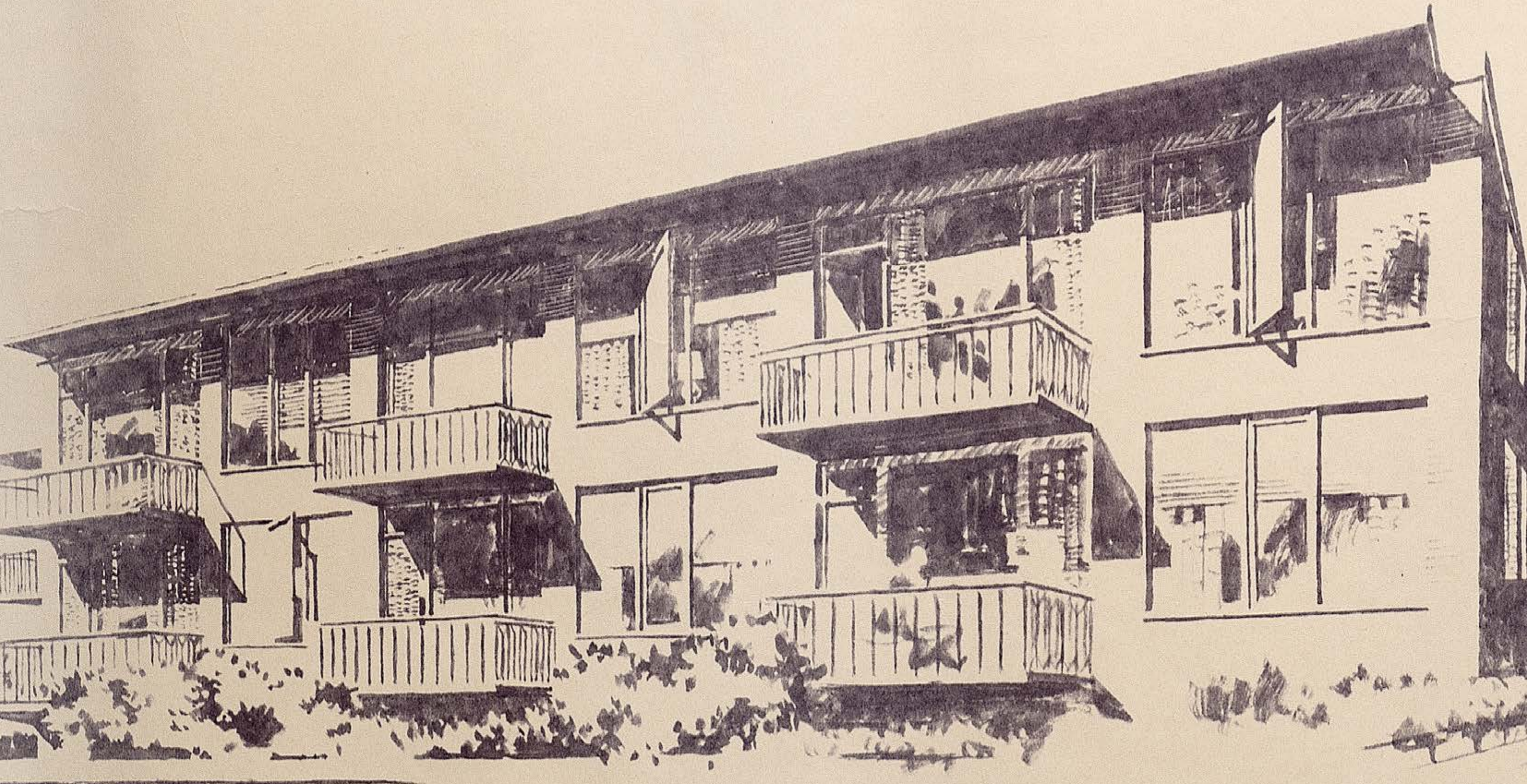


**RMIT
DESIGN
ARCHIVES
JOURNAL**

VOL 9 Nº1 2019

SPECIAL ISSUE

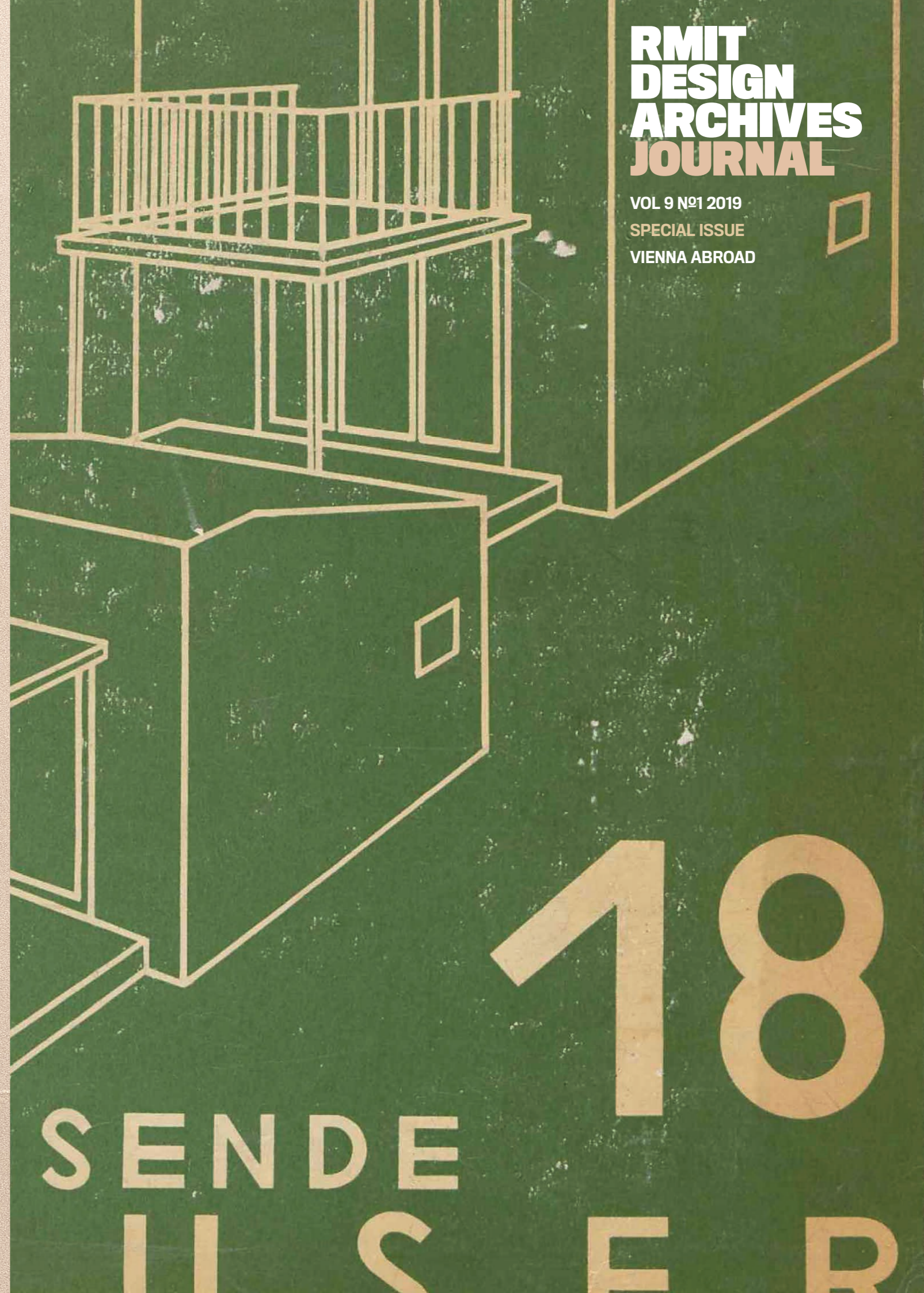
VIENNA ABROAD





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VIENNA ABROAD



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Cover
Ernest Fooks (architect),
Perspective, block of 10
flats, Brookfield Court,
Hawthorn for Mr G.R.
Goldsworthy, c.1959,
RMIT Design Archives.

Preceding Page
Cover (detail),
L.W. Rochowanski,
Wachsende Hauser, 18,
Verlagsbuchhandlung
Emmerich Becsei, Wien,
1932, Ernest Fooks Book
Collection, courtesy
Alan Pert.

This Page
Adolf Loos (designer)
Long-case clock and
panelling, from the
Langer apartment 1903,
National Gallery of
Victoria, Melbourne,
presented through
The Art Foundation
of Victoria by Mr
Alfred Muller,
Governor, 1994.

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Minimum': Ernest Fooks,
the small house and the
flat in post-war Melbourne**
Philip Goad





There has been increasing interest over the past two decades on the contribution and impact of European émigré architects in Australia. For the most part, historians have focused on architects trained in European modernism who were exiled or forced to emigrate with the rise of National Socialism in Germany and its occupied territories prior to World War II or, because of Communist invasion in the case of Eastern Europe after the war.

By and large these people are viewed as “European”, regardless of their nationality, place of education or professional experience prior to emigration. Ronnen Goren’s 1993 exhibition *45 Storeys. A Retrospective of work by Melbourne Jewish architects from 1945* at the National Gallery of Victoria was one of the first projects to bring the work of émigré architects to public attention. While Goren’s group was identified as Jewish, Roger Butler’s *The Europeans. Émigré artists in Australia 1930-1960* (1997) and Rebecca Hawcroft’s *The Other Moderns. Sydney’s forgotten European design legacy* (2017) grouped their subjects under the adjective ‘European’.

The recovery of the legacy of émigré architects has enriched Australia’s dominantly Anglophone architectural history and several émigrés have been the subject of individual studies but there are problems inherent in the still-current use of the descriptor “European”. It encompasses and tends to homogenise people from different countries and experiences. A similar problem has been identified with the prevalent use of “British” in architectural history which is shorthand for, and usually conflates English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh experiences. Unpacking this category to examine the Scottish contribution to imperial architectural history, Alex Bremner recently noted that the use of the term “British”, “has led over the years to such architecture being seen as representing an undifferentiated cultural and political homogenate (i.e. ‘Britain’, and more generally ‘the West’)”.¹

This issue of the *RMIT Design Archives Journal* seeks to delve under the surface of the adjective “European” to uncover what one country contributed to the experience of modernism in Australia. The group of architects and designers brought together here were all Viennese by birth, training or professional practice. What such a focus on them allows, is the differentiation of the category “Viennese” modernism from other forms of modernism, German, for example.

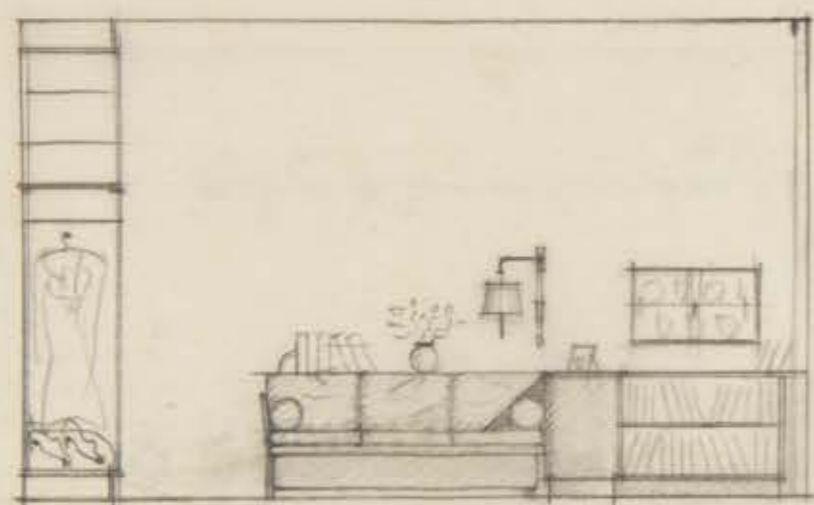
The two articles in this issue treat the migration and translation of Viennese modernism in Australia in different ways. Philip Goad traces the history of the idea of the small home back to Vienna in the 1920s using as his case study Ernst Fuchs’ “minimum house” project. He argues that when Fuchs (later Ernest Fooks) migrated to Melbourne he developed this Viennese type in various ways including walk-up apartment blocks, an architectural type that has been ignored in Australian architectural history, but which offers useful models today for denser suburban dwelling. By contrast, inspired by Marc Raeff’s study of the interwar Russian diaspora in *Russia Abroad*², Harriet Edquist posits the idea of Vienna Abroad to study a group of Viennese architects and designers active in Melbourne and Sydney in the 1940s and to demonstrate the legacy of Viennese interior design *Wiener Wohnraumkultur*. Both articles elucidate for the first time architectural concerns and tropes that were worked out in Vienna in the interwar years and brought to Australia, to undergo a dynamic process of translation into forms and spaces that suited their new situations.

Harriet Edquist, Editor

1 G. A. Bremner, “The expansion of England? Rethinking Scotland’s place in the architectural history of the wider British world”, <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2018/05/bremner.pdf> (accessed 25 February 2019)

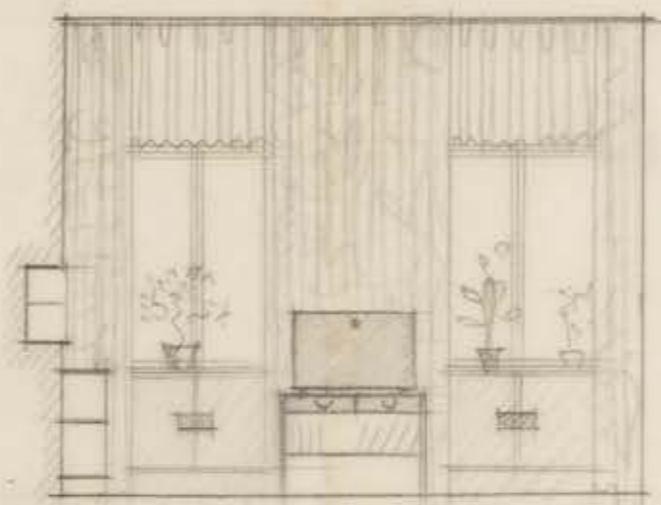
2 Marc Raeff, *Russia Abroad. A Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Opposite
A view of studio apartment of Frederick Sterne photographed by Sutcliffe Pty Ltd published in *Australian Home Beautiful*, May 1946, RMIT Design Archives.



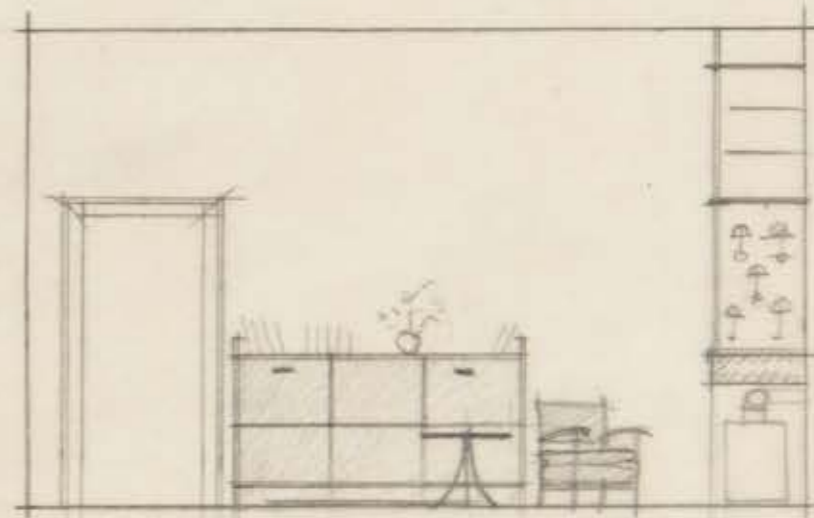
A

B



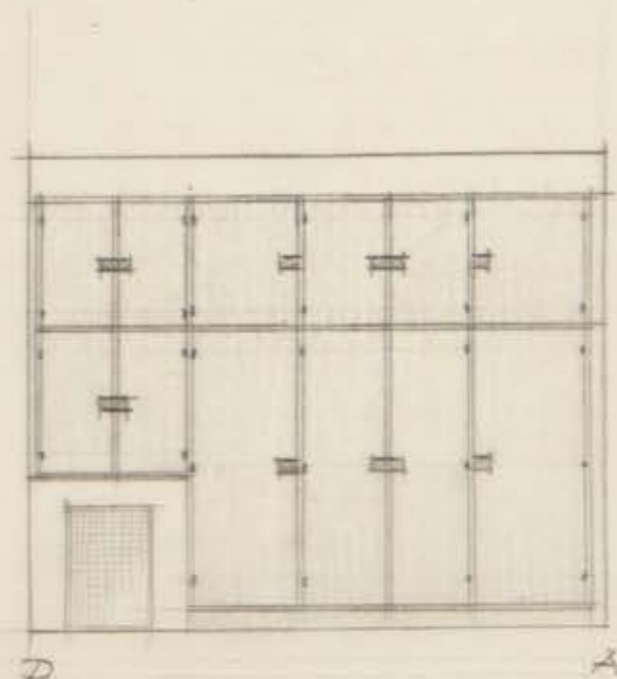
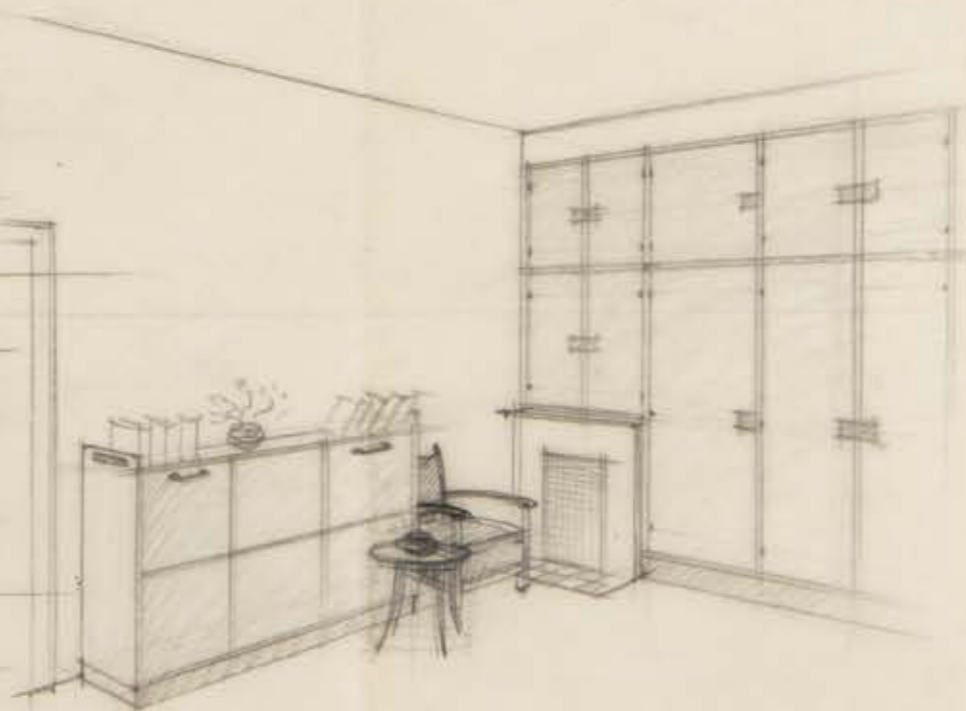
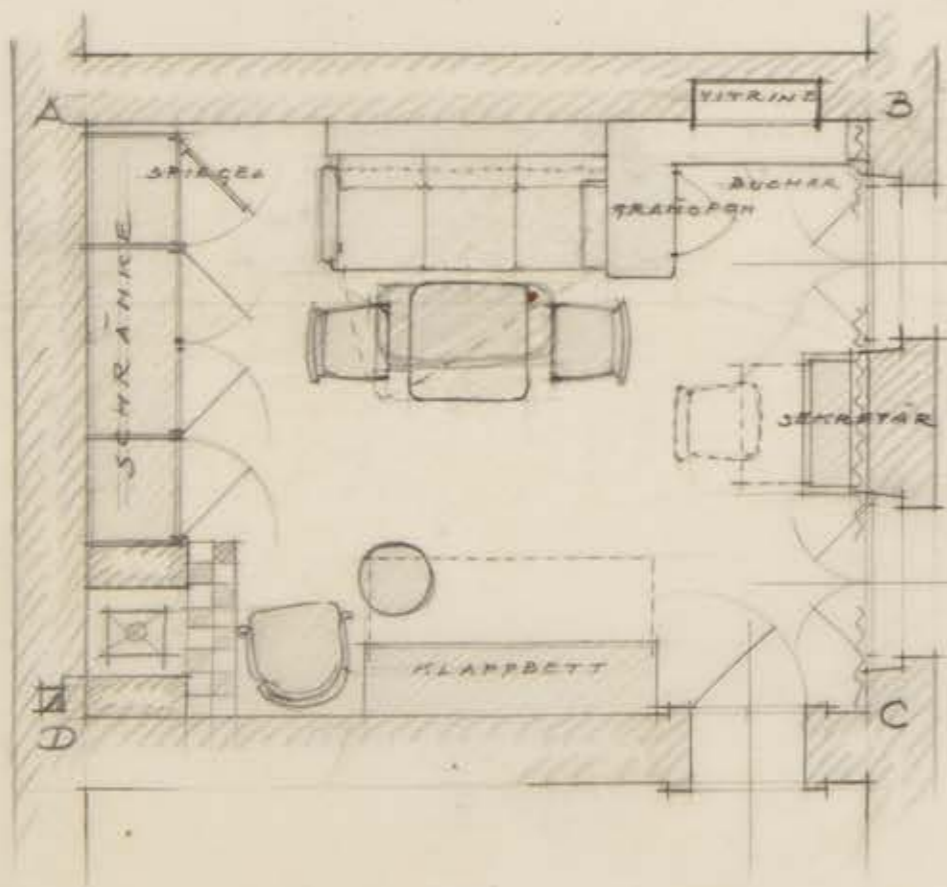
B

C



C

D



D

A



Vienna Abroad: Viennese interior design in Australia 1940–1949¹

Harriet Edquist

The idea of a society in exile, such as that described by Marc Raeff in *Russia Abroad*, his study of the interwar Russian diaspora, is a useful framework for gathering together the experiences and contributions of a small group of exiles and émigré designers who came to Australia from Vienna.²

These architects and furniture manufacturers, mostly Jewish, relocated to Melbourne and Sydney in 1938 and 1939 and for almost a decade promulgated the values of their Viennese profession - *Neues Wiener Wohnen* (New Viennese Living). Almost all had been trained in the schools of Vienna - *Kunstgewerbeschule* (University of Applied Arts), the Academy of Fine Arts and TUWien (Technical University Vienna) - under Josef Hoffmann, Oscar Strnad, Franz Cizek, Clemens Holzmeister and other key figures in Austrian modernism.³ Their interpretation of modernism, shaped in Vienna, was conceived in opposition to the totalising agendas promulgated by adherents of *Gesamtkunstwerk* such as *Wiener Werkstätte* and the Bauhaus.

After World War I the Viennese building industry shrank, private villas became less affordable and smaller houses and apartments became the norm. As Ursula Prokop has noted, this economic situation forced many of the best architects “to concentrate on interiors and furniture design, as this area required fewer financial resources”. This led in turn to “a blossoming of interior design, which under the term *Wiener Wohnraumkultur* [literally: Viennese living room culture] has become part of cultural history and can be seen as a characteristic phenomenon of this period”.⁴ Prokop also notes that among this group were many Jewish architects, and some of them migrated to Australia.

In their Australian work and publications during the 1940s this group put forward a view of living which had its roots in the theoretical writings and practice of Adolf Loos, Oscar Strnad, Josef Frank and others. The émigrés were able to reference this legacy because they had brought with them to Australia photographs, drawings, books, publications, objects and furniture. These objects constitute a tiny but important and hitherto un-researched and largely unknown collection of Viennese interwar modernism that for a short time provided a connection with a new audience. Furthermore, the collections of Emmerich Révész, Paul Kafka and Richard Tandler, saved by emigration and now unknown in Vienna, provide a rich repository for future research on Viennese modernism and its translation. Equally important are the dozens of articles published in the 1940s by the Melbourne monthly magazine *Australian Home Beautiful* (*AHB*) written and illustrated by Viennese émigrés. They

were frequently illustrated by photographs of Viennese work that no longer exists and they exhibit the expertise in interior design - the intellectual capital - that the émigrés brought with them. There are also private collections of furniture which made the journey from Europe to Australia. Two celebrated suites of furniture designed by Josef Hoffmann and Adolf Loos represent the competing theoretical debates around modernism in Vienna in the early twentieth century and these provide a useful context for the emergence of *Wiener Wohnraumkultur*.

The picture of interwar Viennese modernism that emerges from this sample shows design practices that are deeply intertwined. The close relationship between furniture manufacturer and designer for example is revealed in the Révész and Kafka archives and the career of Henry Manne. Richard Tandler’s career on the other hand shows the connection between architecture and the applied arts. He studied “silverwork” and architecture under Strnad at the *Kunstgewerbeschule* and his fellow students included a group of young women who would go on to become some of the most successful designers of the *Wiener Werkstätte*. The Duldig furniture exemplifies the collaboration of an artist with a furniture manufacturer while the rare photographs of Viennese interiors by Ernst Fuchs, Karl Hofmann and Fritz Sternschein published in *AHB* illustrate accomplished Frankian ensembles of interwar Viennese modernism.

Together, these objects constitute an important archive that presents a coherent account of *Wiener Wohnraumkultur*. Consequently, for a brief time in the 1940s, we can perhaps speak of a phenomenon in Australia which, with a nod to Marc Raeff, we might call Vienna Abroad.

The Influencers in Vienna:

Josef Hoffmann

When Gretl, Käthe and Annelore Herschmann-Gallia arrived in Australia in January 1939 they settled in Sydney and lived among the furniture and objects that they, like other Viennese émigrés, had brought with them. Their pre-war furniture had been designed by Josef Hoffmann (1870-1956) in 1913 and is now in the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria.⁵ It was commissioned by Gretl’s and Käthe’s parents, Moriz and Hermine Gallia for their apartment at



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Previous Pages

Emmerich Révész (architect), Mary Weiss apartment Vienna, 1930s, Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection

Opposite

Bruno Reiffenstein (photographer), *The Gallia apartment*, boudoir c.1914, Private Collection

Continued

Opposite
F. O. Schmidt,
Vienna (attributed to)
(manufacturer) *Chair*,
from the Langer apartment
1903, National Gallery of
Victoria, Melbourne,
Purchased, 1994

Wohllebengasse 4, designed by Franz Krauss and Josef Tolk in 1912–1913. The interior of the Gallia apartment exemplified Hoffmann's praxis, a *Gesamtkunstwerk* that controlled the spatial organisation of the apartment and the patterns of its human occupation. Hoffmann designed the furniture for the hall, salon, smoking room, dining room and boudoir both built-in and free-standing – as well as the plasterwork, the woodwork, light fittings, wall coverings and floor coverings. He employed specially selected craftspeople to create a coherent interior arrangement designed under one controlling aesthetic. Overall the architect's vision holds sway. Objects are fixed to their positions in the general scheme of things and in this static atmosphere an air of formality reigns.

Adolf Loos

Accompanying the Hoffmann suite in the National Gallery is a group of furniture designed in 1903 by Adolf Loos (1870–1933) for Melanie and Jakob Langer. Melanie was born Melanie Gallia and was Moritz Gallia's niece. The Langers commissioned their apartment soon after they married; it was on the top floor of Otto Wagner's apartment block at Lobkowitzplatz 1 designed in 1884.⁶ Their daughter Liesl lived with her parents even after she married Erich Mueller and when her parents died she inherited the furniture. Following *Kristallnacht*, the Nazi pogrom against Jews in Germany, Austria and Sudetenland in November 1938, the Muellers fled Vienna leaving the furniture to be packed up by the maid and crated to Melbourne where they had decided to settle. Like Gretl and Käthe Gallia in Sydney, the Mueller's lived with their furniture for the remainder of their lives in Australia adapting it as necessity demanded.

Loos admired the designers of the British Arts and Crafts Movement, had lived and worked in America and England and, from his experience of Anglo-American domestic architecture and interiors, had developed an appreciation of the informality of their domestic living spaces and varied types of furniture. Furthermore, and more radically, Loos argued that if suitable objects, including furniture, already existed and had been proved over time, there was no need to create new ones. In the original Langer apartment Loos designed most of the furniture including a sideboard; dining and drawing-room chairs; a desk and chair; a wardrobe and bedroom chairs; cupboards and a sideboard fitted into panelling containing a long-case clock.⁷ While his pieces show the influence of British designers such as Mackay Hugh Baillie Scott and Charles Rennie Mackintosh some chairs designed by others were supplied or recommended by Loos to his clients. These included dining chairs with carved wooden backs that were Viennese copies of a late-nineteenth-century English chair in the style of Thomas Chippendale in the Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna (MAK) collection and Rococo-revival chairs covered in embossed leather. Loos's model for interior architecture was the English bourgeois house, for its relaxed domesticity and randomness that allowed evolution and change over time.⁸ Comparing the two most celebrated furniture designers in England and France in the mid-eighteenth century, Thomas Chippendale and Juste-Aurèle Meissonier, Loos observed that one designed and published “a collection of designs

of household furniture” that is for “everyman” while the other designed the royal staterooms of Louis XV. Implicit in this distinction is an idea of democracy and the values of the middle class that English furniture carried with it.⁹ Loos' view also implied a critique of the linear trajectory of modernism. If objects are continually in circulation (such as the Chippendale chair), there is no complete break with the past. In his view this suggests a more circular temporality and complicates the idea of the forward trajectory of the avant-garde.

Josef Frank

The National Gallery of Victoria has complemented the Hoffmann and Loos collections with objects from the *Wiener Werkstätte* and other early twentieth-century Viennese designers including Josef Frank, who is represented by two armchairs designed about 1930 and fabricated by Gebrüder Thonet in Vienna. Josef Frank (1885–1967) trained at TUWien under Carl König but following Loos's critical stance, eschewed König's historicist approach, rejected the Wagner School and the aestheticism of the *Wiener Werkstätte* and, with colleagues Oskar Strnad and Oskar Wlach “all of them sons of parents who had immigrated to Vienna from the crown lands”, led the development of “a specific *Wiener Schule* of sceptical modernism”.¹⁰

In 1925 Frank founded the company *Haus & Garten* with Wlach and Walter Sobotka which operated more or less in opposition to the *Wiener Werkstätte*.¹¹ During the interwar years *Haus & Garten* became the most influential furnishing house in Vienna, with its flexible approach to interior decoration supported by Frank's practice which was based on ideas of social inclusion and evolving experience. Thus, in a critique of contemporary German architecture Frank noted it “may be *sächlich*, practical, in principle correct, often even charming, but it remains lifeless” because it failed to account for “the multiplicity of our world” and “our very legitimate feelings, which are a fundamental part of modern life and its symbol, modern architecture”.¹²

Frank sought “to design the environment as if it had been created by chance (‘accidentism’)”.¹³ In his view interiors should accommodate an accumulation of cherished objects and materials acquired over a lifetime, or at least provide the impression of having this evolving character. He also began to combine furniture, textiles and artwork from different places and periods. Rebutting Hoffmann's *Gesamtkunstwerk*, Frank wrote that: “Living spaces are not artworks, nor are they well-turned harmonies in colour and form whose individual elements (wallpaper, carpets, furniture, pictures) constitute a completed whole”. He talked of the interiors he created as provisory: “We thus concern ourselves with looking at our age as just such a temporary arrangement and will proceed accordingly”.¹⁴ The provisory arrangement was also amenable to the possibility of organic development and change.

Frank was included in the 1927 Stuttgart Werkbundsiedlung along with Mies van der Rohe, Gropius, Le Corbusier and others. At the time he noted “our furniture and our utensils no longer relate to the form of the house because they are



Continued

Top Left
Emmerich Révész,
Suite of historical
furniture, c.1920s,
Caroline Simpson Library
& Research Collection

Top Right
Emmerich Révész
(architect) for Carl
Bamburger AG
(manufacturer), “Lincoln”
cabinet, c.1920s, Caroline
Simpson Library &
Research Collection

Bottom
Karl Duldig
(photographer),
Slawa Horowitz-Duldig
seated, Vienna, c.1931
© Eva de Jong-Duldig
and Duldig Studio.
Duldig designed this
furniture which was
manufactured by Sigmund
Járay Kunstmöbelfabrik

being constructed for different purposes”.¹⁵ So, rather than use modern tubular steel furniture in his exhibition houses like the others, he used “padded seating . . . brass lampshades with sewn lampshades and patterned curtains”.¹⁶ He wrote in 1926:

The aim of the furnishing strived for does not consist in making the interiors as rich or as simple as possible, but in making it as comfortable as possible: a goal that is in the middle, and so is difficult to grasp for those without any natural feeling.¹⁷

Frank oversaw the 1932 Vienna Werkbundsiedlung exhibition which drew criticism from the avant-garde for its site-planning, use of traditional technologies and relatively high cost in an economically deteriorating situation. Hugo Häring published a review in *Die Form* where he wrote:

The Viennese are not modern, because they still produce ornament. They emphasize livability [*Wohnlichkeit*] and keep their distance from *Sachlichkeit*. They do not speak about functionalism, they are not searching for the expression of the time, they do not disdainfully turn away when they encounter a historical form.¹⁸

As Christopher Long points out, Häring also argued that the Austrian modernists like Frank had achieved something that had eluded even the most advanced architects of Germany: the creation of an interior that was unencumbered by traditional notions of formal, architectonic style. By rejecting the very idea of style itself, Frank and the other Viennese had come to a new understanding of design.¹⁹



The work of the émigrés revealed through their archives

The legacy of Frank, *Haus & Garten* and the *Wiener Wohnraumkultur* movement is evident in the early days of Vienna Abroad in Australia. The clearest indication of this can be seen in two archives held in the Caroline Simpson Library and Research Centre, Sydney – those of Emmerich Révész and Paul Kafka.²⁰

Emmerich Révész/Emery T Reeves

The Révész archive comprises “around 350 original scale drawings (mostly pencil, some ink, some coloured) of room schemes and furniture designs; around 55 dyelines; hundreds of pencil sketches of furniture; around 170 photographs”.²¹ It is a snapshot of the working life of a Viennese architect in the interwar years. It is unlikely that, as a newly arrived young Hungarian architect Révész would have established a practice in Vienna immediately on arrival and more likely that he worked (perhaps on commission) for an existing firm of interior architects of which there were many to choose from in Austria’s capital. As his archive contains drawings of historicist interiors as well as those with the office stamps of Carl Bamburger AG and Sigmund Járay, it is possible he designed work for these prominent furniture making companies prior to establishing his own practice in the late 1920s.

Bamburger had a flourishing workshop in Vienna from the early twentieth century producing eclectic designs ranging from Rococo historicism, classical work derived from English (and possibly American) precedents - with names such as “Franklin”, “Hamilton”, “Wellington” and “Lincoln” – to work for the *Wiener Werkstätte*. The Révész “Lincoln” drawings on tracing paper (1922-1923) and photographs of other designs in his collection have been matched to drawings and photographs in a volume of designs from the Bamburger factory recently acquired by the Caroline Simpson Library.²² It seems reasonably certain therefore that Révész worked for Bamburger in the early 1920s.

Of Romanian descent, Sigmund Járay moved to Vienna in 1873 where he established a furniture factory in partnership with his brother Sandor Járay whose brilliance in designing reproduction furniture was acknowledged by Loos in his early essay “Furniture”.²³ Like Bamburger, Járay’s factory produced eclectic work; he was appointed imperial furniture manufacturer but was also the winner of a competition to design an inexpensive suite of furniture for a married worker which is in the MAK collection. There is no evidence other than the sheets of designs in his archive that Révész worked for Járay, but it is a possibility. Sigmund Járay Kunstmöbelfabrik did manufacture a suite of furniture designed by artist and designer Slawa Horowitz in 1931 which is held in the collection of the Duldig Studio in Melbourne, the former family home of Slawa and her husband, sculptor Karl Duldig. Horowitz designed the pieces for the apartment in



Continued

Top
Karl Hofmann (designer),
double page spread of
Viennese apartment
published in *Australian
Home Beautiful*, March
1945, RMIT Design
Archives

Bottom Left
Unknown photographer,
Kunstgewerbeschule
Vienna 1915, Copolov
Family, Richard Tandler
collection

Inscribed on the back
[Anny] Schroeder, [Hilda]
Jesser, [Frederick]
Rosenbaum, [Lotte] Calm,
[Grete] Neuwaldner and
four others who have not
yet been identified

Bottom Right
Unknown photographer,
Trip to Hollenstein,
Austrian Alps, Summer
1919, Copolov Family,
Richard Tandler
collection

Richard Tandler back
row, right, Oscar Strnad
is third from the left and
Frau Strnad is at the end
of the front row. The
three other women are
identified as Fraulein
Bondy, Fraulein Melli
Meitner and Fraulein
Trude Morgenstern.

A Bachelor's Flat In Vienna

IN the Vienna of pre-war days one of the outstanding buildings was a splendid block of flats known to English visitors as High House. It contains approximately 260 self-contained flats of which about one-fourth are specially designed for the use of bachelors—of either sex. The building is of eight stories but rising from one corner is a tower of fifteen stories, the top two of which were equipped as cafe and restaurant for the benefit of the occupants of the flats.

The dimensions of a typical bachelor flat can be seen in the accompanying plan and the manner in which it was furnished for a lady is shown in the photographs.

It will be seen that the living room occupies just half the floor space, divided by invisible lines into a sleeping area and an eating or entertaining area. Judicious arrangement of the furniture would make possible the entertainment of say a dozen guests.

Practically the whole of one side of the area designated "lobby" is lined with wardrobes and storage cupboards that reach from floor to ceiling. Opening off the lobby are the bathroom and the dressing room. One third of the latter is curtained off as a kitchen. Since the occupier of the flat can obtain her chief meal from the restaurant upstairs, an electric stove and a sink provide sufficient cooking facilities.

The furniture was designed for the lady who occupied it till just before the war by Karl Hofmann, a well-known architect of some years' standing in Vienna, whose work was also well known outside the Austrian capital. To him we are indebted for the use of the photographs.



THE PLAN

REFERENCE in the plan reveals that the two lower photographs depict the wall from the corner, with the light, clever folding table in the lobby end, seen through the doorway. The attractive writing desk (shown closed and open) is covered with English cloth, the colors being with the pale pink and green of the lacquered wood work of the cabinets and cupboards. Timber of the furni-

ture is mahogany, with a wax finish. The windows have hand-printed linen curtains of four lengths, with net glass curtains. The walls have that ivory tint known as egg-shag, and the floor covering consists of mats and a couple of antique Persian rugs. Against the light walls the low, bright and light furniture conveys an air of spaciousness to these gracious rooms.



Australian
Home Beautiful
March 1945
p. 26, 31





Enzingerstraße 2 where she and Karl lived when they married.²⁵ They were paid for by royalties Horowitz received for the patent on her “Flirt” folding umbrella and were sent to Australia after the war.²⁶

In 1928 Révész entered a competition for the design of a theatre in Szombathely and at the same time designed a shopfront in the same city. He began to be noticed from about 1931 when his work was published in the English *Studio Yearbook* and in the Darmstadt-based *Innen-Dekoration*. The original photographs for these publications are in his archive as well as some of the design drawings. *Innen-Dekoration* published two articles on Révész in June and July 1931. The bedroom depicted in the June issue shows the influence of Frank in its vibrant textiles and the functional furniture raised on legs so that the edges (and dimensions) of the room remain visible. The asymmetrically arranged shelving unit for pot-plants perhaps references Révész’s interest in Japanese design while the buffet and wardrobe with their flamboyant displays of exotic timber veneers go to the heart of the Viennese furniture tradition, particularly, Biedermeier. The July article contains another typical element of Viennese interior design: the unit which occupies one wall of a bedroom in the Mayer apartment and is faced with an ebony and lacquer finish, probably white with black strap hinges. Open, it reveals hanging space, shelves and drawers for garments, and a doorway through to the adjacent room. The sleek modernity of the closed unit is offset by a traditional central chandelier while modern wall lighting illuminates the beds. The eclecticism, while startling today, is deliberate and carries forward Frank’s argument about the relativity of style.

By 1937 Révész had hit his stride and in an article published by *Innen-Dekoration* that year his interiors demonstrate that assured assemblage of eclectic objects, chairs, tables, banquette, lamps and lighting, rugs, curtains and upholstery fabric, each a perfect exemplar of its type, that characterises *Wiener Wohnraumkultur*. There are strong echoes of Frank in the fabrics and in these furniture arrangements which are designed to obviate the tyranny of sets of identical furniture in fixed positions. There are also similarities between the anteroom illustrated in the article and a room published

by Hofmann and Augenfied in *Innen-Dekoration* in 1929.²⁷ Révész displayed a residual Orientalism, whether a legacy of designers like Mackintosh or inspired by collections of Asian art in the MAK, it expresses itself in features such as asymmetrical shelf arrangements and Japanese-inspired hardware on chests and cabinets. Throughout his Viennese career Révész lavished attention on the cabinet, a ubiquitous presence in the interwar Viennese apartment that took the place of the English sideboard. Unlike the English precursor which came into its glory in the nineteenth century and was designed to display the family dinnerware and ornaments, Révész’s Viennese cabinets were designed to hide personal objects and highlight instead the value of intrinsic design and the splendor of exotic timber veneers.

Karl Hofmann

The Révész archive also contains 43 small and five large dyeline dimensioned designs for furniture carrying the office stamp of Karl Hofmann and Felix Augenfied. The drawings display all the characteristics typical of the interwar Viennese chair. There are versions of the English Windsor and Chipendale chairs popularised by Loos and Frank and more modest Georgian-style chairs; modern chairs with curved back and arms in the repertoire of every Viennese designer; chairs with leather strapping as well as timber-framed sofas with cane panels. The drawings probably came from an office pattern book and some went into production. Primarily interior designers, Hofmann & Augenfied designed house conversions and furnishings, worked for the Freud family and designed a now famous desk chair to accommodate Sigmund Freud’s eccentric sitting habits while reading. They were responsible for the interior of house no 13 designed by Oscar Strnad for the 1932 Vienna Werkbundsiedlung. Their work was published in international journals such as *Innen-Dekoration* and is typical of *Wiener Wohnraumkultur*. Some elements and room settings are similar to Révész who based chair designs on their patterns. It may be that Révész worked in their office in the 1920s.

Augenfied left Vienna for London in 1938 and then migrated to the United States of America where he built up another successful practice in New York as a designer and educator. Hofmann and his wife Gertrude, also an architect, fled



Top (Opposite and this page)
J. Scherb (photographer), Emmerich Révész (architect), wall unit in Mayer bedroom, 1931, Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection. These photographs were published in *Innen-Dekoration* 1931

Middle Left
J. Scherb (photographer), Emmerich Révész (architect), interior, c.1937. Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection. This photograph was published in *Innen-Dekoration* 1937

Middle Right
J. Scherb (photographer), Emmerich Révész (architect), interior showing “Kreuz” wall light, c. 1937, Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection

Bottom Left
Emmerich Révész (architect), view of unidentified interior, Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection

Bottom Right
J T Kalmar (manufacturer), Wandarm “Kreuz”, wall light, Kafka collection, Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection

This light might have been designed by Josef Frank for *Haus & Garten* in the 1920s



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Top
Emmerich Révész
(architect), Sketches
for cabinets, Caroline
Simpson Library &
Research Collection

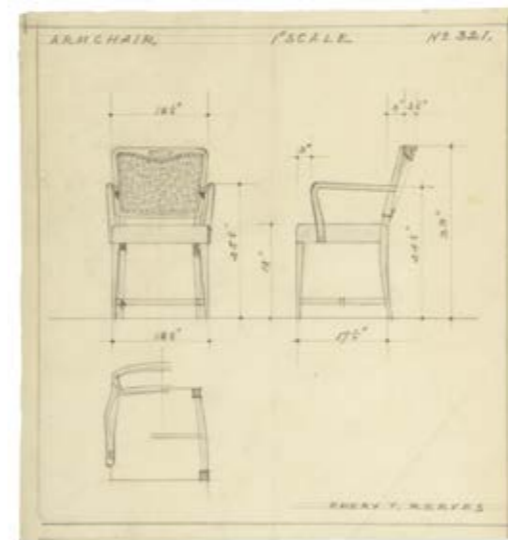
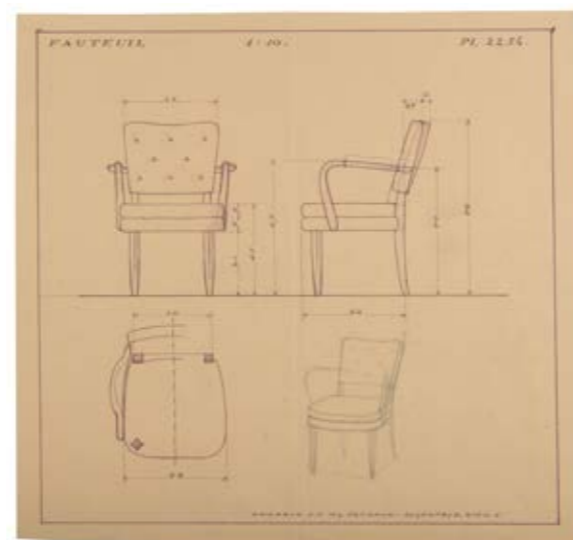
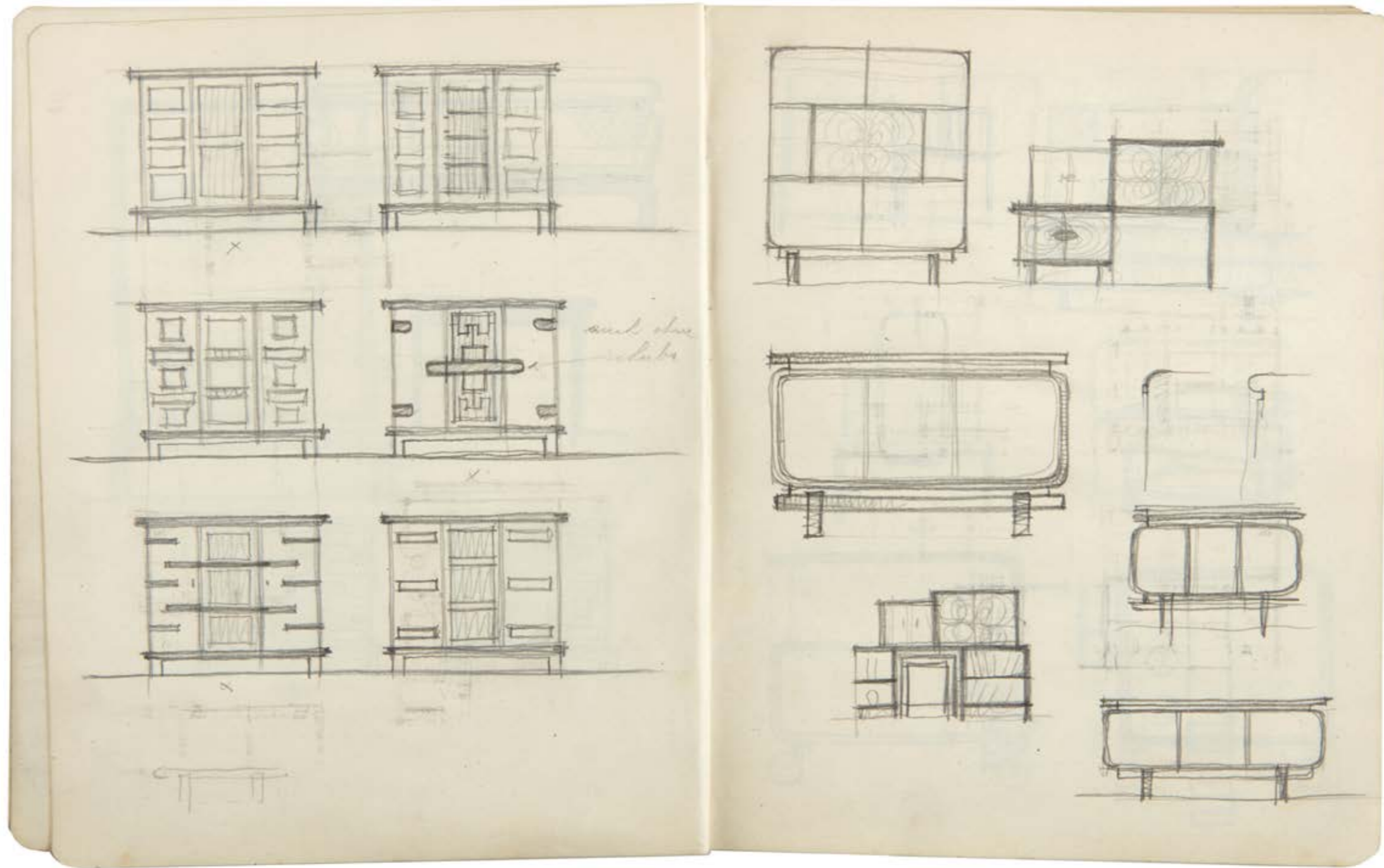
Bottom Left
Hofmann & Augenfeld
(interior designers),
design for a Windsor arm
chair, Caroline Simpson
Library & Research
Collection

Bottom Right
Hofmann & Augenfeld
(interior designers),
design for an arm chair,
Caroline Simpson Library
& Research Collection

Opposite Page

Bottom Left
Emery T Reeves
(architect), design for
an armchair, Caroline
Simpson Library &
Research Collection

Bottom Right
Hofmann & Augenfeld
(interior designers),
design for an arm chair,
Caroline Simpson Library
& Research Collection

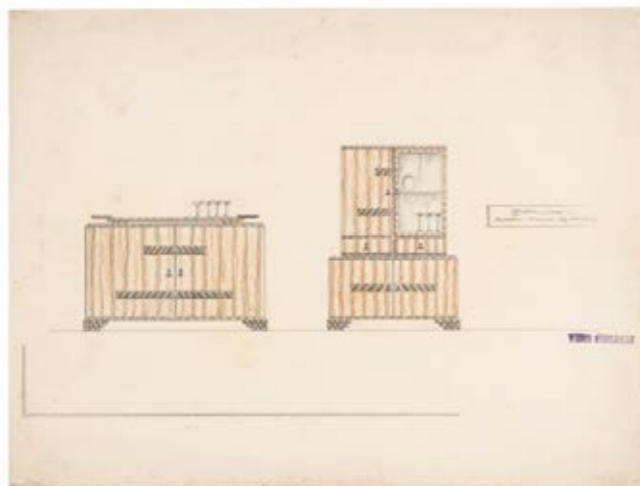


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Left

Paul Kafka (designer, manufacturer), sideboard, and sideboard with cabinet, Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection



Right

Atelier Miroplast (photographer), Hofmann & Augenfied (architects), study for Miss Burlingham, Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection



Opposite Page

Top

Richard Tandler (designer), H. Südfeld & Co, Vienna (manufacturer), Enamelled silver dish, c. 1920–21, Copolov Family, Richard Tandler collection

Bottom Left

Richard Tandler, interior Tandler's apartment in H. Südfeld & Co, Vienna, c.1930s, Copolov Family, Richard Tandler collection

Bottom Middle

Richard Tandler, (photographer), H. Südfeld & Co, Luster und Metallwaren Fabrik, Lambrechtgasse 16, Wien, c.1930s, Copolov Family, Richard Tandler collection

Bottom Right

Richard Tandler (designer), Design for enamelled silver dish for H. Südfeld & Co, Vienna, 1920, Copolov Family, Richard Tandler collection

to Brno where Gertrude was born and then to Melbourne arriving in 1939. They were joined by Karl's mother Gabriele and possibly a sister Margarethe.²⁸ Two weeks after arrival in Melbourne, Gertrude was interviewed by the *Argus* newspaper on aspects of design in Vienna, the journalist noting that “her teacher was Strnad, who was responsible for the décor for ‘Don Juan’ when that opera was performed at the latest Salzburg festival” as though the architect, opera and festival were familiar to the Melbourne reader.²⁹ Karl was not interviewed on this occasion. In his application for naturalisation in 1944 when he was 54, he gave his occupation as an engineering draftsman. He never registered as an architect in Melbourne so may have practised as a draftsman for some time. In 1945 *AHB* published some of Hofmann's Viennese interiors (discussed below) and Ian Johnson has recorded that in the 1940s Hofmann commissioned the celebrated Austro-Hungarian furniture maker Schulim Krimper to make a small silver ash dining suite for clients Richard and Henri Marcus.³⁰ This suggests that Hofmann was able to pursue interior design work in Australia, although the extent of his practice needs further research.

Paul Kafka

Paul and Ilse Kafka and Paul's mother Olga arrived in Sydney via Shanghai in 1939. The twenty-seven-year-old Kafka described himself as a “joiner” on his immigration papers and his training in Vienna had been in furniture manufacturing in his father's factory and at another factory, although details are scanty. He also worked in Shanghai en route to Australia.³¹ The Kafka archive contains over one thousand drawings and sketches of furniture from the interwar period which, with the Révész material, is a rich trove of Viennese modern design. Some are presentation drawings of furniture from at least 11 different creators including Révész. One drawing is of the “Kreuz” wall light stamped “J T Kalmar Wien”. Julius Theodor Kalmar collaborated with Josef Frank and it is possible this wall light was Frank's design sold through *Haus & Garten*. Such lights can be seen in photographs of Viennese interiors by Révész and others. There are about 50 small black and white photos of kitchen cabinets and bedroom furniture all stamped Wr Weichhol-

zmöbel Glücksmann for whom Révész worked. There are also traces of Hofmann & Augenfied: a dyeline of a drawing for *Wohnung Reisner kombinierter Schrank* (“a combined cabinet in the Reisner Apartment”); a photo captioned *Wg. Dr. Schnabel Vorraum* which might represent one of the apartments Hofmann & Augenfied designed for Ernst and Franz Schnabel in 1931 and 1932, and a photo by Atelier Miroplast of Dorothy Burlingham's study in a flat Hofmann and Augenfied renovated in 1929. Burlingham was a friend of Anna Freud, a Hofmann & Augenfied client. Given its unclear provenance, this archive is difficult to assess. Some of the material might have been brought to Australia by Révész, then known as Reeves, worked for him. On the other hand, the profusion of work by different designers might well reflect the actuality of the Kafka business in interwar Vienna when they probably produced work designed by others as well as designing their own. Only two drawings in the collection have a Kafka signature which suggests that his design input was minimal.³² He was a business manager, and this was the role he adopted in Sydney.

Richard Tandler

Richard Tandler trained as an architect, but he and his family were heirs to H. Südfeld & Co, manufacturing silversmiths and metalworkers, which had its premises adjacent to an elegant urban palazzo at Lambrechtgasse 16, Wien IV.³³ Richard Tandler's father Heinrich had married Hedwig Südfeld and by 1914 was director of a workforce numbering 80. Richard was destined to work for the family firm and was apprenticed there from 1911 to 1914. Following his own inclinations however he enrolled at the *Kunstgewerbeschule* to study architecture, graduating in 1920 after spending time in military service. Two photographs in the Tandler archive show Tandler and his fellow students in the *Kunstgewerbeschule* studios in 1915. One is Fritz Rosenbaum who migrated to Melbourne at the same time as Tandler and the others include Anny Schroeder, Hilda Jesser, Lotte Calm and Grete Neuwalder who became well-known ceramicists and glass designers for the *Wiener Werkstätte* after the war. Following his graduation Tandler rejoined Südfeld at a



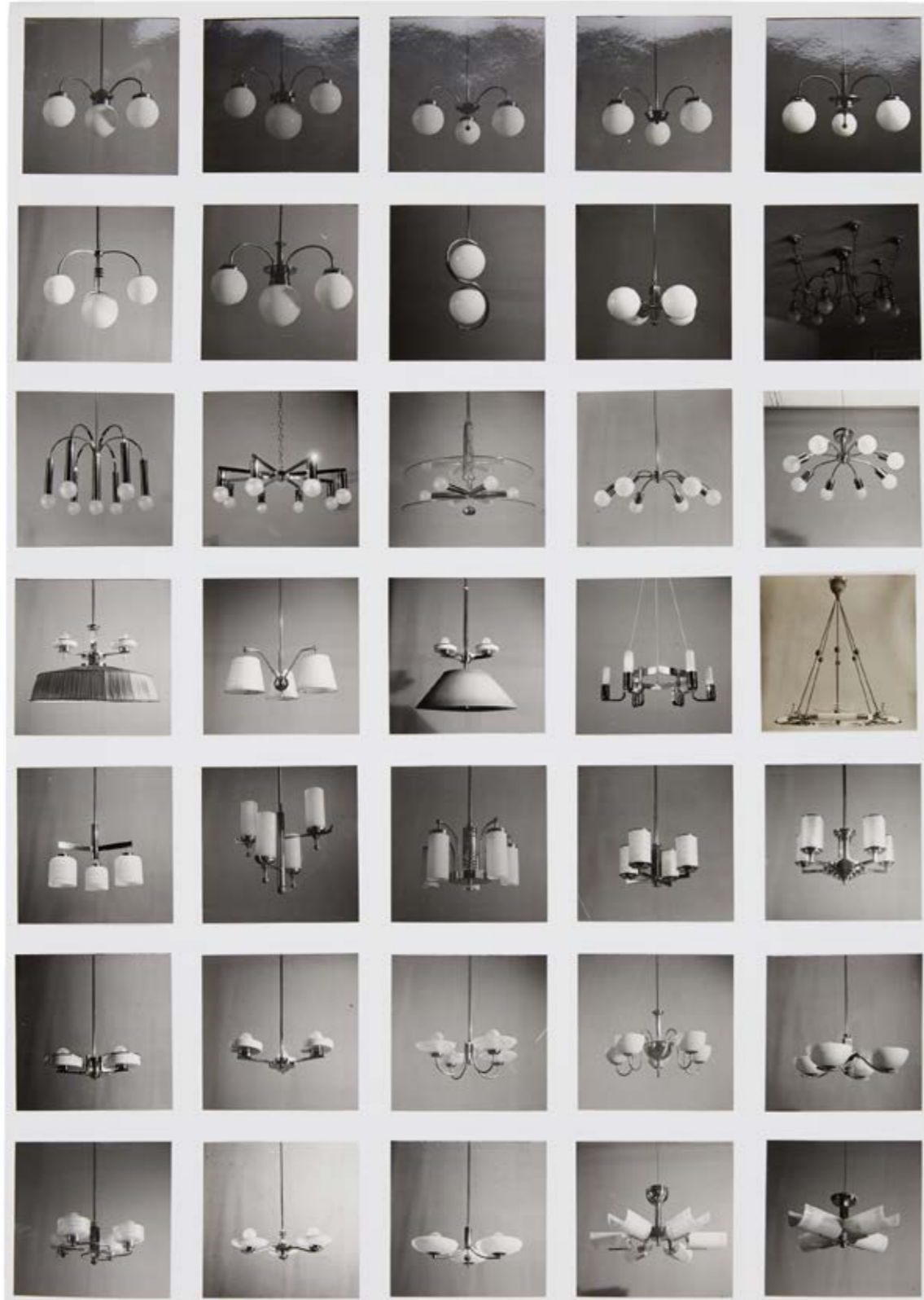
senior level working in both management and design and, in 1926, was put in charge of re-organising the firm for the production of lighting and the introduction of a new line in “art metalware”. Tandler's training was thorough, both as an apprentice and in architecture, and like many Viennese architects he was a proficient designer across a number of media as evidenced by his designs for metalware and lighting. He left Südfeld in 1933 and went into private practice as an architect in an increasingly hostile environment which saw Jews expelled from manufacturing businesses. Records of two designs from this period have been preserved: a country house for Joseph Posselt of 1935 and the remodeling of the Viennese design house *Elegance* which was published in 1936.

As a student at the *Kunstgewerbeschule* Tandler was on friendly terms with Gertrude Morgenstern who later married Karl Hofmann. A photograph taken on a holiday at Hollenstein in the Austrian Alps in 1919 shows Tandler standing with a group of fellow travellers who include his

professor Oscar Strnad, Strand's wife, three unidentified men and Fraulein Bondy, Melli Meitner and Trude Morgenstern. It is possible that this connection may have been why Melbourne became the Hofmanns' destination rather than America where Augenfied had gone.

The Dissemination of Wiener Wohnraumkultur through Australian Home Beautiful

From 1940 and continuing for several years the Melbourne monthly magazine *Australian Home Beautiful* (*AHB*) published dozens of articles on interior design written by émigré architects and designers in Melbourne as well as articles about their work. They accessed their personal collections for models and ideas which could be translated into an Australian context. Seen as a group, these articles provided the most sustained insight into European modernism available to the public outside specialist architectural publications.



Opposite
Richard Tandler,
Die Moderne Beleuchtung,
Wien Lighting Catalogue,
H. Südfeld & Co,
Vienna, 1926, Coplov
Family, Richard Tandler
collection

This Page
Richard Tandler, page
in Richard Tandler's
scrapbook showing house
and gardens of Joseph
Posselt, Vienna, 1935-1937,
Coplov Family, Richard
Tandler collection



This Page
Robert Haas
(photographer),
Ernst Fuchs (architect),
apartment for a
“Doctor of Fine Arts”,
Vienna, 1937 © Robert
Haas/Wien Museum

Opposite Page
Ernst Fuchs, “Function
and Beauty”, *Australian
Home Beautiful*, April
1942, 12. RMIT Design
Archives

Most dealt with the interior of the apartment or small house, addressing the foreseen need for mass housing after the war and offering advice to the home owner about how best to use scarce resources. These articles make an interesting, if largely un-researched, intervention in Australia’s history of modernism and provide a coherent account of a Viennese sensibility in interior design that can be read against the Viennese background described above.

Ernst Fuchs/Ernest Fooks

The first articles published by AHB to proselytize *Wiener Wohnraumkultur* were written by Ernst Fuchs. Fuchs had been in Melbourne for just a year when he published “Simplicity in furnishing a small house” (*AHB* May 1940), which argued for multi-purpose rooms as a way of maximising space in a small house or apartment.³⁴ The photographs accompanying the article were taken by Viennese photographer Robert Haas and show an apartment Fuchs had designed for a Viennese “Doctor of Art History”. Haas had photographed several apartments of Austrian Jews before they fled the Nazi regime; the negatives of the Fuchs series are dated 1937 which is probably around the time the design was completed.³⁵ When Fuchs arrived in Melbourne with his wife Noemi he found employment almost immediately with the Architects Panel of the Housing Commission of Victoria under Frank Heath. Appropriate housing solutions were on his mind: He wrote in another article (*AHB* April 1942):

Today we all recognize the immense psychological value of town and county planning, and the importance of environment as a factor in the drive to improve the nation’s mental and physical health. So that it is more necessary than ever to consider the influence of the immediate environment – the dwelling itself and the rooms in which we live and sleep and work.³⁶

Fuchs had taken time out from his architectural studies at TUWien in the 1920s to study psychology and in his written work he consistently advocates design that is human-centred rather than based on style. He goes on:

I am not concerned here with architectural “styles” or fashions at all, but with providing the scene in which the drama of personal life takes place – the interior of the dwelling or the shelter, whatsoever its character and its equipment for living, i.e. the furniture. Not a single creative period in the historical evolution of mankind ever considered the problems of mere style. The character of architecture and of interior design, as well as that of the human being, has always been the product of the social and economic conditions of their time.³⁷

In an article published a year later in June 1943, Fooks who had changed his name from Fuchs, deliberately adopted the modernist axiom “Form Follows Function” for his title and

turned it into a very Viennese humanism:

Every patent office of every country is full of ideas – millions of them – for making life simpler and providing more comfort in our homes. Many of them, perhaps most of them, are rather complicated. But there are many different ways of accomplishing the same end that do not need patenting . . . comfort can be created solely by using common sense, by a proper understanding of the principles of interior decorating and by the right selection of colours.

Following Loos and Frank, Fooks also advocated an English-inspired eclectic informality in the interior:

Although it may not be widely known this practice of combining various kinds of wood, different types of chairs and of tables follows closely the old English tradition, whereas the use of sets, or suites, of furniture now the common custom is a comparatively modern invention. Although the grouping of related or similar chairs was used in England during the 18th century, especially as dining chairs, the suites of our days are a purely commercial product.³⁸

The photographs illustrating this article probably depict his Viennese apartment although this is unstated and interestingly, some of the furniture timber is Australian (Queensland maple and Queensland walnut). For Fooks, a Viennese designer of the new school, the uniformity and formality of furniture suites were anathema; variety, flexibility, good timber and craftsmanship were everything. In Melbourne he collaborated with Krimper who became one of Australia’s most celebrated furniture makers from the 1940s to the 1960s and Fooks designed Krimper’s retail outlet and factory.

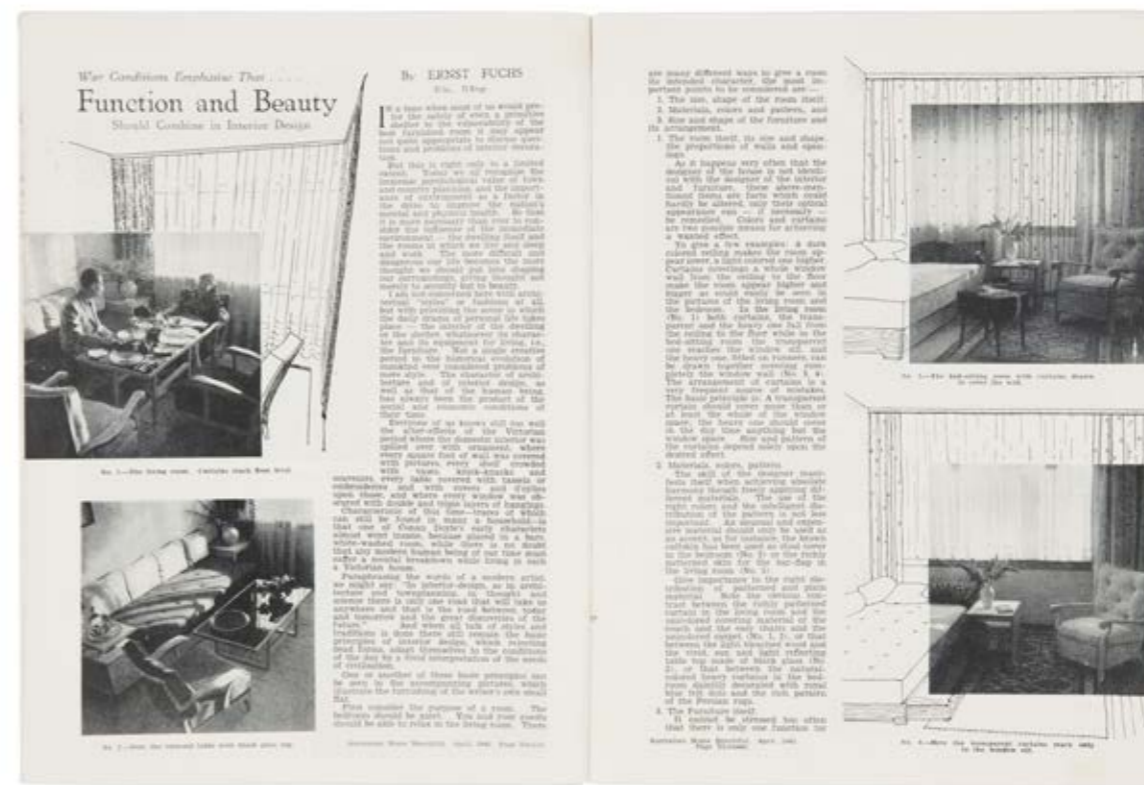
Henry Manne

In November 1944 Henry Manne published an article in *Australian Home Beautiful* titled “Fifty years of modern furniture. The birthday of a revolution”. Advertised on the front cover of the magazine, the article’s author, as the editor noted

outlines the rise and progress of what has become known as the Modernist Movement in design, applied more particularly to interior decoration and furniture. He traces it from its beginnings just 50 years ago, in the form of L’Art Nouveau, and illustrates his notes with photographs of furniture ranging from the French of the 1880’s to the “unit” and “built-in” methods of the 1940s. It is in brief a chapter in our cultural history that is worth recording.⁴⁰

AHB again took the initiative in 1946 (August and September) in what seems to have been a campaign to educate its readership about international design. The magazine published two more articles by Manne on the modern movement in architecture that show familiarity with recent literature on the topic, from Nikolaus Pevsner’s *Pioneers of Modern Design*, to Bruno Taut’s 1924 *Die Neue Wohnung* and other contemporary publications. The first article focused on Frank Lloyd Wright and the second on European modernists Hoffmann, Wagner, Gropius, Loos and Mies van der Rohe. The August article was introduced by the editor:

Probably the best known name in the realm of architecture is Frank Lloyd Wright of America. His work has been recorded in the press of all countries. His buildings have been described in detail by all architectural historians. An Australian journalist returning from a visit to Japan once wrote an illustrated article for *The Home Beautiful* on the famous Hotel Imperial that he built in Tokyo. But the writer of “A century of Modern Architecture,” begin-



ning in this issue, points out that Frank Lloyd Wright’s real claim to fame lies in his contribution 50 years ago to modernism in domestic architecture. The story of the beginning and progress of this era is very interesting.⁴¹

By this time Manne had built up an extensive library of reference works and his articles are possibly the first surveys of modern architecture and design published for the general public in Australia.⁴² At the same time, in the first of a five-part series on the subject of “Furniture for peace time” published in February 1945, Manne followed Fooks in extolling the virtues of simplicity and flexibility and bemoaning the unfortunate fashion for suites of furniture, particularly “the ubiquitous three-piece lounge suites, always tremendously bulky, irrespective of the size of the room into which they were put”.⁴³

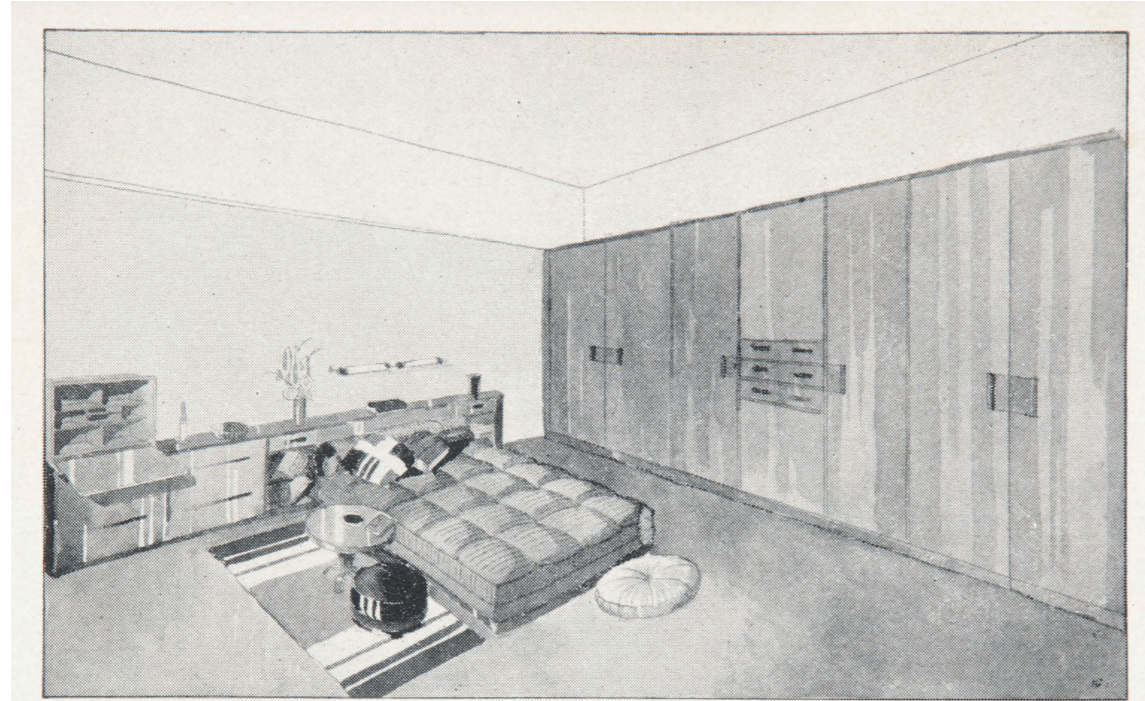
Manne was not an architect, but a furniture manufacturer and designer who came to Australia via Vienna, Cracow and South Africa before the war and with other émigrés helped build a flourishing modern furniture industry in Melbourne and Sydney.⁴³ Soon after his arrival in 1939 Manne established his own factory at 114–118 Toorak Road, South Yarra (which was later requisitioned by the army in 1942). Builder John Murphy, a friend of Manne (and of Robin Boyd whose two family houses he built), enjoyed visiting the South Yarra premises and, according to his daughter Prue Carr, bought at least two pieces of furniture including a small bookshelf, similar to one published in Manne’s 1945 article “Furniture for peace time”. It showed the influence of Fred Ward’s unit furniture designed in the 1930s and was unlike Manne’s Viennese designs.⁴⁴ While Manne spent the remainder of the war employed at Monsanto at Braybrook he also wrote hundreds of articles for newspapers (*The Age*, *The Argus*, *The Herald*, *The Australian Jewish News*) and *Australian Home Beautiful*. Topics included “current affairs, history, geography, music, literature, as well as furniture and interior design”.⁴⁵ He expressed the ideals of human-centred Viennese modernism in an article appositely titled “Fitting the house to the family”:

The ideal modern architect-artist, however, starts his plan for the building of a house by investigating the needs and interests of the client and his family. Thus he proceeds to create a plan in which the rooms are so arranged that they complement each other in their services forming in their totality a uniformly functioning whole. . . . In other words, the planning and designing of the modern house should be based on the whole family’s every-day routine.⁴⁷

In his March 1945 article “Furniture for peace time” Manne included a photograph of a wall mounted shelving unit designed by Karl Hofmann, originally published in *Wiener Mobil*.⁴⁸ It is likely Manne and Hofmann knew each other in Melbourne, possibly even in Vienna, and it may have been through Manne’s agency that AHB also published a double-page spread of Hofmann’s design for a “Bachelor Flat” in the same issue of the magazine. The apartment was in an inter-war highrise block in Vienna and, typically, accommodated quite a lot of furniture and amenity in a small space. The floor to ceiling wall storage units, multi-purpose furniture, corner banquette, small eclectic groupings of chairs and tables and a textile-covered cabinet with a fall front characteristic of Frank’s designs for *Haus & Garten*, typify Hofmann’s Viennese interwar design.

Henry Manne’s informed excursions into the history of twentieth-century design says much about the agency of AHB in promulgating modern design to its readership, but also much about the Viennese character of Manne and his endeavour. Australian furniture designers of the 1930s and 40s did not write informed articles about design history for popular consumption and local manufacturers showed little in the way of discursive tendencies. The collaborative practices that underpinned the particularity of Viennese interwar modernism - partnership between architects and furniture designers, architects working as furniture designers, manufacturers playing an active role in the production of *Wiener Wohnraumkultur*, and the imbricated relationship between furniture and interior design - were not characteristic of Australian domestic culture. There was much to learn by their example. And again, AHB led the way in showing how this could be done.

Continued



The built-in bedhead idea is capable of variation to suit individual needs and tastes. This example includes writing desk and bookshelves besides drawer and cupboard space. Bedclothes, as in the other designs, are put away in the chest behind the head of the bed, which has a lift-up lid. At night the bolster is removed. Two additional drawers are fitted into the centre panel of the built-in wardrobe section.

This Page
Frederick Sterne
(architect), design for a
guest room published in
Australian Home Beautiful,
August 1946,
RMIT Design Archives

Opposite Page

Top
Kurt Popper 'An
immediate post-war
home', *Australian Home
Beautiful*, March 1946
RMIT Design Archives

Bottom Left
Frederick Sterne
(architect) view of
interior, Vienna 1933,
published in *Australian
Home Beautiful*,
September 1946,
RMIT Design Archives

Bottom Right
*Australian Home
Beautiful*, April 1946 cover
featuring Sherman house
designed by Kurt Popper,
RMIT Design Archives

Friedrich Sternschein/Frederick Sterne

"Joanna Plans a Home" was the most ambitious series of articles published by *Australian Home Beautiful* at this time. Commencing in September 1945 and written by established *AHB* journalist Mary Jane Seymour the monthly series continued for over a year. Constructed as a narrative, the articles that comprise "Joanna plans a home" describe and illustrate how the fictional Joanna decides to plan and furnish her dream house while her husband Peter is away at war. The narrative unfolds in chronological sequence following Joanna as she contemplates her dream house, has a plan drawn up and goes off to find the equipment to furnish it. Her searches for dining-room, bedroom and kitchen furniture not only take her to Melbourne department stores but more importantly to the house of an American friend who providentially provides her with international journals featuring the work of American and European-American modernist designers Dan Cooper, Eliel Saarinen, Marcel Breuer and others. A full-page photograph of a Richard Neutra interior as well as illustrations of furniture by the other designers accompanies the article (*AHB* April 1946). Thus primed, Joanna is introduced by her friend to an "overseas" architect "who specialised in modern furniture and interiors". The architect was Frederick Sterne.

Sterne had arrived in Melbourne in 1938 as Friedrich (Fritz) Sternschein accompanied by his wife Maria. Little of his life and work in Vienna has been recorded but a modest commission for Möbelfabrik M Heiduk was published in *Moderne Welt* in 1930 when Sternschein was a student at TUWien. He also participated in Frank's 1932 Vienna Werkbundsiedlung designing the interior for house no 21 in Eugen Wachberger's adjoining town houses at Woinovichgasse 22.⁴⁹ While images of this interior do not survive, a photograph of no 22, designed by Ernst Lichtblau still exists, and it can be assumed that Sternschein's design was similarly infused with the ideals of *Wiener Wohnraumkultur*.⁵⁰ Lichtblau was the director of the Advice Bureau for Interior Design (BEST) which had an office and showroom in Karl Marx Hof, and he and other Werkbund members, including

Frank and Sobotka, gave advice to the tenants on good interior design.⁵¹

It is probable Sternschein knew Lichtblau and the *Haus & Garten* architects; certainly, his business card, a red square with white cut-out circle at the centre announcing *Raum Kunst* ("interior decoration") suggests a self-consciously modernist orientation.⁵² A modern apartment designed by Sternschein was published by *Innen-Dekoration* in 1933 and it shows a combination of eclectic furniture groupings typical of Vienna along with more streamlined, matching desk and chair arrangements similar to the Bauhaus. Its design is more forthright and less comfortable than Révész and Frank.⁵³ In addition a small sheet of drawings with Sternschein's office stamp for 1934 depicting a wall unit for the Hans Schwenk residence has been found in the Paul Kafka archive in Sydney.⁵⁴

Sterne had spent the war years in the architecture office of Leighton Irwin. In 1943 he and Maria divorced, and he moved from the family house in Caulfield to a studio flat in South Yarra. As described by Mary Jane Seymour it comprised:

one large room in an old mansion home, plus a bathroom and kitchenette, and its interest lay not only in the design of the furniture and the materials used, but in the clever way living room, dining room, bedroom, study, music room and winter garden were combined in an orderly and attractive harmony.⁵⁵

Sterne furnished his flat with pieces of furniture of his own design, such as the chairs and cane-topped table, as well as bought pieces. The fabric he chose to cover the divans was *Crete* by Frances Burke, the foremost textile designer in Australia at the time, while Melbourne sculptor Ola Cohn's head of a woman on the unit cupboards indicates an interest in contemporary Australian sculpture.

Encouraged by Sterne, Seymour's articles widened their focus from furniture to interior design. The interiors Sterne illustrated for "Joanna Plans a Home" show the legacy of Frank, the informal grouping of separate items designed for

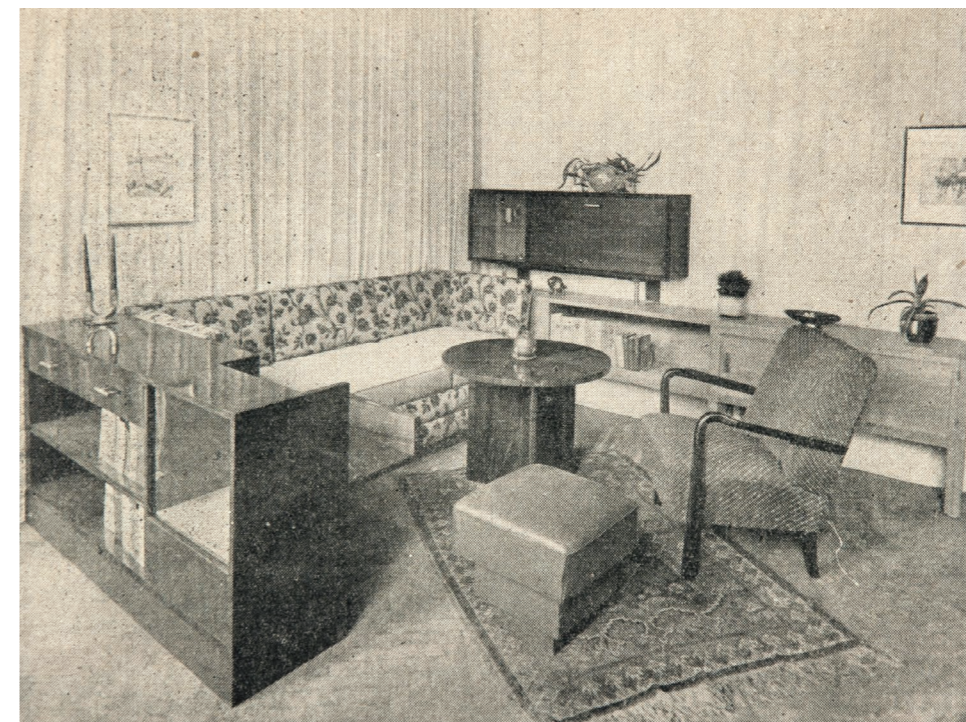
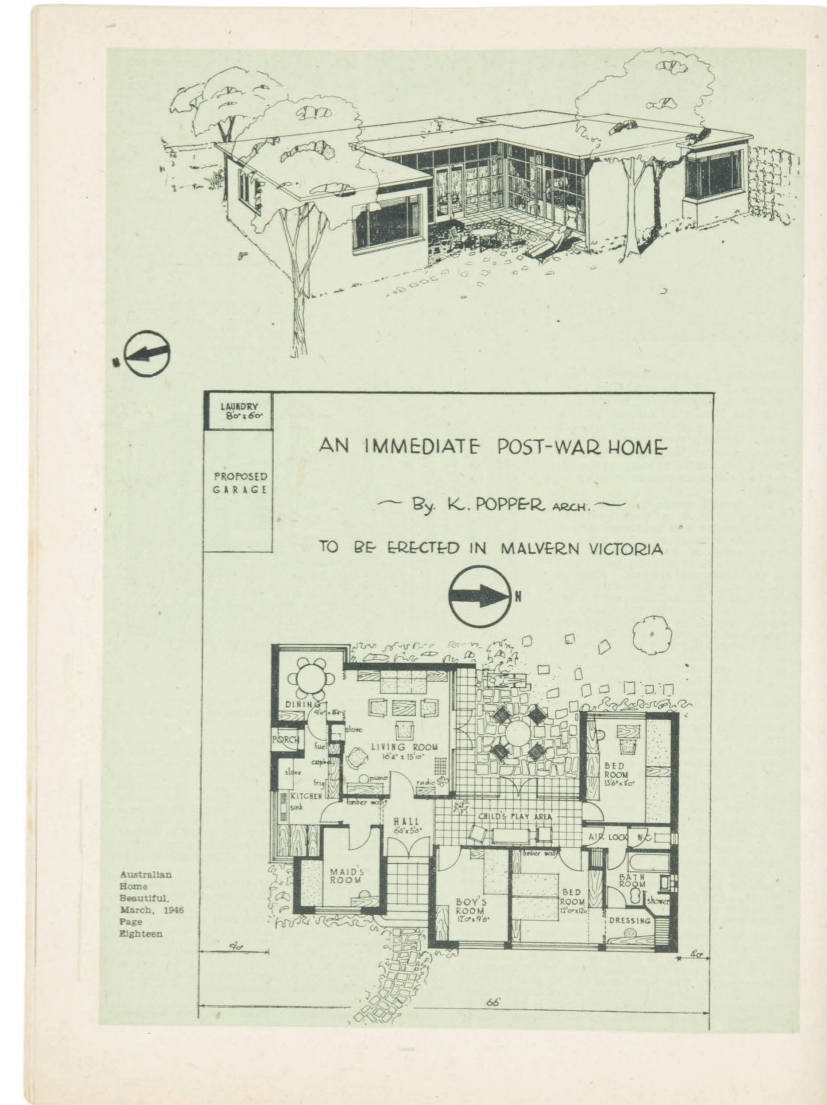
maximum flexibility in the small spaces available. While Sterne's drawings were made especially for the articles, we know that the photographs he supplied were of work completed in Vienna, as two of them are similar to those published in *Innen-Dekoration*.

Each article deals with a different room - the living room (June), bedroom (August), guest room (September) and kitchen (October). Sterne's Viennese background comes through strongly in the casual arrangement of furniture, the fondness for built-in wall units and for multi-purpose furniture and spaces. A comparison between the kitchen designed by Joanna and that of Sterne is instructive. Joanna's is larger, and its fittings are more widely spaced necessitating more walking between workstations. Sterne's on the other hand is designed according to function; one area is given over to food storage, preparation, cooking and washing up while the other is for serving, crockery and utensil storage. The last segment of the sequence compares the final plan of the house with Joanna's first attempt. While similar, there are important differences: Sterne's plan is rigorously zoned into living, sleeping and service areas, all accessed by the generous entrance hall. The enlarged dining/living room thrust out at an angle from the orthogonal grid of the plan enables extensive views of the landscape beyond. Its low-pitched roof, plain elevations and large expanses of glazing on two elevations indicate the marriage of Viennese modernism and Australian informality and pragmatism.

The 1940s suburban émigré house

Kurt Popper

As the war ended *AHB* began to publish houses designed by the architects of Vienna Abroad. In March 1946, for example, it published Kurt Popper's speculative design for a small two-bedroom post-war family house, on a courtyard plan with a flat roof and plenty of glazing.⁵⁶ In April it featured Popper's *Sherman House* on the front cover, a large, four-bedroom, single-storey house organised around an internal glazed court, not a common plan form in Australia.⁵⁷



Continued



This Page
Australian Home Beautiful, December 1949 cover featuring Janeba house by Fritz Janeba, Warrandyte, RMIT Design Archives

Opposite Page

Left
Herald Sun Feature Service (photographer), Emery T Reeves (architect), Steiner house, Bellevue Hill NSW 1947, Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection

Right
Herald Sun Feature Service (photographer), Emery T Reeves (architect), Steiner house, Bellevue Hill NSW 1947, Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection

Popper had been in Australia for seven years when he received this commission. He had arrived in Adelaide in 1939, found work in an architecture office, but lost his job when the three principals enlisted. Moving to Melbourne, Popper's first significant commission was for a block of flats in Adelaide published in *AHB* in 1943.⁵⁸ In 1945 he joined the office of Frank Heath at the Housing Commission, as Fooks had done. The Sherman house, a free-standing family house in East Malvern, a leafy, affluent suburb full of Victorian and Edwardian villas, established his career. Like Fooks, Popper seems immediately to have grasped the opportunities for design in Australia and also its particular foibles; while apartment living was gaining acceptance people still preferred to live in a freestanding suburban house. It was the Australian norm and while Popper and Fooks designed dozens of medium scale flat developments, and indeed established the type in the southern and south-eastern suburbs of Melbourne, they also designed dozens of family homes.

Fritz and Käthe Janeba

The cover of the Christmas edition of the December 1949 *AHB* featured the Warrandyte house of Fritz and Käthe Janeba who had arrived from Vienna in 1939. In the introduction to the accompanying article Wynne Scott notes:

People from overseas bring their building traditions with them. If they adapt their ideas to our climate, they may help to develop the ideal home for us.⁵⁹

Having noted how the house sits comfortably in the Australian landscape and looks local, Scott notes: "there is a subtle difference", a link with the European tradition. She goes on:

The owners say they live with their past, and there is evidence of this, both outside and inside the house. And it is obvious that they live with their past, not in it. This house is of today, and those things which speak of yesterday or of an older culture are assimilated and, like the people who live in this house, have a richness to give to this country.⁶⁰

One notable feature of the interiors is the use of textiles both as floor coverings and on seating. In Vienna Frank had developed a theory about the emotional centrality of textiles which is relevant here. Elana Shapira has argued that both Loos and Frank constructed interiors that assisted their Jewish clients, outsiders, to claim a place in their Viennese world. This was accomplished by mixing old and new furniture, referencing both British and Viennese traditions and using assemblage and chance arrangements. Interestingly Shapira notes that both architects were aware of the role of textiles in the construction of their clients' identities – for Loos in fashion, for Frank in interior textiles which he used as sources of pleasure and psychological comfort. Frank's interiors were meant not only to give joy but also to provide a sense of place and emancipation for their dwellers. He developed the idea of using textiles to "cross frontiers" in the interior, seeing in textiles "an affective power and empathetic medium".⁶¹

Both the Popper and Janeba houses acclimatised themselves to their Melbourne contexts. East Malvern is quintessential suburbia, the middle ring of Melbourne's wealthy suburbs. Warrandyte, then as now, is a rural, alternative suburb. The Sherman house and the Janeba house typify their suburban contexts and speak volumes about how their architects had adapted to this new environment.



Emery T Reeves

In November 1948 *AHB* published the Dr R Steiner house, Bellevue Hill, Sydney designed by Emery Reeves.⁶² Designed in 1946, the Steiner house was an extensive alteration and addition to an original Edwardian house and it incorporated a medical suite on the ground floor (consulting room, waiting room, surgery, laboratory, matron's room) and residence above.⁶³ Harking back to the vocabulary of Frank's 1932 Viennese *Werkbundsiedlung*, the Steiner house was an impassive white rendered cuboid block in the International Style relieved by strip windows and a balcony that did not so much embrace its environment as stand aloof from it. The interior, on the other hand, had the comfortable and varied arrangement of furniture and fittings typical of Reeves' Viennese designs. Where the exterior might lead one to expect the spare modernist manner of Walter Gropius or Harry Seidler, Reeves' approach at the Steiner House embraced Frank's critique of modernism and went for comfort. Compared with his practice in Vienna, Reeves' Sydney career was modest. He does not appear to have registered as an architect and that reduced his opportunities for designing on a large scale. While he worked as a designer/builder on his own account, received the prestigious commission to design the interior of the Fairfax garden pavilion at Harrington Park in 1957, and designed furniture for Paul Kafka, little work has been attributed to him.

Richard Tandler and Fritz Rosenbaum

Tandler and Rosenbaum's Schwartz house Kew (1947–1949) was not built nor was it published in *AHB* but it is of interest in this context of suburban houses designed by Viennese

émigré architects. Like Reeves and Hofmann, Richard Tandler's career as an architect in Melbourne was limited because he did not register with the Architects Registration Board. Nevertheless, he did find work designing interiors and furniture mainly for Jewish and émigré clients. In 1940 he designed a handbag shop for Fritz Weiss in Howey Place in the city, in 1947 an office fit-out in Windsor (1947) and throughout the 1950s and 1960s, furniture and interior design.

Within this body of work, the two-storey Schwartz house on an elevated site in suburban Kew which Tandler designed with Frederick (Fritz) Rosenbaum is an interesting anomaly. Rosenbaum had attended the *Kunstgewerbeschule* at the same time as Tandler and Trude Morgenstern, and he and Tandler were close friends in Vienna and Melbourne.⁶⁴ The project probably came through Tandler's contacts, but being unregistered he joined Rosenbaum, a registered architect, to carry out the project. Rosenbaum's career in Australia is un-researched but Philip Goad has noted that he published an article on modern design in the Army's *SALT* magazine in April 1943 and one in the July 1943 edition of *AHB* on design for post-war reconstruction.⁶⁵ He is recorded in 1948 giving a talk to the Fellowship of Modern Writers on ancient and modern theatre, a topic no doubt introduced to him by Strnad during his studies.⁶⁶

From available evidence the Schwartz house appears to be the first major domestic commission for both architects. The house was large for post-war Melbourne where building of any kind was difficult due to materials shortages, and it bravely featured extensive glazing on the north and west elevations. The exterior walls of the downstairs living room



This Page
Richard Tandler &
Frederic Rosenbaum,
rear elevation of Schwartz
House, Kew, May 1948,
Copolov Family, Richard
Tandler collection

Opposite Page
Richard Tandler &
Frederic Rosenbaum,
perspective for Schwartz
House, Kew, September
1947, Copolov Family,
Richard Tandler
collection

were entirely glazed and in the two 1947 schemes showing entrances from either the north or west sides, French doors opened up the living/dining room, which occupied half the ground floor, to an adjacent terrace, affording a spatial continuum that conformed with the “ideal of cultivated nonchalance and the direct relationship of house and garden in the tradition of the English country house” favoured by Frank and his Viennese associates.⁶⁷ The reworked 1948 scheme had a more robustly modelled front elevation with wide eaves on both levels of the north and west elevations for sun protection while the 1949 scheme, signed by Tandler alone, has a flat, eaveless roof in the International Style. In contrast to Reeves’ Steiner house, the Schwartz house displayed multiple design sources as it responded to its elevated site, orientation and client specifications.⁶⁸

Conclusion

Sterne died in 1951 when comparatively young; Reeves, Manne and Rosenbaum died in 1958 and Hofmann in 1962; Tandler focussed on interiors in the 1950s and 1960s, while Janeba accepted a professorship at Ankara University, Turkey in 1964. Both Fooks and Popper on the other hand had extraordinarily productive careers that gave form and spatial identity to post-war Jewish life in Melbourne’s southern and south-eastern suburbs.

In many ways the Viennese approach to modernism suited Australia, it advocated the informality and flexibility Australians were used to in their homes and was non-dogmatic. Importantly the articles published by *AHB* provided a forum for the introduction of an international modernism that was easy to come to grips with. They were written by architects and designers who for a few brief years had a collective

voice. In the late 1940s this situation changed as architects of Anglophone heritage returned from the war, went back to work and began to publish. Robin Boyd’s *Victorian Modern* (1947) could be seen as a rebuttal of the carefully modulated arguments of *Wiener Wohnraumkultur* articulated through the 1940s. Boyd reconceptualised Victorian modernism within an Anglocentric tradition with its roots in colonial architecture, a view which was consolidated in Australia over the following decades. He rarely discussed the work of Victoria’s émigré architects in his published work, yet their body of thoughtful publication provided the platform from which he was able to write *Victorian Modern*.

For nearly ten years the public had been let into the secrets of European modernism by those who had practised it. Since the 1920s the *AHB* had published articles about design and furnishing the home, but this group of 1940s articles was different. They had the coherence of a theoretical proposition that design is humanising: it can articulate our living patterns and values, improve how we live, anticipate the future and, at its best, cater to deep psychological needs. Furthermore, they were informed by an historical consciousness that could look back as well as forwards. The authors helped acclimatise their audience to the idea of the small house or apartment, the combined living area (Manne spent an entire article doing away with the dining room) and functional planning and furnishing – all elements that would be central to post-war planning. For Fooks, the function of contemporary furniture was not to display possessions but to provide “suitable equipment for the living of a free life”.⁶⁹ While “equipment” might bring to mind Le Corbusier’s concept of furniture, the equation of modern

design with “a free life” recalls Josef Frank “Modern means nothing unless it brings complete freedom”.⁷⁰

More fundamentally, the writings of the Viennese émigrés discussed here demonstrated how the Australian house might be a site of enquiry into Australian life and values quite apart from style, and Boyd carried that idea forward. Where *Vienna Abroad* differed from *Victorian Modern* and its successors however, and the reason it resonates today is that it advocated a human-centred approach to design rather than the architect-centred approach (with its matched furniture) championed by the largely Anglophone architectural press in the post-war decades.

Endnotes

- 1 This article is based on a series of public lectures I gave in Melbourne, Sydney and Vienna during 2017 and 2018. I am grateful to the audiences in each case for their helpful feedback, suggestions for further research and personal information about designers. The research was undertaken as part of the ARC Discovery Project, "Bauhaus Australia: Emigres, Refugees and the Modernist Transformation of Education in Art, Architecture, and Design, 1930 to 1970".
- 2 Marc Raeff, *Russia Abroad. A Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- 3 I am indebted to the archivists of these institutions for their generous help in documenting the education of the architects discussed here: Paulus Ebner (TUWien), Silvia Herkt (Kunstgewerbeschule), Eva Schober (Academy of Fine Arts) and Monika Platzler (Architekturzentrum Vienna). Of the émigré group discussed in this article, six attended the *Kunstgewerbeschule*, three attended the Academy of Fine Arts and three attended TUWien (three of these attended two of these institutions). The only architect educated outside Vienna attended the *Kunstgewerbeschule* in Budapest.
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- 7 Christopher Menz, "'There is no modern furniture!': Adolf Loos and the Viennese apartment of Jakob and Melanie Langer", *Art Journal*, 50, 2011.
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- 9 Adolf Loos, "The Christmas exhibition at the Austrian Museum", in Adolf Loos, *Creating your home with style*, translated by Michael Edward Troy (Metroverlag, 2013): 51.
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- 12 Josef Frank quoted in Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge Mass., London: MIT Press, 1999): 377.
- 13 Christoph Thun-Hohenstein, "The art of living", in Thun-Hohenstein, Czech and Hackenschmidt eds, *Josef Frank. Against Design*, 11.
- 14 Elana Shapira, "Sense and Sensibility", 69.
- 15 Michael Bergquist and Olof Mechelsen, "Josef Frank: Spaces" in Thun-Hohenstein, Czech, Hackenschmidt eds, *Josef Frank. Against Design*, 145.
- 16 Bergquist and Mechelsen, "Josef Frank: Spaces", 147.
- 17 Bergquist and Mechelsen, "Josef Frank: Spaces", 147.
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- 19 Long, *Frank. Life and Work*, 186.
- 20 I am indebted to Megan Martin, Head, Collections & Access, Sydney Living Museums for her generosity and assistance in the preparation of this article, for facilitating research into the Révész and Kafka archives and for sharing her research.
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- 22 Carl Bamberger AG, Möbelfabrik, Wien: Englische-Stile
- 23 Adolf Loos, "Furniture", in Loos, *Creating your home with style*, 62-63.
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- 27 "Hofmann, Augenfeld, Garderobe-Raum, Haus O", *Innen-Dekoration*, 1929, 238.
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- 34 Dr E. Fuchs, "Simplicity in furnishing a small house", *Australian Home Beautiful*, 1 May 1940, 25-27. For a list of Fooks' articles see Harriet Edquist, *Ernest Fooks: Architect* (Melbourne: School of Architecture and Design, RMIT University, 2001): 40-41.
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- 47 Henry Manne, "Fitting the house to the family", *Australian Home Beautiful*, March 1946, 9.
- 48 Henry Manne, "Furniture for peace time. II. The importance of simplicity", *Australian Home Beautiful* March 1945, 11.
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- 58 K. Popper, "Flats in post-war building schemes", *Australian Home Beautiful*, December 1943, 16-17.
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- 62 John Wentworth, "Doctor's eyrie", *Australian Home Beautiful*, November 1948, 26-27; 48.
- 63 The plans for the R Steiner house are held in Woollhara Council, New South Wales. Noni Boyd kindly located them for me.
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- 68 To this group we can add the house Henry Manne designed for his family on the Boulevard, East Ivanhoe c. 1950. Recalled by Robert Manne, the two-storey, flat roof house appears to have incorporated the ideals of domestic comfort Manne advocated in *AHB*: "The upper floor was devoted to his book and record library, and it was here that he designed the custom-made furniture [for his second furniture business in Lygon Street, North Carlton]. He furnished [the house] with light woods, nests of tables, tables with foldaway extensions, inbuilt wardrobes and cupboards, very comfortable chairs with curved backs and generous use of cane". Robert Manne, email message to the author, January 2019.
- 69 Fuchs, "Function and Beauty", 12.
- 70 Josef Frank quoted in Ott, "Light and flexible", 222.

Biographical Notes

Ernest Fooks (1906–1985)

Ernest Fooks was born Ernst Fuchs in Bratislava, Czech Republic, and his family moved to Vienna in 1908. He studied architecture at Technical University Vienna (TUWien) beginning a three-year degree in architecture in 1924. After a two-year interlude during which he studied psychology, Fuchs completed his architecture degree in 1929. He obtained a doctorate in Technical Sciences in 1932 with a thesis titled *Stadt in Streifen* “Linear City” completed under Siegfried Theiss. He opened a practice that year, entered competitions, published articles and exhibited his paintings. With his wife Latvian-born Noemi, Fooks migrated to Melbourne via Canada in May 1939.

Karl Hofmann (1890–1962)

Karl Hofmann studied architecture at TUWien between 1908 and 1914, interrupted by military service from 1910 to 1911. With his younger contemporary Felix Augenfeld (1893-1984) Hofmann established a practice in Vienna in 1922. Primarily interior designers, Hofmann & Augenfeld designed house conversions and furnishings and were responsible for the interior of house no 13 designed by Oskar Strnad for the 1932 Vienna *Werkbund Siedlung*. Their work was well-published in international journals such as *Innen-Dekoration*. Karl and Gertrude Hofmann arrived in Australia in 1939.

Slawa Horowitz-Duldig (1901–1975)

Slawa Horowitz was born in Horocko, Poland and came to Vienna with her family in 1911. After completing her matriculation Horowitz studied art at the Viennese School for Women and Girls and then became a private student of sculptor Anton Hanak (1922-1925) where she met sculptor Karl Duldig who was studying with Hanak at the *Kunstgewerbeschule*. Horowitz continued her studies through 1926 to 1929 at the Academy of Fine Arts. She exhibited regularly at the *Künstlerhaus* and the Secession and completed several private commissions, primarily in portraiture. While still a student at the Academy Slawa designed and patented a small fold-up umbrella ‘Flirt’ which was included in the Inventors’ pavilion at the Vienna Spring Fair in 1931. In 1938 Slawa and Karl Duldig left Vienna with their daughter Eva for Switzerland and after some time in Singapore arrived in Australia in 1940.

Friedrich (Fritz) Janeba (1905–1983)

Friedrich (Fritz) Alois Janeba was born in Vienna and studied architecture at *Kunstgerweberschule* under Oscar Strnad from 1925 to 1930 and at the Academy of Fine Arts from 1930 to 1933 under Clemens Holzmeister, graduating in 1933. He spent five months in Sweden in 1930 studying workers’ housing. On graduation he travelled and entered architectural competitions before migrating to Melbourne in 1939 where he married fellow émigré Käthe Pollak.

Paul Kafka (1907–1972)

The son of a Viennese furniture manufacturer, Paul Ernst Kafka was born in Vienna in 1907. Experience in his father’s factory and an apprenticeship in another Viennese furniture factory gave him a good grounding in furniture manufacturing. His archive in the Caroline Simpson Library and Research Centre, Sydney contains work by numerous Viennese designers and indicates the nature of the Kafka business. Kafka and his wife Ilse and mother Olga migrated to Australia in 1939.

Schulim Krimper (1893–1971)

Schulim Krimper was born at Sereth, north-east Romania, son of Rabbi Jacob Wolf Neutuch. Orphaned at the age of 9, Krimper was apprenticed at 12 to a local cabinet-maker with whom he remained until 1914. In World War I he served with the Austro-Hungarian artillery. After the war Krimper travelled through central Europe, working in Prague, Vienna and elsewhere before settling in Berlin in the early 1920s where presumably he worked as a cabinet maker. In January 1938 he married Elsbeth Leipziger and by August he was employed at one of the centres established to train Jews in useful skills to assist them to emigrate. In November the Krimpers left Berlin and after several months in England arrived in Melbourne in August 1939.

Henry Manne (1904–1958)

Henry Manne was the elder son of Joachim Manne, a Polish-born Viennese furniture manufacturer who left Crakow for New York where Henry was born in 1904. Unsuccessful in New York the family moved to Vienna in 1910 where they established a Viennese arm of the family enterprise. From 1920 Henry worked in, and later, managed the business. In Cracow at the time of the *Anschluss* he migrated to South Africa rather than return to Austria, and he worked there in a furniture business in which his family had an interest. Manne migrated to Australia, reaching Melbourne in September 1939.

Gertrude Morgenstern-Hofmann (1896-1976)

Gertrude Morgenstern was born in Brno, Czech Republic and studied at the Vienna *Kunstgewerbeschule* between 1916 and 1920, primarily with Oscar Strnad but also Josef Frank; she was a contemporary of Richard Tandler and Fritz Rosenbaum. She married Karl Hofmann and migrated with him to Melbourne in 1939.

Kurt Popper (1910–2008)

Kurt Popper was born in Vienna where his father had a successful shop-fitting business. He attended the *Kunstgewerbeschule* from 1928 to 1932, where his teachers included Franz Cizek, Josef Hoffmann and Oscar Strnad and completed his degree under Clemens Holzmeister at the Academy of Fine Arts. After graduation he established a small practice and carried out a few commissions for shops and cafés. In 1938 Popper left Vienna for Paris and thence to Australia via Switzerland and London, arriving in Adelaide in 1939 sponsored by the Adelaide Jewish Community. When the principals of the architecture practice where he was employed enlisted and closed the office Popper moved to Melbourne.

Emmerich Révész (1897–1958)

Emmerich Révész was born Imre Révész in Szomnathely, a town in the west of Hungary near the Austrian border. He studied at the *Kunstgewerbeschule* in Budapest, the first institution of its kind in Hungary and like many other Hungarians, moved to Vienna to practise in the early 1920s. On arrival in Vienna he changed his name to the more Germanic sounding ‘Emmerich’ and married Stella Freund in c.1923. He carried out a successful practice as an interior designer in Vienna and his work was published in *Studio* and *Innen-Dekoration*. When Emmerich and Stella Révész migrated to Sydney in 1939 Emmerich changed his name to Emery T Reeves.

Frederic (Fritz) Rosenbaum (1898–1958)

Fritz Rosenbaum was born in Vienna, the son of an imperial administrative director, Sigmund Rosenbaum. Found unfit for military service, he studied at the *Kunstgebwerbeschule* from 1913 to 1919 with Oscar Strnad and Franz Cizek at the same time as Richard Tandler and Gertrude Morgenstern. His practice in Vienna appears to have been modest and primarily consisted of interior design. In 1930 he established ‘The new apartment’ where he designed and sold furniture from his workshop probably along the lines of *Haus & Garten*. At the same time he collaborated with garden designer Paula Furth on the design of her flower shop which she ran in conjunction with a nursery, garden architecture studio and horticulture school. Rosenbaum and Furth collaborated again in summer 1930 at the Werkbund Exhibition on a model flower shop. Rosenbaum provided the interior design for a summer house near Vienna for Dr Bondy, possibly a relative of Fraulein Bondy, a fellow student at the *Kunstgewerbeschule*. Rosenbaum and his wife Josefine arrived in Melbourne in 1939.

Frederick Sterne (1900–1951)

Frederick Sterne was born Friedrich Sternschein in Linz, Austria the second of three sons of Czech-born Albert and Ida Sternschein (Winternitz). After secondary school he claimed to have attended the *Kunstgewerbeschule* in Vienna but no record of his attendance has survived so he may have been an informal student. In 1930 he enrolled at TUWien taking two courses in economics and administrative law. In 1938, Sternschein and his wife Maria “well known in Europe as a teacher of rhythmic dancing and an expert on sports and gymnastics” migrated via England, to Australia arriving in Melbourne in 1938. On arrival Frederick he abbreviated his name to Sterne and entered the architecture office of Leighton Irwin remaining there for the duration of the war.

Richard Tandler (1897–1971)

Richard Tandler was born in Vienna in July 1897 to Heinrich and Hedwig Tandler heirs to the family firm Südfeld & Co. Tandler was apprenticed to Südfeld & Co from 1911 to 1914 and studied architecture, interrupted by military service, at the *Kunstgewerbeschule* from 1914 to 1920, under Oscar Strnad, Franz Cizek and Josef Hoffmann. From 1921 Tandler was employed at a senior level at Südfeld and Co and in 1933 left to enter private practice as an architect, possibly as a consequence of Hitler’s first campaign to expel Jews from manufacturing. Tandler

emigrated to Melbourne from Vienna with his wife Berta, 10-year old twin daughters Susanne and Liselotte and Berta Tandler’s nephew Paul Reiner, in December 1938. His mother Hedwig and sister Clara followed in 1939.

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Private information



Porträt des Inhabers.



Eigenhändige Unterschrift des Inhabers:

Ernst Fuchs

Wien, den *25. IX. 1925*

Inländ

Meldungsbuch

des

Studierenden

Ernst Fuchs

gebürtig aus *Bratislava*

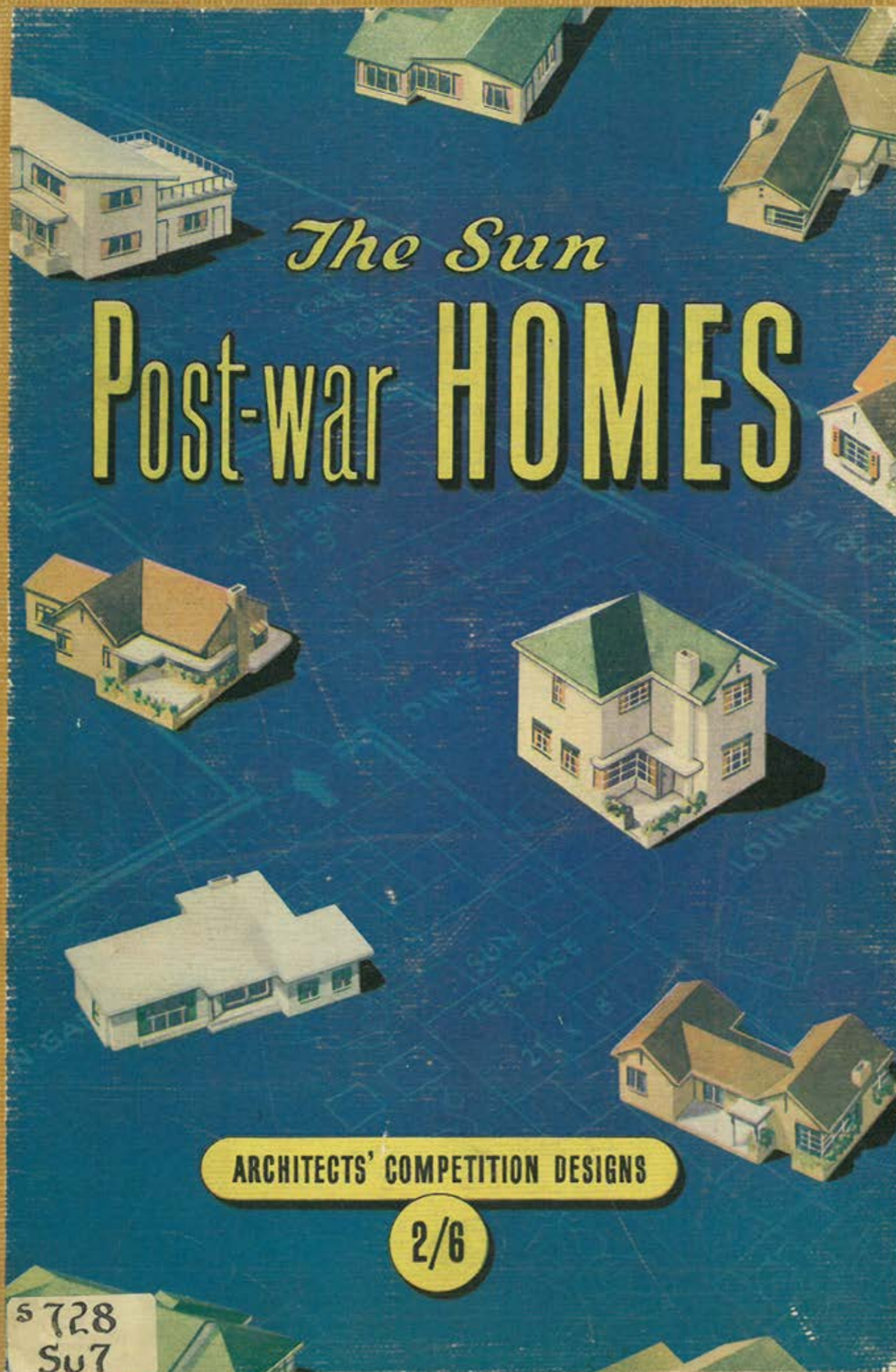
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Universität zu Wien

den *25. September 1925*



NUCLEUS meets the Minimum: Ernest Fooks, the small house and the flat in post-war Melbourne

Philip Goad

In most accounts of Australian architecture, the question of the small house is one reserved for the decade immediately after World War II. Post-war housing shortages and government restrictions on house size and building materials until 1952 dictated close examination of the realistic expectations, spatially and economically, of a prospective homeowner.

Advocacy for the minimum house appeared to have its origins in American forecasts for the post-war house like *Architectural Forum's* September 1942 issue which featured thirty-three architects' designs for a house for 194X¹ or the swathe of prefabricated houses being imported into Australia in the late 1940s to assist in the urgent demand for housing, most of them British in origin and intended to have a life of only ten years like the Airoh (aluminium), Tarran (reinforced concrete), Arcon (steel) and Uni-Seco (timber) houses, all erected for demonstration at the Commonwealth Experimental Building Station at Ryde, NSW in 1946.² Yet there were also ideas being aired from other places - in particular, Vienna - and these have been little studied. What is important is that these European-based ideas were not in themselves new nor had they arisen as an outcome of the strictures of World War II. Instead, they had as their basis preoccupations that had been intrinsic to the development of modernism in central Europe, specifically in Vienna, ever since the 1920s.

This paper examines interests in the minimum house demonstrated by the Viennese émigré, Ernest Fooks (1906–1985), and how these interests were translated to and reinterpreted by him for the Melbourne scene, in his writings for the popular home journal, *Australian Home Beautiful*, in a 1945 competition design for a small house, and in his subsequent practice, where, by the late 1960s, Fooks had designed scores of walk-up apartment blocks across Melbourne's eastern and south-eastern suburbs, and in doing so, furthered the promotion in Melbourne of a new residential typology that still today remains uncharted and unacknowledged in our architectural histories.

Material for this paper has been drawn from documents and drawings in archival collections held at TU Wien in Vienna, the State Library of Victoria, University of Melbourne Architecture Library, Melbourne's Jewish Holocaust Centre, and the RMIT Design Archives. Curator Ronnen Goren and scholars Catherine Townsend and Harriet Edquist made pioneering documentation of Fooks's work more than twenty years ago,³ and since 2016, graduate students under the direction of Alan Pert at the Melbourne School of Design at the University of Melbourne have been undertaking further research exploring the breadth and

largely unassessed significance of Fooks's contribution.⁴ Part of that contribution has also been studied by this author as part of an ARC Discovery Grant and in its resulting monograph, *Bauhaus diaspora and beyond: transforming education through art, design and architecture* (Carlton, Vic: Miegunyah Press, 2019).⁵ This paper is therefore a modest addition to a much larger national effort to uncover and reveal, as Rebecca Hawcroft, has titled in her NSW-based study, 'The other moderns', the émigré practitioners who, across all the design disciplines, made decisive contributions to the making of modern Australia.⁶

In 1945, the Melbourne-based *Sun News Pictorial* published fifty of its post-war house competition entries as a book.⁷ In amongst the entries, which featured future architectural luminaries like Sidney Ancher and Robin Boyd, there were designs submitted by four émigré European architects: Russian-born Anatol Kagan, Czech-born AE Muhlstein (who later changed his name to Ernest Milston) and a joint entry by Austrian-educated Dr Ernest Fooks and Polish-born Charles J Lipsett. Each of the four émigrés had a rich pedigree of education in and working experience of European modernism. Of the four, only Fuchs had a town planning qualification in addition to architecture: an expertise that would inform and colour his experience in Australia.

Ernest Fooks had arrived in Australia as Ernst Fuchs in early 1939. Born in 1906 in Pressburg (which became Bratislava [Slovakia] in 1919) to Jewish parents, the Fuchs family moved to Vienna in 1908 and lived at Odeongasse 9 in the Jewish quarter, Leopoldstadt, just across the Danube Canal from the city centre. Enrolled at Vienna's Technische Hochschule (now TU Wien) in the 1924–25 academic year to study architecture, he graduated in March 1929.⁸ The teaching method was not based around a 'master': students took lectures in a systematic way. This changed with the establishment of the master class (*Meisterschule*) system in 1926, and Fuchs enrolled in it following his graduating class of nine semesters. His doctoral thesis, begun in March 1929, took longer to complete and was submitted in 1931. Titled '*Der Stadt in Streifen*' (The Linear City), it investigated radical urban planning theory, drawing on ideas explored by Spanish planner Arturo Soria y Mata and Russian Constructivists Nikolai Milyutin and Ivan Leonidov.⁹ Fuchs's drawings of an



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Opposite
Cover, *The Sun Post-war Homes - Architects Competition Designs*, The Sun-News Pictorial, Melbourne, 1945, State Library of Victoria

Previous Spread
Ernst Fuchs, student card when studying philosophy at the University of Vienna, 1925, Jewish Holocaust Centre, Melbourne

This Page

Cover, Brian Fitzpatrick,
*Refugees: Hitler's Loss,
Our Gain*, Jewish Council
to Combat Fascism
and Anti-Semitism,
Melbourne, c. 1944.
Illustrations by Noel
Counihan.

Opposite Page

Top

Unknown photographer,
W Fabjan, W Stepf,
A Tröster and E Fuchs
(architects) Stage 1 of
Das wachsende Haus
(growing house),
Fairgrounds,
Leopoldstadt, Vienna,
1932, Ernest Fooks
Collection, State Library
of Victoria

Bottom

Unknown photographer,
W Fabjan, W Stepf,
A Tröster and E Fuchs
(architects), Models
showing stages 1, 2 and
3 of *Das wachsende Haus*
(growing house),
Fairgrounds,
Leopoldstadt, Vienna,
1932, Ernest Fooks
Collection, State Library
of Victoria

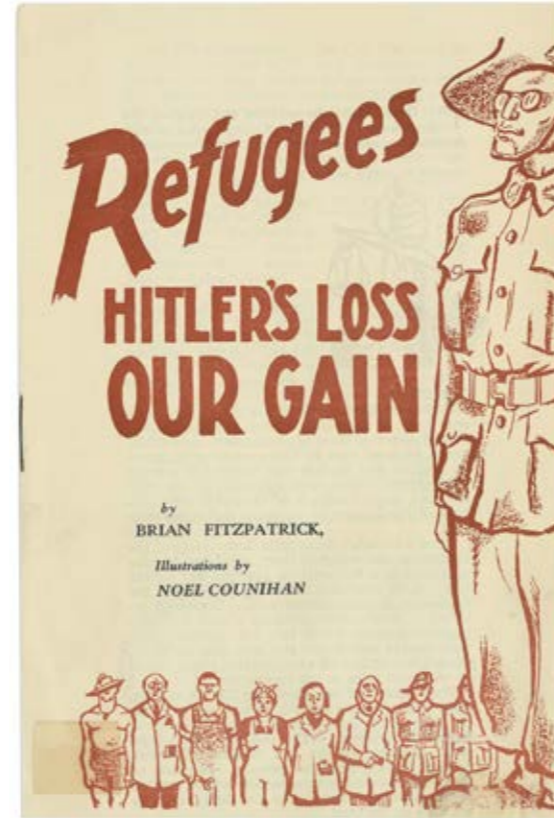
urban tartan of ten-storey, T-shaped apartment blocks and strips of low-rise terrace houses show familiarity and competence with contemporary planning theory and designing in the idiom of the *Neue Architektur* ('new architecture') of modernism.

Fuchs's thesis supervisor was Siegfried Theiss (1882–1963) and from 1928, while still a student, he was employed in his professor's successful architectural practice, Theiss & Jaksch. He worked on that firm's major contribution to Viennese modernism, the Hochhaus Herrngasse (1930–32), which was then the city's tallest building and located next door to Adolf Loos's Haus Goldman & Salatsch (1911) on Michaelerplatz. Fuchs's collection of photographs of the Hochhaus, a mixed-use commercial and residential block of 120 family apartments and 150 bachelor flats, that he brought to Australia and which are now lodged in the State Library of Victoria, indicate his evident pride in the experience and the striking elements of a contextually responsive modernism. Through the use of steel and glass, these images conveyed the possibilities of creating new panoramas for the future city.

Fuchs, like many of his Viennese colleagues, was multi-talented. With others, he exhibited drawings and paintings of his travels in the Künstlerhaus in 1931. He had also earlier considered a parallel career in dance and theatre, enrolling in Gertrud Bodenweiser's Rudolf von Laban-inspired dance school, as well as designing costumes¹⁰ and working for theatre and film director Max Reinhardt.¹¹ Though he would ultimately pursue architecture, Fuchs studied psychology for a semester at the University of Vienna under art historian Josef Strzygowski, gestalt psychologist Karl Bühler and psychology professor Hermann Swoboda, founder of the 'biorhythm'.¹²

In 1938 being Jewish in Vienna became increasingly difficult, and by the end of the year outright dangerous, as Jews were publicly targeted, humiliated and dispossessed of their property by the Nazis.¹³ After the *Anschluss*, the annexation of Austria into Nazi Germany on 12 March 1938, countless numbers of Austrians, most of whom were Jewish, left the country. *Kristallnacht* (The Night of Broken Glass), the pogrom of 9–10 November 1938, was especially brutal. Most of Vienna's synagogues were torched and Jewish businesses were vandalized and ransacked. Across the country, more than 5000 Jews were sent to concentration camps. Fuchs escaped the city, fleeing to London and reaching Montreal by early February 1939. There he married Noemija (Noemi) Matusevics, a Latvian Jew he'd met at Merano in the Italian Tyrol in 1929 and who had migrated to Canada with her family in 1935. In April 1939 they arrived in Sydney, before moving onto Melbourne several weeks later.

Little is known of Fooks's colleague Charles J Lipsett (1894–1980), who was born in Warsaw and, who by 1939, was in Australia, and seeking naturalization as a displaced person in December 1944.¹⁴ At the time of the Sun Postwar Homes competition in 1945, Fooks (who had anglicized his name to Ernest Fooks that same year) and Lipsett were working together for architect and town-planner Frank Heath, a key member of the Architects' Panel and whose office produced suburban estate and individual house designs for the Housing



Commission of Victoria, including plans for Swan Hill, Seymour, Horsham and West Heidelberg.

Fooks and Lipsett's entry in the 1945 Sun Postwar Homes competition was headed as 'Design in Five Stages for Growing Family'.¹⁵ The perspective drawing shows it to be a simple gable-roofed design with a relatively conventional plan, generously glazed and with a rubble-rock chimney that at its base extended into a low garden wall to create a living terrace facing the street. While the entry was not in itself one of the most radical or overtly modernist in the published collection – entries by Ronald Gunn and John Mockridge were much more strident in their use of flat roofs, open planning and generous glazing and experimental structure – what was distinctive about it was that Fooks and Lipsett had capitalised the word 'NUCLEUS' to convey the idea that as people grow and their lives changed, so could their house. This "growing house" was described thus:

The first stage, the NUCLEUS meets the minimum space requirements of a small family; living room, two bedrooms and the "working and service core", consisting of kitchen, bathroom, convenience and laundry.¹⁶

The house was then able to grow with the addition of a dining room (Stage 2), an attached garage and entry porch (Stage 3), a third bedroom (Stage 4), and finally a fourth bedroom (Stage 5). It was noted however that the various stages were interchangeable and need not follow any particular order.

For Fooks, the idea of a nucleus as the basis for beginning a house's growth was not a new one. More than a decade before, he'd explored the idea of a 'growing house', specifically the German term *kernhaus* (nuclear or core house), in a 1932 competition to provide a liveable and affordable minimum house that might grow with time as a family's needs and income grew. Architectural experimentation with the idea of a 'growing house' (*das wachsende Haus*), a house that



Opposite

Unknown photographer,
Theiss & Jaksch
(architects) exterior,
Hochhaus Herrengasse,
Vienna, 1931-2, Ernest
Fooks Collection, State
Library of Victoria

was cheap to build and which could be expanded at will with a kernhaus as its basis, was a European preoccupation in the late 1920s, especially given Berlin city planner Martin Wagner's promotion of *das wachsende Haus* in his 1931 publication of the same name.¹⁷ Wagner had established a working group in 1931 to investigate the idea of adaptable micro-houses, and this group included prominent modernist architects Egon Eiermann, Walter Gropius, Ludwig Hilberseimer, Erich Mendelsohn, Hans Poelzig and Hans Scharoun.

In 1932, twenty-four 'growing houses' were constructed in a section of Berlin's summer exhibition, *Sonne, Luft und Haus für Alle* (Sun, Air and Houses for All). That same year in Vienna, in parallel with the completion of the now celebrated and much better known Wiener Werkbundsiedlung overseen by Josef Frank and built in Vienna's 13th district (Hietzing), twenty different versions of *das wachsende Haus* were constructed in the city's fairgrounds at the Rotundengelände in Leopoldstadt as a demonstration village for a period of three weeks.¹⁸ The designs, all selected from the competition, also aimed to stimulate the nation's construction industry and spur it onto experiment. Architects represented in the 'model settlement' of 'growing houses' included well-known local figures like Josef Hoffmann, Oswald Haerdtl, Erich Boltenstern, Leopold Bauer and Siegmund Katz. There was also new talent: the third prize winning design by a team of young architects: W Fabjan, W Stepf, A Tröster and E Fuchs (Ernest Fooks) was also constructed.

A key competition requirement was that each entry had to show that an initial *Kernhaus* (the 'core' house) was able to grow in two further stages, designated *Ausbau* (expansion or extension). The *Kernhaus* of the Fooks team entry was a simple rectangle, measuring approximately 4 x 9 metres and comprising two spatial units: an open, combined living-dining space (4 x 6 metres) and a service block (4 x 3 metres) that included a U-shaped kitchen, a stair down to a basement, and a toilet that opened onto a tiled porch/vestibule/air-lock that gave access to either the kitchen or the living space.

Included in the Fooks team's open living-dining space was an L-shaped piece of built-in furniture that comprised fixed shelving and a four-seater couch. The L-shape immediately described an internal place from which the occupant could look through four door-height windows that opened onto a pergola terrace, thus creating a direct connection with nature. Unlike the *Haus am Horn* demonstration house designed by George Muche and built for the Bauhaus Werkschau exhibition in Weimar in 1923, this was not a universal container to be filled with machine-made furniture but a carefully designed, already furnished room that allowed for human occupation and use. This idea of an ensemble of built-in furniture and built-in storage would be described in 1955 by Bernard Rudofsky, Fooks's fellow doctoral student and work colleague at Theiss & Jaksch, as 'the ballast of the house'.¹⁹ Conceptually, the room's layout was similar to the much-criticised living room of Viennese architect Josef Frank's house at the Weissenhof Siedlungen in Stuttgart (1927).²⁰ There, as architectural historians Richard Pommer and Christian Otto have written:

Covertly attacking the Bauhaus, Frank sought to preserve both comfort and tradition. He wanted his interiors to be places of rest and ease, unlike the work place. Although the exteriors were to be uniform and reduced as possible, Frank believed that for the rooms 'uniformity and the absence of ornament make for unrest; ornament and complexity create peacefulness and get rid of the disturbing aspect of pure functional form'.²¹

This is the same theme that Fooks took forward in his own designs: externally, an abstract, reduced architecture; inside, highly wrought and often rich interiors, invariably adorned with furniture (loose and built-in) that was also often designed by him or émigré furniture designers.

Stage II of *das wachsende Haus* was the addition of a bedroom and bathroom block at right angles to the Kernhaus. Another L-shape was thus formed, not internally but externally: it was another embrace of space, this time, the outdoor room of the garden. The connecting element for the two blocks—located at the internal corner of the L—was the tiled porch/vestibule/air-lock. It was a necessary pivot in the composition, in much the same way that Frank Lloyd Wright's L-shaped Usonian houses of the late 1930s would also hinge to define distinct living and sleeping blocks that embraced a shared private landscape.

The third stage was the addition of a large children's bedroom, an extension of the leg of the L-shape. It had space for play and another bank of four door-height windows that opened onto the same pergola terrace. This garden space was now drawn in detail with trees and big square pavers, and, though outside, it became the largest 'room' in the house. This was another theme that Fooks would pursue in his architecture in Melbourne: the treatment of outdoor space as a series of rooms, which like his interiors, might be 'furnished' with plants, pergolas and fixed and moveable outdoor furniture.

Fooks was understandably proud of his *das wachsende Haus design*. Shortly after arriving in Australia, he published an article about it in *Australian Home Beautiful* in March 1940 – the first of twelve articles Fooks wrote for the journal between 1940 and 1945.²² By this stage, Fooks was in the Health office and designing suburban sub-divisions and new housing typologies for the Housing Commission of Victoria. In writing about the 'growing house', Fooks referred to the Commission's "vigorous campaign to wipe out the slums" and made comparison with Vienna's efforts to meet its acute housing shortage after World War I through the erection of blocks of flats.²³ Fooks also suggested that the 'growing house' competition was part of that effort, adding that its relevance to an Australian setting might be broader:

It is scarcely necessary to point out that small houses are not only built to accommodate poor people. Such a house might serve admirably for a weekend shack that could be expanded if needed and might become the permanent home.²⁴

Fooks's caption, slightly different from the spare details published with his 1932 design, made the comment that "The big room serves as a living room in the day time, and by using built-in beds and a collapsible wall, is converted





Above
Unknown photographer,
Theiss & Jaksch
(architects), View of
Vienna from the stairwell
of Hochhaus Herrengasse,
Vienna, c.1932, Ernest
Fooks Collection, State
Library of Victoria

into two bedrooms with four beds.²⁵ Furniture and its arrangement become tactics to shape different living conditions, and necessarily within the confines of limited – hence affordable – space. In many respects, Fooks was rehearsing, but seven years earlier and with considerable experience, the discourse of immediate post-war Melbourne architecture culture of the late 1940s and early 1950s. Post-war material shortages and legal limits on house sizes dictated a need to think in spatial minimums and with modest expectations. It was a discourse that, for example, Robin Boyd in his articles in *The Age* newspaper, would expound when describing the virtues of the RVIA Small Homes Service from 1947 until 1953 and which would affect not just Boyd's architectural colleagues in the profession but also the expectations of everyday Melburnians: minimum spaces were acceptable, and, with clever interior design, life could be just as rich. But Fooks was doing exactly this in 1940.

Over the next five years, Fooks's ten other articles in *The Australian Home Beautiful* focus on two themes: interior design and the possibilities of apartments or flats as an urban antidote to demands for better living conditions after the cessation of war. Fooks was not alone as an émigré writing for *Australian Home Beautiful* in the early 1940s. Others included architect Frederic Rosenbaum²⁶ and interior designer Henry Manne, both from Vienna, as well as little-known German-born Jewish émigré architect Otto Nothmann (1896-1967) (often listed as O. Notman), whose pared-back modern houses were published locally, including one of his Berlin houses, which appeared in colour on the cover of the December 1944 issue of *Australian Home Beautiful*.²⁷ Though, as Simon Reeves wryly notes, the journal described it diplomatically as “being erected in a suburb of one of the European capital cities just before the war”.²⁸ The presence of these émigré designers, their buildings, their furniture and writings in *Australian Home Beautiful* is clear evidence of acceptance by the journal of not just advanced design thinking but also active patronage by the journal of these new arrivals who were little known but clearly had excellent credentials.

Fooks's February 1941 article, entitled “The Complete Architect: what his task embraces in making a home beautiful”, describes the work of the architect being not just the design and making of the building but also “the problems of town-planning, the design of the garden layout and last but not least the furnishing of the rooms.” This is what Fooks implies by the word ‘Complete’ and it is these extra skills that distinguish him at the time as being different from and arguably more expert than his Melbourne-trained colleagues. Interestingly, Fooks illustrates the article with an exterior view of a four-storey block of apartments in Vienna and five interior views of a completed apartment in the same block, both of which Fooks claims to have designed.²⁹ In the apartment interior, highlights are the cherry-red curtains, drawers on wheels to save space, the use of black glass, and tubular steel framed furniture, some of it upholstered in calf-skin, as well as a multi-coloured Persian rug. In the article, Fooks argues against “heavy-bellied’ pieces of furniture that can ‘burst’ a room”, instead

Opposite Page
Cover, L.W. Rochowanski,
Wachsende Häuser, 18,
Verlagsbuchhandlung
Emmerich Besei, Wien,
1932, Ernest Fooks
Book Collection,
courtesy Alan Pert

emphasizing again the importance of interior decoration, especially when it comes to giving advice to a tenant for the furnishing of a flat. Fuchs gives the example of owners of big tenement blocks in Sweden, Denmark and Norway where one flat is furnished as a model flat – a demonstration – that assists tenants in seeing creative alternatives for their own flat, an idea that he argues is “worthwhile imitating in Australia”,³⁰ a not so subtle dig at his then employers, the Housing Commission of Victoria. Fuchs then goes onto again describing the example of the municipality of Vienna, which, when faced with the challenge of building 50,000 flats in the course of five years, established at the same time, a *Wohn-beratungstelle*, “a centre where all the tenants could get any advice concerning the furnishing of their homes free of charge and where also suitable pieces of furniture were available.”³¹ It is clear that Fuchs is referring to and was thus familiar with the permanent design centre and exhibition space, the Advice Bureau for Interior Design and Domestic Hygiene of the Austrian Association of Housing Reform (*Die Beratungstelle für Inneneinrichtung und Wohnungsreform*), which was created in December 1929 and was better known by the acronym BEST and had as its director, Viennese-born Jewish architect and designer Ernst Lichtblau (1883-1963).³² Housed in the giant social housing block, the Karl Marx Hof, BEST was an advice bureau, showroom and venue for lectures and exhibitions, and its key design messages were an emphasis on the small scale, space-saving and multi-purpose objects and spaces. While architectural historian Eve Blau acknowledges the centre’s idealistic aims, she is – with the benefit of hindsight – also careful not to overstate its affect.³³ In Australia, Fuchs however wanted to shift the culture locally, actively promoting design advocacy and at the level of the flat and its interior decoration with the Viennese example as a possible model. Again, his airing of these ideas is the prelude to the small homes service bureaus that would be established after World War II – though their aims were ultimately about affordable provision of new house plans rather than advice about interior decoration. Fuchs’s April 1942 article headed “War Conditions Emphasise that Function and Beauty Should Combine in Interior Design” advocated strict attention to three basic design principles when furnishing a room: 1) the size and shape of the room, including the proportions of walls and openings; 2) materials, colour and pattern; and 3) size and shape of the furniture and its arrangement.³⁴ One of his special pieces of advice was that curtains covering a whole window wall from the ceiling to the floor make a room appear higher and bigger and Fuchs illustrated this point using one of his favoured presentation tactics of using a photograph and then extending its spatial remit by hand-drawing the larger volume of room beyond the confines of the photograph to produce a montage. This same technique of montage was used in June that same year, when Fuchs expounded on “Form Follows Function: The Fundamental Principles of Interior Decoration” and illustrated his argument with examples of a series of rooms that he’d furnished for Mr. and Mrs. S. Stock in Glen Iris, and which also included furniture designed by Fuchs and pictures drawn by him and framed in ash.³⁵

Fooks’s articles on interior decoration echo directly his Viennese training and the design discourse of late 1920s and early 1930s Vienna, when the pervasive influence of Josef Frank cannot be underestimated. As director and artistic initiator of the Vienna Werkbundsiedlung, Frank was also involved with the activities of BEST, and he wrote regularly in the local professional journals, emphasising the human aspects of modern design. In a particularly revealing article titled “The House as Path and Place”, which appeared in *Der Baumeister* in August 1931, Frank makes a connection between the free bohemian lifestyle of the artist’s attic garret and modern design:

The entire struggle for the modern apartment and the modern house has at its core the goal of freeing people from their bourgeois prejudices and providing them with the possibility of a bohemian lifestyle.³⁶

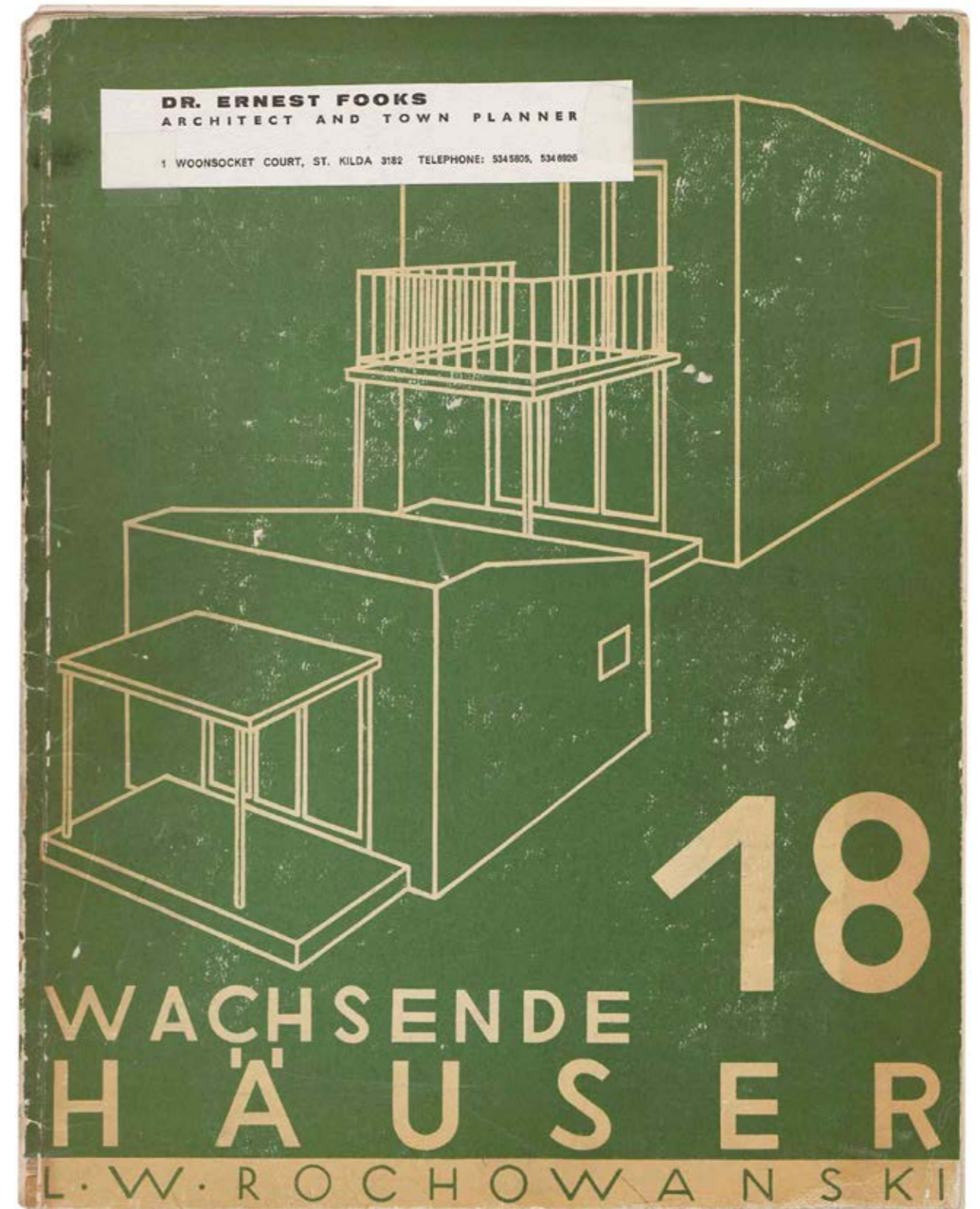
Such a statement cuts to the core of a social/spatial vision for interior design, where for Frank, “The sitting area forms the centrepiece of the house, its piazza.”³⁷ Modern interior design has the capacity therefore to free intellectually and spatially its inhabitants. The significance of space, space making and lived experience intrinsic to Viennese architecture culture in the 1920s and 1930s is underlined in Christopher Long’s *The new space: movement and experience in Viennese modern architecture* (2016).³⁸ His detailed study of the domestic interiors of Adolf Loos, Josef Frank and Oskar Strnad offers direct parallels to the design preoccupations in Australia of Viennese émigré architects and designers like Fooks.

In February 1944, Fooks, now writing as ‘E.F.’, wrote about flats. He argued that Melbourne’s habit of narrow lots and single storey terrace houses in its inner suburbs had bequeathed inefficient land usage, “the entire open space has been frittered away by front porches and rear buildings, by annexes and sheds...The appearance is, to say the least, monotonous, there are hardly any flowers, no trees. The rooms are bereft of sunshine, and the lighting is utterly inadequate.” Fuchs went on to argue that:³⁹

There is no doubt that our post-war cities will prefer the properly planned dwelling unit within a large whole, such as this illustrated block of flats.⁴⁰

The example Fuchs gave was Willow Court at 42 Eildon Road, St Kilda (1942) by his colleague Charles J Lipsett, where a two-storey flat-roofed block of efficiently planned one and two-bedroom flats had ample sunshine, cross-ventilation, and outdoor space. At one level, it was the classic modernist argument for doing away with the confining nature of 19th century subdivision patterns, an argument that was to be maligned from the 1970s as opinions on urban renewal shifted. But, at another level, it represented a logical argument for rethinking the nature, form and density of Melbourne suburbs – not with high rise towers such as those advocated by Le Corbusier, but instead by a contextually sensitive replacement of substandard nineteenth century housing with two and three-storey blocks of flats – the same scale as the Vienna Werkbundsiedlung of 1932.

Flats were also the subject of two articles on “Wartime Housing in Europe” in August and September 1945, where



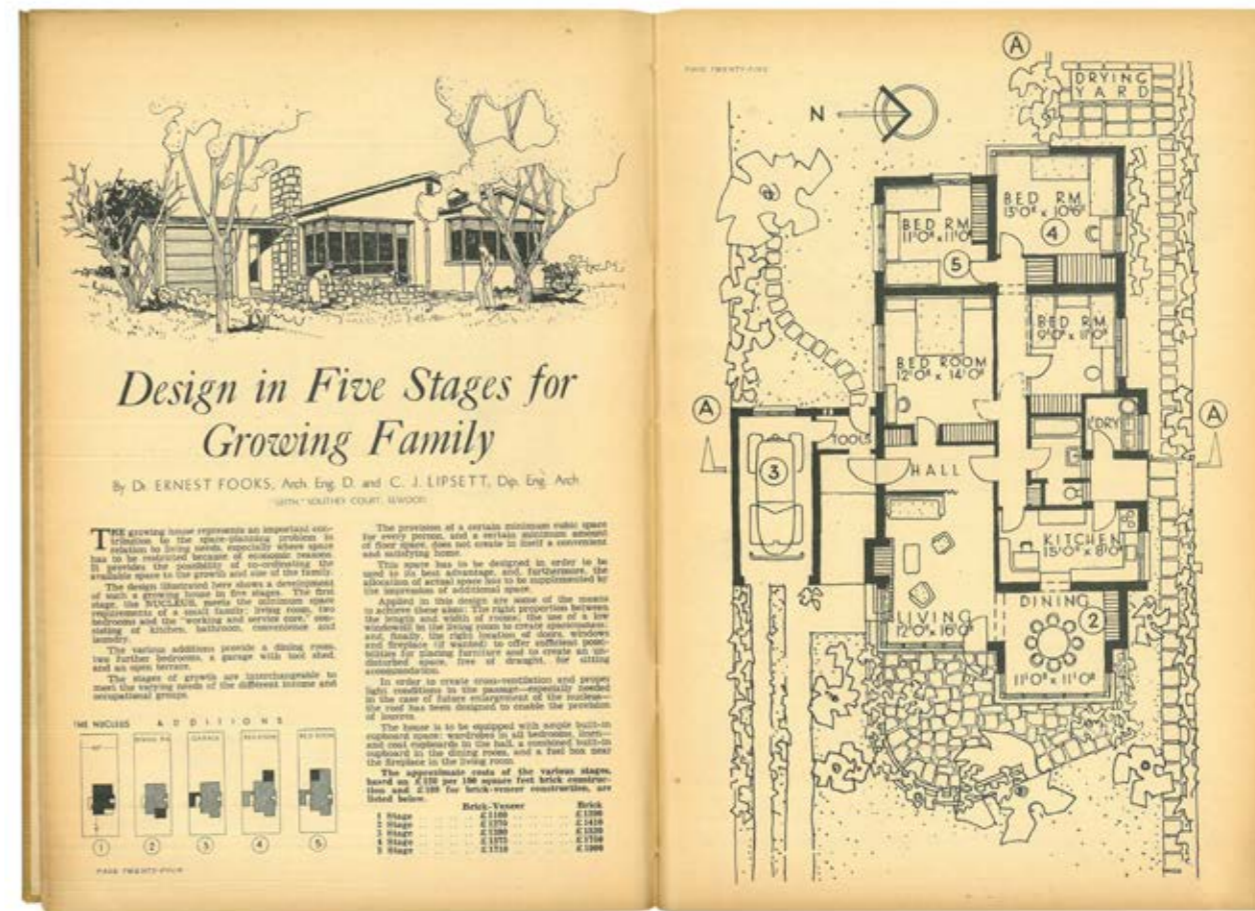


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Commercial Photographic Co., Interior view of Frank Heath's office, Melbourne, with staff assembled around a plan of the Housing Commission of Victoria's West Heidelberg Estate, c. 1942. Ernest Fuchs, standing and wearing a white dust-coat is fourth from the left. Frank Heath Collection, State Library of Victoria

Opposite page
"Design in Five Stages for Growing Family", in *The Sun Post-war Homes - Architects Competition Designs*, *The Sun-News Pictorial*, Melbourne, 1945, State Library of Victoria

he focused on the examples of Switzerland and Sweden.⁴¹ By this time, Fuchs had Anglicised his name to Dr. Ernest Fooks and he was careful not to use German examples, and instead using the example of neutral countries. Of Switzerland, Fooks wrote about prefabrication using Max Bill's Durisol panelled Villiger House at Bremgarten (1942) as one example, co-operatively owned and built workers' estates, row-houses, and garden apartments (flats of between two and six storeys set within a shared garden) in Zurich, Basel and Schaffhausen, and illustrated his article with photographs from the Swiss journal *Das Werk*. Of Sweden, Fooks was effusive in his praise for that country offering "the greatest contributions to the Housing Problem of Europe,"⁴² through its efforts in pre-cut timber prefabricated houses, enlightened approaches to the leasing of land by municipalities facilitating affordable housing without the burden of financially-driven owner tenure, co-operative building societies, and the careful planning and design of the individual unit or flat. Fooks cited the importance of Swedish sociologist Dr K. Reimer and his influence on further research undertaken by the Pierce Foundation in the United States and illustrated his article with photographs of a housing estate at Haestholmen, near Stockholm, a dressing pavilion by Nils Ahrbom and Helge Zimdahl, a summer house by Eskil Sundahl, a drawing of a prefabricated timber house by architect Erik Friberger. It was clear that Melbourne had lessons to learn from European example.

As if to underline his expertise in urban planning, Fooks published *X-Ray the City! The Density Diagram: Basis for Urban Planning* in 1946 while still working for the Housing Commission.⁴³ This book, which included a foreword by Dr H.C. Coombs, then Director General of the Department for Post-War Reconstruction, pioneered in Australia the topic of urban density. Fooks believed that integrated urban research could only be achieved by a science of urban planning that demanded the input of data: what he proposed was a "method [that] can be compared to an X-Ray of the human body, the single maps forming parts of an 'anatomic atlas' of the urban entity".⁴⁴ It was, as the late Paul Mees has argued, Fooks's attempt to put Australia's town planning discourse on an intellectually rigorous footing.⁴⁵ In 1948 Fooks applied for the position of chief planner within the Housing Commission but was not successful. Instead, he went immediately into private practice, working mostly for, and successfully with, Melbourne's Jewish community for the next thirty-five years and with a prodigious output. His first works in private practice were mostly houses. After 1952, when restrictions on building materials and house sizes were lifted, Fooks's residential designs for an increasingly affluent Jewish clientele became larger and more elaborate. In those houses, his Viennese-based philosophy of the designed interior would persist and he would frequently design whole suites of joinery, furniture and



decorative screens for each house, often working closely with furniture designer and maker, Schulim Krimper. In 1964, when Fooks designed his own house (1964-6) at 32 Howitt Road in North Caulfield, there were echoes of the conceptual humanism of the 'Growing House'. The additive compositional strategy of multiple L-shaped forms that grow off a core that was Fooks's central living/dining space was adopted. A tiled entry vestibule was again the connecting hinge. The garden was designed as a series of 'furnished' outdoor rooms that give each interior a direct connection with a series of different 'natures'. Fooks also went onto design shops and shopping centres, espresso bars, and religious and educational buildings for the Jewish community across Melbourne, as well the National Jewish Memorial Centre in Canberra (1971). It might appear that in Fooks's turning away from a socially-driven practice aligned with progressive government, he had abandoned the idea of the small house – the kernhaus – and the notion of achieving a productive minimum through good design. However, this was not the case. Its underlying idea would persist in a different and arguably more influential way: in the form of blocks of two, three and four storey walk-up flats. From around 1950 until 1980, Fooks designed more than forty blocks of 'own-your-own' flats across Melbourne: in Caulfield, East St Kilda, Hawthorn, Camberwell and other middle-ring suburbs.⁴⁶ Each individual apartment

was designed with the minimum in mind. Each apartment or flat was in many respects a 'nucleus' house that instead of 'growing' might be repeated serially – in much the same way that the Vienna Werkbundsiedlung had demonstrated in 1932 with Fooks's added dimension of a conscientious, humanistic approach to interior decoration, the careful treatment of outdoor space around each block as useful 'rooms' and the result being a new way of considering density for Melbourne's middle suburbs. Examples such as the projected twenty-one bachelor flats at 44 Williams Road, Prahran (1958) indicate Fooks's continuing interest in a minimum design: each bed-sit flat was a tightly planned kitchen and bathroom core. His two-storey block of ten flats in Brookfield Court, East Hawthorn (c.1959) indicates attention to balcony provision and sympathetic landscaping as does the two storey-block of fourteen flats in Orrong Road, Caulfield for Messrs Ledemann (1959) and an initial proposal for 26 Melby Avenue, East St Kilda, which featured an elaborate sculptural garden screen concealing under-cover parking. Fooks also continued to pay attention to interior decoration – even for these own-your-own flats. Drawings for one of the living rooms of the flats proposed for Herbert Street, St Kilda (date unknown) indicate a fully developed interior scheme, with couches and easy chair laid out according to window-sill heights, location of bookshelves and credenza. Another axonometric drawing of a

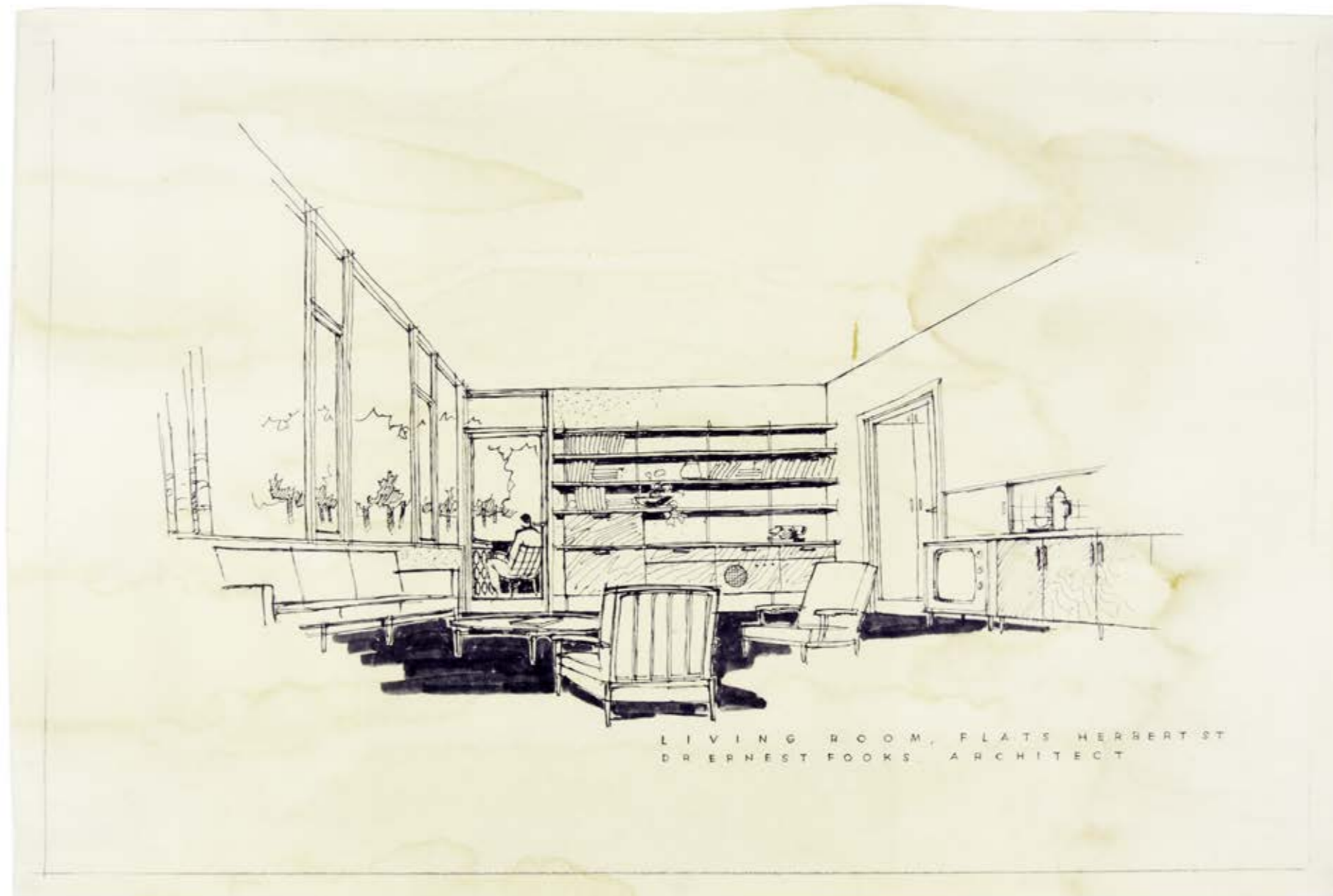
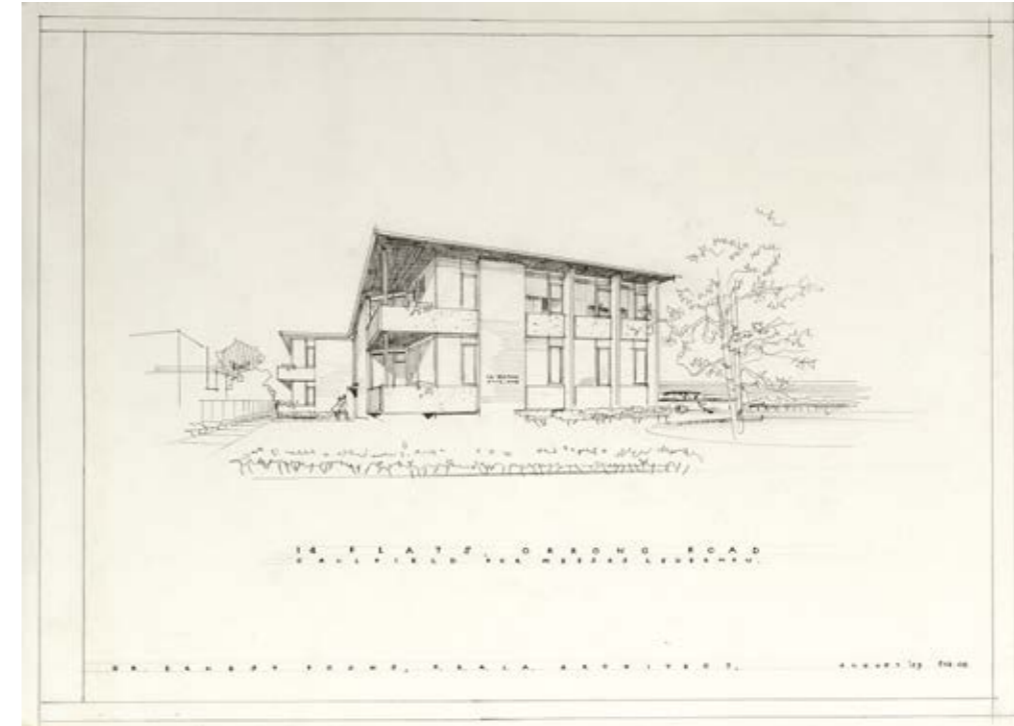
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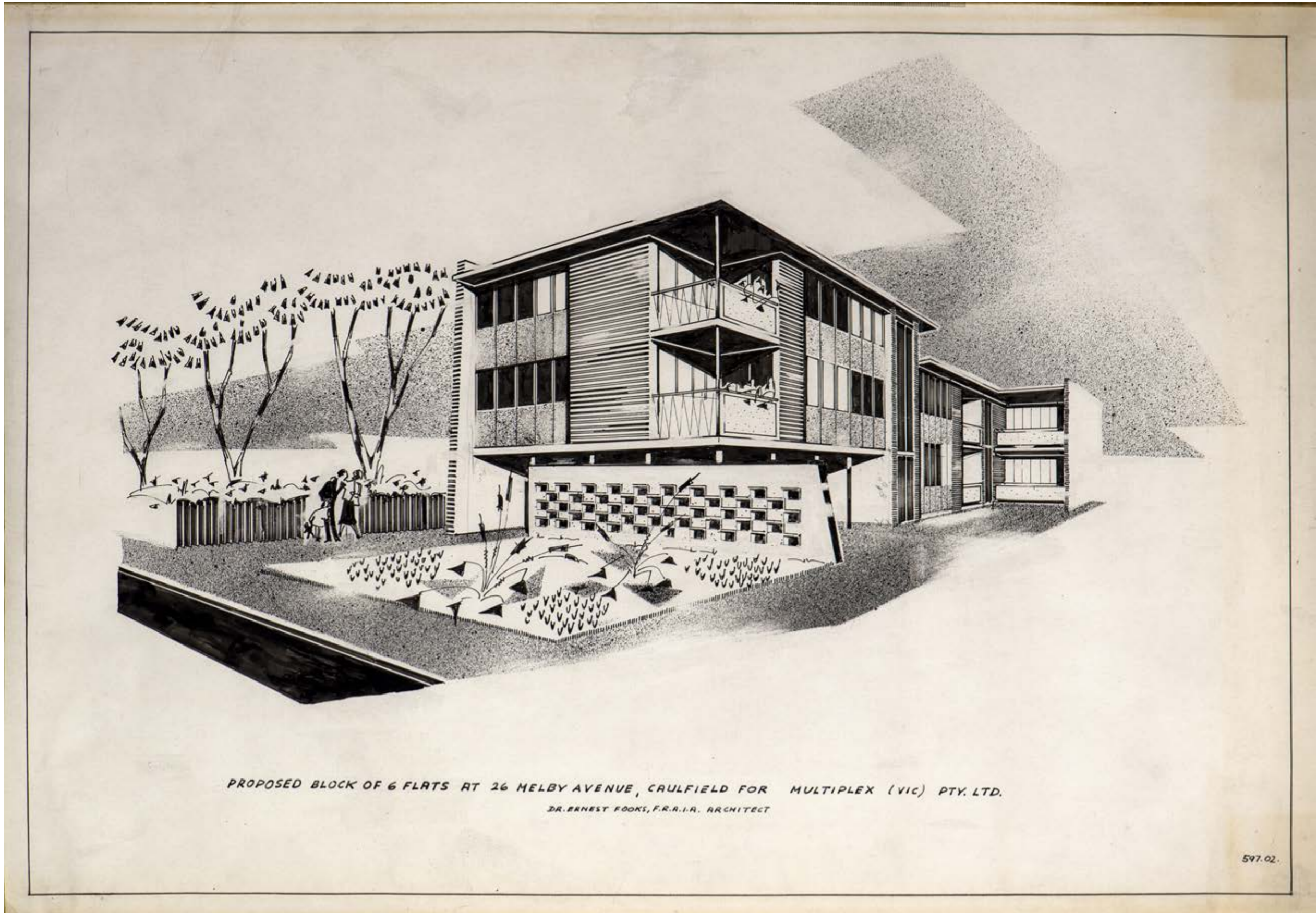
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Left
Ernest Fooks (architect),
Perspective, block of 10
flats, Brookfield Court,
Hawthorn for Mr G.R.
Goldsworthy, c.1959,
RMIT Design Archives

Right
Ernest Fooks (architect),
Perspective, block of
14 flats, Orrong Rd,
Caulfield for Messrs
Lederman, 1959, RMIT
Design Archives

Bottom
Ernest Fooks (architect),
Perspective, living room,
flats Herbert Street,
St. Kilda, date unknown.
RMIT Design Archives





This Page
Ernest Fooks (architect),
Perspective, block of
6 flats at 26 Melby
Avenue, Caulfield for
Multiplex (Vic.) Pty Ltd,
1960, RMIT Design
Archives,

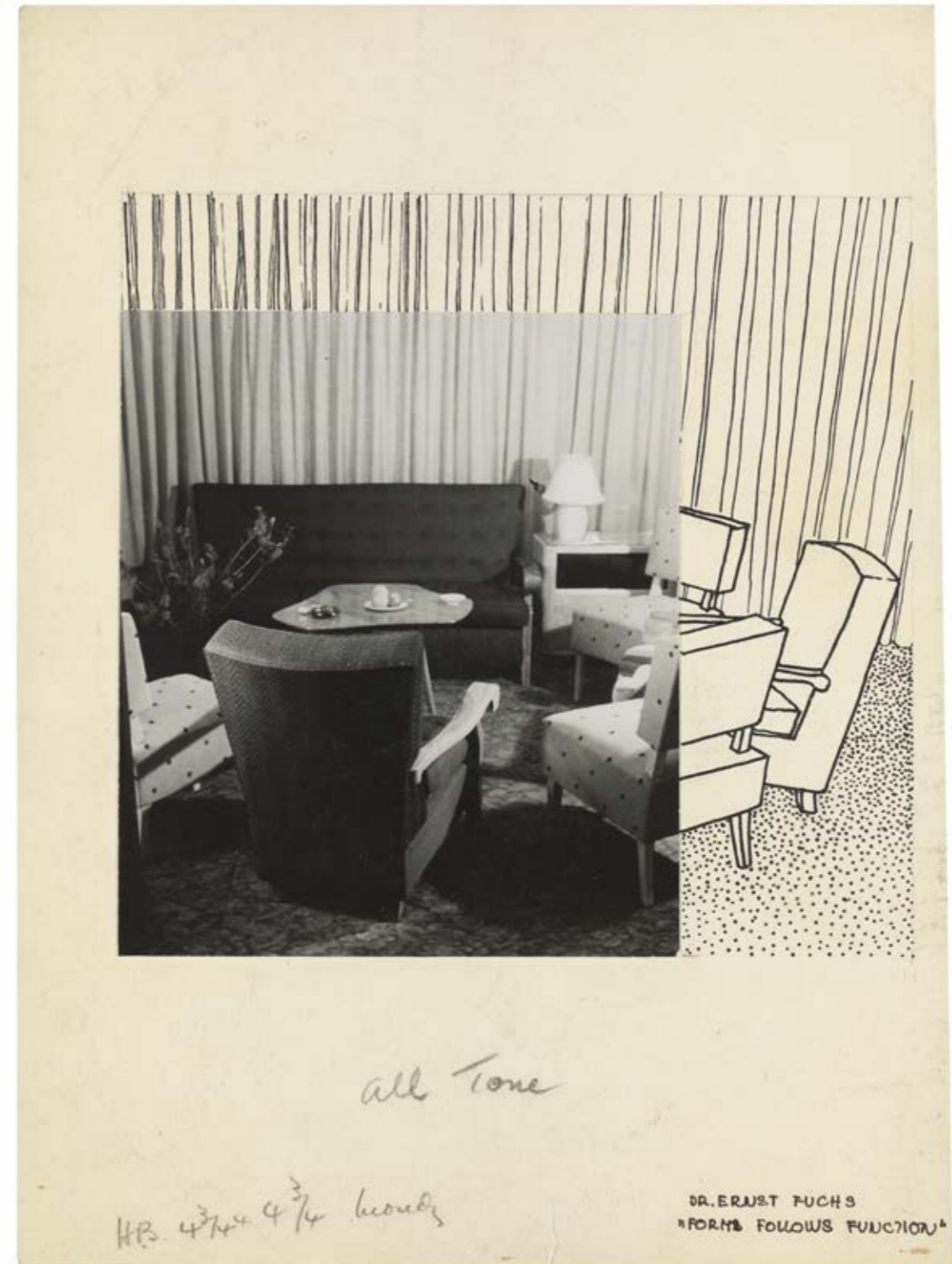
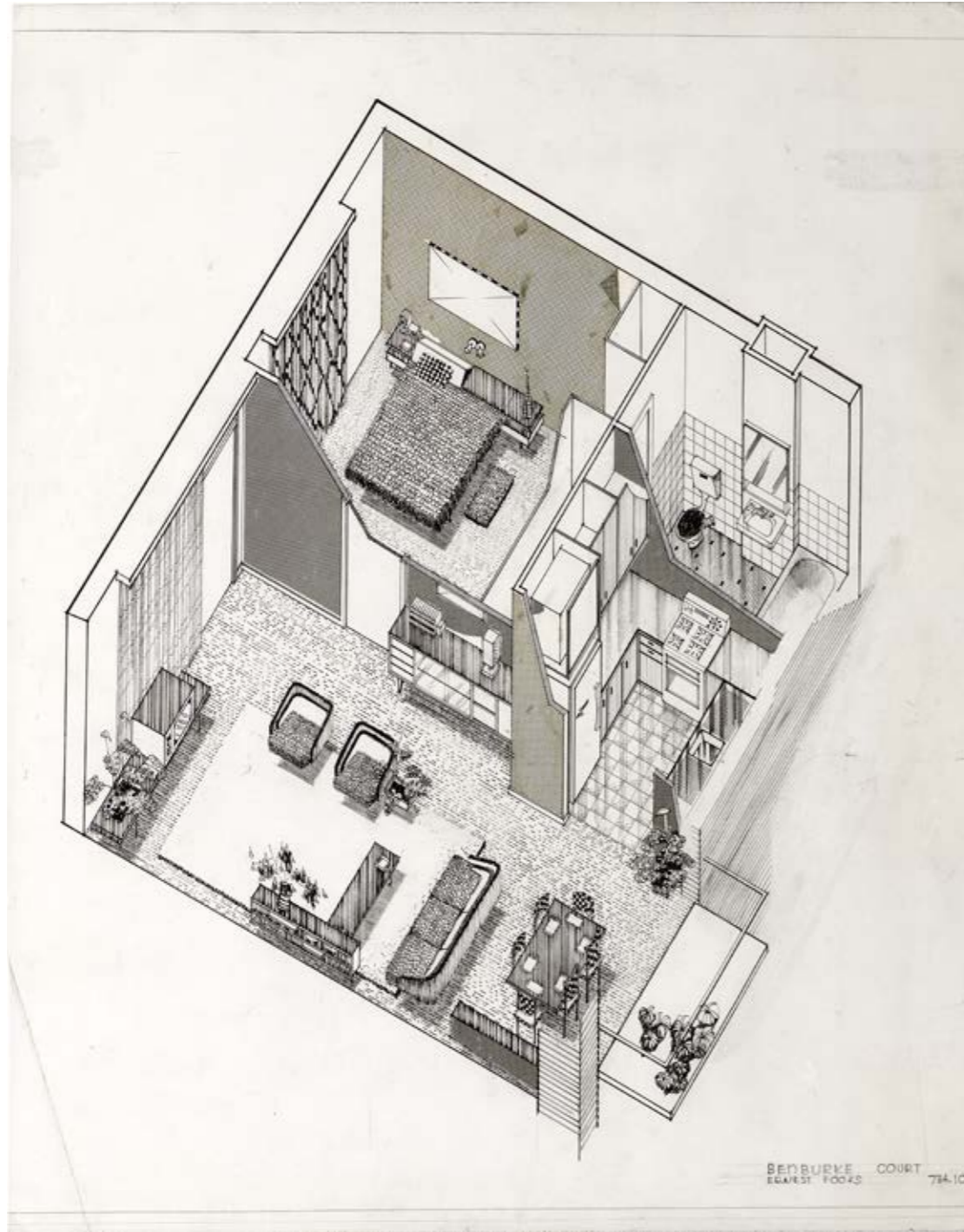
PROPOSED BLOCK OF 6 FLATS AT 26 MELBY AVENUE, CAULFIELD FOR MULTIPLEX (VIC) PTY. LTD.
DR. ERNEST FOOKS, F.R.A.I.A. ARCHITECT

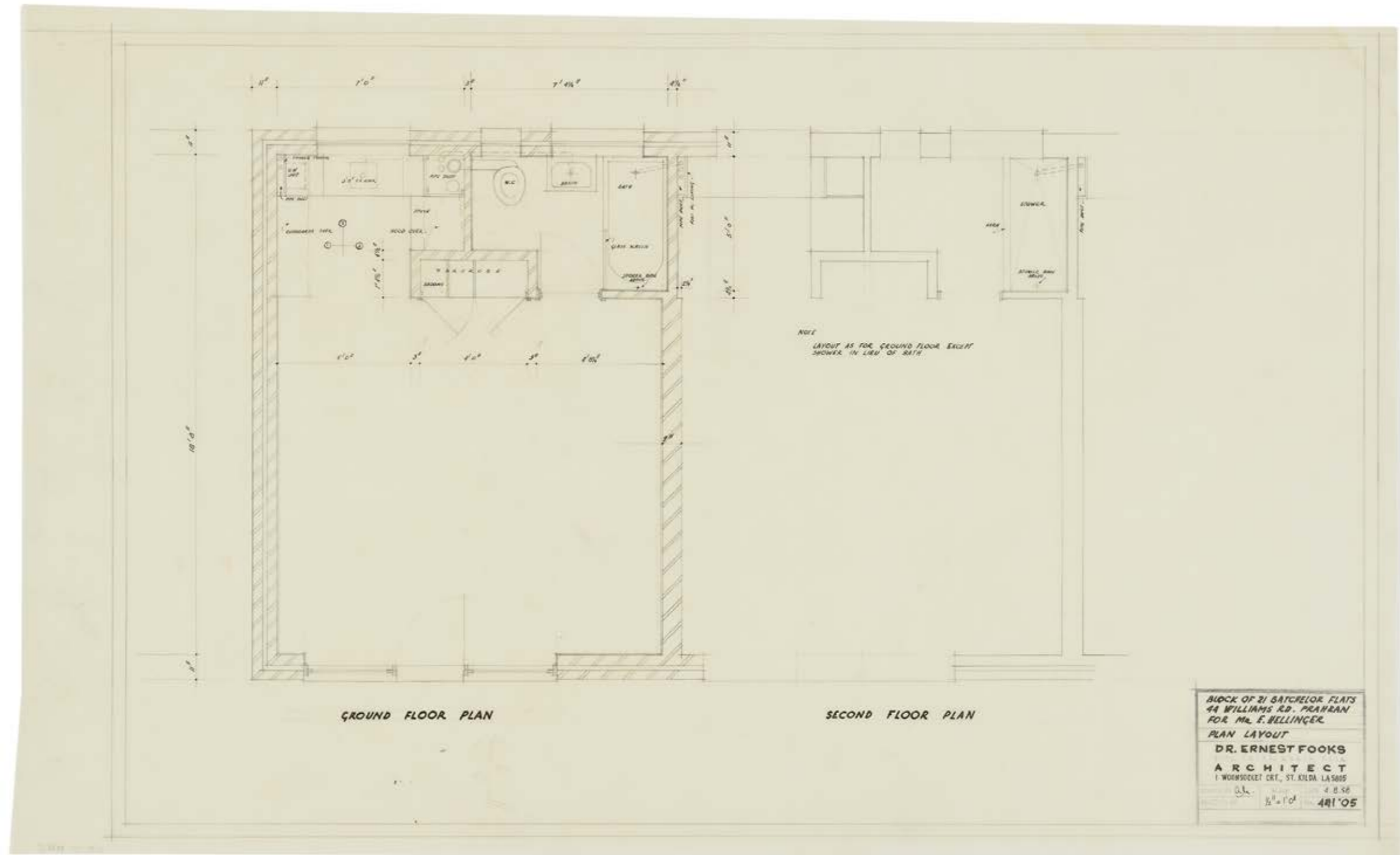
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This Page
Ernest Fooks (architect),
Axonometric drawing,
flat interior, Ben Burke
Court, c.1960s, RMIT
Design Archives

Opposite Page
'Form Follows Function',
illustration by Ernst Fuchs
used in his article,
'Form Follows Function:
The Fundamental
Principles of Interior
Decoration', *Australian
Home Beautiful*, June
1942, pp. 19-21, Ernest
Fooks Collection, State
Library of Victoria





This Page
Ernest Fooks (architect),
Plan layout, block of
21 Bachelor Flats,
44 Williams Rd, Prahran,
for Mr E. Hellinger, 1958,
RMIT Design Archives

complete flat interior at Ben Burke Court (c.1960s) shows Fooks to have considered every millimetre of floor space as deserving of design intent. Curtains, indoor plants, coffee table and lounge setting – all are drawn – as if Fooks was designing an interior back in 1930s Vienna.

Flats such as have never been studied in detail before and have been overlooked by historians, scholars, planners and architects for their contribution to Melbourne’s post-war urban morphology. In many respects, the phenomenon of the well-designed 1960s walk-up block of flats suffered in reputation by the parallel proliferation of speculative, so-called ‘six-pack’ flats across the greater Melbourne area and in many of the same suburbs in which Fooks worked. It was against these ‘six packs’ that urban planners and

thinkers like John Paterson, David Yencken and Graeme Gunn reacted so strongly in their push for the Cluster Title Act as a way of rethinking residential density.⁴⁷ In successfully achieving their goal and with fine demonstrations such as the Merchant Builders’ Molesworth Street townhouses in Kew (1968), cluster development in Winter Park, Doncaster (1969) and Vermont Park estate in 1976, they and the architecture profession effectively relegated the contributions of Fooks and other émigré architects like Mordechai Benshemesh, Michael Feldhagen and Bernard Slawik, also expert in flat design, to the dustbin of history.

In reality, drawings of Fooks’s individual apartment designs and his block designs held at RMIT Design Archives and the State Library of Victoria and the extant buildings them-

selves offer a rich lode for analysis, especially as Melbourne consolidates in density, either with high rise apartments or in unchecked suburban sprawl. They reveal an untold story of Viennese influence in Melbourne and at their heart, is Fooks’s faith in being able to design – in a human way – from the smallest item of furniture to the scale of the city.

Author’s note:

I would like to acknowledge a number of people have provided valuable advice and information for this paper. They include: Dr Paulus Ebner (TU Wien), Harriet Edquist, Ann Carew and Simone Rule at RMIT Design Archives, Anna Hirsh (Jewish Holocaust Centre), Alan Pert, Simon Reeves and Catherine Townsend.

Endnotes

- 1 “The New House, 194X”, *Architectural Forum*, vol. 77, no.3 (September 1942): 65-152.
- 2 “British Pre-fabricated Homes”, *Building and Engineering*, (24 July 1946): 24-25. See also “English Prefabricated Temporary Houses. Units Erected at Ryde”, RAI NSW Chapter Bulletin, vol. 3, no. 7, July 1946, pp. 2-3.
- 3 See Ronnen Goren (ed.), *45 Storeys: A Retrospective of Works by Melbourne Jewish architects from 1945*, (Prahan, Vic.,: Jewish Festival of the Arts, 1993); Catherine Townsend, “Architects, exiles, ‘new’ Australians”, Papers from the 15th Annual Conference of The Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand, Melbourne, 1998, 379-87; Harriet Edquist, *Ernest Fooks: architect*, (Melbourne: RMIT, 2001); Catherine Townsend, “Ernest Fooks in Vienna”, in Alan Pert et al, *Ernest Fooks: The House Talks Back* (Melbourne: Melbourne School of Design, University of Melbourne, 2016) Exhibition catalogue; Catherine Townsend, “Ernest Fooks in Vienna”, *Centre News* (Melbourne: Jewish Holocaust Centre, 2017): 14-17.
- 4 Alan Pert et al, *Ernest Fooks: The House Talks Back*, (Melbourne: School of Design, University of Melbourne, 2016). Exhibition catalogue. From 7-24 March 2019, the exhibition, *Excavating Modernism*, developed by Professor Alan Pert and M.Arch. students from the Melbourne School of Design, University of Melbourne, was held at the Glen Eira City Council Gallery, Caulfield. It featured the work of émigré architects Ernest Fooks, Kurt Popper, Herbert Tisher, and Mordechai Benshemesh amongst others.
- 5 Philip Goad, Ann Stephen, Andrew McNamara, Isabel Wünsche and Harriet Edquist (eds), *Bauhaus diaspora and beyond: transforming education through art, design and architecture*, (Carlton, Vic: Miegunyah Press, 2019).
- 6 Rebecca Hawcroft (ed.), *The Other Moderns: Sydney's Forgotten European Design Legacy*, (Sydney: NewSouth, 2017).
- 7 *The Sun Post-war Homes Architects' Competition Designs*, (Melbourne: The Sun News Pictorial, 1945).
- 8 Student Records for Ernst Fuchs (Ernest Fooks), University Archives of TU Wien, Vienna. The authors acknowledge the expert assistance of Dr Paulus Ebner, Director, Archives of TU Wien.
- 9 Fuchs's thesis design is directly comparable with Ivan Leonidov's celebrated competition entry for the town of Magnitogorsk, USSR (1930), thus indicating his advanced thinking at the time.
- 10 Fooks's drawings for costumes are held in the Stack Collection of the Architecture Library at the University of Melbourne.
- 11 Catherine Townsend, ‘Ernest Fooks in Vienna’, *Ernest Fooks: The House Talks Back*, (Melbourne: Melbourne School of Design, December 2016), Exhibition catalogue, 6. Born in Vienna, choreographer and dancer Gertrud Bodenweiser (1890–1959) would later emigrate to Australia in 1939. See Marie Cuckson and H. Reitterer, “Bodenwieser, Gertrud (1890-1959)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bodenwieser-gertrud-9532/text16785> (viewed 15 February 2018).
- 12 Typewritten CV attached to Fooks's examiners' reports for his doctoral dissertation. Student Records for Ernst Fuchs (Ernest Fooks), University Archives of TU Wien, Vienna.
- 13 See Ilana Fritz Offenberger, *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938–1945*, (London: Palgrave, 2017), 31–67, 129–209; Thomas Weyr, *The Setting of the Pearl: Vienna under Hitler*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005), Chapters 1–6, 1–148.
- 14 Lipsett, Charles John, Personal Records, National Archives of Australia, NAA: A435, 1944/4/4095 and NAA: A714, 22/10021. Lipsett is also co-credited with two of the first private residential commissions that Fooks undertook in Melbourne in the late 1940s: the Sternberg House, Kew (*Australian Home Beautiful* (November 1949): 26ff and Bruce House, Hawthorn (*Australian Home Beautiful*, (January 1950): 28ff). Simon Reeves has the most complete knowledge of Charles Lipsett's career and I am grateful to him for sharing the information provided here.
- 15 *The Sun Post-war Homes Architects' Competition Designs*, (Melbourne: The Sun News Pictorial 1945): 24–5.
- 16 “Design in Five Stages for Growing Family”, *The Sun Post-war Homes Architects' Competition Designs*, (Melbourne: The Sun News Pictorial, 1945): 24.
- 17 Recent scholarship on concepts of the ‘Growing House’ or ‘Kernel House’ includes Sophie Hochhäusl, “From Vienna to Frankfurt Inside Core-House Type 7: A History of Scarcity through the Modern Kitchen”, *Architectural Histories*, vol. 1, no. 1, (2013): 1–19 and Jesko Fezer et al. (eds), *Martin Wagner: The Growing House*, (Liepzig: Spector Books, 2016).
- 18 Demonstration or model houses that the public could visit and experience firsthand had been built in Europe since the early 1920s. There were famous modernist examples like the Haus am Horn, Weimar (1923), designed by George Muche and constructed by the Bauhaus; Le Corbusier's Pavillon L'Esprit Nouveau, Paris (1925); and Mies van der Rohe's later but exquisite Exhibition House erected as part of the German Building Exhibition in Berlin (1931). There would also be whole estates of model houses designed by different architects, such as the celebrated Weissenhof Siedlung in Stuttgart (1927), followed by others in Brno (1928), Breslau (1929), Zurich-Wollishofen (1930–32), Prague (1932) and Vienna (1932).
- 19 Bernard Rudofsky, “The Ballast of the House”, *Behind the Picture Window*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1955).
- 20 Criticisms of Josef Frank's ‘Double House’ at the Weissenhof Siedlung in Stuttgart (1927) are recounted in Nina Stritzler-Levine, “Three Visions of the Modern Home: Josef Frank, Le Corbusier and Alvar Aalto,” in Nina Stritzler-Levine (ed.), *Josef Frank: Architect and Designer*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 21–4.
- 21 Richard Pommer and Christian Otto, *Weissenhof 1927 and the Modern Movement in Architecture*, (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 126. The quotation by Frank is drawn from Josef Frank, “Die moderne Einrichtung des Wohnhauses,” in Werner Gräff (ed.), *Innenräume*, Akademischer Verlag Dr. Fr. (Stuttgart: Wedekind, 1928), 126–7. For further discussion of Frank's critique of the 1927 Weissenhof Siedlung, see Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna, 1919-1934*, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999), 196-8.
- 22 These articles were features on Fooks's work compiled by the journal editors or individual articles by Fooks written under his Austrian name, Ernst Fuchs or the initials E.F. until 1945 when he assumed his anglicized name. See “A Growing House”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (March 1940): 26-7; Ernst Fuchs, “An Architect Visits Norway”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (July 1940): 24-6; Dr Ernst Fuchs, “The Complete Architect: What his task embraces in making a home beautiful”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (February 1941): 20-2; Ernst Fuchs, “Wartime Conditions Emphasise That Function and Beauty Should Combine in Interior Design”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (April 1942): 12-15; Dr Ernst Fuchs, “Form Follows Function: The Fundamental Principles of Interior Decoration”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (June 1942): 19-21; Ernst Fuchs, “Travels through Europe – Leaves from an architect's sketchbook”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (October 1943): 19-22; Ernst Fuchs, “Yesterday and Tomorrow: Town Development Past and Future”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (February 1944): 6-9 and (March 1944): 6-10; E. F. (Ernst Fuchs), “The Demand for Better Living Conditions”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (February 1944): 10-11; Dr Ernest Fooks, “Wartime Housing in Europe I. Switzerland”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (August 1945): 12-15; Dr Ernest Fooks, “Wartime Housing in Europe II. Sweden”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (September 1945): 10-12; Ernest Fooks, “The Blight of a Crowded City”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (April 1946): 12-13.
- 23 Ernst Fuchs, ‘A Growing House’, *Australian Home Beautiful* (March 1940): 27.
- 24 *ibid.*
- 25 *ibid.*
- 26 Articles on buildings and furniture designed by Frederic Rosenbaum include: “Creating a Flat for Two People”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (November 1939): 28-9; “A Summer House overlooking the Danube”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (December 1939): 16-17; “Two suggestions for Small Houses”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (May 1940): 28-9; “A Continental Country House”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (October 1940): 22-4; “Design for a Garden House”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (October 1940): 25; “Built for a View”, *Australian Home Beautiful*, (February 1941): 13; “Saving space on a small site”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (February 1941): 40-1; “Country Home for say five people”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (May 1941): 18; “Compactness with freedom in planning”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (February 1942): 19; “New Home in Warrnambool”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (May 1942): 20-2; Frederic Rosenbaum, “Planning on a Big Scale – Some Thoughts on Post-War Construction and Re-Building”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (July 1943): 7, 40. See also “A Summer House”, *Art in Australia*, (23 February 1940): 84; and Frederic Rosenbaum, “Can We Plan Our Housing?”, *SALT*, vol. 6, no. 3 (12 April 1943): 44-8.
- 27 Houses by O. Notman appear in: “Continental Summer Residence”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (April 1941): 14-15; “Another small continental residence”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (June 1941): pp. 20-21; and “Continental Two-Storey House” *Australian Home Beautiful* (December 1944): cover, 5-6.
- 28 Simon Reeves, “Otto Nothmann (1896-1967)”, *Dictionary of Unsung Architects*, <https://www.builtheritage.com.au/dua-nothmann.html>, (accessed 19 February 2019).
- 29 At the time of writing, the location and date of this ‘tenement block’ apparently designed by Fooks has not been identified. Little is known of the Viennese practice which he established in 1932 and operated until his departure from Vienna in February 1939. Catherine Townsend has however been able to identify that Fooks entered competitions, published articles and exhibited paintings, but a definitive list of built works has not been determined.
- 30 Dr Ernst Fuchs, “The Complete Architect: What his task embraces in making a home beautiful”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (February 1941): 21.
- 31 Dr Ernst Fuchs, “The Complete Architect: What his task embraces in making a home beautiful”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (February 1941): 21.
- 32 Like Fuchs and others, Ernst Lichtblau, being Jewish, fled Vienna in 1939. He emigrated to the United States via Great Britain and became an influential teacher at the Rhode Island School of Design. Two of his metal platter designs were featured in the exhibition ‘Good Design’, held at the Museum of Modern Art, New York in September-November 1953.
- 33 Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna, 1919-1934*, (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1999), 191.
- 34 Ernst Fuchs, “Wartime Conditions Emphasise That Function and Beauty Should Combine in Interior Design”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (April 1942): 12-15.
- 35 Dr Ernst Fuchs, “Form Follows Function: The Fundamental Principles of Interior Decoration”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (June 1942): 19-21.
- 36 Josef Frank, “The House as Path and Place”, translation of “Das Haus als Weg und Platz”, *Der Baumeister*, 29, (August 1931): 316-23, reprinted in Christopher Long, *The new space: movement and experience in Viennese modern architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 224.
- 37 Frank, “The House as Path and Place”, in Long, 225.
- 38 Christopher Long, *The new space: movement and experience in Viennese modern architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016).
- 39 E. F. (Ernst Fuchs), “The Demand for Better Living Conditions”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (February 1944): 10.
- 40 E. F. (Ernst Fuchs), “The Demand for Better Living Conditions”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (February 1944): 10.
- 41 Dr Ernest Fooks, “Wartime Housing in Europe I. Switzerland”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (August 1945): 12-15, and “Wartime Housing in Europe II. Sweden” *Australian Home Beautiful* (September 1945): 10-12.
- 42 Dr Ernest Fooks, “Wartime Housing in Europe II. Sweden”, *Australian Home Beautiful* (September 1945): 10.

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Susanne Copolov with the Copolov family, Richard Tandler archive, 2019



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Research for these articles was partially funded by the Australian Government through the Australian Research Council Discovery Grant (DP160103820): Bauhaus Australia: Transforming Education in Art, Architecture and Design.