 août 1915. L’article de Voisol dans Monjoie[?] parlait de tours, de ceux qui voient la ville en gradins; qui voient la ville en cités jardins”<sup>57</sup>.

Through these notes, both from his library studies as well as from walking through Paris and his conversations with Perret, the reader slowly sees elements emerge that point towards the *Ville contemporaine* and *the Plan Voisin*: freestanding “cubistic, futuristic” towers, surrounded by calming green, big lines and order brought into the city.



**FIG. 21**  
CE Jeanneret, Cité jardin sur les toits. Carnet 1915, 79/80.

**FIG. 22**  
CE Jeanneret, lotissement à alvéoles. Carnet 1915, 82.

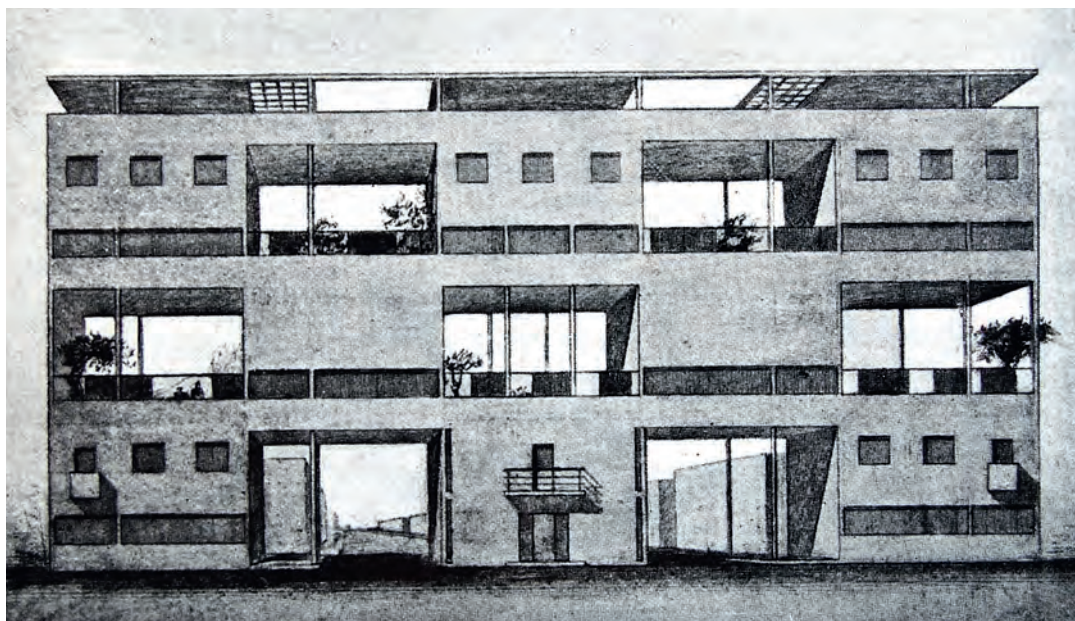
### *A pretext and a real reason combine to point towards future designs*

Jeanneret's decision to take up the unfinished project of "La Construction des villes" afresh in 1915 and research it in Paris demonstrates in part that he was attempting to adapt it to a francophone setting. Overall, to a large extent his way of seeing and interpreting the city shows continuity with his 1910 approach. His fondness of greenery in the city which manifested itself in chapter sketches from September/October 1910, finds its continuation in his notes during the many walks through Paris, and so do his ideas of combining multi-storey living with greenery on it.

The contrast between a classical-monumental and a picturesque way of designing cities had established itself in Jeanneret's thinking right from the beginning: already in May/June 1910, such a debate is visible in his notes and chapter drafts for "La Construction des villes", spurned by the literature (Henrici vs. Brinckmann, so to speak). And, as mentioned earlier, Jeanneret had read the city-related sections of Laugier's *Essai* in great detail in early 1911 and had, already then, commented on the need to overcome the pettiness of the picturesque. This simply means that the great shift in his thinking that Brooks saw Jeanneret's Paris visit of 1915, is not taking place. Monumental and picturesque continue to co-exist in his thinking.

But: picking up *La Construction des villes* was, in part, a pretext, an excuse, to travel to Paris. He is very clear in his letter to Auguste Perret of 10 October 1914: he longs to be in Paris again, to be there, live there, enjoy being in a city – and that during a war. But he needs an 'official' reason to travel, and "La Construction des villes" is a good one, at least in principle. However, Jeanneret does not show the curiosity for the subject that is palpable in his studies of 1910, he may find that the *Bibliothèque Nationale* does not give him the material in the French language that might parallel what he had read in German, and he does not have the patience to really study the material in front of him. And no consultation with any publisher is evident, either.

But the visit is by no means in vain, it is not useless at all. Listening to where his feet take him, Jeanneret realises a longing for order on a grander scale, for purity, for cleanliness – and begins, very slowly still, to design a new Paris in his carnet. So what changes during these weeks in Paris is that Jeanneret begins to develop a future city (a future Paris) from the past. His reading of the Tour St. Jacques is exemplary for this kind of thinking: that



**FIG. 23**  
Le Corbusier, Lotissement à  
alvéoles, Œuvre complète,  
Vol. 1, 76.

the developments of the past can lead to a better idea of the future. And, in tandem with this goes the notion of working with the grand, symbolic gesture. Jeanneret learns this from Pérelle, from Patte – and from Perret, as well. He had read Laugier in 1910 and had read Brinckmann discuss some of the urban projects under Henri IV, Louis XV and Louis XVI. But in 1910, it had not appeared so urgent to Jeanneret then.

I believe that the visit to Paris confirms his view that the city is disorderly, and that *despite* Haussmann's great urban project. Paris is, in spite of Haussmann's boulevards, a dense – unordered – city (cf. Colin Rowe in *Collage City*): and in that it is entirely different from Berlin. In Berlin in 1910/11, Jeanneret expressed dismay regarding the dreariness of the urban blocks ('l'enfer de la ville'), but he was also able to see that more or less the whole city was built up on endless repetition and variation of the tenement block or a comparable principle. Paris is different. It does not offer this kind of fundamental, schematic order. Thus, when Jeanneret stands on Montmartre in 1915, looking down on the city, he must feel the urge to bring order to this city – and this is probably because of what he had seen in Berlin and is currently reading at the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

And thus, to get back to the proposition from the beginning of the paper, *the Plan Voisin*, as radical as it may be, is in a way the logical consequence of something Jeanneret had seen and understood for himself during the visit in 1915. It is, carried to extremes, the logical consequence of Jeanneret's phenomenological perception of Paris in September 1915, added by the grand designs for Paris (mostly through Patte) – and based on the knowledge and experience gained in Munich and Berlin in 1910/11.

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Schnoor has published widely on questions of modern architecture, with a strong focus on Le Corbusier. *Le Corbusier's Practical Aesthetic of the City* was published by Routledge in 2020.

His publications include work on modernist architecture in New Zealand, particularly on Austrian émigré architect Ernst Plischke (1903-1992). The richly illustrated intellectual biography, *Ernst A. Plischke. Architekt zwischen den Welten*, was published by Park Books in Zurich in 2020. Further work on the historiography of modernism, focussing on historian Colin Rowe, as well as colonial architecture in the Pacific, with publications on architecture in Samoa in particular.

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## Notes

1 The experiences of these promenades are recorded in a separate carnet, filled with 120 pages of comments and drawings on architecture and the city, all relating to Jeanneret's visit of Paris in 1915. The notes are accompanied by a good 50 sketches. Other researchers have not been able to include this notebook yet, since it has been kept in a private archive in Switzerland. I am grateful for the permission to use material from the notebook for this research.

2 Marie-Jeanne Dumont (ed.), *Le Corbusier. Lettres à Auguste Perret* (Paris: Éditions du Linteau, 2002).

3 See Christoph Schnoor, *La Construction des villes. Le Corbusiers erstes städtebauliches Traktat von 1910/11* (Zurich: gta, 2008); Christoph Schnoor, *Le Corbusier's Practical Aesthetic of the City*, trans. Kim Sanderson (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2020).

4 This is not meant to be an exhaustive account of Jeanneret's achievements by 1915. For details, see Harold Allen Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years 1907* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997).

5 Letter William Ritter to Jeanneret, 9 July 1918. FLC R3(20)7.

6 Jeanneret had used that in letters to his parents, on 18 and 21 October 1910. R1(5)67 FLC.

7 See Christoph Schnoor, "Le *Raum* dans *La construction des villes* de Le Corbusier. Une traduction aux multiples strates linguistiques et culturelles," in *Traduire l'architecture. Texte et image: un passage vers la création?* eds. Robert Carvais, Valérie Nègre, Jean-Sébastien Cluzel and Juliette Hernu-Bélaud (Paris: Picard, 2015), 135–146, and Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic of the City*, 239.

- 8 In *Le Corbusier's Practical Aesthetic of the City*, the translator and I chose to use the term 'city planning'. None of the terms available is ideal. Also see Marie-Jeanne Dumont on 'urbanisme' in Dumont (ed.), *Le Lettres à Auguste Perret*, 147f.
- 9 Here, I wish to not focus on Maurice Storez and the question: "France ou Allemagne," which prompted Jeanneret to sketch an entirely new publication. On this topic see Jean-Louis Cohen, *France ou Allemagne ? Un livre inédit de Le Corbusier* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009).
- 10 <https://www.nytimes.com/1915/03/22/archives/zeppelins-drop-bombs-on-paris-escape-in-mist-two-german-airships.html>
- 11 CE Jeanneret, postcard to Auguste Perret, 1 August 1914. Dumont, *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 113.
- 12 CE Jeanneret, letter to Auguste Perret, 16 August 1914. Dumont, *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 114.
- 13 CE Jeanneret, letter to Auguste Perret, 16 August 1914. Dumont, *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 115.
- 14 CE Jeanneret, letter to Auguste Perret, 10 October 1914. Dumont, *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 117.
- 15 CE Jeanneret, letter to Auguste Perret, 10 October 1914. Dumont, *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 119.
- 16 CE Jeanneret, letter to Auguste Perret, 3 May 1915. Dumont, *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 136.
- 17 CE Jeanneret, letter to Auguste Perret, 30 March 1915. Dumont, *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 133.
- 18 CE Jeanneret, letter to Auguste Perret, 30 June 1915. Dumont, *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 145f.
- 19 Francesco Passanti, "Architecture: Proportion, Classicism and Other Issues", in *Le Corbusier before Le Corbusier*, eds. Stanislaus von Moos and Arthur Rüegg (New Haven and London: Yale, 2002), 83.
- 20 Jeanneret, unpublished pages of the manuscript "La construction des villes", 1915.
- 21 Here, Jeanneret refers to a letter exchanged with William Ritter in 1911.
- 22 Jeanneret, unpublished pages of the manuscript "La construction des villes", 1915.
- 23 Georges de Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie. Ouvrage de propagande esthétique et sociale*. (Lausanne: Sack-Reymond, 1908). See Schnoor, *Le Corbusier's Practical Aesthetic*, p. 69.
- 24 Stanislaus von Moos, *Le Corbusier. Elemente einer Synthese* (Frauenfeld/Stuttgart: Huber, 1968). Translated as *Elements of a Synthesis*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1979. Revised and expanded edition of the English translation (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2009).
- 25 Jeanneret, unpublished pages of the manuscript "La Construction des villes", 1915.
- 26 Letter William Ritter to Jeanneret, 26 September 1911 (SLA Bern, 1922.291).
- 27 CE Jeanneret, letter to Auguste Perret, 30 June 1915. Dumont, *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 145f.
- 28 CE Jeanneret, postcard to Auguste Perret, 26 August 1915. Dumont, *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 149.
- 29 B2-20-12 up to -172, format circa A6. Jeanneret's excerpts from the *Bibliothèque Nationale* have yet to be fully transcribed. Philippe Duboy transcribed and published some of Jeanneret's notes in "Charles Edouard Jeanneret à la Bibliothèque Nationale", in: *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 49 (1979), p. 9-12, and in: *Casabella* 531/532 (1987) under the heading "L.C.B.N. 1915".
- 30 For example the Portail des Libraires in Rouen. FLC B2(20)61.
- 31 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 6.
- 32 CE Jeanneret, notes B2-20-84 and -85 FLC.
- 33 B2(20)235 FLC.
- 34 See Jean-Marc Barrelet and Jacques Ramseier, *La Chaude-Fonds ou le défi d'une cite horlogère. 1848-1914* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Editions d'En Haut, 1990).
- 35 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k876457k>.
- 36 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k298458r>.
- 37 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 75.
- 38 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 62.
- 39 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 21.
- 40 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 52.
- 41 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 10.
- 42 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 53.
- 43 Curt Walter Behrendt, *Die einheitliche Blockfront als Raumelement im Stadtbau: Ein Beitrag zur Stadtbaukunst der Gegenwart* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1911). Albert Erich Brinckmann, *Platz und Monument: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Ästhetik der Stadtbaukunst in neuerer Zeit* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1908).
- 44 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 54.
- 45 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 57.
- 46 Hermann Muthesius, *Das Englische Haus: Entwicklung, Bedingungen, Anlage, Aufbau, Einrichtung und Innenraum*. 3 vols (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1904-11) and Georges Riat, *L'Art des Jardins* (Paris: L. Henry May, 1900).
- 47 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic of the City*, 244.
- 48 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 21.
- 49 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 18.
- 50 LCdv 419. See Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic of the City*, 232 and 456.
- 51 Christoph Schnoor and Claudia Kromrei, "Immeuble-villas between Le Corbusier and Albert Gessner" in *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand: 30, Open*, edited by Alexandra Brown and Andrew Leach (Gold Coast, Qld: SAHANZ, 2013), vol. 2, 807-819.
- 52 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 79.
- 53 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 80.
- 54 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 82.
- 55 Jeanneret, *Carnet* 1915, 23.
- 56 CE Jeanneret, note to self, 10 August 1915. B2(20)107 FLC
- 57 CE Jeanneret, note to self, 9 August 1915. B2(20)106 FLC.