

**An Investigation of the Architectural, Urban, and Exhibit Designs
of the Tate Museums**

by

Deirdre L. C. Hennebury

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Robert L. Fishman, Co-chair
Associate Professor Claire A. Zimmerman, Co-chair
Associate Professor Scott D. Campbell
Professor Raymond A. Silverman

The chief function of the city is to convert power into form, energy into culture, dead matter into the living symbols of art, biological reproduction into social creativity.

Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (1961)

For Eric

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Abstract

This dissertation argues that art museums underwent an adjustment of purpose from the close of the nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century with the height of ‘postmodernism’ in the late 1980s marking a critical juncture best examined through a multidisciplinary project that looks at three design scales: the city, the building and the exhibit. Exploring issues in museology, exhibition practices and urban planning and the ways in which they intersect with museum architecture, the project focuses on the Tate institution in England. Selected for its ability to address the critical questions facing the institution of the museum and the city in its architecture, the Tate serves as a case study in a detailed analysis of significant moments from the 1897 foundation of the Gallery to the opening of James Stirling’s Clore Wing and the Liverpool extension in 1987 and 1988. The later Tate museums in St. Ives and Bankside are presented as extensions of the institutional trajectory.

Established during the “golden age” of the nineteenth century museum, the design strategies of the original Tate gallery are contrasted with postmodern enhancements; additions and extensions that coincide with a renewed interest in the signifying power of the past. While the tactics have changed since the nineteenth century, the desire to “uplift” the cityscape had been a recurring theme. The four Tate buildings each reflect a careful consideration of their urban conditions, interpreted as palimpsests. In addition to selecting deprived or post-industrial sites—a penitentiary, a derelict dockyard, a defunct gasworks, and a disused power generating plant—the Tate hired architects and planners

dedicated to long-term strategies regarding the viability of the communities in which the museums were situated. The result has been an expansion of the civic function of the museum beyond its nineteenth century role as a cultural monument focused on popular improvement. The twenty-first century Tate combines inspiration, instruction, and entertainment to act as a mechanism for social cohesion and urban healing. This study finds that the postmodern Tates represent a renegotiation of architecture's role as monument and container, balancing utopia and nostalgia, historically embedded but resolutely contemporary.

Introduction

Opening in 2000, the Tate Modern presented a new type of museum building. Housed in a former power station, the industrial character of the original structure was maintained, even celebrated, in the conversion. Heralded as a stunning architectural space, early press described the museum in grand terms, referring to it as “vast, with a cathedral-like quality.”¹ In addition to providing much needed space for the Tate’s growing twentieth-century art collection, the transformation of the building into a museum of modern art was intended to have larger urban implications with “. . . part of the case for putting public money into the creation of Tate Modern was that it would stimulate regeneration . . . in the surrounding area.”² As a flagship of the South Bank’s Millennium Mile and directly linked to St. Paul’s Cathedral by the new London Millennium Footbridge, the Tate Modern would infuse culture and money into a

¹ Rosie Millard, "Thoroughly Modern Tate," in *Arts & Culture* (United Kingdom: BBC World News, 2000).

² Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment, "The Project Design Brief: Professional Client’s Guide," *CABE London* (2002). CABE was the English government’s advisor on architecture from 1999 to 2011.

depressed part of London.³ Inside its walls, the Tate Modern exhibited a controversial curatorial concept, which rejected chronology and instead grouped art thematically. This concept moved the collection away from the representation of a single history or interpretation and promised a more wide-ranging view of art.

In terms of its architecture, urban situation and curatorial decisions, the Tate Modern seemed to provide a novel and intriguing museum experience that contrasted significantly from earlier models, including the Tate's three other museums. On further examination, however, the distinctions blur. An investigation of the Tate museums from the original 1897 Tate Gallery through the provincial expansion of the 1980s reveals a multi-faceted picture of the Tate legacy where continuities and divergences come into clearer focus. How were decisions of architectural style made? What urban visions were expressed and fulfilled? What relationship did the architectural container have to the display of the art? What decisions and building objectives brought the Tate as an institution to the point where it would launch the Tate Modern?

Behind the story of the Tates is a rich backdrop of nineteenth-century social theory that used the institution of the museum as a vehicle for a variety of objectives, most significantly, civic improvement and individual, moral uplift. In 1888, Thomas Greenwood, a Victorian social reformer, wrote that museums "should be considered as absolutely necessary for the welfare of every Municipality throughout the country."⁴ The

³ Robert Imrie, Loretta Lees, and Mike Raco, *Regenerating London: Governance, Sustainability and Community in a Global City* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), 243.

⁴ Thomas Greenwood, *Museums and Art Galleries* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1888), viii.

museum was seen as an essential tool in the counteracting the dehumanizing effects of industry and the ugliness of the nineteenth century city. The instrumentality of the museum is a theme that continues in current public policy and museological discussions as governments attempt to curate architecture, heritage, and history in urban regeneration initiatives.

In *The Culture of Cities*, Lewis Mumford presents the museum as a container for the city's history. "Layer upon layer, past times preserve themselves in the city until life itself is finally threatened with suffocation: then, in sheer defense, modern man invents the museum."⁵ The quote highlights several important issues for this study. First, Mumford emphasizes the desire to preserve history with the city fabric forming a palimpsest. Secondly, the invention of the museum as an act of defense speaks to its intrinsic relationship with utopia, modernity and progress. Working from these underpinnings, this dissertation also explores the link between the institution of the museum and its urban context as the architecture is utilized for its nostalgic imageability and symbolic function. These attributes are examined in light of the Tate Gallery's foundation and expansion over a century. For while there have been seismic shifts in cultural funding, museum branding, and the political leveraging of museum capital, other features have remained constant - if not in their execution, then certainly in their

⁵ Lewis Mumford, "The Culture of Cities," in *Metropolis: Center and Symbol of Our Times*, ed. Philip Kasinitz (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 22.

objectives. For the Tates, this constant has been the roles their architectures play in urban reimagining.⁶

Why the Tates?

How does a study of the Tate museums provide insight into the postmodern paradigm shifts seen in the museum world? The selection of the Tate museums allows for a comparative study of the institution over a century of development and growth. Starting in the “Museum Golden Age” of the 19th century, this dissertation examines the changes that occurred in the 1980s when postmodern sensibilities and strategies began the process of redefining the museum’s design and organization. There are three registers of analysis to this study: that of architectural form, that of urban context, and that of exhibition practices.

⁶ An image can be a physical likeness, a mental representation, or even a symbolic and metaphorical embodiment. Since the publication of Kevin Lynch’s landmark book, *The Image of the City* (1960), development officials and city planners have searched for ways to measure and create “good” city form. City images are dynamic and are subject to constant revision by government officials and institutions seeking to proactively alter and shape perceptions of urban areas through marketing, culturally-led regeneration, and economic development. In some cases where blight and post-industrial decay are rampant, the term *reimagining* (or re-imaging) has been used by cultural geographers to indicate the act of constructing a new urban identity. Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1964). See also Ronan Paddison, "City Marketing, Image Reconstruction, and Urban Regeneration," *Urban Studies* 30, no. 2 (1993); Jasper Eshuis and Arthur Edwards, "Branding the City: The Democratic Legitimacy of a New Mode of Governance," *Urban Studies* 50, no. 5 (2013); John Robert Gold and Stephen V. Ward, *Place Promotion: The Use of Publicity and Marketing to Sell Towns and Regions* (New York: J. Wiley, 1994); Gerard Kearns and Chris Philo, *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*, 1st ed. (New York: Pergamon Press, 1993); William J. V. Neill, Diana S. Fitzsimons, and Brendan Murtagh, eds., *Reimagining the Pariah City: Urban Development in Belfast & Detroit* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995).

The architectures of the Tate museums are notably different. While Tate Britain and Tate St. Ives occupy purpose-built structures, Tate Liverpool and Tate Modern are housed in converted industrial buildings. Looking at the buildings and the role of architecture in museum agendas, the Tate's selection of architect and site reveals a growing awareness of the role of design in achieving the social, cultural and educational objectives of the institution.⁷ In particular, the work of James Stirling for the Tate organization, with its range of modernist and historicist tropes, offers a vivid image of the conflicting strategies that were at play in the 1980s when the physical form of the museum was re-negotiated. His two built projects for the Tate, the Clore Gallery and the Tate Liverpool, along with his unbuilt "New Museums" designs with their complicated mix of both historical investigation and modernist allegiance, offer fertile ground to probe the discourses of architecture, museology, and urban planning occurring in that period. The Tate therefore provides a site to analyze the change in the twentieth century museum.

At the scale of the city, the Tate offers an intriguing picture of planning practice and theory. In terms of their urban situations, all four museums share several intriguing commonalities despite notable differences. Two Tates are located in London, the third in Liverpool, a major industrial city in the north-west of England, and the fourth in a

⁷ "Tate's mission, drawn from the 1992 Museums and Galleries Act, is to increase the public's knowledge, understanding and enjoyment of British art from the sixteenth century to the present day and of international modern and contemporary art." Approved by the Board of Trustees on 16 November 2011 (tate.org.uk)

picturesque Cornish town, St. Ives. Each Tate faces the water—Tate Britain at Millbank and Tate Modern at Bankside are on the north and south banks of the Thames, Tate Liverpool is on the River Mersey and Tate St. Ives on the coast of the Celtic sea. Because of their waterside situations, the entry approach is not frontal but occurs on an angle. In addition, each museum is built on a site previously dedicated to unlikely programs – a penitentiary, dock warehouse, municipal gasworks, and a defunct power station – and for this reason are not located in the city centers where museums are typically situated. Lastly, each has been a key element of regeneration efforts in their communities. However, though each is a flagship development, the diverse processes and means by which they have been built offer vastly different pictures of urban regeneration strategies. This variety and the fact that the four museums were built at various times and in several places permits an investigation of twentieth century practices within the Tate as an institution and allows for broader links to the fields of architecture, planning, and museum studies.

What distinguishes the Tate from the Guggenheim and other expansionist museums is that the design decisions of the three branches involved the explicit intention to improve the urban conditions in each situation. While the provincial expansion seems to suggest a franchise model, it is important to note the Tate does not see itself this way. Each of its branches has an individual relationship with the original London institution that speaks to the historical moment in which it was created, the context in which the museum is located, and the mission of its programming. For example, the Tate St. Ives was spearheaded through local grassroots efforts and presents exhibitions focused

particularly on its permanent collection of St. Ives school artists. As the architect of the Tate St. Ives, Eldred Evans, noted, “What you will see out the window will be depicted in the very works hung on the walls.”⁸ By contrast, the Tate Liverpool grew from different factors: the Tate’s desire to create a provincial outpost, Liverpoolian planning efforts, and national governmental policies. While the rebranding of the Tate in 2000 clearly marked the four museums as being “Tates,” each museum developed its own identity within the larger institutional umbrella to form a collaborative network.⁹ The urban context has been fundamental to each branch’s self definition.

Finally, this dissertation looks at the exhibit designs in each museum to gauge how postmodern changes have been reflected in curatorial decisions. A survey of the Tate’s hanging practices, from the original gallery to the later museums, reveals a marked change in how the British and Modern collections are handled. While the British collections are presented in a more normative, traditional manner, the contemporary and modern works have permitted the Tate to present more thematic displays. These curatorial decisions have not been made in a vacuum. As this dissertation will argue, in addition to debates regarding art appreciation, educational approaches and traditional art historical periods, the architectural frame has become increasingly relevant and influential in exhibit design. In fact, as the architecture of the museum has made the

⁸ Eldred Evans quoted in Chris Stephens, "On the Beach: Art, Tourism, and the Tate St. Ives," in *The Architecture of the Museum: Symbolic Structures, Urban Contexts*, ed. Michaela Giebelhausen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 114.

⁹ For an overview of Tate branding since 1897, including images of the different printed materials, see Tate Archive Journeys: Tate History - Branding <http://www.tate.org.uk/archive/journeys/history/html/branding.htm>

building envelope one of the key attractions in the museum's collection, the curators have leveraged the spatial experience of the museum itself to achieve their objectives.

Conceptual Framework

Firmly based on the notion that “every building represents a social artifact of specific energy and commitment,” the conceptual underpinnings of this study rest on work in museology, architecture and urban planning.¹⁰ This study counterpoises two different moments – the nineteenth century and the 1980s – to compare and contrast the institutional design intentions of the Tate. The historical development of urban and architectural discourses is grounded in a detailed examination of the archival resources at the Tate Archive in London and The James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive at the Canadian Center for Architecture (CCA) in Montreal.

Through the project, the term “postmodern” has been consistently troublesome as the research moved between disciplines and theoretical perspectives. While architecture's stylistic tendencies are relevant, particularly in their use of contextual and historical materials, the larger postmodern condition reflected in museums studies and art history make a singular definition impossible. In this regard, the dissertation supports Reinhold Martin's position that “postmodernism is not a style; it is a discursive

¹⁰ Spiro Kostof, *A History of Architecture, Settings and Rituals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 7

formation... It is true whether we are speaking of postmodernism in the narrowly architectural sense, or in the sense of a generalized cultural assemblage.”¹¹ This seems appropriate given that the term is continually revised and re-constructed.

Museum Studies has provided many analytical resources for this project. With the tenets of the “new museology” as a testing ground, it has been possible to look at the Tate museums from many perspectives in addition to the scales of design. As a historian of the built environment, analyzing architecture within the refractory of practice and theory in museum studies has been enlightening. Museologist Eilean Hooper-Greenhill noted, “...the museum in the future may be imagined as a process or an experience. It is however, not limited to its own walls, but moves a set of process into the spaces, the concerns and the ambitions of communities’.”¹² In fact, the “experience” of museum going has been fundamental to the Tate’s mission from its very conception. As I will argue, this “process” has never been limited to the museum walls, though the architecture of the Tates has been instrumental to the shaping and framing of the museum encounter.

Hooper-Greenhill’s quote does nicely highlight the importance of urban space in the consideration of the contemporary museum. Initiatives like the Guggenheim Bilbao were conceived to catalyze urban economies and conceptually the architecture of the museum has changed—resulting in a shift from a storehouse or temple of objects to that of a visitor-centered educational repository of objects and information. While these

¹¹ Reinhold Martin, *Utopia's Ghost: Architecture and Postmodernism, Again* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xiv.

¹² Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 152.

changes began in the 1960s, they only became visible in design by the 1980s. An analysis of James Stirling's projects for the Tate in London and Liverpool, clearly present the early efforts to connect museum practice to forms of experience, education and reflection that have broad social currency. The figure of Stirling looms large in this research due to his skillful architectural negotiation of the shifting museological ground of the postmodern Tates. This dissertation does find common threads between these architectural manifestations and the 'new museology' proclaimed in the 1980s particularly in terms of pedagogical practices. Both the buildings and the ethic of inclusion that were created in the postmodern crucible are the seeds that produced our eclectic contemporary museums.

After the waning of modernist fantasies about creatio ex nihilo and of the desire for the purity of new beginnings, we have come to read cities and buildings as palimpsests of space, monuments as transformable and transitory, and sculpture as subject to the vicissitudes of time. ...an urban imaginary in its temporal reach may well put different things in one place: memories of what here was before, imagined alternatives to what there is. The strong marks of present space merge in the imaginary with traces of the past, erasures, losses, and heterotopias.¹³

The primary finding of this project is that the dedication to urban reimagining has been a pervasive and explicit theme in the Tate's institutional history. In addition, several key subthemes emerge. The first is the concept of palimpsest which is useful in understanding the various ways in which the new Tate architectures used fragments and

¹³ Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Cultural Memory in the Present (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 7. While the examples Huyssen presents in this volume are of cities-Berlin, Buenos Aires, and New York- that have experience significant historical trauma, the analysis of selective memory, palimpsest, and the generation of new art has enlightened my current study.

traces of the existing urban conditions in their designs. In this study the trope of palimpsest follows Andreas Huyssen's use in that "...palimpsest is not some imperialism of écriture ...rather [the focus on reading palimpsests comes from] the conviction that literary techniques of reading historically, intertextually, constructively, and deconstructively at the same time can be woven into our understanding of urban spaces as lived spaces that shape collective imaginaries."¹⁴ Benedict Anderson's metaphor of imagined communities is supported by the concept of palimpsest since, according to Anderson, any collective history is imagined, concocted collaboratively and constantly being redefined.¹⁵ The space of the museum, as a physical record of community conditions, is often the site of such cultural machinations.

Svetlana Boym's differentiation between restorative and reflective nostalgia has also been helpful. In her book, *The Future of Nostalgia*,¹⁶ Boym stresses the centrality of space to the concept of nostalgia. "If restorative nostalgia ends up reconstructing emblems and rituals of home and homeland in an attempt to conquer and spatialize time, reflective nostalgia cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space."¹⁷ While the techniques of leveraging nostalgia are different, in both the original and Liverpool Tate, its emotive capacity gives it the future relevance that explains its usefulness as a political tool. It is clear why national agendas have attempted to institutionalize nostalgia in museums and urban memorials.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised and extended ed. (London: Verso, 1991).

¹⁶ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

¹⁷ Ibid., 49.

This study considers the Tate institution, with particular emphasis on the original gallery and James Stirling's postmodern contributions, in their specific contexts. Although each situation is unique, the consistent and profound dedication to spatial as well as socio-cultural improvement is remarkable. While postmodernism wrought significant changes in the appreciation and housing of art, the nineteenth century notion of "art as experience" continued to have agency as the Tate reinvented itself into the twenty-first century. A brief review of the history of the museum and its place in the city situates this present study.

Museums in Context

The first art museums of the eighteenth century were often palatial structures whose designs were influenced by the original settings of the private collections with grand galleries displaying the trappings of wealth and spoils of war.¹⁸ In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, older princely palaces were adapted and reused while new construction was typically neoclassical in style. Starting with the Palais du Louvre's appropriation as the *Musée Français* in 1793, these buildings were essentially private domains made public with little change in form or content. As the museum became institutionalized, however, the debate over its architecture, urban significance and internal functionality became of paramount interest.

¹⁸ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995).

The Louvre, in particular, became a museum prototype thanks to Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand's (1760-1834) Beaux Arts ideal museum plan that referenced the French museum as a model.¹⁹ These Beaux-Arts museums had predominantly square floor plans with perimeter corridors and a central crossing with a dome. American museums adopting this iconic form include the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the National Gallery of Art in Washington. The enfilade of rooms supported the practice of presenting art works in a chronological or progressive stylistic fashion by directing the visitor along a linear spatial timeline. This prototypic plan and corresponding neoclassical façade responded to the pedagogical constraints of art connoisseurship inside the walls and, on the outside, to an idealized civic architecture consistent with the classical canon.

In the cityscape, the museum emerged in the early nineteenth century as a primary element, the “typical institution of the metropolis, as characteristic of its ideal life as the gymnasium was of the Hellenic city or the hospital of the medieval city.”²⁰ These new urban features were often placed in central locations and anchored urban squares in a way reminiscent of cathedrals in medieval towns. In his seminal *Précis des leçons d'architecture* (1802-5), Durand's lectures at the École Polytechnique in Paris, emphasized the importance of the city square and “invoked antiquity as the blueprint on

¹⁹ Wim de Wit, "When Museums Were White: A Study of the Museum as Building Type," in *Architecture for Art: American Art Museums, 1938-2008*, ed. Scott Tilden (New York: H.N. Abrams, 2004), p.12.

²⁰ Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*, [1st ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), 639.

which to model interventions in the contemporary city.”²¹ Frequently analyzed as nation-building instruments, the early museums “stood as embodiments, both material and symbolic, of a power to ‘show and tell’ which, in being deployed in a newly constituted open and public space, sought rhetorically to incorporate the people within the processes of the state.”²² Whereas the desire to show progress and to uplift the populace is clearly a utopian objective, the use of antiquity as a model, until then a fixed value in architecture, also suggests a propensity for a nostalgic legitimization. These two attributes, utopia and nostalgia, often seen as opposite ends of the modern-postmodern continuum, operate simultaneously in the Tate projects. The museum, therefore, assisted in configuring the new urban ideal and was critical to bourgeois power struggles, both characteristics of the Tate’s foundation narrative presented in Chapter 1.

An influential nineteenth century museum, Karl Friedrich von Schinkel’s 1829 Altes Museum in Berlin was conceived as a monumental structure, modeled on classical forms. It is situated in a prominent location in the city and Schinkel deliberately considered the museum’s urban role through “the idealized power of civilisation and the paternalistic concerns of the nation state.”²³ Driven by the desires of the bourgeoisie to have access to the royal collections, King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia founded the Altes Museum to serve as a public museum. The museum is now surrounded by other museums and cultural venues, forming a cultural precinct known as the *Museumsinsel*

²¹ Michaela Giebelhausen, ed. *The Architecture of the Museum: Symbolic Structures, Urban Contexts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), Introduction, 5.

²² Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 87.

²³ Giebelhausen, ed. *The Architecture of the Museum: Symbolic Structures, Urban Contexts*, Introduction, 4.

(Museum Island) featuring five important state museums. Other European capitals were transformed and remade with museums featured prominently in their urban plans. Berlin, Paris, Munich, and Vienna all offer compelling examples of a trend that became almost universal with later examples found in American cities, including Boston, Detroit, Chicago, and Philadelphia. Like the cathedrals of previous centuries, the art museum is a “fundamentally urban phenomenon.”²⁴

The twentieth century saw a shift in how the museum was situated in the city and in its architecture. This was due in part to tensions between the “container” and the “content” and the desire for a more neutral space in which to present art. Rising out of the nineteenth century French slogan “l'art pour l'art” (Art for Art’s sake), there were calls for museums that did not reference the past or serve monumental, civic functions. With The Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA), built in 1939, architects reconsidered what a museum could be in both its architecture and its urbanism. MoMA introduced the flexible “white cube,” an approach to gallery spaces that aimed to erase the architecture and completely decontextualize the art works.²⁵ MoMA’s design also presented a new urban model: instead of a monumental “object building” viewed as an independent three-dimensional structure, this modernist building was inserted among traditional New York brownstones. This urban reticence continues in Yoshio Taniguchi’s 2004 addition. The new galleries, however, have been reconsidered to allow

²⁴ J. Pedro Lorente, *Cathedrals of Urban Modernity: The First Museums of Contemporary Art 1800-1930* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 1.

²⁵ Brian O’Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space*, 1st bk. ed. (Santa Monica [Calif.]: Lapis Press, 1986).

for new visual connections and references both vertically and horizontally within and without the museum walls, features that define postmodern museum interiors.

Reverting to the monumental paradigm, Frank Lloyd Wright's sculptural Guggenheim Museum in New York (1959), marks a shift in museum design by reworking the interior layout. Looking at the museum precedents, Wright transformed the Beaux-Art domed atrium into the defining feature of his design with the linear display route taking the form of a processional ramp.²⁶ Though not classical in appearance or form, Wright maintained the centralized and processional elements in his rendition. The Guggenheim design was entirely new with its innovative spiral and changed the way in which architects and their patrons would approach museum design by heightening the importance of architecture not only in the functional aspects of museums but also in their place as urban monuments. The imageability of the museum made it an ideal icon and branding tool for the Guggenheim institution.²⁷ This legacy continues in the work of Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Bilbao (1997) and Daniel Libeskind at the Jewish Museum Berlin (2001).

Coming two decades after New York's Guggenheim, the Centre Georges Pompidou (1977) presented a completely different urban model for a late twentieth century museum. Architects Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers designed a cultural institution in the heart of Paris for modern and contemporary art. In addition, the

²⁶ Helen Searing, *New American Art Museums* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

²⁷ The term imageability is taken from Kevin Lynch's definition: "That quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any observer. Imageability constitutes the shape color or arrangement which facilitates the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured highly useful mental images." Lynch, *The Image of the City*.

Pompidou hosted theatre, music, cinema, and literature. The entertainment elements of the Pompidou responded to the desire to enliven and bring culture to the Beaubourg neighborhood, to create a memorable experience. The building's massive scale and polychrome exuberance indicated a break with the urban syntax of Paris, not unlike what Wright achieved with the Guggenheim. In her analysis of the building, historian Michaela Giebelhausen suggests that by "enabling at once the production, collection, dissemination, and consumption of culture" the Pompidou "promoted a democratization of culture."²⁸ Despite clear formal and stylistic differences, these few examples reveal the centrality of the museum's relationship with the city and a dynamic reaction/counter-reaction between museum buildings and the institutional entities that operate them.

Following the Pompidou, museums have taken increasingly diverse forms in the last forty years. No longer universally bound to the classical canon, the museum has been conceived as an evocative entity in dialogue both with its content and urban context.²⁹ In *The Museum Transformed*, Douglas Davis highlighted the fact that the museum has repeatedly "burst its categorical limits, nearly always redefining its capacity and expanding its audience."³⁰ Looking at the diversified and increasingly conflicted cultural roles of the museum Charles Jencks referred to the postmodern institution as "the

²⁸ Michaela Giebelhausen, "Museum Architecture: A Brief History," in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 233.

²⁹ Justin Henderson, *Museum Architecture* (Gloucester, Mass: Rockport Publishers, 1998); Victoria Newhouse, *Towards a New Museum*, Expanded ed. (New York, N.Y.: Monacelli Press, 2006); Scott Tilden and Paul Rocheleau, *Architecture for Art: American Art Museums, 1938-2008* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 2004).

³⁰ Douglas Davis, *The Museum Transformed: Design and Culture in the Post-Pompidou Age* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1990), 12,14.

museum of spectacular contradiction.”³¹ Despite the cacophony of museum forms, the museum’s relationship with the city continues to be a defining characteristic.

Tate Modern is one of many contemporary art museums that are associated with the “starchitecture” trend in museum design, or what Stephen Weil would call the “edifice complex” of the contemporary museum world.³² In this recent museum boom, it is clear that architecture has a significant role to play in the framing of the expanding institutions. Museum trustees and directors have increasingly engaged contemporary architects to design innovative monuments to raise their institutional profiles and to house their collections. A recent exhibition at the University of Michigan Museum of Art (UMMA), “Museums in the 21st Century: Concepts, Projects, Buildings,” presented twenty-seven museum projects designed, in progress, or completed between 2000 and 2010.³³ The architects featured were a “Who's Who” of contemporary designers and included projects by Zaha Hadid, Tadao Ando, Daniel Libeskind, Diller Scofidio + Renfro, Frank Gehry, Rafael Viñoly, Jean Nouvel, and Renzo Piano. While each project considered different site and programmatic variables, the majority were conceived as urban monuments, lending caché to their cities through unique buildings. The decision to construct an urban identity with world-class architecture can bring a city many things including legitimacy, visitors, and revenue. In addition, The “Museums in the 21st

³¹ Charles Jencks, "The Contemporary Museum," *AD Profile* 130(1997): 13.

³² Stephen E. Weil, "A Brief Meditation on Museums and the Metaphor of Institutional Growth," in *A Cabinet of Curiosities: Inquiries into Museums and Their Prospects* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 42.

³³ The exhibition ran from March 28 through May 3, 2009, and was associated with a series of events celebrating the opening of the new UMMA wing designed by Brad Cloepfil and Allied Works Architecture; a project that was one of the selected designs on display.

Century” exhibition catalogue noted that with the continuation of the museum building boom, the projects bear witness to an increasing exchange of ideas and techniques involving museum design.³⁴

Using iconic cultural buildings to attract investment and admiration is not a new phenomenon and it comes as no surprise that a well-conceived building might have a positive impact on its surrounding urban context. As tourist destinations, museums offer both content and container as enticements to visit. With the expansion of the “experience economy,” one based on the creation of memorable customer/visitor encounters, the balance between the collection and the building that houses is renegotiated.³⁵ The Guggenheim has been at the forefront of this effort with its franchises springing up worldwide—unique and iconic structures created by the vanguard of architectural designers.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 explores the creation of the Tate Gallery and presents the three scales of design decisions –urban, building, and exhibit – that framed its objectives and intentions to its local, national and international audiences. A changing notion of the reformative

³⁴ Suzanne Greub and Thierry Greub, *Museums in the 21st Century: Concepts, Projects, Buildings* (Munich: Prestel, 2006).

³⁵ B. Joseph Pine II and James H. Gilmore, "Welcome to the Experience Economy " *Harvard Business Review* July-August (1998); Brian Lonsway, *Making Leisure Work: Architecture and the Experience Economy* (London: Routledge, 2009).

and moralizing potential of art, serial philanthropy, and an effort to sanitize and renew the industrial city collided with the pervasive belief in the progress of art and the “march of civilization” to create a long-desired national museum dedicated to British artists. While the architecture and exhibit designs represent clear examples of nineteenth century nation-building museum efforts, the urban gesture distinguishes the Tate as an institution clearly invested in its cityscape.

Starting in Chapter 1, the project builds on and responds to Tony Bennett’s *Birth of the Museum* in which Bennett applies Michel Foucault’s work to the notion of the museum as a node of power and nation-building agendas.³⁶ The Tate Gallery and its champions who yearned for a museum dedicated to British Art were fundamentally interested in the didactic and moral potential of art. Using the institution of the museum, in part, as a tool of control, the desire was to civilize the masses and to reinforce British supremacy, both intellectual and moral. The spoiled landscape of the postindustrial city gave a purposive social role to the art. The works hung on the walls offered beauty and “nature” in an environment that was deprived of these uplifting visions.

Continuing the examination of the Tate Gallery’s design decisions as it expanded its curatorial and educational mission; Chapter 2 looks at the plans for the 1970s and 1980s. Despite the failure of previous architectural additions to provide appropriate facilities for the British and modern collections, the gallery was once again looking to expand. In 1978, James Stirling was engaged by the Tate to create a feasibility study for

³⁶ Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 2nd Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

a group of museums, known as the “New Museum” on the Millbank block adjacent to the original gallery.³⁷ Director Alan Bowness’s desire to segregate the different media necessitated a separate, specialized “museum” for modern sculpture, 20th century art, and British art. While Stirling’s office was putting together a folio of designs for the different components, Vivien Duffield and the Clore Foundation contributed funds towards a Turner Gallery to be named the Clore Gallery in honor of her father, Charles Clore. Clore, a generous philanthropist, was a financier who achieved tremendous success in retail (including Selfridges Department Store) and shipping ventures. The success of this project did little to prepare the Tate for the lack of patronage that prevented the execution of the larger New Museums scheme. The desire to create independent museums for dedicated topic areas, however, would continue and ultimately find resolution when the Trustees decided to build the Tate Modern in 1992.³⁸

While expanding in London, the Tate looked to extend the institution’s reach into the provinces with a satellite museum. Chapter 3 examines the selection of Liverpool as the site of the first Tate ‘branch’ later followed by Tate St. Ives and Tate Modern. Particular attention is paid to the urban and architectural history of the city that made the site selection so significant. In addition, the decision to adapt a pre-existing industrial structure is evaluated in light of other museum projects and a reconsideration of the role of architecture in framing and containing art.

³⁷ Robin Hamlyn, *The Clore Gallery: An Illustrated Account of the New Building for the Turner Collection* (London: Tate Gallery, 1987), 7, 16.

³⁸ Tate Press Release 1992 Tate Archive

The Tate Liverpool, which opened in May 1988, is located in Warehouse “C” of the Albert Dock. Named for the Prince Consort who opened it in 1846 (the first member of the Royal Family to make a state visit to the city), the Albert Dock forms the largest group of Grade 1 listed buildings in Britain.³⁹ Sponsored by the Merseyside Development Corporation’s (MDC), the Tate Liverpool brought James Stirling directly from the Clore in London to Liverpool. Seen as a sort of homecoming for the architect who grew up in the city, Stirling’s adaptive reuse is remarkable for its restraint and intense focus on the interior of the structure that was expertly reconsidered to create an exciting and novel art space. The galleries retain the columns and lower ceilings of the original warehouse that provide the consistent presence of the architecture in the appreciation of the art. Instead of offering distraction, these elements assist in framing the works and focusing the visitor’s view. The story of the museum’s construction involves a remarkable convergence of personalities, historical incidents, and the prevailing belief of the Tate that their work could act in positive ways in ameliorating cities through architecture, urban considerations, and exhibit programming.

In both Chapters 2 and 3, architect James Stirling’s designs are examined for their urban situations, formal properties, and his ideas concerning the role of architecture as a

³⁹ In the United Kingdom, the term "listed building" refers to an officially designated structure of special architectural, historical or cultural significance. Grade I structures are those considered to be "buildings of exceptional interest" and include only two percent of the 370000 listed structures in England. Listing was begun as a provision in the Town and Country Planning Act 1947 and is currently controlled by Section 10 of the Town and Country Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990. Once listed, the structure is protected and severe restrictions are imposed on any modifications. In England, the statutory List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest is compiled by English Heritage, a non-departmental public body, and is approved by the Secretary of State for the Department of Culture, Media, and Sport. For a detailed description of the listing designation and enforcement process, see Matthew Cousins, *Architect's Legal Pocket Book* (Oxford: Architectural Press Elsevier Ltd., 2011), 113-20.

container. Using the archival resources at the CCA and the Tate to examine his writings and designs, the dissertation draws out several themes that are of particular relevance to his oeuvre and which speak to the large changes seen in museum design. The ideal case study for this project, Stirling's concern for "context" and the "associational" attributes of architecture add resonance to the discussion of modern utopian aspirations and the consideration of nostalgia as a source for urban and architectural collage.

Chapter 5 looks at the "Later Tates," St. Ives and Tate Modern, as two very different extrapolations of James Stirling's approaches at the Clore and Tate Liverpool. Significantly, both projects were realized under the visionary directorship of Nicholas Serota; a powerful administrator who continues to expand the Tate's objectives and global reach. St. Ives, a tiny Cornish fishing town, became a popular art destination in the late nineteenth century when the railroad routes extended into Cornwall. Beloved for the quality of light and the panoramic views of the sea, a St. Ives School emerged and the town became a British art center from the 1920s. Designed by Eldred Evans and David Shalev, Tate St. Ives opened in 1993 on the site of a former gasworks. The museum's architecture, new construction that references the cylindrical gas tank in its circular entry foyer, was configured to be in dialogue with its environment and to allow the works exhibited within to be viewed in relationship to the landscapes that had inspired them.

In 2000, Tate Modern opened in Bankside as a primary feature of London's Millennium Mile. Bankside, one of the oldest settled areas in London, offers an urban palimpsest with traces of its gritty history including hosting brothels, the Globe Theatre (a replica of which was built in the 1990s), and a variety of industries including

warehouses and docks. Located directly across the Thames from St. Paul's Cathedral, Bankside featured a power generating station since the late nineteenth century which was replaced in 1947 with a design by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, the well-known architect of the Liverpool Cathedral and the Battersea Power Station. This monumental and impressive structure was in active service from 1953-1981 at which point it lay mostly unused for decades. Transformed into the Tate Modern by the Swiss architecture firm Herzog and de Meuron, the museum opened to great acclaim. The thoughtful adaptive reuse approach recalls Stirling's design in Liverpool and provides a memorable frame for the viewing of the modern collection. With its tall chimney and industrial skin, the Tate Modern, like the Tate Liverpool, provided a functionalist vernacular architecture that offers "memorability as image;" the perfect iconography for a growing museum brand.

In the concluding chapter of the dissertation, the Tate museums are considered in light of the "new museology," a label applied to the broad arena of postmodern museum studies. As part of a general, cultural shift, museums are interpreted as moving from an object-focused institution to a visitor-centered one where the imageability of the architecture becomes critical to the "experience" of the consumer.⁴⁰ While the Tate's first century witnessed many changes in management, pedagogical approaches, and programming that fit neatly within this paradigm, the institution was never the detached, elitist institution that the "new museology" rejected. While the building forms and

⁴⁰ Gail Anderson, *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2004); Lois H. Silverman, *The Social Work of Museums* (London: Routledge, 2010).

planning methods are diverse, the Tate institution has remained remarkably consistent in the “instrumentalization” of its museums as social and urban reformers.

Chapter 1: Foundations

Introduction

*Millbank Prison is down, and in the heaps of bricks, iron, and heterogeneous materials scattered about in all directions we can scarcely recognize the once populous prison, a building replete with so many memories....the buildings are now demolished, the bricks swept away, the doors and gates carried off, and before many months have elapsed the rise and fall of Millbank will be an apt illustration of the **march of civilization**, sweeping all before its triumphal campaign as it journeys ever onwards.⁴¹*

The tearing down of the infamous Millbank Prison in London and the subsequent construction of the Tate Gallery for British Art on its site begins the narrative of museum construction and urban reimaging on which this dissertation focuses. As the first English museum dedicated to contemporary British art, the Tate fulfilled the longstanding aspirations of many individuals calling for an elite institution to forward and promote British artistic interests both at home and on the international art scene. Starting with John Ruskin, a nineteenth century art critic and tastemaker who believed that art was a public good, and his lecture proposing a “National Museum,” the path to the opening of

⁴¹ G. Rayleigh Vicars, "The Rise and Fall of Millbank Prison," *Gentleman's Magazine* CCLXXIV, no. 1949 (May 1893): 140.

the Tate Gallery in 1898 was a difficult one due to parliamentary disagreement, divergent public opinions, funding quarrels, and controversies regarding site selection. Ultimately, the Tate was realized through the personal donations of Henry Tate, a sugar baron who like many of the new industrialists of the nineteenth century was a collector of contemporary British art. Private philanthropy was common in the Tate museum's expansion through until the 1980s when public funding became a more powerful economic force.

The architect, Sidney R. J. Smith, had worked with Henry Tate on other public and private projects prior to the gallery commission. He produced a neoclassical design in keeping with museums of the period. While not recognized as particularly commendable, the building marked a new cultural precinct in what had been the depressed area of Millbank. As an urban gesture, the museum is forward looking in its intentions. Built on the site of the Millbank penitentiary, the museum acted as an urban salve, a catalyst for positive cultural and social change. The selection of this site set the precedent for the Tate institutional interest in urban regeneration efforts.

The theme of improvement was not limited to the urban milieu but was also explicitly a part of the curatorial intentions where Victorian and Romantic motifs presented a means to civilize the uncultured populations of London. The emphasis on British art strengthened the national identity, a paramount interest during this period.⁴² Whereas the urban gesture seems prescient of later twentieth century urban renewal

⁴² Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

initiatives, the exhibits were rooted in the nineteenth century both in content and in hanging practices. In fact, when the Tate opened, its two primary galleries presented Henry Tate's collection almost as he had hung the works in his own private salon. Exposure to these works of art was considered revelatory and civilizing for the public, especially the poor and downtrodden of Millbank.

The Socio-Cultural Milieu: "the March of Civilization"

The parallel growth of the city and public museums has often been associated with the social emergence of the bourgeoisie and the start of a new age of leisure and tourism.⁴³ Nineteenth-century Paris and London were rivals in international politics, in the colonial context, and in the art and luxury trades catering to the wealthy.⁴⁴ Both grew enormously over the course of the century and each city took pride in developing civic buildings, improving roads, providing public transport and entertainments as symbols of modernity and progress. This began to take shape when the bourgeoisie achieved an important share of political power, with the *July Revolution* of 1830 in France and the

⁴³ Donald Horne, *The Great Museum: The Re-Presentation of History* (London: Pluto Press, 1984).

⁴⁴ This competitive spirit has been explored by many writers looking at cultural and economic rivalries between the two European capitals. A diverse sampling of examples include Stephen Wildman, "Great, Greater? Greatest?: Anglo-French Rivalry at the Great Exhibitions of 1851, 1855 and 1862," *Royal Society of Arts Journal*, CXXXVII, no. September (1989); Ceri Crossley and Ian Small, *Studies in Anglo-French Cultural Relations: Imagining France* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1987); Robert T. Gibson, *Best of Enemies: Anglo-French Relations since the Norman Conquest* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1995); Youssef Cassis and Jacqueline Collier, *Capitals of Capital: A History of International Financial Centres, 1780-2005* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Reform Act of 1832 in Britain.⁴⁵ The emergence of Paris and London as world metropolises should not only be measured politically or simply in terms of population, but also regarding their new influence as “cultural capitals.”

The nineteenth century museums of contemporary art, like national pavilions in universal exhibitions, were products of nationalist pride. While earlier museums like the cabinets of curiosities reflected a strong interest in antiquities and oddities, the new art museums focused on a national past and, more importantly for our purposes, a national *present*. The notion of cultural nationalism, the term used here as defined by Anthony Smith as “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential “nation,” was a new one that resulted in the creation of novel institutions.⁴⁶ “Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness; it invents nations. . . .”⁴⁷ In many European states, the museum was an instrument of this invention. As Carol Duncan argued, museums and other cultural institutions “made the state look good: progressive, concerned about the spiritual life of its citizens, a preserver of past achievements and a provider for the common good.”⁴⁸ While the same is true to a large

⁴⁵ Mark Girouard, *Cities & People: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 330-33. The Representation of the People Act 1832 (commonly referred to as the Reform Act or Great Reform Act) reorganized voting rights and electoral distributions in England and Wales. Specifically, the Act granted the right to vote to a larger proportion of the population and allocated House of Commons representatives to the new industrial cities while reducing the number of seats held in less consequential boroughs. The Reform Act of 1832 is frequently cited as being a transformative moment in British politics and represents the beginning of modern democracy in England and Wales. Separate but similar acts were passed in Scotland and Ireland.

⁴⁶ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, *Ethnonationalism in Comparative Perspective* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 73.

⁴⁷ Ernest Gellner quoted in *Ibid.*, 71.

⁴⁸ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, 93.

degree in England, it was the bourgeoisie rather than the political establishment that was concerned with founding national museums.

The expressions of patriotism revealed in the new institutions were also seen in the art itself. As early as the eighteenth century, the English artist William Hogarth expressed in his work the anger and frustration of seeing foreign influences permeating English society. Hogarth's reacted to this "cultural treason" by producing *Masquerades and Operas* in 1724, "...a ferocious attack on foreign arts and their domestic aristocratic admirers, coupled with bitter commentary on the neglect of native genius (the print shows the works of Shakespeare and other English authors being hauled away to be pulped)"⁴⁹ (Figure 1). While themes of cultural sovereignty and the importance of domestic art and virtue were integral to the story of museum development in the nineteenth century, the international tension and the rivalries between different capitals offered additional fuel to the fire of patriotism.

When the Louvre opened to the public in 1793, the nationalized museum was meant to "attract and impress foreigners." As the French Interior Minister stated,

*It should nourish a taste for fine arts, please art lovers and serve as a school to artists. It should be open to everyone. This will be a national monument. There will not be a single individual who does not have the right to enjoy it. It will have such an influence on the mind, it will so elevate the soul, it will so excite the heart that it will be one of the most powerful ways of proclaiming the illustriousness of the French Republic.*⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830*, New rev. ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 64-65.

⁵⁰ Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," *Art History* 3, no. 4 (1980): 454.

In 1803, the Louvre was renamed as the *Musée Napoléon*, the pictures were reorganized in historical schools (reinforcing the notion of progress and the “march of civilization”), and a catalogue was published that was aimed at the average citizen. The result was “...a museum which appeared fully secular, public and national: a monument to democracy, civilization, and international cultural domination.”⁵¹

Predating the Louvre, the Musée de Luxembourg, named for its location in Marie de Medici’s Palais du Luxembourg, opened in 1750 and featured a small collection of royal works, including pieces by da Vinci, Raphael, Veronese, and Rembrandt. In 1818, Louis XVIII moved these collections to the Louvre and dedicated the Musée de Luxembourg as “Le *musée des artistes vivants*,” a home for works by living artists.⁵² The relationship between the Louvre and the Luxembourg was arranged so that ten years after the death of the artist, works of superior quality housed in the Luxembourg would be transferred to the Louvre. Initially, the collections in the Musée du Luxembourg consisted of purchases at the academic Salon and reflected the official taste of the period with its emphasis on portraits and classical landscapes according to a clearly established hierarchy of genres. It was not until the 1880s that newer, more experimental works were on view and contemporary French art received a privileged position in the national collections.

⁵¹ Nick Prior, *Museums and Modernity: Art Galleries and the Making of Modern Culture*, Leisure, Consumption and Culture (Oxford ; New York: Berg, 2002), 45.

⁵² Jesús Pedro Lorente, *The Museums of Contemporary Art: Notion and Development* (Farnham ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub., 2011), 17. For a detailed discussion of the Musée de Luxembourg and its paradigmatic position as the first museum of contemporary art, see the first chapter, "The Origins of the Musée des Artistes Vivants in Paris." 17-37

The founding of the Musée de Luxembourg as “*Le musée des artistes vivants*” was instrumental in instigating rival capitals, particularly London, to produce one of their own to celebrate their own cultural wealth and superiority. The Musée de Luxembourg acted as a model for other cities searching for identity. Unlike France, however, where the opening of the Louvre and the founding of the Musée de Luxembourg were spearheaded by the French government, Queen Victoria and her governments did not facilitate the opening of a national museum for British artists. Without royal support, the British Parliament created the National Gallery with the purchase of the Angerstein collection in 1824. The first exhibition took place in Pall-Mall that same year and the collection moved to its present building in 1838.

Museums reflect intangible social constructs; art galleries not only display works of art, they also reveal the way the national and city government agencies, patrons, public supporters, etc., wish to be perceived and remembered. Francis Haskell discusses how an innovative conception of history developed with Voltaire in the eighteenth century predominated in the nineteenth century: many intellectuals claimed that the most permanent achievements of a people’s past were its monuments and arts.⁵³ This conception reveals the close relationship between the history of museums and changes in taste parallel to new developments in scientific and historical interests and understanding.

Within this historical context, museums became major attractions and gained legitimacy as cities tried to boost their cultural standing. For the elite, the pursuit of

⁵³ Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 211.

travel, cultural interests and leisure was desirable and a necessary component of aristocratic education. Following on the Grand Tour of the eighteenth century, travel and study across Europe became commonplace for the wealthy.⁵⁴ Jürgen Habermas referred to the “bourgeois public sphere:” an urban culture of literary and art salons, music and theater venues, coffee houses, museums and libraries, newspapers and magazines, public exhibitions and fairs, art auctions and print shops, art unions and cultural societies, and public parks and gardens.⁵⁵ This new cultural scene affected the way in which contemporary art was produced and consumed. The old aristocratic ways of exercising patronage, by the commissioning or the purchase of works directly from artists and the close survey of their work, gave way to a market economy where art became a commodity shown and sold through the mediation of suppliers.

Cultural Policy

As suggested above, the creation of the first museums of contemporary art occurred in the context of a society very skilled in cultural consumption and one that was coping with increasing specialization in all domains, including museums. Most often, museums were the result of top down cultural initiatives. Opening and running a

⁵⁴ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

⁵⁵ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 27-43.

permanent museum entailed social goals and operating costs that belonged to the realm of politics. Thus, central to the introduction of the new museum type is the development of new cultural politics and the modification of existing governmental politics.

In England, there were several political actions that paved the way for the establishment of a museum for British art. The first of these was the 1845 *Act for Encouraging the Establishment of Museums in Large Towns* that was followed in 1850 by the *Public Libraries Act*. These two acts together emerged from a political climate that promoted the creation of cultural institutions in England's larger cities. While these were primarily concerned with physical structures, the 1832 and 1867 *Reform Acts* promoted the rights of the common person by giving extended franchise to the working class and endowing the trades unions with more rights. Included in the second Reform act were ideas of social improvement and the explicit promotion of cultural philanthropy.

In addition to these legislative actions, the "art unions" and other "societies for the encouragement of art" who lobbied their governments, wrote to their newspapers and called for innovations in cultural politics were crucial in shaping the new institutions. As early as 1752, when the *Society of British Connoisseurs* was formed to provide a discussion forum for noblemen who had been on the Grand Tour, amateur and professional art groups played an important role in defining taste in the United Kingdom. *The Society of Arts*, founded to "promote the polite arts, commerce, manufacturers, and mechanics, originated in the patriotic zeal..." was created in 1754 with the *Royal Academy*, dedicated more specifically to fine arts, following soon after in 1768. *The Art Union of London* was chartered in 1845 along with other unions and *The Society for the*

Encouragement of Fine Arts was founded in 1858.⁵⁶ These groups would be pivotal in promoting art interests and specifically British art in the capital and the provinces. If the respective national or local authorities lacked motivation, the first step towards the creation of such museums was often taken by the new social elite—traders, industrialists, bankers and merchants of colonial goods—who were encouraged and frequently supported by the growing voice of the art societies and unions. Like Henry Tate, the patrons were typically collectors of new art rather than old masters since the elite were intent on surrounding themselves with modern clothes, modern houses, and contemporary possessions.⁵⁷ However spurious their reasons for buying new pictures, the interesting fact is that many collectors of contemporary art became generous museum founders.

Influenced by the teachings of the Enlightenment, the social elites supported public betterment. There was a widespread belief that in order to qualify for the acclaim of posterity a premium had to be placed on cultural deeds.⁵⁸ This idea became powerful in politics and in social philanthropy. The belief was a cornerstone in the construction of the first museums of contemporary art, and a major incentive for gifts and endowments from the rich and powerful. The focus on a public civilizing project combined with the emerging specialization, strong nationalistic feelings, and the ‘cult of the new’ resulted in the creation of galleries whose purpose was the celebration of national pride. According

⁵⁶ Joseph Timothy Haydn and Benjamin Vincent, *Haydn's Dictionary of Dates and Universal Information Relating to All Ages and Nations. Containing the History of the World to the Autumn of 1881*, 17th ed. (London,: Ward, Lock, 1881), 52, under the entry for Arts; Ian Chilvers, *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 207.

⁵⁷ Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, Wrightsman Lectures 7 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976).

⁵⁸ Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, 200-16.

to Iain Pears in his study of the development of the art market in England, art was a vehicle of status that was accessible to the wealthy and forged a common identity. “[The upper classes] increasingly saw themselves as the cultural, social and political core of the nation, “citizens” in the Greek sense....”⁵⁹ The teachings of books like Ruskin’s *Modern Painters*, which argued for the superiority of modern landscape painters, influenced citizens and art critics alike to share an almost fanatical belief in the progress of art. In his foreword to the second edition, Ruskin defends his focus on the modern artist:

*...every nation, perhaps every generation, has in all probability some peculiar gift, some particular character of mind, enabling it to do something different from, or something in some sort better than what has been before done; and that therefore, ...the greatest minds of existing nations, if exerted with the same industry, passion, and honest aim as those of past times, have a chance in their particular walk of doing something as great, or, taking advantage of former example into account, even greater and better.*⁶⁰

Following Ruskin’s championing of contemporary art and his defense of Turner, the new museums therefore unashamedly proclaimed the art of their time as the ultimate, modern examples – and that of their own countries in particular.

*...the papers expressed a confidence in contemporary British artistic production ...and helped to define the new gallery as both a National Gallery of British Art and a Gallery of Modern Art. In periodicals’ discussions of what Tate’s offer meant and might mean, modern art was British. This is surprising now, when we see late Victorian art from across the cultural chasms of modernism and postmodernism. But to what the press called the ‘art-loving public’ of the early 1890s, the British School was at new heights of accomplishment and world significance, and it was generally accepted that the national school was young and modern, having only begun with Hogarth.*⁶¹

⁵⁹ Iain Pears quoted in Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, 36.

⁶⁰ From the Preface to the Second Edition of John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, ed. David Barrie, New rev. ed., Pilkington Press Art and Culture Series (London: Pilkington Press, reprint, 2000).

⁶¹ Amy Woodson-Boulton, "The Art of Compromise," *Museum and Society* Nov (1), no. 3 (2003): 147.

The social roles of the gallery include their vocation to guide art production and their function at the service of institutional agendas. The same elite who controlled the economy and held political power also had an interest in directing the development of art. Apart from purchasing art according to their standards of taste and publicly commissioning works from certain artists, the social elites did this by designing new museums for the types of art they liked. The museums of contemporary art were hindered in their task of offering a fair representation of progressive architectural and artistic trends by the constant meddling of the bourgeois public and other affiliated institutions. This interference could be by means of letters lobbying politicians and the press, through well-meaning gifts intended to correct the taste of the institution, or by political and financial intervention.⁶²

The new civic museums, of which the Tate Gallery is an example, became typical developments of the nineteenth century.⁶³ Other innovations of the period include world fair pavilions, museums of the decorative arts, and national portrait galleries. In addition, recreations in the urban culture of the nineteenth century were provided by the shopping arcades, department stores, and amusement parks, which also related to museums as they

⁶² The Tate and National Archives contain countless letters to the editors of a variety of publications calling for arts funding, museum initiatives, and even suggestions for gallery floorplans. The following letter weighs in on Henry Tate's offer and the potential location of the gallery. Letter to the Editor, *The Daily News*, 2 December 1893.

⁶³ Nikolaus Pevsner, *A History of Building Types* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), Chapter 8 'Museums'.

functioned as attractions displaying all types of wonders.⁶⁴ These attractions were seen as counter examples of the way a serious cultural institution should be articulated. A museum expresses the highest of human aspirations and is, in its simplest definition, a permanent display made public for general education.⁶⁵

A National Gallery of British Art

Inspired by Robert Vernon's 1847 donation of British works to the nation, John Sheepshanks founded and funded a small *Museum a National Gallery for British Art* at South Kensington featuring his own collection.⁶⁶ Both Vernon and Sheepshanks desired to improve the representation of British Artists in London museums, finding the offering of the National Gallery inadequate. While emerging from similar motivations, the particular story of the Tate Gallery begins, appropriately, with Ruskin. In his lecture to the British Institution titled "On the Present State of Modern Art, with Reference to the Advisable Arrangement of a National Gallery" in June 1867, his resentment against the subordinate status given British arts by the government is clear:

The whole body of the public is now interested and agitated by many questions respecting academies, galleries, and exhibitions of art.... A National museum is

⁶⁴ Mumford, "The Culture of Cities," 113, 236; Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, 30, 74.

⁶⁵ Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

⁶⁶ Tate Gallery. and Robin Hamlyn, *Robert Vernon's Gift: British Art for the Nation 1847, [Exhibition] Tate Gallery [16 March - 31 October 1993]* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1993); Frances Spalding, *The Tate: A History* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1998), 10.

*one thing, a national place of education another: and the more sternly and unequivocally they are separated the better will each perform its office – the one of treasuring, and the other of teaching.... A Treasury and Storehouse...a stately place – a true Palace of Art, pure in the style of it indeed, and, as far as thought can reach, removed from grossness or excess ornament, but not unsumptuous, especially precious in material and exquisite workmanship... [and] build a National Gallery of Porphyry and white marble.... I only wish it may be pretty enough and rich enough for the French to want to come and steal it.*⁶⁷

This quote brings together several aspects of the debate that are fundamental to the identity politics and national-building aspirations of nineteenth century museum projects in the United Kingdom. The first is the notion of a public body interested in art, the way it is housed, and who has access to it. The growing Victorian city, in addition to offering additional freedoms and opportunities to the middle classes, also possessed newspapers that offered a voice and an opportunity for local propaganda that had been missing in smaller towns. “In these forums of the public press, we see the forms of all the greater and lesser associations into which society at large has wrought itself.”⁶⁸ Secondly, Ruskin emphasizes the cleansing and purifying attributes of art. Finally, he describes the building and its role in defining English superiority.

Ruskin’s emphasis on patriotic nationalism in aesthetics was typical of the mid and late nineteenth century. He criticized existing British galleries and called for a new type of museum to fulfill the purposes of taste advancement and social improvement. His skepticism towards existing public galleries in London fired a zeal for reform in many of

⁶⁷ John Ruskin, "On the Present State of Modern Art, with References to the Advisable Arrangements of a National Gallery," in *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. Edward T. Cook and Alexander D. O. Wedderburn (London,: G. Allen, 1903).

⁶⁸ R. Vaughan quoted in Andrew and Lynn Hollen Lees introduction to Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 24

his followers. One of those frequently mentioned in the press was the landscape painter James Orrock. He became the leader of a campaign of complaints against the authorities of the National Gallery and the government, for their systematic neglect of British art. Starting in 1880, Orrock gave many lectures concerning the advancement of Ruskin's ideas. His speech calling for a national museum on the 11 March 1890, two days after Henry Tate's offer of fifty-seven paintings, catalyzed public discussion.⁶⁹

Henry Tate's success lies with the development of industrial sugar refiners and colonial markets. Fed by the sugar trade of raw sugar into its ports in the sixteenth century, sugar refining started in Britain in 1667 with the first sugar house in Liverpool. From these early roots, the growth in refineries would mirror the increase in international trade to England. John Wright & Co had a sugar refinery in Liverpool from about 1809. In 1859, Henry Tate, a successful Liverpoolian grocer joined the firm. Realizing that a more efficient means of production would be required to stay competitive in the European markets, Tate set up his own refinery in 1862, and expanded this business by moving to a new facility on Love Lane in 1872. While developed by a German, Eugene Langen, in 1875, Henry Tate bought the rights to sugar cube technology. It was this technology that would result in Tate's remarkable success. Tate eventually left the Liverpool facilities to his sons and moved to London to operate a highly successful refinery on the Thames.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Archive, "Tate Box 321," (London: Tate Gallery Archives). In this archive folio, there is a large collection of press clippings detailing the public commentary on Henry Tate's gift to the nation starting with the publication of his initial offer on 23 October 1889.

⁷⁰ Tom Jones, *Henry Tate, 1819-1899; a Biographical Sketch* (London: Tate & Lyle, 1960).

A generous philanthropist, Tate was typically discreet in his largess and never sought public notice. In addition to offering moneys to Manchester College, Hahnemann Hospital, Bedford College for Women, and the Liverpool Royal Infirmary, he was the benefactor of the University of Liverpool. In keeping with his interest in promoting educational causes, Tate also founded a library near his home in Streatham and provided funds for additional libraries in Brixton, Balham and South Lambeth.⁷¹ An avid art patron who was active in art circles, Tate had built a gallery in his house at Park Hill that was open to visitors on Sundays. It was also in his home that he hosted an annual dinner for leading artists. He had a catholic taste for mainstream British art and his favorite artist was John Everett Millais, with whom Tate was close.⁷²

Almost twenty years after Ruskin's call for a new museum of contemporary art, Henry Tate offered a part of his collection of British paintings to the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square. Despite Tate's desire to have the proceedings remain private, the communications between him and the Treasury and National Gallery were to become public.⁷³ The first letter dated 23 October 1889, was published in *The Times* and included three stipulations for the transfer of the works:

⁷¹ For a compelling discussion of serial philanthropy and the building of library branches, please see Alistair Black, Simon Pepper, and Kaye Bagshaw, *Books, Buildings and Social Engineering: Early Public Libraries in Britain from Past to Present* (Farnham, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub., 2009), 97, 123, 27.

⁷² For additional biographical information on Henry Tate, please see Jones, *Henry Tate, 1819-1899; a Biographical Sketch*.

⁷³ Archive, "Tate Box 321." Reticent by nature, Tate requested in this initial document that the negotiations remain a secret due to his reluctance to deal with public scrutiny and also his concern that some of his art pieces might not pass muster with the National Gallery.

*...that a room be devoted exclusively to the reception of these pictures; that such a room should be provided or erected within two, or at most, three years from the date of the acceptance of the gift; and that the pictures when hung...should be called "The Tate Collection."*⁷⁴

The Treasury did not accept the collection since the National Gallery did not have adequate space or the means to build a new room to house it. This refusal generated an immediate public response in support of the donation and *The Times* wrote a strong editorial commenting on Orrock's position and criticizing the government.

*The issue raised in Mr. Orrock's paper is a very large and complex one.... It involved, indeed, the whole of that most difficult problem, the organization of public galleries. [...] Even with regard to pictures, the collection at South Kensington more or less clashes with that in Trafalgar Square, while Trafalgar Square complains with considerable reason that it has neither the space nor the funds to develop its collections so as to include the English school from the time of Hogarth to the present date. Yet there can be no doubt that such a collection of English art is imperatively demanded. A wealthy country like ours, which possesses so fine a national school as we do—a school of landscape and a school of portraiture containing so many of the elements of greatness—ought to be able to stop the mouths of foreign critics by showing them a really representative and choice collection of our art gathered together in some great central gallery. [...] Why cannot we have in London, started partly by voluntary effort and afterwards subsidized and directed by the Government, a gallery that shall do for English art what the Luxembourg does for French?*⁷⁵

The tone of the press was generally positive and in support of Tate's objective, though not all comments were kind. "That Mr. Tate is actuated by the kindest and most philanthropic motives is not to be doubted for a moment, but what maybe great works of

⁷⁴ Report of the National Gallery to the Treasury, 1890 (From the Tate Gallery Archive)

⁷⁵ Archive, "Tate Box 321." Editorial, *The Times*, 13 March 1890, 9. At the time of the Tate gift, the Musée du Luxembourg in Paris presented works dedicated to living French artists.

art in the eye of a gentleman skilled in sugar refining are not necessarily so in the opinion of those who, knowing nothing of the sugar trade, do know something about pictures.”⁷⁶

Tate made another offer in June of 1890. He would present fifty-seven of his personal paintings to the nation if the Treasury would then maintain and manage the collection. The housing of the collection was to remain a problem as he still demanded that a “...separate gallery be erected, or an existing one prepared for the reception, the situation and structure of which shall have previously met with my approval, providing that the Lords of the Treasury agree to their assistance by 30 June 1892.... [the works] should be established on lines similar to that of the Luxembourg Gallery in Paris, which is devoted exclusively to Modern Works of French Artists.”⁷⁷ In addition to Tate’s architectural specifications, the desire to be internationally competitive is clear.

This second letter also stipulated that a Board of Trustees headed by a director would manage the collection on the model of a private company. The Trustees would include four Royal Academicians, members of the watercolor institutions, collectors and art connoisseurs and the director of the gallery. Tate also suggested that all British works housed at South Kensington and the National Gallery be joined with his gift to create a National Gallery of Art. The gallery would define British works since 1750, and complement the historicizing of Britain in other creative realms.

⁷⁶ Ibid. Editorial, *The Hawk*, 11 March 1890

⁷⁷ Ibid. Letter from Henry Tate, *The Times*, , 21 June 1890

The press cheered the idea and supported the new negotiations.⁷⁸ *The Times* immediately responded in favor of the foundation of a museum specifically for contemporary works: “We ought to have a collection to which we could take our French neighbors and our American cousins, to show them that the art of Great Britain is a flourishing reality”.⁷⁹ There was some concern, however, regarding the makeup of the Board of Trustees. By having the Royal Academicians and other prominent artists of the time select and commission works for the gallery, the popular press feared that the gallery could not be representative of the wider trends in British art. “Art that needs state encouragement is not healthy” and the “state could not purchase the works of its professors.”⁸⁰ The system would be too incestuous.

James Orrock joined the discussion again with a paper he presented during the 1890 meeting in Birmingham of the National Association for the Advancement of Art. Here he pleaded that the right place for British Painting should be at the National Gallery and not relegated to some unused gallery corner in a second-rate gallery.⁸¹ Tate offered to pay for the building of a new museum if the government would provide the land. The negotiations continued with increasing cynicism in the press. Tate was lambasted for trying to further his sugar trade business, the quality of the collection itself was debated, and the Conservative government remained decidedly uninterested. In response to such criticisms and what he perceived to be a disregard and dismissal of his offer by the

⁷⁸Ibid. The press coverage included stories in *The Times*, 23 June 1890; *Reynolds News*, 29 June 1890; *Land and Water*, 28 June 1890.

⁷⁹Ibid. *The Times*, 23 June 1890

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Brandon Taylor, *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public, 1747-2001* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1999).

Treasury, Tate withdrew his gift in 1892, a move portrayed in the press as the direct fault of the government (Figure 2). By this time, his choice of architect, Sidney R.J. Smith had already drawn up a proposal for an independent building.

Public opinion played a pivotal role in the debate. Since his donation, Tate's motivations were dissected in the press and in other political and cultural venues. Most often, they were supportive of his quest to build a national museum and were often very critical of the government and of parliament. However, the Academy and some of the publishing art critics were quick to deride his collection and Smith's design proposals.⁸² Tate's letters to Parliament made their way into the newspapers and periodicals and the public responded freely with advice and critiques. This involvement speaks to the emergence of the middle class as a powerful political force and to the perceived importance of such civic monuments.

Negotiations resumed again after the Liberal government took office in the summer of 1892. The new government, sensitive to popular opinion, was more sympathetic to the project and, in November, the newspapers enthusiastically announced that the dealings had resumed. The link between political platforms and the foundation of a national gallery of contemporary art was now explicit. This time there was total agreement that what they would create was a new institution and a new building. While there is no question that the issue of the Tate gift and the prospective museum received a lot of coverage in the London papers, it is hard to discern how much of an impact public

⁸² Ibid., 107.

opinion had on the outcome. In sorting through the press clippings and assorted memoranda, a picture emerges of a fluid debate where the actions and decisions of Henry Tate and the government officials were scrutinized and, ultimately, spurred on by the bickering in the public sphere.⁸³

Urban

Millbank and the Penitentiary

The site selection process was a difficult one. Despite ultimately accepting Tate's gift and his "anonymous" gift of funds to build a museum, the government still failed to recognize adequately the public interest. Nor, did it see that there was a sense of urgency. Initial site suggestions included a location set aside for a Science Museum, which was quickly rejected due to the overwhelming protests of the scientific community, and a plot of land already promised to the Salvation Army. As the various suggestions were made, the press and Tate became increasingly frustrated with the government's actions. *The Daily Telegraph* summed up the discontent: "it is a little unwise, as well as rather churlish, to subject a princely donor to all the annoying delays

⁸³ Archive, "Tate Box 321." For a detailed analysis of the role of the press and how the print media provoked and manipulated both sides to achieve the founding of British museums in this period, see Amy Woodson-Boulton, *Transformative Beauty: Art Museums in Industrial Britain* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2012).

and vexatious snubs which are usually reserved for those who penetrate in to the mysterious Kingdom of Red Tape.”⁸⁴

In a letter to *The Times*, Sir Edmund Du Cane suggested the 24 acres of the derelict Millbank prison which “furnished conditions of air, light, and space which few others could equal.”⁸⁵ This suggestion was greeted enthusiastically and the site was offered and accepted by Tate. It was hoped that the substitution of the old prison by a gallery would sanitize and revitalize Millbank, bring light and air to a place of “degradation and depression”.⁸⁶ Ruskin certainly would have been surprised by the prescience of his ideas:

*...take fifteen million boldly out of your pocket, knock down the penitentiary at Pimlico, and send your beloved criminals to be penitent out of sight somewhere... lay out a line of gardens from Lambeth Palace to Vauxhall Bridge on the north side of the river, and on this, build a National Gallery... reaching that mile long from Westminster to Vauxhall Bridge.*⁸⁷

For many, however, the prison site was a poor choice due to its notoriety. The area was impoverished and known for its disease-ridden and decrepit neighborhoods, rampant crime, and decaying, obsolete structures. The penitentiary itself, based largely on the panopticon notions of Sir Jeremy Bentham, was the largest prison in Europe at the time of its opening and was at one point the primary holding place for prisoners being deported to Australia. As prescribed by Bentham, the plan consisted of a surveillance

⁸⁴ Tate Archive. *The Daily Telegraph*, 8 May 1892

⁸⁵ Tate Archive. Sir Edmund Du Cane letter in *The Times*, 17 March 1892

⁸⁶ Tate Archive. *The Daily News*, 2 December 1893

⁸⁷ Ruskin, "On the Present State of Modern Art, with References to the Advisable Arrangements of a National Gallery," 227-28.

station at the center with six polygonal wings radiating outwards (Figure 3). With dark, underground cells used to punish recalcitrant prisoners, the prison had a reputation for severity and discipline.⁸⁸ The site itself was generous with twenty-four acres available for construction. Of these, only a fourth was set aside for the new gallery. Initially, it was suggested that the new museum be located within a park but ultimately the site was subdivided and the other portions were occupied by a military hospital and housing development.

The site, in addition to its negative associations, was also far removed from the center of London (Figure 4). While not entirely inaccessible, the location was difficult to reach and would require the visitor to travel through some undesirable areas.

Interestingly, even following the construction and success of the gallery, the Millbank site and area in general continued to be underserved by the London transportation network for almost half a century. The closest Underground station, Pimlico Station on the Victoria Line, did not open until 1972 and was one of only two stations that did not connect to other lines. As a recent critic wrote,

The worst lead-in to a great name has to be the route one takes to Tate Britain, a four-block walk from the nearest Tube stop, a poorly marked journey that's best

⁸⁸ For an indepth discussion of Millbank prior to the construction of the museum, see Kryzstof. Z. Ciewszkowski, "Millbank before the Tate" in Tate Gallery, "The Tate Gallery: Illustrated Biennial Report 1984-1986," (London: Tate Gallery, 1986), 38-43. For a complete account of Jeremy Bentham's proposal and the building of the Millbank penitentiary, please see Arthur Griffiths, "Memorials of Millbank, and Chapters in Prison History." (London: H.S. King, 1875), http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/MOML?af=RN&ae=F104351995&srchtp=a&ste=14&locID=umich_1aw.

*navigated by following people who look like tourists. The city and the museum should have figured out a better approach.*⁸⁹

In spite of these considerable limitations, the site was selected and the penitentiary was demolished. In fact, the site's inadequacies offered additional justification for building a nationally recognized institution in a neglected part of the city.

Building a “Reformatory” Museum

*...the present appropriation of the site of Millbank is an illustration of what we have been contemplating in the last few weeks – the progress of society in England.... When I first recollect Millbank it was a philosophical specimen of a reformatory prison; today it contains a Palace of Art.*⁹⁰

Such was the enthusiasm for the potential urban regeneration that the London press ran stories about fictional riverside parks and new houses for artisans and clerks. The neighborhood would be dignified and elevated. Not surprisingly, considering the trends evident in the negotiation process, the public ideas found their ways into the new schemes. The vision of renewal was immediately included in the new proposal by Smith and the large site was divided into different parcels representing the new social needs of the area including a school and artisans' dwellings.

⁸⁹ Margot A. Wallace, *Museum Branding: How to Create and Maintain Image, Loyalty, and Support* (Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2006), 141.

⁹⁰ Tate Archive. The Times, 22 July 1897. Sir William Harcourt, Liberal Leader in the House of Commons, quoted at the opening ceremonies of the National Museum for British Art, 21 July 1897.

The irony of placing an art gallery on the site of a former prison was not lost on the reading public. Founded on the concept of reform, the penitentiary had offered a model of penal servitude different from prisons of the past. Growing out of the field of psychology, then in its infancy, the concept of reformation offered the prisoners the opportunity to be civilized and returned to society. In his study of the site selection for the Tate Gallery, Brandon Taylor's discussion of language and metaphor in the move "from penitentiary to 'temple of art'" offers compelling evidence for the explicit nature of the civilizing project (Figure 5). Poems, political speeches and public papers extolled the virtues of Tate, the Liberal government and the monarch, and the advances of the nation itself.

*...the present appropriation of the site of Millbank is an illustration of what we have been contemplating the last few weeks – the progress of society in England in the reign of the Queen. When I first recollect Millbank it was a philosophical specimen of a reformatory prison; today it contains a palace of art.*⁹¹

The metaphors of "improvement," religion and concerns of national identity run through the contemporary literature concerning the new gallery. For example, the much publicized debate regarding an appropriate name for the institution, included suggestions of 'The Reformed Art Gallery', 'The Art Temple', 'Ars Britannica', etc. One suggestion, 'The People's Rest', was accompanied by a poem:

*Where Millbank Prison frowned on noble Thames
A Palace now doth play a worthy part
And, gone for aye the dungeon's deepening shame*

⁹¹ Sir William Harcourt quoted in Brandon Taylor, "From Penitentiary to Palace of Art," in *Art Apart. Art Institutions and Ideology across England and North America*, ed. Marcia Pointon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 17

*We hail the People's rest – fair home of art.*⁹²

The temple form of the Gallery marked it as a place for rest and retreat from the outside world. These symbolic elements are significant to the taste-making agenda. The press also elaborated the metaphor of “capture by art” and the role of the penitentiary (Figure 6). The enthralling or captivating nature of art and its potential for reform were sincere beliefs of the time.

One feature of this period was the general opening up of urban facilities to the public and the consideration of the city as a place that should be livable and humane.⁹³ The choice of the Millbank site resulted in an explicit combination of cultural policies for the support of the latest art and agendas of urban regeneration. “A civilized life cannot be lived in undisciplined towns....The civic arts are the arts of civilization, and the arts of civilization are civilization itself.”⁹⁴ The appropriate urban topography was at stake, and polemics abounded particularly regarding museums specializing in modern art, which created a dilemma in urban cultural planning. The provisions of these new cultural amenities for leisure and pleasure, directed at the middle class and concentrated in city centers, were inspired by ideal settlements imagined by utopian town planners including James S. Buckingham, Ebenezer Howard and Patrick Geddes.⁹⁵ The introduction of cultural buildings like museums into depressed areas promised the potential for renewal and gentrification.

⁹² Ibid., 20.

⁹³ Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, 59-68.

⁹⁴ William R. Lethaby, *Form in Civilization: Collected Papers on Art & Labour* (London,: Oxford University Press, 1922), 100.

⁹⁵ Briggs, *Victorian Cities*; Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier*, 1st MIT Press pbk. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982).

Building

The Architecture of Modern Urban Life

A museum was originally a temple in which the muses were worshipped or invoked. At Athens, a hill near the Acropolis was called the Museum because of the existence on it of such a temple. It was a place for study and high contemplation. Although we have outgrown the mythology of the Greeks, their literature and their institutions have so pervaded our language and institutions that we find the germs of some of our choicest civil and social growths sunk deep into that old civilization.⁹⁶

Many museum buildings were planned in forms reminiscent of the classic acropolis: a dramatic skyline of clustered “museum districts”. The climb to the museum door metaphorically represents the ascent to knowledge - a favorite rhetorical figure for Ruskin, who wanted museum visitors to be like devout pilgrims walking a mile or two to climb for access to the precious “gems found at the top”.⁹⁷ Nineteenth-century museums and galleries sat at the head of impressive stairs. With their new-Greek facades and imposing domes, museums came to dominate the cityscape, largely superseding churches as the focal points of many urban perspectives.

Appropriately, architectural historians like to compare the temple-like museums to three historic building types usually placed in the town-settlements: the Greek and

⁹⁶ Newton H. Winchell, "Museums and Their Purposes: A Lecture before the St. Paul Academy of Sciences," (St. Paul Academy of Sciences: Brown, Treacy & Co., 1891), 4.

⁹⁷ Seth Koven, "The Whitechapel Picture Exhibition and the Politics of Seeing," in *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, ed. Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 26, 46 footnote 7.

Roman temples, the abbeys and cathedrals of the Middle Ages, and Renaissance and Baroque palaces.⁹⁸ In addition, museums are comparable to cemeteries, and some cultural historians stress that the monumentality of museum buildings derived from an ancient funerary pantheon, also found situated towering on a hill or flight of stairs.⁹⁹

Early collections, including princely and papal works, were presented in palaces and government buildings. Following the overthrow of the French monarchy, the former royal palaces opened as public institutions presenting the collections of the aristocracy and the church as public holdings. As the property of the French republic, the collections and their buildings made strong national statements regarding a shared identity. The finest objects and artifacts of the nation came to symbolize status both domestically and internationally. Since they were housed in palaces, these early museums did not offer a new architectural type; however, they did present a new opportunity for establishing legitimacy and political power for the emerging middle classes through the immersion of the citizenry in “culture.”

In addition to providing a space for “civilizing rituals,” the new museums provided spaces for scholarly instruction and permitted the physical cataloguing and categorization that characterized Enlightenment thinking.¹⁰⁰ This is particularly important in light of the teaching academies that arose during the 18th century. Within the new discipline of art history, the narrative emphasized linear progress through a

⁹⁸ Pevsner, *A History of Building Types*, Chapters 1, 8

⁹⁹ Davis, *The Museum Transformed: Design and Culture in the Post-Pompidou Age*, 108.

¹⁰⁰ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*.

chronological presentation of art. This interpretation of the art objects was supported by the early museum designs with their *enfilade* of rooms suggesting linear progression. Of particular note are Jean Nicolas Louis Durand's plans for the ideal museum that became standard by the early 1800s (Figure 7). Originally presented as lectures at the École Polytechnique de Paris, Durand offered a variety of standard building plans for new programs. His museum plan consisted of a centralized Greek cross plan with four wings. The central portion of the plan was capped by a rotunda. Programmatically, the museum presented various types of art including sculpture and painting. It also provided artist studios. According to Michaela Giebelhausen, it therefore "echoed the primary functions identified by the Musée Français, which recognized practicing artists as one of its main user groups."¹⁰¹ It is noteworthy that the original site plan for the Tate included residences for artists, suggesting a connection between the production and consumption of art (Figure 8).

The Beaux Arts style was particularly influential from 1880-1910, a period which coincides with an explosion of museum projects. As a result, the neoclassical Beaux Arts museum became a common prototype with Durand's plan becoming almost ubiquitous. Examples of museums based on this model are seen across Europe and North America including the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Cleveland Museum of Art, the National Gallery of Art in Washington and the Detroit Institute of Arts. Interestingly, the didactic emphasis on chronology with its implied notion of progress and the resolution in plan as a linear scheme, continued to be a persuasive architectural motif despite stylistic shifts.

¹⁰¹ Giebelhausen, "Museum Architecture: A Brief History," 225.

In one example, Le Corbusier's 1939 proposal for the *Musée à Croissance illimitée* (Museum of Unlimited Growth), the space is configured in a spiral with the possibility of endless additions. Giebelhausen in categorizing museum development discusses this project in her section on the "Museums as Instrument," suggested that Le Corbusier's proposal "...extended the notion of the museum as time's arrow, an instrument designed to show the cumulative progress of man's achievements....."¹⁰² This same spiral, though arranged vertically around a central atrium, is the *parti* of Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim Museum in New York City.

The Tate Gallery: a Civilizing "Temple of Art"

Henry Tate, and other nineteenth century art patrons, viewed the appropriate function of a museum building as a kind of mental preparation, or elevation, for the experience of viewing the art contained within. The creation of an appropriately dignified and imposing atmosphere was essential to the civilizing project. Although the exhibition of art objects was an important function of the museum building, it was not the only one. Monumentality and dignity were proper features of a museum building. For the Tate, the choice of site and design reflect the nationalistic goals and the political pressures of the time.

¹⁰² Ibid., 232.

The new museum would house the art while also improving the urban fabric around it, presenting the national supremacy of British art and architecture, and civilizing the English people.¹⁰³ Virtually absent in architectural history references, little is on record regarding the architect, Sidney R.J. Smith. He appears in the Tate Archives only in relationship to this project and his other commissions for Henry Tate, including Tate's home at Streatham Common and a series of libraries.¹⁰⁴ According to Francis Spalding, Smith was in independent practice since 1879 and known for his public architecture, specifically a concert hall at the Royal College of Music, a variety of public libraries, and Bedford College's library in Regent's Park.¹⁰⁵ In a socio-architectural study of libraries, *Books, Buildings and Social Engineering*, Smith appears as the architect of "serial philanthropist" Henry Tate's libraries. Emphasizing his eclectic stylistic tendencies, the design of his libraries are referred to as "Flemish," "Gothic," and "French Renaissance chateau" with one building resembling "...a well-known Venetian Palace...a decidedly pleasing and cleverly manipulated piece of work."¹⁰⁶ While not remarkable, Smith's previous commissions "...functioned well ... and his work on Lambeth's libraries established him a competent specialist."¹⁰⁷ In retaining Smith for the gallery project, Tate was selecting a safe, known entity. In addition, Tate supported Smith's efforts to conduct comprehensive research for the project. In visiting art galleries and museums across Europe, Smith was exposed to the neoclassical style which was the dominate

¹⁰³ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*.

¹⁰⁴ Tate Libraries were designed by Sidney R. J. Smith for Norwood, South Lambeth, Brixton, Kennington, Streatham, Balham, Greenwich, and Hammersmith.

¹⁰⁵ Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, 18.

¹⁰⁶ Black, Pepper, and Bagshaw, *Books, Buildings and Social Engineering: Early Public Libraries in Britain from Past to Present*, 124-27.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 127.

vocabulary of the building type. An architect who worked in a variety of styles and was known for his eclecticism, Smith would use this language in attempting to provide the appropriate subtext of tradition and legitimacy to his design.

Preliminary Proposals

According to Smith, the appropriate style for a civic museum was “Classic; refined mouldings with Greek feelings and ornament sparingly introduced, the chief study being to get a good sky outline, proper front and carving and figures of the best character.”¹⁰⁸ Fulfilling this ideal, however, was difficult and there were at least six drafts made of the gallery design, each appearing to respond to academic and public pressures. The first proposal for the site was meant to be a grand, imperial gesture using every possible neoclassical motif (Figure 9). The building was raised on a rusticated base and was decorated with columns, niches and statuary. In addition to an immense central dome, the gallery design featured two flanking domes and symmetrical porches to either side of the primary entry. These elements were then topped by large, animated sculptures.

This first design was deemed so excessive and overly grandiose that members of the Royal Academy intervened to criticize the scale of the dome and its immense drum. Greeted with mixed reviews, the designs faced the heaviest criticism from the press and

¹⁰⁸ ‘The new British Art Gallery,’ Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper (17 May 1896) Tate Gallery Archive

art societies.¹⁰⁹ The published letters, editorials and articles discussing the Tate suggest a deep underlying interest in the success of Henry Tate's gallery project. The level of commentary on the design features is particularly interesting.

The second proposal reveals the heavy influence of the National Gallery with its immense dome and additional corner domes at the ends of the transverse galleries (Figure 10). When Henry Tate shared the 1893 version of the façade drawings with Sir William Harcourt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Harcourt responded in derogatory terms:

I don't consider it belongs to my province to interpose much in the question of design, but I confess I thought that the addition of the pretentious domes and cupolas of a gimcrack order of decoration anything but an improvement. They are a good deal in the pretentious style so much in favour in the modern debased municipal architecture which predominates in provincial public buildings.¹¹⁰

The motif of the central mass flanked by wings and topped by a large dome was to remain consistent throughout the revisions. This basic Beaux Arts form would have been acceptable to all interested parties due to its wide usage. The similarity to other museum prototypes was not accidental but represented a considered effort to signify “authority” and “learning.” While stylistically the tone was definitely classical, there were many modern touches including the glazed central dome. A large sculpture of Britannia was to be placed above the pediment providing explicit signifiers of “nation” and “empire”. The temple front facing the river Thames was also meant to evoke ancient Rome.

¹⁰⁹ Taylor, "From Penitentiary to Palace of Art," 14.

¹¹⁰ Sir William Harcourt's memorandum as quoted in Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, 19.

Final Design

Additional versions followed and in 1894, the final scheme was completed. While the central dome remained at a smaller scale, the secondary domes, sculpture niches and cupolas were removed (Figure 11). The entry approach was strengthened by the enlarged vestibule which extended towards the Thames. The elevations of the final design were much more modestly ornamented though still somewhat awkward in terms of the scale of the separate elements and the heavy portico.

The gallery is predictable and unimaginative in layout, recalling the prototype of the Durand museum scheme. The plan shows a central core formed by a sculpture gallery, with two parallel enfilades linked by transverse galleries. Organized planning of this type suggests a rigidly authoritarian approach to the presentation of art. The layout would permit the visitors to file through the galleries without having to backtrack or repeat rooms. In addition to being carefully choreographed in parallel enfilades, the central court and its arcades emphasized the symbolic central dome and the elevated purposes of the museum as a civic monument.

The final proposal was greeted by wildly different opinions. *The Times* thought the building was “actual and permanent expression given to noble thought.”¹¹¹ *The Spectator* was less enthusiastic:

¹¹¹ *The Times*, 15 July 1897

*It seems ungrateful to criticize Mr. Tate's gift, but it is impossible not to wish that the outside of his building had been simpler and less grandiose in style. It is difficult to put an exact name to the architecture. Classic it is not, in spite of its pediment and orders. There is something heathenish about its heavy pillars and frowning portico.*¹¹²

When he was commissioned to add the Clore Gallery addition almost a century later, James Stirling noted that the existing building expressed "...mannerism and ...eccentricity in the proportions of the steps related to the Portico, and inconsistency in the way the busy areas of the façade – the corner pavilions and the Portico – are separated by neutral areas of wall."¹¹³

In July of 1897, the building was formally opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales (Figure 12). The building was immediately too small and the previously planned extension, also funded by Henry Tate, was completed in 1899. The museum was opened with the eight main picture galleries and the original design, seen completed in the 1910 plan, was finished by 1900. Smith's scheme further developed the centralized court with of a grid system, four parallel enfilades and two courtyards. Though fundamentally quite predictable, some of the structural choices at the Tate are worth noting. Designed by Dennett & Ingle, the fire resistance of the building was engineered using iron reinforced concrete floors.¹¹⁴ This was a solution typically seen in industrial buildings and quite novel in a gallery.

¹¹² *The Spectator*, July 1897

¹¹³ S. Games, "A crypt to cache a national treasure," *The Guardian* (19 April 1983)

¹¹⁴ *The British Architect: A Journal of Architecture and the Accessory Arts*, Volume 52 (December 8, 1899) p. 409

When the gallery opened, it was an instant success (Figure 13). “Newspaper reports noticed that though ‘carriage folk’ came in considerable numbers, the majority of the visitors were working men and women from the immediate neighborhood. There were also crowds of board-school children whose attention was divided between the pictures and the fountain that played in the central hall.”¹¹⁵ The popularity of the museum drove continued development and expansion. No fewer than seven additions and reconfigurations – the first four entirely funded through private benefactors – were completed since the museum opened in 1897 (Figure 14). The extensions and refurbishments record a changing mandate: initially housing modern British art exclusively, then British art of all periods since the 16th c., and finally modern foreign art, and since 2000, again British art.

Exhibit

Presenting British Works: Patronage and 19th Century Hanging Practices

According to Germain Bazin, French art historian and curator at the Louvre Museum from 1951 to 1965, the sixteenth century saw the emergence of long, grand halls as “gallery spaces” with a series of these reception rooms allowing for an uninterrupted flow of visual materials. While the term “gallery” derives from the Italian galleria, the

¹¹⁵ Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, 21.

enfilade form is decidedly French with the English word “gallery” indicating “exhibition areas for painting and sculpture.”¹¹⁶

*This gallery and sixty-five pictures were presented to the nation by Henry Tate for the encouragement and development of British art and as a thank-offering for a prosperous business career of sixty years.*¹¹⁷

In trying to ascertain the motivations of Henry Tate, it is important to consider the concern for social welfare professed by many museum founders. This seems particularly appropriate in the case of the galleries showing contemporary art. For philanthropists whose wish was to provide a new public amenity, such institutions were ideal, for no other kind of museum was more attractive to the public in the nineteenth century.

There are probably many reasons for this popularity, but two are emphasized here. One, mentioned earlier, is the form of the building itself. The neo-classical facades and stately entrances gave the museums an elevated air. This would be one of the few times that the citizenry could enjoy the surroundings and finery of the social elites. The language of the art itself is also of great importance. The works presented in the Tate Gallery presented a simple artistic vocabulary with scenes of domestic interiors, family scenes, myths, stories and recognizable historic scenes.¹¹⁸ Very much like theatres, these galleries offered an ever-changing spectacle, thanks to the acquisition of the latest works

¹¹⁶ Germain Bazin, *The Museum Age*, 1st American ed. (New York,: Universe Books, 1967), 129.

¹¹⁷ Carved inscription in the Tate Britain’s central entry hall.

¹¹⁸ Simon Wilson, *Tate Gallery: An Illustrated Companion* (London: Tate Gallery, 1990).

of art. With the recognizable themes refreshed through new works, the museum could “...satisfy the appetite for novelty as well as for nostalgia.”¹¹⁹

When the Tate Gallery opened its doors on August 16, 1897, there were four galleries. The primary gallery to the immediate left of the entry rotunda exhibited Henry Tate’s personal collection, with the works of John Everett Millais as key attractions (Figure 15). The gallery to the right featured a selection of works from the National Gallery, the Tate Gallery’s parent institution. The remaining two galleries presented subject paintings with nationalistic and traditional themes. Painted in muted shades of green and brown, the four galleries evoked the interior of a manor home or wealthy private dwelling (Figure 16). The overall ambience was serene and calming. One only has to compare a view of Henry Tate’s personal collection in his home with an image of the interior of the new public gallery to see that this is clearly an example of the “domestic tradition made public”¹²⁰ (Figure 17).

In his home, Tate had a gallery space and a study for the presentation of his art collection with each piece arranged to present a specific impression. The works, often created on commission, were at home in the interior décor of the manor with its heavy trim and strong wall colors. These interior characteristics were emulated and featured in the original museum interior in an effort to create a similar inviting ambience that suggests a restorative nostalgia for a “return home.”

¹¹⁹ Barbara J. Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and Their Museums*, Victorian Literature and Culture Series (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 24.

¹²⁰ Christopher Whitehead, *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery*, 1 vols. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 3.

The display of art was not left to chance in the private home or the early public gallery. As early as 1845, the subject was a matter of public discussion. In this letter to Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel, Charles Eastlake, an architect and designer who would later serve as the secretary of the *Royal Institute of British Architects* and the Keeper of the National Gallery, advocated for appropriate architectural features to support the ideal conditions in which to view art:

It is not desirable to cover every blank-space, at any height, merely for the sake of clothing the walls, and without reference to the size and quality of the picture. Every specimen of art in a national collection should, perhaps be assumed to be fit to challenge inspection, and to be worthy of being well displayed.¹²¹

Mr. Eastlake went on to characterize an ideal gallery building with rooms of different dimensions featuring works of different categories, sizes, and types. In addition to foregrounding the need for good lighting, Eastlake criticized the hanging practices of many private collections where works were stacked along walls sometimes three or four paintings high. According to him, this approach did not allow of appropriate illumination or the optimal conditions for art appreciation due to height and distance from the observer. In his book on the development of the National Gallery, Christopher Whitehead argues that there emerged in the nineteenth century a particular sensibility regarding museum interiors. While in many regards they followed the private model, these ideas circulating in the popular press and in academic circles forced “a certain amount of specialization on museum architects.” While Whitehead focuses on the emergence of the period room as an exhibition typology at the National Gallery, these

¹²¹ Ibid., 11.

ideas can be applied to the Tate Gallery interiors and hanging practices later in the century. At the Tate, the architectural spaces were designed to support and augment the viewing of the art through careful attention to the original contexts in which they had been viewed and for which they had been created.

As far as the organization of the art was concerned, the Tate's limited collection permitted classification by patron. Since the works were primarily of the same period and school, little effort was made to categorize the pieces based on art school or artistic period, as was the norm at the National Gallery. Looking back to the situation in Paris, the Louvre presented its collection in a decidedly chronological fashion with the different wings and rooms dedicated to schools of art aligned along academic lines. This organization was based on the pedagogical ideas of Dominique Vivant-Denon, the first Director of the Louvre under Napoleon Bonaparte from 1802-1815. Denon's approach featured a harmonious, symmetrical and balanced display of art with a strong didactic emphasis. Writing to Bonaparte regarding a new Raphael installation:

It is like a life of the master of all painters, the first time you walk through this gallery, I hope you will find that this exercise already brings a character of order, instruction, and classification. I will continue in the same spirit for all the schools, and in a few months, while visiting the gallery one will be able to have...a history course in the art of painting.¹²²

The works, as in the Tate Gallery almost a century later, were presented very closely together and *en tapesserie* – from floor to ceiling like a tapestry or wall “rug” –

¹²² Dominique Vivant-Denon's letter to Napoleon Bonaparte quoted in Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 140.

following the manner in which art was displayed in the private homes and palaces of the period¹²³ (Figure 17).

However, “on the other side of the river, at the Musée de Luxembourg for living artists, the concern with chronology was less oppressive, and the architecture of smaller rooms allowed more freedom in the enjoyment of the paintings.”¹²⁴ Contrasting the Louvre’s emphasis on an art historical narrative with the Luxembourg’s more democratic approach to the presentation of contemporary works is intriguing given the Tate’s later efforts to create specialized spaces for different types of collection.

Though it did not address the broader range of artistic production in England during his time, a look at Henry Tate’s collection reveals a catholic taste as long as the painting presented a narrative.¹²⁵ He especially favored pictures featuring moralizing tales, appropriate themes for civilizing and establishing a national identity. When made public through his gift to the nation, his collection was ridiculed in many scholarly and academic circles for its amateur sensibilities.

*Tate’s sugar is getting better advertisement now than ever.... But the public should discriminate between sugar and art. Because a gentleman has purveyed “crystal loaf” with success for many years it does not follow that he know anything about pictures.*¹²⁶

¹²³ Edward P. Alexander, *Museum Masters: Their Museums and Their Influence* (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1983), 95. For a detailed description of Denon's contributions to shaping the Louvre see Chapter 4, "Dominique Vivant Denon and the Louvre of Napoleon: The Art Museum as Symbol of National Glory," 79-108.

¹²⁴ Caroline Patey and Laura Scuriatti, eds., *The Exhibit in the Text: The Museological Practices of Literature* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang AG, 2009), 98.

¹²⁵ Woodson-Boulton, *Transformative Beauty: Art Museums in Industrial Britain*, 83. In her Chapter, "Collecting for Art as Experience or Why Millais Trumps Rembrandt," Woodson-Boulton presents a compelling discussion of the collecting practices of the period.

¹²⁶ Tate Archive. *Society*, 20 February 1892

From the perspective of the connoisseur, the pieces were an inadequate representation of what British artists were producing. However, with the decline of the aristocracy, the *nouveau riche* and their purchasing power altered taste politics in Britain. The anecdotal and sentimental subject matter of the paintings appealed to the amateur collector because the works could be “read” and interpreted without training or education. With his gift, Henry Tate offered a collection based on the “tenets of a form of art appreciation... based upon the notion of sensible pleasure provoked by a single work of art and the restorative powers of such contemplation.”¹²⁷

Collecting for the Tate: Taste, Teaching and Bequests

In addition to critics like Ruskin, often considered the primary tastemaker of the nineteenth century, Royal Academies and similar societies of influential artists were instrumental for setting official standards.¹²⁸ They tried to influence the collecting agendas of art museums and particularly those of contemporary collections – as it was here that the work produced by the groups might be displayed. Due to these influences, nineteenth-century museums of modern art were often repositories of academic works. This is not surprising since art museums had been mainly a complement to academic training, particularly in France where the *École des Beaux-Arts* exerted a strong influence

¹²⁷ Charles L. Eastlake quoted in Whitehead, *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery*, 5.

¹²⁸ Gordon Fyfe, "Art Exhibitions and Power During the Nineteenth Century," in *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge*, ed. John E. Law (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Books Ltd, 1986), 20-45.

on taste and pedagogy. Over the nineteenth century, the role of the museum changed from being one primarily for the tutelage of artists to the advancement of art for the public.

Aside from the works of art donated by Henry Tate, the new “National Gallery of British Art at Millbank,” as it was officially titled, was meant to house ‘modern,’ British works from the National Gallery; those pieces in the national collected created after 1870. In practice, however, the National Gallery was disinclined to part with its finer works that resulted in the Tate receiving inferior pieces. In addition to these reluctant transfers, the Tate’s acquisitions were purchased through the Chantrey Bequest.

The Chantrey Bequest was a fund donated by the sculptor Sir Francis Chantrey with the intent to create a collection of British fine art. The fund was managed by the Royal Academy of Arts (RA) with the decisions regarding purchases made by RA council trustees. This process was deeply controversial for the Tate since the museum did not have any control over the works that were purchased for its collection. While troubling from the early days of the gallery, the tensions continued to escalate as the Tate aimed to broaden its collecting mandate only to be thwarted by the narrower objectives of the academy.

In his work on the “Chantrey episode,” Gordon Fyfe presents this conflict as a reordering of the ways art was “authorized” and rise of British modernism at the end of

the nineteenth century.¹²⁹ Whereas up until that time academies and museums were closely linked with the collections often mirroring the teaching objectives and stylistic tendencies of the academy, the end of the century saw a shift away from these sorts of intimate ties to a more democratic relationship. While both the museum and the academy were “developed as institutional expressions of the emancipation of art from the ritual and decorative spaces of traditional upper classes,” with the rising middle classes founding both art unions and museums, the values ascribed to the art were contested.¹³⁰

These ideas were problematic for many reasons. For one, the museum interior closely resembled the “decorative spaces” of an upper class home. Secondly, the works offered with Tate’s initial gift were pieces closely associated with particular schools of artistic thought and connoisseurship. Finally, while the early Keepers and other staff at the Tate wished to diversify their collection, the RA’s control over the Chantrey Bequest impeded their ability to achieve their collecting objectives. “It became an arrangement which permitted the RA to demonstrate its artistic achievements and to determine the content of the National Gallery of British Art.”¹³¹ At stake was control over taste, meaning, and identity. In order to promote new, ‘modern’ art, museums were seeking the universalism of art. According to Fyfe, this resulted in the eviction of the academician’s art. This struggle by the Tate during the early twentieth century marks the period when the institution recast itself as a museum for modern art. It was not until a Treasury

¹²⁹ ———, *Art, Power, and Modernity: English Art Institutions, 1750-1950* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), Chapter 7 "A Trojan Horse at the Tate: the Chantrey episode".

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 141.

Minute in 1916, the same year that the Tate was granted its own governing board separate from that of the National Gallery, that the gallery was officially able to accept gifts of moneys and works of modern and foreign art.

While this episode of middle class struggle for distinction would shift the collecting focus of the institution, it also marked the moment when the Tate's acquisitions would result in divergent and ultimately irreconcilable needs. While the Tate would not have an entirely independent purchasing grant until after World War II, the modern works in its possession required different exhibition spaces and approaches that were not in keeping with the core British collection. In addition, many of the pieces that were gifted to the gallery were not British resulting in a conflict of mission. In this regard, the year 1917 can be seen as the moment when the foundations of the later Tate franchises were laid.

The process of forging a unique identity from that of the National Gallery would take a bit longer. While the independent governing board permitted the Tate to receive direct patronage and build its foreign collection, it was considered as a lesser annex of the Trafalgar Square institution.¹³² This situation continued until May 1946 when a House of Commons committee delivered the *Report on the Functions of the National Gallery and Tate Gallery* recommended that the relationship between the two institutions, often acrimonious due to power tensions and budgetary concerns, be reorganized. In addition

¹³² For a detailed explanation of the structure and responsibilities of the boards of the National Gallery and the Tate Gallery, see Andrea Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art: Contested Cultural Authority, 1890-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), Ch.1, Four Boards.

to dividing the Tate into two distinct collections, “A National Gallery of British Art of All Periods” and “A National Gallery of Modern Art,” the report strongly urged that the Tate’s Board of Trustees be independent of the National Gallery. Finally, in a highly controversial move, the report supported legislation which would place the control of the Chantrey Bequest funds into the Tate’s hands.¹³³ The recommendations of the report were made official with the *National Gallery and Tate Gallery Act 1954* which when enacted in 1955 legally established the Tate as an independent institution. This legislation maintained the separation between the different national museums including the National Gallery, the Tate, The National Portrait Gallery and the Wallace Collection and reorganized the way in which the collections were distributed, organized and funded.¹³⁴

Conclusions

*I am glad to think that in place [of the Millbank penitentiary] we have this beautiful temple of art instead of a building where unfortunate criminals were undergoing punishment. I am inclined to think that in the gift which Mr. Tate has made to the nation the nation will take now the place of the gaoler by taking care of all these valuable pictures, which I hope will ever remain within these walls, and to which many more, I hope, may be added.*¹³⁵

¹³³ Taylor, *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public, 1747-2001*, 195.

¹³⁴ Museums and Galleries Act 1992 <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1992/44/contents>

¹³⁵ The Prince of Wales, Albert Edward, quoted at the opening ceremony of the National Gallery of British Art, Wednesday, 21 July 1897. Taylor, *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public, 1747-2001*, 119.

At the opening ceremony of the new museum, Arthur Balfour, the acting First Lord of the Treasury, noted that “...none who can remember the old Millbank prison could, in their wildest imagination, have conjectured that in so short a period, by the generosity of one man, so vast a transformation could have been effected...”¹³⁶ The transformation was indeed great. With the clearing of the penitentiary site, a *tabula rasa* was achieved; a clean slate that permitted a new intervention. The site was not, however, actually clear. The foundation of the new museum was built using the bricks of the penitentiary and, as noted above, the memory of the site and what it represented was tangible despite the new program. Regardless, with the construction of the new museum as a flagship building, Millbank shifted from a swampy, crime-ridden area into a cultural milieu.

What became of the surrounding fabric once the Tate Gallery was erected? Were these hopes of renewal and growth realized on the penitentiary site? The early plans for the site had included artisan housing, workshops, and a school (Figure 18). In the end, from 1897-1907, the site was filled with a variety of programs. These included The Royal Army Medical School (converted in 2005 into the Chelsea College of Art and Design – finally achieving the goal of creating a close link between an arts teaching institution and the museum), The Millbank Barracks, and The Queen Alexandra Military Hospital (portions of which are still being used for Tate administrative functions). At the rear of the site, the bricks from the former prison were reused to create seventeen arts and

¹³⁶ Tate Archive. The Times, 22 July 1897. Arthur Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury, quoted at the opening ceremonies of the National Museum for British Art, 21 July 1897.

crafts housing estates, known as Millbank Estate. Each of the estate blocks bears the name of a British artist or arts patron, for example, Ruskin House, Rossetti House, etc.

Clearly galleries of contemporary art were social constructs and spaces of contest.¹³⁷ The nineteenth century offers an intriguing example of the burgeoning of a cultural industry and a new mediation between the artist and society. This new relationship is complex and multi-faceted. The development of the museum as a major cultural attraction was only part of the equation. There was a vast array of new professions, policies, and ideologies that affected the way art was produced and consumed. These parties included the art critics, the press, academies and institutions, the public museums and galleries, and the government. The quests to control these new institutions and the public tastes they championed were to continue long after the establishment of the Tate Gallery. Not surprisingly given the high stakes, the power struggle and politics of art access, styles, gallery design and patronage remain contentious today.

The British predilection for filling galleries with nineteenth-century art laid the basis for the multiplication of new museums featuring primarily modern British art. The Tate Gallery is very much of its time and place and reflects the late nineteenth century national identity project in England, the emergence of a powerful nouveau riche political sphere, and the beginnings of a more modern global economy. Here was a Beaux Arts museum dedicated to British art, in a big and influential metropolis, Europe's biggest city

¹³⁷ Nicholas Serota, *Experience or Interpretation: The Dilemma of Museums of Modern Art*, Twenty-Eighth of the Walter Neurath Memorial Lectures (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997).

and the capital of the British Empire (Figure 19). The building of the Tate Gallery was evidence of empowered national publics as seen through the copious press clippings and government memoranda.

The form of the building and the subject of the works themselves seem to represent different ideals of the time. On one hand, the design of the building looks backwards with its Beaux Arts facades and “palatial” layout. On interpretation, it is clear that the Tate Gallery is an example of architectural forms being recycled for a new purpose as a means of legitimizing the contemporary contents. The works themselves are seen as more approachable and modern than the building. This dislocation between the interior and exterior expressions of the building is vitally important with both meant to perform civilizing and uplifting purposes. One, the building, plays a role in the urban fabric and the other, the individual art pieces, is geared towards the viewer, the visiting public representing several social and economic classes. Whereas the building is permanent, a solid and recognizable form in the cityscape, the works of art are changeable and altered to meet the needs and demands of the transient audience. It is the debate regarding the depiction of progress, reflective nostalgia, and national supremacy in built form that shaped and ignited public discussions in Britain and elsewhere.

Chapter 2: Postmodern Expansion

Introduction

...the Gallery, which began as hardly more than a set of rooms for the display and storage of paintings and sculptures, had become a complex of studios, offices, library, lecture rooms, catering facilities, archives, workshops, temporary exhibitions galleries, packing rooms, photographic studios, shop and Publications Department. All of these compete with the ever-increasing needs for gallery space...and storage space where works in reserve can be seen by visitors.¹³⁸

The period of fifty years from 1920 to 1970 was one of expansion and architectural confusion for the Tate. The museum suffered water damage to significant art pieces during the flood of 1928, and was closed during the Second World War. The building itself was enlarged four times (Figure 14). Each addition presented the dominant architectural priorities of its time. The resulting museum lacked a consistent formal vocabulary. In part, this confusion resulted from the diversity of British architectural production during this period. The different solutions, however, also speak to the increasing conflict between the needs of the British and modern collections, and the pressures exerted on the museum's spaces by artist-specific collections that required

¹³⁸ "Trustee Statement," in *TG/14/7/2/2* (London: Tate Archive, 7 Nov 1962). Statement sent to the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, outlining the need for an extension to the building to cater for the Tate's growing Collection and to provide increased facilities for visitors.

individual galleries. Meeting minutes and press coverage of the museum during this period present a picture of an institution searching for clarity and manifesting a desire to fulfill their mandate to the British public with a renewed sense of purpose, a clearer mission, and a heightened international reputation.¹³⁹

Searching for Clarity: the museum mission

In the 1970s, the Tate Gallery faced severe internal pressures. First, the rise of temporary exhibits and accessible storage suggests a shift in the educational aims of the institution, a shift requiring new facilities. To alleviate the space shortage and to provide room for these new offerings, the institution considered the development of a new addition on the adjacent site of the Queen Alexandra Military Hospital (QAMH)¹⁴⁰ (Figure 20). Secondly, there was the problem of where to house and present the Joseph William Mallord Turner (1775-1851) estate bequest of 1851, the gift of the English Romantic landscape painter (Figure 21).

Celebrated by art critics and theorists like Ruskin, Turner's work was considered uniquely British. Following Turner's death, his collection's ultimate destination was contested despite the prescription that the collection be presented as a whole in a dedicated space within the National Gallery. First housed, though not displayed, in the

¹³⁹"Minutes of the Trustees' Board Meeting," in *TG/65b/04/5G/5* (Tate Archive, 21 June 1973), 1950-70.

¹⁴⁰ Promised the land by the Labour Government in July 1969, The Queen Alexandra Military Hospital was ceded to the Tate in 1977 for future development.

National Gallery, the majority of the works eventually transferred to the Tate in 1910. This division of the estate – works held at the Tate, National Gallery, and the British Museum – was in direct contravention of Turner’s will. In 1861, the government appointed a Select Committee to consider the situation. The resulting report stated that under the will and court decree “...the nation ought ... to carry out the conditions annexed to the gift...” and that “no further delay should take place in providing a room or rooms for the reception and exhibition of his pictures and drawings ... in connection with the National Gallery, to be called ‘Turner’s Gallery.’”¹⁴¹

More than a hundred years after his death, the failure to follow the intentions of the will continued to be debated in parliament. In 1980, as the Tate was searching for resolution to the issue, Norman St. John-Stevás, the Minister for the Arts, called, once again, for an appropriate location for the Turner materials:

*No other landscape painter has equaled Turner’s range, imagination, and dexterity. His treatment of light and colour is unique. In a very real sense he anticipated the Impressionists and surpassed them years before their movement had been born. No other British painter has had more influence on painters and public; this is why it is so vital to find the right setting for his work, and to honour him as he deserves.*¹⁴²

A group supporting a literal implementation of Turner’s will, the Turner Society, gained membership during this period and applied significant pressure in the press for the fulfillment of the bequest’s original request. A fortuitous meeting in 1979 between one

¹⁴¹ Select Committee, "Report of the Select Committee on the Turner Bequest," (London 1861).

¹⁴² Norman St. John-Stevás, Leader of the House of Commons and Minister for the Arts, *Arts & Libraries Press Notice*, 6 May 1980 (UK National Archives 1005/096), 2.

of the Trustees, Lord Hutchinson, and the daughter of Sir Charles Clore, Vivien Duffield, was to solve both of these issues.¹⁴³

During his life, financier and philanthropist Charles Clore had been a benefactor of the Tate with a particular interest in the Turner paintings. After learning of the need for a dedicated “Turner” gallery in 1979, Clore’s daughter, Vivien Duffield, approached the museum trustees and offered funds to build a museum for the Turner collection in honor of her father. The Tate commissioned James Stirling to complete the project, giving the architect his first commission in the English capital. It came on the heels of several high profile museum projects in Germany. Tate trustees were hoping to tap some of the positive aura and media attention that Stirling was attracting. In addition, his selection as architect marks a change in the Tate’s approach to their site and a clarification in their objectives for the museum’s role in the community. Both Stirling’s Millbank and Liverpool museums suggest a desire on the part of the Tate to implement a new approach to museum expansion in their urban interventions and to leverage the profile of the architect for the purposes of branding the museum. Like previous expansions on the Millbank site, the Clore Gallery wing of the Tate was funded through private patronage.

¹⁴³ Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, 196. A comprehensive discussion of the Turner bequest is presented in the Spalding text. For additional information on the specifics of Turner’s will and the resulting debates, see Walter Thornbury, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner, R. A.; Founded on Letters and Papers Furnished by His Friends and Fellow Academicians* (London, : Hurst and Blackett, 1862), 299-309; Whitehead, *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery*. For information on Turner’s oeuvre and the bequest itself, see Luke Herrmann, *J.M.W. Turner* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

The bequests of contemporary art works in the early part of the twentieth century created an internal conflict at the Tate. “The understanding of British art as quintessentially modern at the time of the founding of the Gallery meant that from the beginning the Tate Gallery was founded as both the National Gallery of British Art and a museum of modern art. The changing definition of modern art in the twentieth century, however, created fractures between these two identities.”¹⁴⁴ Additional acquisitions and donations in the following years added to the museum’s burden of providing adequate representation and space for its two divergent collections, British Art and International Contemporary Art. While this struggle had its ebbs and flows, the twenty years after 1965 saw a renewed effort to resolve this conflict through architectural and programming means.

Leadership and Image

The groundwork for these changes began in the mid-1960s under the directorship of Norman Reid and reached fruition with his successor, Alan Bowness, who assumed the leadership in 1980. An artist by training, known for his organizational strengths and interpersonal skills, Reid saw the increased specialization and professionalization of the Tate’s departments through the creation and fortification of a special exhibitions program, an education division, a conservation department, a publicity department and an

¹⁴⁴ Woodson-Boulton, "The Art of Compromise," 147.

archive for twentieth-century British art.¹⁴⁵ This clarification of operational strategies accompanied public access to the collection storage for the first time; direct evidence of Reid's desire to democratize further the Tate's mission. This process saw the foundation and growing influence of the *Friends of the Tate*, a support group of patrons and volunteers. Reid also lobbied for improved public transportation to the Millbank site with the eventual result that the Pimlico station was constructed and a direct bus route created.

On the side of acquisitions, Reid's carefully cultivated relationships with different artists facilitated a remarkable number of donations to the Tate by such artists as Louise Nevelson, Ben Nicholson, Barbara Hepworth, Mark Rothko, Naum Gabo, and Giacometti. In addition, he encouraged his curators to take additional liberties with new presentation paradigms and approaches despite his own limited interest in some of the products of modern art. A more democratic view of the Tate's art education mission was doubtlessly fed by Reid's concept of "living" art: "I think of even the oldest pictures as being in a real sense alive. Perhaps this is a new attitude and rather an important one. A museum is no longer thought of as a dead repository where things never change."¹⁴⁶ This statement regarding the vitality of the museum is challenged by a variety of theorists, most notably Douglas Crimp who suggested that the postmodern museum was in ruins and quotes Theodor Adorno saying, "[m]useums are the family sepulchers of works of

¹⁴⁵ Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, 155.

¹⁴⁶ Nigel Gosling, *Observer*, 9 October 1966.

art.”¹⁴⁷ Fortunately, this new openness was accompanied by an increase in the government’s purchase grant that permitted the Tate to be moderately more competitive in the modern foreign art market.¹⁴⁸ Additional funding secured in the mid-sixties saw the purchase of Picasso’s *Three Dancers* and other important works. The successful growth of the modern foreign collections only fueled the issues arising from the management of two collections including the allotment of physical space within the gallery, and policies related to acquisitions, education, care, and staffing.

Reid’s stewardship of the Tate had several direct implications for the organization of the collection. Perhaps triggered by a letter from Humphrey Brooke to *The Times* in 1966 calling for the separation of the Tate collection into two separate museums with distinct catalogues and missions, Reid created two new posts – the Keeper of the British Collection and Keeper of the Modern Collection.¹⁴⁹ In tandem with this organizational effort, he had the modern collections presented on the main floor of the museum, raising it from the basement to the same level as the British collection. This resulted in a distinct choice for the visitor: from the entrance hall, the visitor could select between the Modern collection to the right and the British collection to the left. Reid also relaxed the strict division between contemporary British and the modern foreign works and allowed selections from both catalogues when appropriate to curatorial needs. Despite mixed

¹⁴⁷ Theodor Adorno quoted in Douglas Crimp, *On the Museum's Ruins* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993), 44.

¹⁴⁸ Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity*; Bayer, *The Development of the Art Market in England. Money as Muse, 1730|1900*, Financial History (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011); Pamela M. Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850-1939* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2011).

¹⁴⁹ Letter to the Editor from Humphrey Brooke, *The Times*, 31 January 1966.

reviews, the general sense was that the Tate was finally finding a way to clarify the muddle of its mixed collections.

*Nobody can miss the new air of confidence and efficiency there is about the Tate. The bringing of clarity to the confused jumble of the Tate's inheritance of modern art has been a neat job, and it is echoed in the new official guide which sorts out the history of modern art in an unruffled way.*¹⁵⁰

Two significant architectural achievements were realized under Reid and both foreshadow future events of the 1980s. The first of these was the development of the last quarter of the Millbank site and the second involved the adoption of the Barbara Hepworth museum as a Tate satellite. The discussions surrounding these two projects and their outcomes laid the foundation for James Stirling's work and the Tate's provincial expansion a decade later.

Since the building additions in 1937, there had been no change in the size of the gallery space at the Tate until 1979. With the growth of the collections and changing ideas regarding the presentation of art, the Tate was pressured from within and without to expand. In addition to the controversies surrounding the inadequate presentation of the Turner collection, the Tate had inadequate space to house a gift from Henry Moore, the famed British sculptor. The plan to develop the last quadrant, first discussed by the Trustees in the 1950s, saw the hiring of Richard Llewelyn-Davies to provide a feasibility report and proposal in the early sixties.¹⁵¹ The selection of Llewelyn-Davies is important. When the Trustees first decided to move ahead with the project, they concluded that

¹⁵⁰ Guy Brett, *The Times*, 21 February 1967.

¹⁵¹ Helen Searing, *Art Spaces: The Architecture of Four Tates* (London: Tate Publishing, 2004), 45.

given the new, elevated stature of the Tate that it was essential that they should not work with government architects but should deal directly with a nationally, and preferably internationally, recognized architect. Llewelyn-Davies, a prominent member of RIBA's Board of Architectural Education, was a well-established architect best known for his new town designs.¹⁵² In particular, his 1967 design for Milton Keynes won acclaim. Paul Goldberger, the New York Times architecture critic noted that

*...Milton Keynes attempted to move away from the English custom of designing new communities as utopian garden cities, serene and purely ordered; Milton Keynes resembles traditional, built-up, diverse cities as much as it does the garden-city communities. In this sense it served as a kind of precursor to the attitudes toward urban planning that have become common in more recent years, as planners have become more interested in diversity as opposed to pure order.*¹⁵³

For the Tate, Llewelyn-Davies offered two alternative designs for the Tate.

“Project B” involved the creation of galleries in the northeast corner and was ultimately realized (Figure 22 and Figure 23).¹⁵⁴ “Project A” was a much larger and controversial

¹⁵² Mark Crinson, Jules Lubbock, and Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture, *Architecture--Art or Profession?: Three Hundred Years of Architectural Education in Britain* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1994).

¹⁵³ Paul Goldberger, "Llewelyn-Davies, City Planner, 68," *New York Times*, October 28 1981.

¹⁵⁴ The addition, which gave the Tate fifty percent more hanging space for the modern collection, was sharply criticized for its "hangar-like" appearance. British historian and art critic Richard Cork offered this scathing appraisal: "Emptied of the imperialist pride and self-aggrandisement which drove Henry Tate to finance the original building, the new exterior expresses nothing but a functional urge to provide More Space. If Sidney Smith's embellishments reflect Britain's ebullience during the final years of the last century, the structure designed by the hydra-headed firm of Llewelyn-Davies Weeks Forestier-Walker & Bor provides a mirror-image of the recession-torn 1970s. The Victorians were at least impelled by the desire to build a temple, celebrating their enthusiasm for the whole idea of a National Gallery of British Art. We, by contrast, can only offer a reductive box indistinguishable from banks, factories, and office-blocks..." Richard Cork, "Extending the Tate," in *Everything Seemed Possible: Art in the 1970s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 466-7. Essay first published in 1979.

proposal which concealed the façade of the original Smith building behind a cantilevering restaurant¹⁵⁵ (Figure 24 and Figure 25).

*... [the] scheme would result in the destruction of the original stairs and façade. A featureless box on stilts, it would project to the roadway and contain a restaurant, a lecture hall and new galleries mainly for temporary exhibitions. Even by the standards of the day, the scheme, stretched across the entire frontage, is extreme in the indifference to what lay behind.*¹⁵⁶

Displayed in the gallery, an exhibition of models and drawings of the proposals met with a divided response. While the professional response was largely positive, the general press, historical societies and the public were dismayed and horrified. The debates regarding the 1968 Llewelyn-Davies proposals is revealing in that while it was generally decided that the Tate's original elevation was of limited architectural interest, the outcry from the general public was that it was not acceptable to conceal or deface it due to its familiarity and landmark status. The force of public opinion against this lack of contextual sensitivity resulted in a change of plans for the Tate. Following the debacle, Reid observed,

*The 'image' of the Tate is perhaps more subtle than even its own staff was aware, something to do with the physical presence of a building which in some idiosyncratic way suits the mood of the people who climb the steps in mounting anticipation. To disturb its stones would seem to inflict intangible injuries on its contents.*¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ "Trustee Meeting Minutes: Statement on Completion of the Building," in *TG/14/7/2/3/2* (London: Tate Archive, 3Dec 1964), Minutes of the meeting at which Llewelyn-Davies and Partners presented their plans for two extensions to the Gallery. 'Project A' involved extending the front of the Gallery towards the river and 'Project B' on the North East quadrant.

¹⁵⁶ Searing, *Art Spaces: The Architecture of Four Tates*, 46.

¹⁵⁷ Norman Reid, *Connoisseur*, July 1972.

This quote highlights several key architectural themes that emerge in this dissertation. Reid described the stairs as providing a psychological threshold of anticipation, but also emphasized the “image,” an iconic picture that represents the institution. In her essay *Photographic Images from Chicago to Hunstanton*, Claire Zimmerman cites Reyner Banham’s phrase “memorability as image” which is pertinent here given the emphasis on the appearance of the building’s envelope.¹⁵⁸ In the case of the Tate, the façade acts as the “face” of the institution. Secondly, Reid emphasizes the “physical presence” of the building through the mention of the materiality of its “stones.” Finally, he admits to the importance of the architecture as an institutional frame that houses and protects the works which are dependent on their container. These qualities – the psychological, material, and institutional – are all architectural in nature.

[The concept of Image] requires that the building should be an immediately apprehensible visual entity; and that the form grasped by the eye should be confirmed by experience of the building in use. Further, that this form should be entirely proper to the functions and materials of the building, in their entirety. Such a relationship between structure, function and form is the basic commonplace of all good building of course, the demand that this form should be apprehensible and memorable is the apical uncommonplace which makes good building into great architecture.¹⁵⁹

The failure of the more comprehensive Llewelyn-Davies proposal required a reevaluation of the Tate’s spatial needs and the use of their buildings. One positive outcome of this period was a renewed interest in “architecture for art” as a serious arena

¹⁵⁸ Claire Zimmerman, "Photographic Images from Chicago to Hunstanton," in *Neo-Avant-Garde and Postmodern: Postwar Architecture in Britain and Beyond*, ed. Mark Crinson and Claire Zimmerman (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2010), 220.

¹⁵⁹ Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism" *Architectural Review* December(1955): 358.

for discussion. Another was the government's willingness to discuss the transfer in 1975 to the Tate of the adjacent site, then occupied by the Royal Army Medical College Barracks and the Queen Alexandra Military Hospital site. This site, potentially the home of a Tate Museum of Modern Art, is discussed later in the chapter.

The second architectural development involving the annexation of the Barbara Hepworth Museum in St. Ives Cornwall, offers further evidence of the changing attitudes at the Tate (Figure 26). Though not officially accessioned until 1980, the process of acquiring the museum was a decade in the making. Starting with Reid's meeting with Hepworth regarding her donation of several sculptures to Hepworth's wish that her home and studio become a museum of her work, Reid was able to convince the Trustees and the Department of Education and Science that the Tate could successfully operate a remote museum. In addition to filling some of the gaps in the Tate's collection with her pieces, the location of Hepworth's studio in St. Ives gave the Tate its first permanent outpost in the provinces. The Tate's further expansion to the north is described in Chapter 3 with an exploration of the genesis and design of the Tate Liverpool.

The Hepworth museum was formally accessioned in 1980, the year that Alan Bowness was named the Director of the Tate. Bowness's appointment was critical to the Tate's future developments for several reasons. The first resulted from his experience at the Courtauld Institute of Art where he had developed a strong knowledge and appreciation for modern art, an engagement that was not shared with previous Tate directors. A glance at his foreword to the Tate's *Illustrated Catalogue of Acquisitions 1980-82* reveals the emphasis being placed, finally, on cultivating the Modern Collection.

“...all the acquisitions made by the Trustees of the Tate Gallery between April 1980 and March 1982 are catalogued – 32 works for the Historic British Collection, and 242 for the Modern Collection, together with 409 for the Print Department.”¹⁶⁰ This interest would have a direct impact on the purchasing agenda of the Tate during his tenure and would alter the Tate’s presentation of contemporary art in their exhibits. Secondly, prior to working at the Courtauld, Bowness has been a Regional Arts Officer for the Art Council and had chaired its Art Panel. In this capacity, he had championed regional art program development and “identified strongly with [the Arts Council’s] missionary attitude to art.”¹⁶¹ Finally, as the son-in-law of Barbara Hepworth, he had art world connections and supporters that went beyond the political and bureaucratic spheres occupied by previous directors.

Building

How did the Tate view its own architecture? Were they open to the postmodern approaches emerging during this time? The Gallery’s *Biennial Report 1964-5* description of the original façade suggests that the museum was ready for change:

...we are attached to it due as much to site as to design. The old façade is rather like the massive frames of the period. It pays impressive tribute to art, yet eventually becomes a burden to it. It is hardly more considerable in its own right.

¹⁶⁰ Tate Gallery, *The Tate Gallery 1980-82: Illustrated Catalogue of Acquisitions* (London: Tate Gallery Publications Dept., 1984), Foreword, 5.

¹⁶¹ Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, 203.

*In fact the fulsome entasis of the columns and the coarse detail that surrounds them betray a certain falseness; they blunt the very sense that the gallery exists to sharpen. The sentiment that is felt for the place and its purpose deserves something better. It can hardly weigh against the urgent needs of the Gallery's work.*¹⁶²

In searching for an architect who could offer a contemporary interpretation of the museum typology, the Tate turned to James Stirling, an English architect with a growing international reputation for novel and inventive museum designs.

Born in Glasgow, Scotland, James Stirling grew up in Liverpool, a declining industrial city in northern England. After serving in the British armed forces in World War II, he returned to Liverpool where he completed an architecture degree in 1949 at the University of Liverpool. His experience growing up in Liverpool and his subsequent architectural education under Colin Rowe instilled in him an eye for context-specific design and an ear for the theoretical development in the field.¹⁶³ The city of Liverpool itself offered a veritable education in industrial construction and, given the decaying infrastructure of the port city, the potentials of adaptive reuse.

While at the University of Liverpool, Stirling was introduced to the designs of Le Corbusier which would be an early and lasting preoccupation for the architect. In fact, this absorption early in his career resulted in the rare moments where Stirling entered the written architectural discourse with two essays, “Garches to Jaoul: Le Corbusier as a Domestic Architect in 1927 and 1953” and “Ronchamp: Le Corbusier’s Chapel and the

¹⁶² Tate Gallery, "The Tate Gallery: Biennial Report 1964-1965," (London: Tate Gallery, 1965).

¹⁶³ For a comprehensive personal biography of James Stirling, see Mark Girouard, *Big Jim: The Life and Work of James Stirling* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1998).

Crisis of Rationalism.”¹⁶⁴ In the Garches and Jaoul essay, Stirling aims to “reveal something of a philosophical change of attitude on the part of their author” and finds Stirling searching to reconcile the early “rational” works of the Le Corbusier with his later, more sculptural and expressive projects.¹⁶⁵ In the essays, Stirling expresses regard for the more recent projects but also regrets the betrayal of modernist, canonical structures with their “rational, urbane, programmatic” characters.¹⁶⁶ Upon close examination, the text and visual comparison in these two essays belie the binary that Stirling attempts to create. In fact, the paired images reveal as many similarities as differences and seem to highlight the fact that, as Stirling wrote, “Le Corbusier’s buildings present a continuous architectural development.”¹⁶⁷ In this regard, Stirling could have been referring to his own career. Stirling’s distinct, stylistic “phases” break down on close examination due to the continuous threads that bind his works together.

Starting in the 1950s, Stirling’s oeuvre was to span the post-war period of reconstruction, the end of high modernism, and see the emergence of a period of cultural and historical appropriation in the arts, commonly referred to as postmodernism. As Rafael Moneo writes in the introduction to his lecture on Stirling:

...it is difficult, little less than impossible even, to think of another architect whose work illustrates an entire cycle of recent architectural history as eloquently as his. Stirling was a person who liked to come across as the instinctive, direct, spontaneous kind, the antithesis of the intellectual architect. Nevertheless, he was

¹⁶⁴ James Stirling, "Garches to Jaoul: Le Corbusier as a Domestic Architect in 1927 and 1953," *The Architectural Review* 118, no. September (1955). ———, "Ronchamp: Le Corbusier's Chapel and the Crisis of Rationalism," *The Architectural Review* 119, no. March (1956).

¹⁶⁵ Stirling, "Garches to Jaoul: Le Corbusier as a Domestic Architect in 1927 and 1953," 145.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*: 151.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*: 147.

*abreast of the tendencies and interest of his contemporaries. Today his work can be considered the most complete register of architectural history spanning the years in which he practiced the profession.*¹⁶⁸

Stirling considered himself a “post-white” modernist and rejected stylistic categorizations of his work as “modern” and “postmodern.”¹⁶⁹ A study of his oeuvre reveals a fascinating glimpse of an individual designer coping with the remnants of modernism while moving forward in new and innovative ways, particularly in his recasting of modernism following the Second World War. In 1988, when asked what the greatest achievement of the century, Stirling replied that though the “revolution of modernism” was important, of equal consequence were “the de-revolutionizing period following the war, the democratization of modernism, [and] the creation of a pluralist architecture in dialogue with architectural tradition.”¹⁷⁰ While his work prior to the 1980s was preoccupied with the problem of the modern, Stirling’s engagement with the Tate in the late 1970s and 1980s came at a time when he embraces the tenets and nostalgia, if not the label, of postmodernism.

Stirling’s Museums

Germany

¹⁶⁸ José Rafael Moneo, *Theoretical Anxiety and Design Strategies in the Work of Eight Contemporary Architects* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 8.

¹⁶⁹ James Stirling, "Interview for *Ambiente Magazine*, Letter Dated October 26, 1988," (James Stirling/Michael Wilford Fonds Collection at the Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, 1988), DRCON2000:0027:846.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

In 1975, Stirling entered a design for the Museum for North Rhine Westphalia, Düsseldorf (Figure 27). The Düsseldorf design marks a shift in Stirling's formal language from the "building as object" to the "building as a collection of objects," achieved through a type of collage. However, just as Stirling observed a thread of continuity in the diverse works of Le Corbusier, it would be wrong here to consider a strict binary in Stirling's oeuvre. As Alan Colquhoun argues, elements of "fragmentation/explosion" and "unification/implosion" had always been evident in Stirling's designs.¹⁷¹ The use of collage techniques in his first museum projects can be seen as reconfigured techniques from earlier designs and as additional evidence for Stirling's mining of history.

In addition to the urban *promenade architecturale*, the significance of Düsseldorf and later projects is that Stirling quotes from history and his own designs both in terms of formal language and their functional properties but also in terms of design strategy. For Stirling in the 1970s, modernism had become a part of history; another historical feature to be investigated and referenced. Moneo observes that Stirling was interested in the "instrumentalization of the modern" and "set out to find new channels for modern architecture from the very start of his career."¹⁷²

*There is in this Düsseldorf project... a certain exuberance not far removed from the postmodernist trend that called for a greater complexity of schemes and more freedom in bringing together diverse elements. The mission here was to **complete a city block** that featured remnants of the war.¹⁷³*

¹⁷¹ Alan Colquhoun, "Architecture as Continuous Text," *ANY 1* September/October: A Tribute to James Stirling, no. 2 (1993).

¹⁷² Moneo, *Theoretical Anxiety and Design Strategies in the Work of Eight Contemporary Architects*, 9.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 36.

As Moneo's quote suggests, the "city block" has become the unit of intervention. With the Tate's New Museums, Stirling's objective was to create a new urban experience, an enclave, not merely a building. Stirling's 1984 design for the Neue Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart elaborates on these themes and sees a further refining of his urban integration techniques (Figure 28). "It is an articulated container that, by means of its central courtyard, directs circulation through a multilayered scheme, between inside and outside and between history and the city."¹⁷⁴

Collage City was published the same year and the Düsseldorf project clearly reflects the text's influence.¹⁷⁵ The collage technique Rowe espoused was quite distinct from the artistic approach of two-dimensional surface appliqué.¹⁷⁶ Theoretically, their collage city advocated a balance between the continuous solid of the "traditional" city and the void of the modernist city. In practice, however, the technique was more invested in the solid of traditional urban fabric; their "city of composite presence" was distinctly pre-modern. Rowe and Koetter's text rejects any totalizing schema. Instead, they advocate approaching design as a *bricoleur* and scientist who uses a new method that includes "both the retrospective and the prophetic gesture" using a collage technique.¹⁷⁷

It is suggested that a collage approach, an approach in which objects (and attitudes) are conscripted or seduced from out of their context is – at present

¹⁷⁴ Antonello Marotta, "Typology Quarterly: Museums," *Architectural Review* January(2013): 75.

¹⁷⁵ Colin Rowe, "Collage City," *The Architectural Review* 158, no. August (1975). Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978).

¹⁷⁶For a brief history, please see Michael Hays's introduction to "Collage City" in K. Michael Hays, *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1998).

¹⁷⁷ Rowe and Koetter, *Collage City*, 8.

*day—the only way of dealing with the ultimate problems of either or both Utopia and tradition.*¹⁷⁸

In the design fields in the 1970s, collage had both an architectural and urban planning component. As a tool for Stirling, collage offered a strategy for combining historical “quotations” in his designs. Significantly for his later work at the Tate, the urban strategy offered was one of contextual specificity. Asked to explain the office’s working method, Stirling maintained that a design “emerges inevitably” from a local analysis of the site, together with a functional interpretation of the program.

Urbanistically, Stirling’s museums reveal thoughtful consideration of their city fabrics.

This change in Stirling’s urban approach can be contrasted with earlier more rural or suburban projects like Churchill College, Ham Commons, and St. Andrews (Figure 29).

As he remarked regarding his projects in the 1970s and 80s,

*It has to do mostly with context. Most of our early buildings were out beyond the suburbs, on the margin. The Leicester building was in the back of the university. You can do anything you want, out there, but with Munich, Cologne, and Düsseldorf, I found myself in the center of the city, with an identity that shouldn’t be disturbed. In these historical centers...I should allow the context to influence me.*¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 144. For Rowe, the use of the term collage instead of contextualism, highlights its formal values and separates the physical context from the cultural context. Stirling thanked Rowe and explicitly acknowledged his debt to the collage discourse in his Royal Institute of British Architects Gold Medal Acceptance Speech in 1980, when he wrote that his latest projects were “a collage of old and new elements, Egyptian cornices and Romanesque windows, but also Constructivist canopies, ramps and flowing forms – a union of elements from the past and present.” James Stirling, “Acceptance of the Royal Gold Medal in Architecture 1980,” *Architectural Design* 7/8(1980): 6.

¹⁷⁹ James Stirling quoted in Douglas Davis, “Master of Inconsistency,” *Newsweek*, no. June 29 (1981): 74.

In terms of the use of the term “contextualism,” Stirling is less direct. In fact, he preferred the term “contextualism” also in circulation at the time.¹⁸⁰ This term conflated the notion of physical “context” with urban “texture,” both ideas that are in evidence in Stirling’s designs for the Tate.

In addition to a more subtle urban sensibility, Stirling’s solutions at Stuttgart and later at the Tate clearly reflect the fact that he was working with a museum brief: “...it’s only with the museum/gallery projects that our architecture becomes decidedly public and also significantly urban. And it is with our museum designs that the architectural expression is so gestural and civic and populist.”¹⁸¹ With a museum design, there had to be new formal expressions, a specificity in internal order that mirrors Stirling’s concern with the urban context. The museum program held certain “civic” associations that required a more recognizable, accessible architectural language.

Stirling had worked in city centers and on museum projects before his work in Germany and, subsequently, at the Tate. In the early 1970s, he worked on the Town Center at Derby and the addition to the St. Andrews Art Gallery. In both, he used glass arcades to link and reconfigure a series of existing buildings and define a distinctive urban space in an historic context (Figure 30). Derby and St. Andrews, however, though they both engaged their surroundings, were essentially monolithic gestures inserted,

¹⁸⁰ Thomas L. Schumacher quoted in Kate Nesbitt, *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory 1965-1995*, 1st ed. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 294. See also Thomas L. Schumacher, "Contextualism: Urban Ideals and Deformations," in *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory 1965-1995*, ed. Kate Nesbitt (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996).

¹⁸¹ James Stirling, Lecture Notes, in “JS Personal, January 1985 to 31 May 1985,” DRCON2000:0027:843, James Stirling Fonds, CCA

albeit masterfully, into the historical fabric. They did not possess the aggregative characteristics of Dusseldorf and the New Museums projects. In looking at these precedents, it becomes clear that Stirling's design solutions cannot be ascribed simply to a new context (urban) or a new typology (museum) but instead reflect a reconsideration of formal elements and their placement.¹⁸² The trajectory of Stirling's career follows the careful development of personal themes that absorbed and processed ideas in contemporary design practice and theory.

The Clore Gallery¹⁸³

After the Second World War, museum trustees and staff played an increasing role in planning and design decisions in the museum. In the United Kingdom, this bureaucratic situation was further complicated by the fact that museums, as public institutions, fell under parliamentary control. This meant that the architect selected for the Tate project would need to work with both the museum and the Department of the

¹⁸² Colin Rowe identified St. Andrews as a "manifesto piece" in its contextual strategy and historical quotations set in "italics," and argued that it established the direction for Stirling's later work. Colin Rowe, "James Stirling: A Highly Personal and Very Disjointed Memoir," introduction to Peter Arnell and Ted Bickford, *James Stirling, Buildings and Projects / James Stirling, Michael Wilford and Associates* (New York: Rizzoli, 1984), 21. For Frampton, it was Derby that represented the split between Stirling's early and later periods and his growing interest in "a broad cultural context" and an increasing neo-classical vocabulary. Kenneth Frampton, "Stirling in Context: Buildings and Projects 1950-75," *Royal Institute of British Architects Journal* 83, no. 3 (March 1976): 104.

¹⁸³ The Stirling folios, notebooks, reports and sketches for the Clore design are found in CCA AP140.S2.SS1.D60.SD1.P4.8. Additional materials were also secured at the Tate Gallery Archives (TG 14/9/). A general overview of the project is provided in Searing, *Art Spaces: The Architecture of Four Tates*.

Environment's Property Services Agency (PSA). In the 1980s, the PSA was a centralized government agency that was responsible "...for the design, building, renting and maintenance of government property and associated facilities..."¹⁸⁴ This control included complete budget and contract control for property expansion and maintenance. From the beginning of the process, the Tate Trustees, including Sandy Wilson and Richard Rogers who were probably responsible for recommending Stirling, took particular care in selecting its architect for the Turner wing and created a committee (later called the Clore Gallery Working Party) to work with the PSA. This conglomerate developed the project brief, interviewed architects, and oversaw the construction and execution of the design.

At the end of 1979, the Tate interviewed five architectural firms and engaged Stirling, Wilford and Associates to develop a feasibility study with the Department of the Environment for a new project initially called the Tate Center but later known as the New Museums Project. Following the mediocrity of mid-century additions, the Tate hoped for a more imaginative design and considered Stirling as the ideal candidate for the commission. In addition to the interview process, a selection committee composed of Tate Trustees and select staff visited four Stirling designed buildings: the Olivetti Training Wing, the History Faculty at Cambridge University, the Florey Building at Queens College, Oxford University, and the Engineering Building at Leicester

¹⁸⁴ Alan Doig, "The Privatisation of the Property Services Agency: Risk and Vulnerability in Contract-Related Fraud and Corruption " *Public Policy and Administration* Autumn 1997, no. 12 (1997).

University. Each building was carefully examined and critiqued by the selection committee who had concerns primarily about the quality of the construction.

James Stirling produces memorable and aesthetically challenging buildings. Is very dedicated to Architecture and is capable of producing outstanding buildings, but it will be necessary for PSA to employ a very good Consultant Liaison Officer to check and verify his work at stages in order to ensure that he will comply with the environmental constraints of the brief.

There has been a tendency to ignore some client needs, particularly sound insulation between rooms, in his past schemes. This aspect, together with safety standards, will need to be carefully and sensitively monitored in order that Stirling can give of his best in function as well as in form.¹⁸⁵

Ultimately the committee found the Stirling designs to “have modern sculptural forms...which would appeal to the Tate Gallery” and recommended the Stirling/Wilford office for the commission.¹⁸⁶ In prescient fashion, there was also repeated mention of dissatisfaction with the color schemes and finishing details, issues that would arise with the Clore Gallery.

The Trustees of the Tate have arranged for the Property Services Agency to retain our international award-winning architect, James Stirling, to lead the design team for the Gallery, which will be built at the Millbank end of the site of the old military hospital. It will be adjacent to the Tate Gallery and is intended to complement and harmonize with it.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ C. F. Woodward, *Report: Tate Gallery Long Term Plan – Appointment of James Stirling and Partner, consulting architects*, March 1979 (UK National Archives LNW8/10/1).

¹⁸⁶ Colin Pain, *Report: Possible Commissioning of James Stirling and Partner by PSA*, 22 February 1979 (UK National Archives LNW8/10/1).

¹⁸⁷ Norman St. John-Stevás, Leader of the House of Commons and Minister for the Arts, *Arts & Libraries Press Notice*, 6 May 1980 (UK National Archives 1005/096), 3.

As suggested in this press report, there were two primary reasons for Stirling's selection. The first was status. The Tate feasibility study was James Stirling's first commission in the British capital. Following his high profile successes elsewhere, his return to England was greeted with great enthusiasm by architects and the press. As the Clore Project was beginning, Stirling was awarded the Royal Gold Medal for Architecture from the RIBA, an honor which made his selection as the Tate's architect even more timely. The second aspect mentioned in the quote above, is the requirement that the design complement the existing building and the surrounding fabric. Based on what the Tate Trustees and PSA staff saw in reviewing his museum designs in Germany and visiting his English works, Stirling promised a sensitive and site-appropriate proposal.

The Clore Gallery will be sited next to the Tate Gallery on Millbank, partly on the site of the disused military hospital in Bulinga Street. The proposal is for an L-shaped building on two floors leaving the symmetry of the Tate frontage undisturbed. The retention of the Lodge to the north and its relationship to the Royal Army Medical College building to the south maintains the symmetrical balance of the Tate Gallery about its entrance portico. It is envisaged that the Millbank frontage of the new building will be sympathetic to the stone and brick facades of the existing buildings.

The Clore Gallery will have its own distinct identity and will be clearly seen, particularly as viewed from Millbank across the extended Tate Gallery garden. The existing plane trees are to be left undisturbed and new lawns laid across Bulinga Street to the Lodge. Approach to the new building will be along garden footpaths to a sunken terrace where sculpture and art works could stand.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ Property Services Agency Press Notice, 6 May 1980. (Tate Gallery Archive)

Stirling was given a relatively free creative hand in designing the Clore. As seen in the PSA Press Notice above, the brief left the articulation of the program to the designer and focused on broad stroke requirements instead of details. For example, general programmatic needs were listed without listing footage requirements. Additional detail was listed in terms of interior décor and the curators were quite specific with regards to the outfitting of the gallery rooms themselves. One sentence from the brief articulates clearly the Tate’s overall objectives: “The galleries should be sympathetic to the works of art and honour them.”¹⁸⁹

Despite James Stirling’s insistence that his design was a “neutral, modest building that defers to the more assertive presence of the Tate,” the initial plans for the gallery were rejected by the Westminster City Council on aesthetic grounds.¹⁹⁰ The two primary points of contention were the removal of a pedestrian route on the edge of the site and the colored checkerboard cladding proposed for the east façade of the L-shaped extension. The report, while acknowledging “the masterful planning layout of the scheme as a whole,” describes the eastern façade as “having a utilitarian nature unworthy of the project.” The council requested that Stirling and the Tate revisit the designs “so that the proposed gallery will make a positive contribution to the surrounding conservation area.”¹⁹¹ While the Department of the Environment was ultimately responsible for approving the planning application and the Westminster City Council’s approval was merely a

¹⁸⁹ Tate Gallery, "Project Brief," (UK National Archives LNW8/10/1, 1979).

¹⁹⁰ S Games, "A Crypt to Cache a National Treasure," *The Guardian*, 19 April 1983.

¹⁹¹ Westminster City Council, "Meeting Report," (London: UK National Archives LNW8/10/1, 1981).

formality, the denial was still, according to Deyan Sudjic, “a rebuff to what the gallery saw as an important piece of architectural patronage.”¹⁹²

The issue of architectural style sprang to public consciousness in 1984 when the Prince of Wales made strong pronouncements against modern architecture in favor of classicism in contemporary design.¹⁹³ In a speech to RIBA, he referred to the proposed Sainsbury Wing of London's National Gallery as a “monstrous carbuncle on the face of a much loved and elegant friend.”¹⁹⁴ While his pronouncements incensed the profession, they brought increased public attention to London architecture and limited the discussion to style rather than content, equity, or user experience. Increased focus on the surface articulation of a building obscured other design concerns since “architectural quality is only one component of urban experience or urban quality.”¹⁹⁵

The Clore Gallery was conceived as a sort of garden pavilion attached to the larger, primary museum. It is an “L-shaped” addition to the Millbank elevation featuring a separate entry facing the north wall of the existing Neo-Classical porch (Figure 11). The addition is deferential to the original gallery both in massing and in its formal articulation. While the long side of the “L” is connected to the north wing of the Tate, the short side of the “L” extends at a right angle towards the Neo-Georgian Lodge

¹⁹² Deyan Sudjic, "Tate's Plan Gets Thumbs Down," *The Observer*, 28 June 1981. (UK National Archives LNWS/10/1)

¹⁹³ Charles Jencks and HRH Charles Prince of Wales, *The Prince, the Architects and New Wave Monarchy* (London: Academy Editions, 1988).

¹⁹⁴ HRH The Prince of Wales, "A Speech at the 150th Anniversary of the Royal Institute of British Architects (Riba), Royal Gala Evening at Hampton Court Palace," <http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-the-150th-anniversary-of-the-royal-institute-of>. Accessed 20 October 2013

¹⁹⁵ Punter, "Classic Carbuncles" in Andy Thornley, *The Crisis of London* (London: Routledge, 1992), 74.

resulting in a framed outdoor space. The exterior terrace is subdivided into a sunken terrace with a reflecting pool indicating the Clore's entry and an extended garden located at the front of the Lodge (Figure 31).

Claire Zimmerman analyzes the Clore in her examination of Stirling's technique from a process of montage to a "highly selective working method deploying referential devices on surfaces and through volumes."

*Making painstaking efforts to knit his Clore Gallery extension (1980–1986) to the original Tate Gallery with archaeological precision, Stirling went to equal pains to break its wall surface into discontinuous but contiguous elements, and finally, to attach these elements to one another with the equivalent of architectural rubber bands. Thus the windows and cornices tie discontinuous fragments together.*¹⁹⁶

Each elevation of the Clore responds to a different element in the Tate's context and "the different elements of the facades reflect the different activities going on behind them."¹⁹⁷ Close to the original building, stucco is used in a painted, gridded frame. As the building turns the corner and moves towards the Lodge, the red-brick late nineteenth-century building that was retained on the site, the cladding shifts progressively to brick with the original Tate cornice being continued before being slowly degraded. As a distinct structure, the Clore lacks cohesiveness in its exterior envelope and is almost incomprehensible in terms of its architectural vocabulary. "By design, visitors to Stirling's museums are confused—historically, philosophically, and sometimes literally."¹⁹⁸ It is only on seeing and analyzing the surface articulation in context that it is

¹⁹⁶ Claire Zimmerman, "James Stirling Re-Assembled," *AA Files* 56, no. Nov. 2007 (2007): 6.

¹⁹⁷ Girouard, *Big Jim: The Life and Work of James Stirling*, 218.

¹⁹⁸ Andrew McClellan, *The Art Museum from Boullée to Bilbao* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 106.

possible to understand Stirling's "contextualism;" a genuine blending of material textures and architectural associations. Sir John Summerson, in his review of the building, cites Stirling for this architectural grammar game and notes the playful attitude that he takes with the materials.¹⁹⁹ While the ashlar stonework references the Tate's stonework, the brick looks instead to the Lodge for inspiration. Charles Jencks, in conversation with Stirling, suggested that the building was his most "quixotic" in its merging of architectural references and contextual attributes.²⁰⁰

Ultimately, the effect of the Clore Gallery, despite its vivid color scheme and unorthodox cladding patterns, is one of reticence. *The Guardian's* architectural critic, Martin Pawley, noted, "[It] is possible to walk down Millbank without even noticing it."²⁰¹ From Millbank, the entry to the Clore requires the visitor to turn right off the primary axis to the Tate, turn left to descend into the lowered forecourt, and finally, turn right again to face the door of the museum. Here, again, direct access is denied by the reflecting pool (since paved) sitting on the entry axis (Figure 32).

In addition to turning the entrance away from Millbank and allowing the original Tate portico to stand alone as an invitation to enter, the doorway to the Clore is located off a lowered courtyard, not discovered on an elevated stairwell. The comparison between the two entries clearly indicates the submissive role of the addition which allows it to read as a modest "garden pavilion" as Stirling intended. In addition, the twists and

¹⁹⁹ John Summerson, "Vitruvius Ludens," *The Architectural Review*, no. March (1983).

²⁰⁰ Tate Gallery, *The Clore Gallery* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1987), 45.

²⁰¹ Martin Pawley, "The Clore Gallery," *The Guardian*, 1 April 1987.

turns force the viewer to confront the architecture of both the original gallery and the Clore in a variety of ways from multiple angles.

The entry sequence of the Clore is a highly choreographed *promenade architecturale* which continues the zigzag of the exterior approach; the guest moves from the sunken terrace through a revolving door that is located in a pyramidal, glazed arch (Figure 33). This doorway design has been interpreted as Mycenaean in inspiration, though according to Vidler, Stirling acknowledged his debt to Étienne-Louis Boullée's speculative design for Sir Isaac Newton's cenotaph (Figure 34).²⁰² In his essay on the new Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Vidler discusses Stirling's competition entry in terms that seem relevant to the Clore design. According to Vidler, in his postmodern library scheme Stirling "...deliberately selects his architectural repertory from a non-modernist canon.... [which was a] direct reference to the notion...that the coincidence of neoclassicism and the invention of public institutions at the beginning of the modern period...endows [these public institutions] with a signifying power that might be mobilized for the present...."²⁰³

The Clore's façade and entry permit a variety of interpretations that support a reading of Stirling's design as exhibiting a playful and referential attitude. Once across this threshold, the visitor enters a shallow hall and is invited to climb a flight of stairs which runs parallel to the entry façade. At the top of the stairs the visitor must turn 180

²⁰² Anthony Vidler, *James Frazer Stirling: Notes from the Archive*, Yale Center for British Art Series (Montréal; New Haven: Canadian Centre for Architecture; Yale Center for British Art. In association with Yale University Press, 2010); Searing, *Art Spaces: The Architecture of Four Tates*, 54.

²⁰³ Anthony Vidler, "Books in Space: Tradition and Transparency in the Bibliothèque De France," in *The Scenes of the Street and Other Essays*, ed. Anthony Vidler (New York: Monacelli Press, 2011), 353.

degrees before entering the galleries. This "...apparently non-intuitive stair to the galleries—ascending in the opposite direction before turning and entering the galleries at right angles to their long axis" allows the drama of the space to belie its relatively small scale.²⁰⁴ The compressed, physical experience of this cross movement results in a highly animated entry (Figure 35).

*Such processional pin-balling seems intentionally disorienting. Stirling arouses the gallery goer, drawing out the anticipatory experience and prolonging the promenade. The transitions are rapid and deliberate; from low space to very high slot, from spacious stair to confining balcony, from bright light to sepulchral gloom, from dissonant colourscape to satisfying tonal calm.*²⁰⁵

The sketches and drawings of this space reveal Stirling's keen interest in creating a sense of drama with the narrow, compressed volume of the stairwell (Figure 36). In addition to a preoccupation with circulation at the scale of the city block, Stirling uses the passage into and through the interior of the building to create the sense of anticipation and wonder that has typified museum architecture from its earliest models. As Stirling noted, "the public are taking an extended walk through a relatively small space which should make for an interesting entrance sequence; or how, with a small space, to maximize the event."²⁰⁶ Instead of a monumental stairs provoking feelings of wonder and awe, it is the movement of the body through novel architectural spaces that results in a unique experience.

²⁰⁴ Vidler, *James Frazer Stirling: Notes from the Archive*, 228.

²⁰⁵ David Jenkins, *Clore Gallery, Tate Gallery Liverpool: James Stirling, Michael Wilford and Associates*, Architecture in Detail (London: Phaidon, 1992).

²⁰⁶ John Summerson and Charles Jencks, "Tate and Clore. Vitruvius Ridens or Laughter at the Clore," *The Architectural Review* 181 no. 1084 (1987): 48.

Moving up into the galleries, there is an arched opening allowing the visitor to look back to the entry vestibule and the stair they have just climbed. This overlook, typically occupied by an individual or two, provides visual connections between the different public spaces of the Clore entry. With this upper level visible, the entry sequence becomes almost processional with the individuals animating the space; a moment where the visitors themselves are on display. Along with the glazed entry wall and the select exterior windows, the Clore begins to make connections between the interior and exterior spaces of the Tate; connections between the works of art and their urban context (Figure 37). Following Stirling's lead at the Clore and even more pointedly with the New Museums design where windows permeate the design, the Tate museum designs reveal an increasing interest in making these connections from within and without the museum walls.

The upper level galleries in the Clore Gallery are planned to coincide with the main gallery level in the Tate. Non-exhibition spaces, such as lecture theatre, entrance halls, storage facilities, plants room, etc., are site at the lower level. There will also be a room for the Turner Society.²⁰⁷

In plan and section, the interior of the new wing is linked to the main body of the Tate which allows visitors the option of moving freely from the Turner wing to other works in the permanent collection and to the temporary gallery spaces (Figure 38 and Figure 31).

Along with the bold and controversial color palette, the spatial complexity of the entry met with mixed reviews resulting in a gallery project that was challenging on every

²⁰⁷ *Property Services Agency Press Notice*, 6 May 1980, (Tate Gallery Archive)

front for Stirling. In addition to the stringent cost restrictions in place due to the Clore Foundation's funding procedures, the architects had to work with multiple governmental agencies, engineering firms, consultants, contractors, and, of course, the Clore Gallery Working Party. The bureaucratic red tape was tremendous and resulted in considerable hostility between the Tate, the Clore Foundation, and Stirling's office. Tensions between the various parties frequently ran high and with the project significantly over the established budget of 5 million pounds, the entire process was difficult.

The delays included a faulty roof and the lack of preliminary final design meant that the project schedule changed constantly due to design alterations throughout the construction process.²⁰⁸ Finally, there were also differences in aesthetic preferences between the architects and the other vested parties. An excerpt from a letter written by Giles Hopkinson, the Director of the London Region of the PSA, following a Trustee meeting on November 28, 1985 gives a good sense of the general tone.

Mr. Sainer, of the Clore Foundation, has reported that the Trustees meeting on 28 November went very badly. It seems that Mrs. Duffield had been to the Gallery and walked round...and expressed herself deeply dissatisfied with what she saw.

Without going into further detail, she does not like the colours of the interior, she said there were only three workmen on the site...and she does not believe the contractor's programme... I do not know what James Stirling's reaction is likely to be!²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ The controversies and delays surrounding the construction process are discussed in detail in Girouard, *Big Jim: The Life and Work of James Stirling*, 217-23.

²⁰⁹ UK National Archives LNW8/10/1

In his diaries, Roy Strong, the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum at the time, wrote that Mrs Duffield told him that despite her father's affection for Turner, "she felt rather uninvolved in the ... project as she had no feeling for Turner or for modern art."²¹⁰ Her feelings of detachment and disappointment would extend to the architecture as well.

The New Museums²¹¹

It was during the initial feasibility phase for the New Museums that Vivien Duffield offered the funds for a dedicated Turner museum, the Clore Gallery, and Stirling's attentions focused on the design of this "Phase One" component of the overall scheme. The Tate brief required that the "proposals should be made for development in phases...as money becomes available, making use at each stage of the remaining parts of the existing hospital building and respecting as far as possible the character of that building."²¹²

The design of the New Museums emerged from the Director's, Alan Bowness, belief that the original gallery should only house British Art as per its original mandate. Additional spaces, therefore, were required for the modern and foreign collections. With this idea as a starting point, the Stirling design presented a symbiotic cluster of specialized museums, a museum campus of sorts where the QAMH site would be

²¹⁰ Roy C. Strong, *The Roy Strong Diaries, 1967-1987* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997), Entry for 7 December 1983.

²¹¹ Tate Gallery Archives (TG 14/9/)

²¹² Gallery, "Project Brief."

occupied by a group of structures each with its own designation. While each programmatic element was seen as distinct, the architectural solution emphasized the integrity of the urban block with the built forms wrapping the open voids of the sculpture courtyard (Figure 39). There would be a Modern Sculpture Museum to house the growing collection; a Museum of New Art dedicated to works produced in the past decade; and scholarly wing with curatorial offices, a library and an archive. The scheme for the Study Centre is a particularly fine example of Stirling's contextually sensitive work at the Tate – the center consisted of one of the existing hospital buildings flanked by two symmetrical wings (Figure 40). Together, these three elements, seen as distinct elevations, formed a progressive and expansive interior space for research and other desired amenities including general public spaces, a sculpture conservation studio, and storage facilities.

As a whole, the New Museums campus would total five Tates (Figure 41). Despite the heavy programming, the proposals skillfully handle the urban conditions through composed “aggregate volumes that are joined together around the spine of circulation.”²¹³ It is also reminiscent of the very first proposals for the Millbank penitentiary block that called for a “campus” of elements (Figure 8). In Stirling's design, the new structures were placed in respectful dialogue with each other and the existing Edwardian structures. Commenting on Stirling's unsuccessful 1989 competition entry for the Bibliothèque de France, Vidler noted that “Stirling's plan [an assemblage of identifiable and

²¹³ Claire Zimmerman, "James Stirling's 'Real Function'," *OASE The Architecture of James Stirling 1964-1992. A Non-Dogmatic Accumulation of Formal Knowledge*, no. 79 (2009): 126.

semiautonomous buildings] sees the library as a kind of academic village, a research park or festival site, with each purpose marked from the next and treated as a separate architectural entity,” a description that aptly describes the New Museum masterplan.²¹⁴ The library plan offers further evidence of Stirling’s interest in an urban, campus model for institutional programs.

Though the design was completed in 1986 and was proposed for phased construction, the New Museums would remain unrealized due to funding and programming issues. At this time, there was a realization that the divisions being promoted in the design, in particular the separation of the modern collection into “sculpture” and “twentieth-century art,” were not viable or appropriate given contemporary art trends. In retrospect, it is clear that the design was too ambitious and attempted to achieve too much within a relatively small space. Ultimately, these choices would result in not the creation of a consolidated Tate campus but a dispersed network of Tate museums at Bankside in London, St. Ives and Liverpool, each with its own audience and mission. Nevertheless, as lens to the Tate’s institutional attitudes regarding urban gestures and museum programs in the 1980s, the New Museum projects are invaluable.

A key consideration was that the development should be phased, allowing the project to be split into independent funding packages. The Tate planned to search for sponsors for each individual element – a technique that had worked well for the Clore Gallery, considered by the Tate as Phase One of the new campus masterplan. The later

²¹⁴ Vidler, "Books in Space: Tradition and Transparency in the Bibliotheque De France," 353.

phases were to have been located behind the Clore, stretching alongside the existing Tate building as far as John Islip Street and incorporating the preserved Edwardian hospital Administration Building and Nurses' Home. The Museum of Modern Sculpture was to have been completed in phase two, with the Museum of New Art and Study Centre following later.

The Clore Gallery established the *parti* for the New Museums campus scheme.²¹⁵ Stirling's expansion strategy was subtle, resembling an infill project more than a monumental museum project. He retained key fragments of the Edwardian hospital building as both mementos of the site's history and scale references for the new museum pieces that would adjoin the rectangular mass of the existing gallery. The juxtaposition of these new elements with the strict symmetry of the Tate is analogous to a collegiate ensemble. At the Tate these become the gallery, the experiential route and the informal sculpture garden in an ensemble that speaks to a deep "recognition of poetics."²¹⁶

In her essay examining Stirling's work in the context of English postwar realism, Claire Zimmerman analyzes his attention to the architectural promenade and the choreographed experience:

...Stirling used the material closest to hand: the miscellaneous built objects of the modern and pre-modern landscape, overwhelmingly (although not exclusively) British. Throughout the 1950s and 60s, he wove these into narratives that embraced architecture as sequential spatial experience, staffed it with carefully

²¹⁵ While Stirling was completing the feasibility study for the New Museums, Vivian Duffield donated funds from the Clore Foundation for the establishment of a Turner Gallery in her father's memory.

²¹⁶ Rowe and Koetter, *Collage City*, Introduction, 3.

considered spatial events, and inverted formal relationships and syntaxes with dexterity...²¹⁷

The architectural historian John Summerson described Stirling's designs of Dusseldorf and Cologne as "relief maps of ancient sites."²¹⁸ In a similar way, the New Museums can be interpreted as inhabited ruins where the new construction mingles with old building fragments. The piecing together of different elements to form a whole greater than its parts speaks again to the idea of the collage. Instead of creating a sweeping architectural gesture, Stirling composed a series of experiences each responding to specific site and program requirements. Anthony Vidler's description of Stirling's approach to contextualism at Stuttgart is also useful in contemplating his New Museums design:

...Stirling is concerned at once to relate the modern museum to its past as a monument and to absorb it into the fabric of the city. Here "contextualization" does not mean the camouflage of historical styles or the imitation of what already exists in the surrounding sites; rather it looks to a form of abstraction among the architectural elements, and their relations in space, tied together by pedestrian circulation to signify a historical typology, while pointing to its re-permutation as a contemporary urban installation.²¹⁹

In the drawings and models for the campus, the stone and stucco rear elevation of the Clore becomes one of a pair of matching facades overlooking the new sculpture garden located on the Tate's major cross-axis (Figure 42). The void of the garden is a

²¹⁷ Zimmerman, "James Stirling's 'Real Function'," 126.

²¹⁸ Summerson, "Vitruvius Ludens."

²¹⁹ Vidler, *James Frazer Stirling: Notes from the Archive*, 183.

counterpoint to the solid of the adjacent, enclosed Duveen galleries, a play of solid and void reminiscent of *Collage City*. Again using his own work as a precedent, the entrance sequence from John Islip Street into the New Museums is analogous to that of the Clore Gallery where the visitor moves from a sunken paved courtyard through a stylized Mycenaean gateway (Figure 43).

This *promenade architecturale* is also seen in the circulation route from the Duveen octagon in the original museum to the proposed sculpture court. This connection is facilitated by a glazed foyer, a favorite Stirling feature. Moving through and between the different functional components of the complex, the visitor is faced with architectural forms, both symmetrical and discordant, that shape the experience of the building and site. If built, they would also have framed the art in novel ways. The aggregation of elements creates, as Zimmerman observes, a narrative quality to the architecture.

*An important locus of attention in Stirling's work is the method of aggregation. Part collage and part montage, the method is nevertheless also narrative—a narration of improbable episodes, strange scale and material inversions, surreal juxtapositions, and humorous anecdotes.*²²⁰

The winding path through the courts and galleries of the Tate complex permitted an architectural exploration of the site that complemented and supported the curation of the art.

The plan will be seen to be an energetic symbiosis of organisms for the collections, study and display of art, each with its own distinctive character and vivid personality. The internal and external routes described, whether taken

²²⁰ Zimmerman, "James Stirling's 'Real Function'," 126.

*forward or in reverse, will offer a sequence of spaces that the visitor may choose to explore in detail or pass quickly by; providing too an architectural experience to match the experience of the great works of art within.*²²¹

Stirling's references persist in the specialized museums. The Museum of Modern Sculpture was intended to house the Tate's extensive Henry Moore collection and works by other major international figures in the top-lit upper level galleries and the garden terrace. Connected to the galleries of the original Tate, the sculpture galleries were arranged to support a chronological presentation of the art. As with the Clore, windows are used to connect the interior and exterior exhibition areas allowing the visitor the opportunity to make curatorial associations.

For the Museums of New Art, Stirling articulated the entrance with a triangular pylon – a direct reference to his square pylon at the Staatsgalerie (Figure 44). This playfulness continues inside where the dialogue of historical and contemporary forms is expressed in gallery spaces of differing characters on each floor. On the main level, an orthogonal suite of galleries speaks to the traditional gallery organization of the original museum. Above, however, is an “open-concept,” skylit gallery. This space would allow for curatorial flexibility and permit the exhibition of larger sculptural pieces. The top-lighting solutions recall John Soane's designs for the Dulwich Picture Gallery and the Bank of England.²²²

²²¹ Gallery, "The Tate Gallery: Illustrated Biennial Report 1984-1986," 28.

²²² In the CCA archives holds a variety of photographic images of Soane's Dulwich Picture Gallery (1811) taken by Stirling in the mid-1950s. CCA AP140.S1.SS2.D2.P1.3/P1.4/P1.5 Soane is also mentioned in

In Stirling's original scheme, the Study Centre remained an outline proposal for a future phase and is shown in block form behind the old Hospital Administration Building. However, a 1986 brief set out specific requirements for the Study Centre whose conservation and archive facilities were to house and care for the Tate's large collections of documents, books, catalogues, and other materials. For the first time, this collection would have been accessible to both the Gallery staff and the public.

The Study Centre would occupy the north side of the sculpture garden behind the old administration Building. Reflecting the importance of the Study Center to the emerging educational focus of the institution, Stirling set the Study Centre apart from the ensemble.(F) The details are also revealing. For example, the pediment was split and pulled apart above the reference room: a reference in miniature to the Reading Room in the British Museum, a symbol of the Tate's cultural aspirations.

Children's Museum

An unpublished, unbuilt addendum to the New Museums scheme was a children's museum. This project grew out of Vivien Duffield's interest in sponsoring a children's center with art, science, and other educational offerings in the city of London. Following

Stirling's notebooks. Margaret Richardson and MaryAnne Stevens, eds., *John Soane, Architect: Master of Space and Light* (London: Royal Academy of Arts,2000).

her introduction to child themed museums in NYC, Duffield wanted to provide funds for an English equivalent in the capital.

Unlike other aspects of the New Museums scheme, the Children's Museum was underdeveloped. This is not surprising given its incompatibility with the Tate programming and its institutional mission and one can only imagine that the Tate only contemplated Duffield's proposal because she was willing to coordinate the financing. However, the preliminary drawings do offer additional evidence of Stirling's urban approach during this period.

The Children's Museum drawings consist of a series of site axonometric drawings and sections showing the museum within the larger New Museums scheme (Figure 45). To incorporate this new element into the museum campus, the design for the Museum for New Art is revised and the two museums are stacked one on top of the other. In plan, the proportion of void and solid is altered significantly though there is a continued effort to achieve a continuous thread of circulation (Figure 46).

The axonometric drawings are revealing. With the stacking of the separate and distinct museum programs, the vertical volume of the New Art/Children's Museum is raised significantly over the other components of the New Museums proposal. In the multiple versions of the scheme Stirling can be seen exploring different ways to create a type of vertical urban infill where the new building's volume speaks not only to the mass of the original Tate but also to the height of the Millbank Tower adjacent to the site (Figure 47). This interest in contextual *and* volumetric specificity separates Stirling's approach from *Collage City*.

Urban

London Urbanism and British Planning Practice

Since World War II, many cultural, social and economic factors have affected the operation and condition of cities. Sometimes referred to as advanced capitalism and post-modernism, there have been fundamental shifts affecting urban economies and, as a result, the cityscape. These shifts include: the deindustrialization of the cities with a rise in the importance of the service economy; organizational changes that have altered the ways goods are produced and the function of cities as “centers of production and of collective consumption:” and finally, the increasing mobility of labor and the globalization of markets.²²³ “From its deindustrializing inner core to its sprawling periphery to the transitional landscapes in between, the city is the manifestation of industrial processes.”²²⁴ Racial and ethnic tensions, poverty, and decaying infrastructure have also played a role in the decline of the city center.

Partly in response to these changes, the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s saw the re-emergence of political structures and ideologies that are based around the notions of privatization and deregulation.²²⁵ The infrastructure of urban government was

²²³ G. J. Ashworth and Henk Voogd, *Selling the City: Marketing Approaches in Public Sector Urban Planning* (London: Belhaven, 1990), p.2.

²²⁴ Alan Berger, *Drosscape: Wasting Land in Urban America*, 1st ed. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2006), p.48.

²²⁵ Gregory D. Squires, *Urban Sprawl: Causes, Consequences & Policy Responses* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press, 2002).

increasingly privatized, along with the ideologies and discourses of regeneration and revitalization. Given the art museum's role as a cultural/entertainment venue, their design and their role in the city have shifted in their role as cultural signifiers. In addition to housing and displaying art, the architecture itself needs to operate as an attraction.

In England, the change in urban political structures was associated with the decentralization of the planning system and the designation of Development Corporations to oversee building and planning. The result was a lack of comprehensive planning vision for London and a more piecemeal approach to small and large development efforts. Margaret Thatcher's conservative policies are blamed for the dearth of investment in public spaces such as parks and cultural institutions. When comparing London to Paris during this period, John Punter highlights the neglect of cultural amenities in London.

*The fact that Paris now has four modern architectural/urban design museums, including the municipal Pavilion de 'Arsenal ('a device for thinking about the future which is so powerful and dazzling that it makes London seem blind,' wrote Frank Duffy) emphasized the linkages in Paris between public patronage and modern architecture, urban design and cultural investment, and public education that seem non-existent in London.*²²⁶

The commercial property booms in London, with an "investor-led" surge in the 1970s followed by "user-led" (pro-office) increase in building activity in the 1980s, were associated with increased interest in the architecture and urbanism of the city.²²⁷ In

²²⁶ Thornley, *The Crisis of London*, 81.

²²⁷ John Punter, "Classic Carbuncles and Mean Streets: Contemporary Urban Design and Architecture in Central London," in *The Crisis of London*, ed. Andy Thornley (London: Routledge, 1992), 70.

particular, redevelopment of historic areas was fraught with conflict. Those involved in these discussions—the general public, interest groups, architects and planners, and the media—very much parallel the voices heard in the construction of the Tate Gallery eighty years prior. As this earlier episode suggests, the debate over the built environment is a recurrent one with vocal protests often swaying the direction of policy and private investment. According to Punter, these periods of development and the corresponding debates “culminated in the formation of the ... Georgian Society (1937), the Victorian Society and Civic Trust (1957) and the Thirties Society (1979).”²²⁸ The 1973 publication of *Goodbye London* with its list of development projects that threatened the character and viability of London’s historic fabric, offered a strong response and critique of planning at that time.

Several planning strategies deserve special mention. The first is the Greater London Development Plan (GLDP) which was published in 1976. Due to political wrangling and red tape, the implementation of this plan was delayed by almost a decade, which made many of its recommendations obsolete by the time it was formally adopted. This meant that the city was without clear strategic guidelines for a prolonged period. In addition, the new local plans appear to respond directly to the economic demand for office space, and promoted overdevelopment through increased density ratios. The 1963 construction of the Vickers Tower skyscraper (now the Millbank Tower), located adjacent to the Tate site, is an early example of this trend. The divergent aims of the different Development Corporations further accentuated what Steen

²²⁸ Ibid., 69.

Rasmussen would call London's "scattered" character.²²⁹ This is particularly evident when considering the location of the Tate Gallery and its significant disconnection from the city center. The result of these incoherent planning strategies has been to accentuate and perpetuate the separate and inward-looking nature of London's cultural offerings which keep the Tate and other decentralized "arts" centers from fully animating the public life of the city.

From the Academy: theories of the city

With post war and deindustrialization issues facing the city, designers in the academy and in practice looked to symbolic and functional corrective action. These decades saw a rise in the analysis of cities with publications including Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* in 1964 and Aldo Rossi's *Architecture of the City* in 1966.²³⁰ While Rossi's approach was to look at the urban landscape as groupings of typological, formal elements, Lynch analyzed the city through personal mappings that reveals the impressions and associational qualities of urban landmarks and thresholds. These works and other like them circulating in the 1960s would be followed by other approaches that rejected the view of the city as a series of monuments but rather, embraced the idea of a continuous fabric that included architecture as an integral part of the overall matrix. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the publication of Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter's article

²²⁹ Steen Eiler Rasmussen, *London, the Unique City* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1967), 23.

²³⁰ Lynch, *The Image of the City*; Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1982).

Collage City in 1975 and the subsequent release of a book by the same name in 1978 were particularly influential in British circles.²³¹ Rowe's nonlinear approach to analysis and his rejection of a totalizing, modern planning process offered a way of including the 'presence of the past' in urban regeneration efforts. History and nostalgia were active influences and could be tapped for inspiration. Rowe's call for a more context-driven approach to urban design and practice shifted the architect-planner's perceived role in the city both functionally and stylistically.

Despite his early interest in Le Corbusier, Stirling's inspirations were diverse in character. As revealed in the Tate designs, Stirling was influenced by the ideas of Team X and Peter and Alison Smithson, the urban ideas of Leon Krier (who worked in Stirling's office during this period), and, notably, by Rowe's *Collage City*. Rowe was the student of Rudolf Wittkower who studied linkages between classicism and modernism. Rowe's own writings frequently contrasted historically divergent exemplars as a way of formulating nonlinear comparisons. With these types of theoretical linkages and the attention and interest paid to historical buildings, Rowe was to be a potent influence on Stirling's ideas throughout his career. In particular, Rowe's seminal *Collage City* and the discourse it created would influence a shift in the formal, compositional language of Stirling's work that marks the beginnings of his postmodern period. While *Collage City* offered an analytical approach that was dependent on the plan (particularly the tool of the figure ground), Stirling's later works, in addition to their careful consideration of plan-driven circulation routes and nuanced programmatic adjacencies,

²³¹ Rowe, "Collage City."; Rowe and Koetter, *Collage City*.

focused on manipulations in section and on the volumetric aspects of the design.

According to Anthony Vidler, one constant throughout Stirling's career was his interest in the urban.

*Urban architecture, for Stirling, was not a composite of static, ahistorical types, nor a fixed and ultimately imaginary 'return' to a tradition that had never quite existed the way it was reconceived, but an energized play and interplay of forms that opened new institutional and social potentials in modern, technological society, with a sense of the past rather than its literal repetition.*²³²

Stirling would view history, from ancient to modernist precedents, as source materials for formal investigations in his own projects in part due to Rowe's writings and teachings.

Exhibit

Specialized Art Spaces

*...the subjectivity experienced was the spectator's own. This condition of reception, in which meaning is made a function of the work's relationship to its site of exhibition, came to be known as site specificity...the wedding of the art-work to a particular environment.*²³³

The emergence of the "new museology" in the 1960s challenged traditional notions of spectator-subject relationships.²³⁴ The gradual, ongoing shift towards a more inclusive and responsive museum began in this period and changed the way in which art

²³² Vidler, *James Frazer Stirling: Notes from the Archive*, 179.

²³³ Crimp, *On the Museum's Ruins*, 17.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

functions in society. While social theorists like Douglas Crimp critiqued “the formalism that [the museum] appeared inevitably to impose on art by removing it from any social context,” others recognized that the postmodern museum, rather than disappearing or being ruined, was being redefined. In particular, the museum’s broadened didactic purposes, the altered relationship of the viewer to the art, and the “site specificity” of the gallery space resulted in new architectural forms that are more malleable and accommodating to the art types and the visitor experience. As a cultural and social product, the museum is continually renegotiated and reproduced.

New art practices such as conceptual art and earthworks, William Rubin, art historian and MoMA curator, surmised, might signal the end of modernism, which was just possibly a circumscribed historical concept, one that he linked to easel painting, private collecting, and the museum. The new production methods, Rubin suggested, “want another environment (or should want it) and, perhaps, another public.”²³⁵

*The Modern Collection includes paintings, sculpture, prints, and drawings by British and foreign artists from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day. Some Impressionist work is here, and Picasso, van Gogh, Matisse, Sickert, Salvador Dali, Francis Bacon, L.S. Lowry, Warhol, Lichtenstein, and David Hockney are all well represented. Sculpture from Rodin to Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth, and on to the even more abstract recent work of Anthony Caro, is here too. The Tate is a brave gallery, brave enough to buy works too advanced to be easily assessed; our children, or grandchildren, may well be grateful for the courage of its curators.*²³⁶

²³⁵ William Rubin, director of MOMA's Department of Painting and Sculpture, quoted in *Ibid.*, 271.

²³⁶ Ann Saunders, *The Art and Architecture of London: An Illustrated Guide*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Phaidon, 1988), 181.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Tate had attempted to solve the issues of how to present their modern collection, in particular the avant-garde art, by constructing temporary walls, panels and suspended ceilings. The results were often less than satisfactory and did justice to neither the building nor the works on display. In the 1960s, they adopted a different strategy and hired contemporary architects to design the installations. In addition to architects like Michael Brawne and Neave Brown, Peter and Alison Smithson completed the exhibition design for “Painting and Sculpture of a Decade, 1954-64.”²³⁷ This show, sponsored by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, presented a survey of post-1945 painting and sculpture. The press commentary reveals the variety of opinions and the perceived tensions between the neo-classical structure and the modern works on display:

*[The Smithson design is] a continuum of matte white walls [that] meander through all the galleries, annihilating the existing architecture, even in the great Sculpture Hall.*²³⁸

*...the first thing that strikes you on entering is that London has acquired a fine new gallery. In place of large, chilling saloons, there are intimate bays and passages leading into one another without gimmick or ostentation.*²³⁹

*Every exhibition has unique requirements. In an attempt to make unpromising space suitable, the central area of the ceiling was lowered with a lighting grid and the walls lined to obliterate detail. Such is the nature of the Tate Gallery that the original quality of space must be totally obliterated.*²⁴⁰

²³⁷“Painting and sculpture of a Decade 1954-64” exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London.

²³⁸ *The Guardian*, 21 April 1964

²³⁹ *Observer*, 26 April 1964

²⁴⁰ *Studio International*, May/June 1975

This exhibition has been re-examined by Andrew Stephenson who argues that the different practices and competing sensibilities competing in these decades in Britain were represented in the installation and the work on display. As the London art establishment “re-adjusted to post-World War II art policies, shifting institutional demands, developing modern exhibition practices and expanding younger art audiences,” Stephenson notes that a significant undercurrent was the growing call for a museum of modern art in the capital and demands for a “new approach to temporary exhibitions, their installation and viewing practice.”²⁴¹

The construction of the 1979 Richard Llewellyn-Davies galleries added fifty percent to the gallery floor plan and provided modern lighting solutions. The feeling was growing at the Tate that different types of art required different modes of presentation and, in particular, different architectural frames. The desire was to avoid creating nested “white cubes” within the Victorian galleries. Rather, the new galleries with their simpler lines and cleaner geometric proportions could house and present the newer works with the original galleries offering the older British collection exhibits. The director Norman Reid noted with regard to the original galleries, “The conclusion I am making is that they are best as old rooms, in the crystal palace style, kept clean and well decorated, which is

²⁴¹ Andrew Stephenson, *Painting and Sculpture of a Decade: '54-'64 Revisited in Art History* entitled 'New Approaches to British Art, 1939-69', edited by David Peters Corbett and Lisa Tickner, April 2012

part and parcel of their total appearance, rather than chopping them up and trying to pretend they are different from what they are....”²⁴²

Displaying the Turner Collection

Stirling’s Clore gallery offered a multi-faceted solution to interior and exterior architectural expression. On one hand, the addition offered a gesture of contextualism through its use of materials and a responsive architecture. On the interior, the galleries were prepared as specialized art spaces, designed to be sympathetic environment for older works, in this case the collection of Turner’s paintings (Figure 48). The scale of the rooms, their color and finish details, all evoke the original setting Turner intended for the pieces.

*The Tate also holds the greater part of Turner’s bequest.... A new gallery, paid for by the Clore Foundation and built to an unusual design by James Sterling [sic], opened in 1987, so that at last we are able to see Turner’s work as he meant it to be viewed.*²⁴³

The galleries dedicated to the Turner collection were conceived as updated nineteenth century rooms with heavy trim, neutral walls, and consistent up-lighting. With classical proportions that are sympathetic to the original Tate galleries, though at a smaller scale, the exhibition spaces offer a calm and restful atmosphere that is in stark contrast with the public spaces and in particular the jarring entry sequence discussed

²⁴² Norman Reid quoted in *Connoisseur*, July 1972

²⁴³ Saunders, *The Art and Architecture of London: An Illustrated Guide*, 181.

earlier. The rooms, as per the brief requirements, were lit using artificial light and controlled, indirect day-lighting on the upper floors which allowed a greater measure of control for the curators and conservators in presenting and preserving the collection. The response to the lighting strategy was negative. Julian Spalding, a former gallery director, remarked that Turner was a painter of light:

*Here, if ever, was a chance to design a gallery as a hymn to light. Sadly, however, the Clore Extension immediately dampens one's spirits upon entering. The light in it is so subdued that the paintings look drained of colour, and all the life and love has gone out of them.*²⁴⁴

The galleries were organized in a series of suites on two levels. Since the collection can be entered from both the original museum and the Clore entrance, the presentation of Turner's work is somewhat awkward. From the Clore, it is possible to view the art chronologically. From the Tate, however, the reverse sequence is offered. This organizational issue has been somewhat resolved by the fact that the different galleries are given thematic names, allowing them to be seen not just chronologically but also as distinct phases in Turner's artistic development. With names like "England and Working Life," "The Grand Manner," and "Italy and Antiquity," the collection is organized into self-sufficient modules, each presenting a particular cross-section of the artist's oeuvre. One of the galleries has a window seat offering a view of the Thames across the Clore terrace and Lodge gardens (Figure 49). This link with the river that is

²⁴⁴ Julian Spalding, *The Poetic Museum: Reviving Historic Collections* (New York: Prestel, 2002), 94.

featured in so many of Turner's works offers yet another compelling connection and allows the art work to resonate beyond the museum walls to the external context.

Stirling has been criticized for providing overly neutral gallery spaces. The result is that there is a strong distinction between the spaces for public gathering, and the spaces dedicated to the presentation of art. While the public spaces are spatially complex with intentionally challenging circulation patterns and approaches, the galleries were muted and traditionally understated. Looking at the commission as a typological example, the public spaces are where the architecture is given the upper hand. In contrast, the galleries are more conservative and are clearly the realm of the curator. Stirling addressed the criticisms by referencing the wishes and intentions of the artist himself: "I think Turner would like the galleries and understand why they are not replicas of his dark and over-crowded studio. He would appreciate that today's viewers are younger and less formal, preferring spaces that are lighter and less claustrophobic—hopefully like his later paintings, more spatial, atmospheric and open."²⁴⁵

While it is not possible to know definitively how the New Museums would have exhibited their works, the strict division of art into chronological and media typological groupings suggests that each museum unit would have approached their collections in a site and object specific manner. The desire to categorize had its roots in the Enlightenment and is a foundational property of museum practice. Since these categories are often subjective and arbitrary, any suggestion that the museum is a neutral space

²⁴⁵ Summerson and Jencks, "Tate and Clore. Vitruvius Ridens or Laughter at the Clore," 49.

should be greeted with significant skepticism. Douglas Crimp, in his essay on the art of exhibition, looks at the controlling quality of MoMA's organization.

There is...a far more effective means by which MOMA imposes a partisan view of the objects in its possession. This is the rigid division of modern art practices into separate departments within the institution. BY distributing the work of the avant-garde to various departments—Painting and Sculpture, Drawings, Prints and Illustrated Books, Architecture and Design, Photography and Film—that is, by stringently enforcing that appears to be a natural parceling of objects according to medium, MOMA automatically constructs a formalist history of modernism.²⁴⁶

The strict division of departments seen in Stirling's New Museums proposal was, of course, not realized. Even when the Tate was finally able to separate the British and Modern collections when the Tate Modern opened in 2000, the collections were not segregated to this degree. In addition, by 2000, the trend towards the thematic display of art allowed a thorough mixing of art categories that would have been unthinkable in earlier art museums though, in some ways, is reminiscent of the earliest cabinets of curiosity. Regardless of the overall trajectory, remnants of the traditional categories with their overtones of connoisseurship are still in evidence. The speed with which exhibition practices change is in direct contrast to the relatively static architecture that frames it.

The Clore and the New Museums offer an architectural resolution to a variety of paradigm shifts. The Clore provides an informal invitation through the sunken entry to the Clore museum, an entry that might be interpreted as more inviting than the raised and intimidating classical stairway of the original. The New Museums scheme, while unbuilt,

²⁴⁶ Crimp, *On the Museum's Ruins*, 265.

offers distinct gallery spaces with some opportunity for flexible arrangements. The glazing of exterior walls and the forging of connections between the building's contents and the urban context speaks to a desire for transparency, literal and figural, in the museum world. Finally, the recognition in Stirling's designs that museum visitors come in search of inspiration and entertainment, speaks to the new sensibility that as an institution the art museums offer many things in addition to the didactic presentation of art. The spatial experience is integral to the provision of these desires.

Conclusions

In *The Art Museum from Boullée to Bilbao*, Andrew McClellan suggests that postmodernism is “incompatible—as critical stance and architectural style—with the art museum as an institution.”²⁴⁷ Using Stirling as a key example, McClellan oversimplifies postmodern architecture as being a “creative but mocking critique” of modern architecture. He goes on to say,

While [Stirling's] galleries are conventional and well crafted, his facades and public spaces are challenging, disorienting, and even uncomfortable, throwing into question the relationship between visitor and context. Is one there to celebrate or mock, to contemplate or mourn? Postmodern theory is unwelcome in the art museum because it challenges notions of historical continuity, institutional authority, and unabashed celebration on which the museum depends. As an architectural style for museums, postmodern was destined to be short-lived

²⁴⁷ McClellan, *The Art Museum from Boullée to Bilbao*, 106.

*because it contradicted a fundamental purpose of the building type, namely to delight, inspire and transcend.*²⁴⁸

While McClellan's interpretation appropriately identifies the challenging nature of the Clore, a closer reading contests the notion that Stirling's work rejects notions of historical continuity. As I have argued, Stirling's museums use a variety of historically specific associations to provide compelling architectural responses to specific urban situations. The legacies of older museum architecture and exhibition practice are also evident in the Clore gallery and the New Museums proposal. While at some level the designs can be interpreted as critiques of modernism, I would argue that they propose a reapplication of modern ideas through a more expansive, democratic and contextually sensitive approach.

*The architect and user both produce architecture, the former by design and the latter by use. As architecture is experienced, it is made by the user as much as the architect. Neither are the two terms mutually exclusive. They exist within each other.*²⁴⁹

Museums are a distinctly modern and urban invention and Stirling's projects in the 1970s and 1980s indicate that Stirling was responding to many contextual factors: collage, the failure of utopian modernism, and the renewed interest in history that was emerging in the post war decades. His museum proposals in Germany and London do not copy the neoclassical models established in the nineteenth century by Durand and Schinkel but are instead variations on those themes with different programmatic volumes

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Jonathan Hill, *Occupying Architecture: Between the Architect and the User* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1998), 6.

defined independently and connected through choreographed pedestrian routes. Functionally, the specialization of spaces, a late modern rather than postmodern characteristic, is expressed in the New Museums scheme which sought to provide each category of art with its own distinct architectural experience. Had the New Museums project been realized, the Tate would have been a long way from the exotically jumbled cabinets of curiosities at its museological roots. Instead, the institution opted to pursue mixed-media within the broad categories of “British” and “Modern.” At the scale of the city, the museum’s role is dramatically altered in that the museum is embedded in such a way that it reworks and clarifies the way in which the site is part of the public realm and the architecture addresses its context.

James Stirling’s Tate museums of the 1980s speak to a range of related concerns from the economic to the decorative. In particular, the recurring themes of collage and *contextualism* suggest that Stirling sought new expressions and spatial solutions in a time of social, political, and ideological change. A study of the Tate during this period also exposes a change in the perceived agency of architecture and the importance of its public expression. Up until this point, the Tate’s architectural production and collection management choices had been conservative. This period, however, sees the further specialization of the collection, expanded operations in the provinces, and the courting of controversy as a way to draw attention to the architecture, urban strategy, and exhibition practice.

Chapter 3: Moving to the Provinces

Introduction

Walking from the Lime Street Station, Liverpool's primary gateway from destinations south, to Tate Liverpool offers a kaleidoscopic rendition of Liverpool's architectural history. Sharply juxtaposed are grand civic structures, successful urban ensembles and the detritus of industrial decline. From Lime Street, down Hanover Street, across Canning Place to the Strand, the fabric of Liverpool appears to be in a constant state of almost incoherent renovation and reconstruction. Once on the Strand, with its six lanes running parallel to the Mersey River, Liverpool's famed *Three Graces* – the Royal Liver Building, Cunard Building and Port of Liverpool Building – are visible to the north on Pier Head (Figure 50). In the foreground is Mann Island, occupied by the new Museum of Liverpool Life (2010). After negotiating the traffic, ahead is the Salthouse Dock with houseboats lined up in picturesque fashion within its basin (Figure 51). The Albert Dock is visible beyond (Figure 52). Moving along the cobbled walks and over the Hartley footbridge, the Tate Liverpool is reached on the north-west corner of the complex. In this area of Liverpool, the mercantile past has been renewed and decontaminated with new

cultural programs and commercial ventures. The regular, handsome walls of the Albert Dock provide a consistent architectural skin for a myriad of activities.²⁵⁰

The Tate's Provincial Expansion

In 1980, Director Alan Bowness met with the Tate Trustees to discuss the idea of creating a major contemporary art gallery in the North of England, a "Tate in the North." The desire to expand came from the museum's lending practices, a genuine belief in the positive benefits of contemporary art exposure, and the dearth of space in their London facility. Following the meeting, Bowness visited the five largest cities in the North of England: Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield, Newcastle and Liverpool, to look at potential sites and talk with local museum workers, politicians, and academics about the project.²⁵¹

Liverpool was the last city Bowness visited on his tour. From an internal memorandum he wrote in December 1980, it is clear that the Tate had always intended to convert an existing structure for their new outpost and that the local officials in Liverpool stressed the "new importance of tourism" in the city.²⁵² While there, Bowness was shown various disused buildings available for conversion including a church, municipal

²⁵⁰ In developing this chapter, extensive use was made of two primary archival sources: The Tate Gallery Archive's folder TG/65b and the Canadian Centre for Architecture's James Stirling / Michael Wilford Fonds File 68: "Tate in the North."

²⁵¹ J.A.Roberts, "Letter from the Surveyor's Department of Merseyside County Council," in *TG/65b/04/5F/3* (London: Tate Archive, 1980).

²⁵² *Ibid.*

hall, and a hotel. Two sites were of immediate interest: the Albert Docks and the Midland Railway Goods Offices. In the memo, he described the railway offices as “exterior attractive – recently refurbished” and noted that the “situation is excellent...5 minutes from Lime Street Station and Walker Art Gallery... [and] close to main shopping.”²⁵³ In his brief history of the process, however, it is the last site he visited, a warehouse in the disused Albert Dock, which caught his imagination:

*At the end of a stormy and blustery day we arrived at the Mersey, had a quick look at the Liver Building (not suitable), and then went into the totally derelict Albert Dock. It was immediately clear to me that this was the place.*²⁵⁴

*When they saw the Albert Dock in Liverpool, they knew they had found the right place. Built by Jesse Hartley in 1841-48, it is one of the finest and grandest industrial buildings in England. It offers ample space and the possibility of conservation and conversion at reasonable cost. The Merseyside Development Corporation was keen to bring the Tate into what has become a mixed redevelopment on a grand scale. There is a political will to enrich a city which is undergoing a traumatic transformation....*²⁵⁵

The concept of a museum outstation predated the 1980 push by Bowness. Back in 1968, Trustee Stewart Mason had expressed that he “thought that it would be necessary to disperse parts of the collection as temporary exhibitions to various sub-museums belonging to the Tate in the provinces.”²⁵⁶ On leaving the board in 1973, he commented again that “he wishes to leave the idea for an outstation...as a possible project for future Trustees to consider....he envisaged displays of first-class works from

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Alan Bowness, "History of Tate Liverpool's Early Days," in *TG/65b/08/5f/1* (London: Tate Archive, 1988).

²⁵⁵ Gallery, "The Tate Gallery: Illustrated Biennial Report 1984-1986," 21.

²⁵⁶ "Minutes of the Trustees' Board Meeting," in *TG/65b/04/5G/5* (Tate Archive, 19 December 1968).

the Tate's permanent collections which would be a real joy to those who lived so far from London.²⁵⁷

The idea of creating branches of established museums was not a new one. In 1969, Peggy Guggenheim handed the collections in her Venetian palazzo to her uncle Solomon, making it a European outpost of his famous Frank Lloyd Wright-designed museum in New York. Like the Guggenheim Venice, the regional Tates (the Tate Liverpool and Tate St Ives which followed 5 years later) are galleries with their own special characters, collections and displays. In the last decade, however, there has been a franchise aspect to museum growth. This has resulted in institutional branches (of the Guggenheim, Louvre, Hermitage) that borrow works, shows, ideas and content from their parent institution without regard for its own particular place or local constituents. This trend is not in keeping with Tate institutional aspirations. Speaking at Art 2000 when the Tate Modern opened, Lars Nittve, Tate Modern's first director commented on the subject of international expansion:

We have distinctively different approaches than the Guggenheim....One definitely has to do with the idea of expansion and the principles for expansion.... Most of the time I think it is much better if a gallery has sort of grown out of its natural or regional situation, and that is grows from within, instead of being planted there through...a sort of franchise strategy...What's really crucial, especially these days, for the success of a gallery is that it is rooted in the place where it acts and works, ...even if it is an international tourist attraction.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ "Minutes of the Trustees' Board Meeting."

²⁵⁸ Lars Nittve speaking at Art 2000 quoted in Chin-Tao Wu, *Privatising Culture: Corporate Art Intervention since the 1980s* (London: Verso, 2003), 293.

A key factor in the deliberations was the figure of Richard Rogers. The famed architect of the Centre Georges Pompidou, a museum that broke with traditional notions of museology, urbanism, and architecture, was the chairman of the Tate Board of Trustees during this period of expansion. Rogers had been a student of James Stirling's at Yale and it is likely that he championed the effort to engage Stirling for the Clore and Liverpool commissions. In his capacity as the chairman, Rogers supported efforts to cultivate business patronage and to improve the Tate's public image. He also advocated a particular view of what a museum should be in its environment:

It is my belief that exciting things happen when a variety of overlapping activities designed for all people – the old and the young, the blue and the white collar, the local inhabitant and the visitor, different activities for different occasions – meet in flexible environments, opening up the possibility of interaction outside the confines of institutional limits. When this takes place, deprived areas become dynamic places for those who love, work, and visit; places where all can participate....²⁵⁹

Not only did the building and dockside location appeal to Bowness, there were other good reasons for choosing Liverpool as a site for Tate's first regional museum. Significantly, Liverpool was the native city of Henry Tate and had, until 1981 been home to a Tate sugar refinery.²⁶⁰ Following the closure of the plant, which resulted in significant unemployment in an already depressed city, the Tate name was in need of a

²⁵⁹ Richard Rogers quoted in Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, 222.

²⁶⁰ Henry Tate established his refinery in 1872 on Love Lane. Following Tate's death in 1899, his sons would merge with the Lyle syrup company to create Tate & Lyle. This merger proved to be highly successful and remained in business as a British company until 2010 when it was divided and sold. The company's profile in Liverpool, however, was severely tarnished when the refinery was closed in 1981 resulting in significant unemployment, a terrible blow to a region already suffering from deep economic troubles. See Tate & Lyle corporate website, "Tate & Lyle through the Ages," www.tateandlyle.com and Catherine Boyle, "Tate & Lyle Confirms Sale to Americans," *The Times*, July 1 2010.

public relations boost. The selection of Liverpool as the possible host of a Tate outpost was first suggested earlier in 1969 by Herbert Thearle, a Liverpoolian architect who studied and later taught at the Liverpool School of Architecture.²⁶¹ Thearle wrote a letter to the *Sunday Times* calling for a dispersal of the collection to the provinces. At the end of the letter, he wrote: "In this event, Liverpool should be at the head of the queue; Sir Henry Tate was a Merseyside 'sugar boiler' beginning with grocer shops on both sides of the river here."²⁶²

Yet other compelling reasons made Liverpool a logical choice. First, the city's cultural heritage and fine art collections in the city, such as the Walker Art Gallery, suggested that a museum outpost would be appreciated and in keeping with the rich history of artistic production in the area. Secondly, there were many sites available for conversion that would offer the Tate a unique and architecturally compelling site, in particular, the grand Albert Dock. Finally, and perhaps most crucially, there was the two million pounds of public money available from the Merseyside Development Corporation.²⁶³ The remainder of the funding was private, coming from business, charitable foundations and other sources. Due to costs, the Tate ended up converting the building in two phases. The decision to site the new "Tate in the North" in Liverpool was a mutually beneficial decision and one based on factors related to the museum's mission and finances as well as Liverpool's perceived need.

²⁶¹ Archive of the University of Liverpool, "Papers of Staff: Surnames S and T," in *D453* (Liverpool: Tate Archive, 1925-1948).

²⁶² Herbert Thearle, "Letter " *Sunday Times*, 21 July 1969.

²⁶³ Gallery, "The Tate Gallery: Illustrated Biennial Report 1984-1986." 21-24

Liverpool History

*Yellow water, bellowing steam ferries, white trans-Atlantic liners, towers, cranes, stevedores, skiffs, shipyards, trains, smoke, chaos, hooting, ringing, hammering, puffing, the ruptured bellied of the ships, the stench of horses, the sweat, urine, and waste from the continents of the world...and it I heaped up words for another hour an hour, I would not achieve the full number, confusion, and expanse which is called Liverpool.*²⁶⁴

Created by Royal Charter of King John in 1207, Liverpool grew to prominence starting in the 1700s when the slave trade from Africa, sugar imports from the West Indies, and the export of Lancashire manufactured goods resulted in the emergence of an impressive dock system.²⁶⁵ Of particular note was the construction of the first commercial enclosed “wet dock” in the world which fundamentally changed the urban character and orientation of the city with its fixation on the river. With its integrated loading quays and novel lock system, the wet dock “...at Liverpool was...from the outset an integral part of the port’s trading facilities and deep enough to accommodate fully laden vessels.”²⁶⁶ These sorts of innovations were common in Liverpool as it grew to be the first mercantile dock system in the world.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ Czech writer Karel Capek visiting the city in 1924 as quoted in David Littlefield, *Liverpool One: Remaking a City Centre* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2009), 16.

²⁶⁵ Nancy Ritchie-Noakes, *Liverpool's Historic Waterfront: The World's First Mercantile Dock System*, Supplementary Series (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England)) (London: H.M.S.O., 1984), 6; Stephen Bayley and Liverpool City Council, *Liverpool: Shaping the City* (London: RIBA, 2010), 13.

²⁶⁶ Ritchie-Noakes, *Liverpool's Historic Waterfront: The World's First Mercantile Dock System*, 3.

²⁶⁷ Littlefield, *Liverpool One: Remaking a City Centre*, 16.

Following an uncertain nineteenth century, which saw the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and rampant overcrowding caused by rapid population growth, Liverpool began the twentieth century on a high note, with a boom in trade and an outburst of civic pride. This positive moment was in part due to a belief that some of the city's problems were being addressed through urban planning and architecture, a theme repeated through the century.²⁶⁸ Investment in the new Pier Head buildings, the business district and the Queen's Drive ring road reflected the confidence of the middle classes and the city government. Soon, however, disruption to world trade during World War I and the Depression underlined the over-commitment of Liverpool to trade, and the vulnerability of the city's economic structure.²⁶⁹

While the decline of Liverpool began before World War II, the decades following the war saw a steep descent from the heights of its industrial success. The damages were both physical and psychological, leaving the city architecturally, economically and culturally bereft. The destructive events were many but historians generally agree on several key dates. In May 1941, the city center of Liverpool was almost entirely flattened by the German air raids known as the "May Blitz". Four thousand people died during these bombings and the city's civic buildings were decimated.²⁷⁰ In 1972, the South Docks, including the Albert Docks, were abandoned and became silted and unusable (Figure 53). In July 1981, the Toxteth riots began and animated the streets of the city with

²⁶⁸ For an overview of planning policy and objectives in Liverpool, see Chris Couch, *City of Change and Challenge: Urban Planning and Regeneration in Liverpool* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003).

²⁶⁹ Adrian Jarvis, *In Troubled Times: The Port of Liverpool, 1905-1938* (St. John's, NF: International Maritime Economic History Association 2003).

²⁷⁰ Bayley and Council, *Liverpool: Shaping the City*, 14.

violence and despair. While presenting all of the depressing signs of a post-industrial manufacturing city, Liverpool also suffered from the social and cultural decay that frequently accompanied the collapse of the economic base. Trade unions and far-left political agendas with their restrictive practices exacerbated the problems. Poorly considered urban improvements in the 1960s had depressing results:

*South Castle Street and Canning Place were not just flattened; they were erased from the map. Sailmakers' Row, the Sailors' Home, and the Piranesian Duke's Warehouse went to be replaced by car parks; while an act of civic vandalism replaced the Cotton Exchange's grandiloquent hall and Neo-Baroque front by the coarsest grade of commercial block.*²⁷¹

While the photographs in Quentin Hughes's 1964 book, *Seaport*, present the stunning Victorian and Georgian heritage of the city in decline, the intervening decades saw an almost all-encompassing degradation of the city's architectural fabric and by the 1980s, Liverpool was deeply depressed²⁷² Despite being listed as heritage structures in 1952, the Albert Dock stood derelict with its basin completely silted "within a sea of otherwise unused docklands."²⁷³ The nineteenth century worker housing, built quickly to meet the needs of the booming population, was in poor shape. The decline was evident throughout the city with particular dereliction in the poorer areas of the city including north Liverpool, Toxteth, and Kensington. Between 1940 and 1980, the population

²⁷¹ Brian Hatton, Liverpool architect and academic, quoted in Littlefield, *Liverpool One: Remaking a City Centre*, 21.

²⁷² Quentin Hughes, *Seaport: Architecture & Townscape in Liverpool*, [1st ed. (London; L. Humphries, 1964). Quentin Hughes was a Liverpoolian architect. This volume of images offers a rare and rich image of the architecture and urban character of Liverpool at its most vulnerable.

²⁷³ John Punter, *Urban Design and the British Urban Renaissance* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2010), 100; Richard J. Williams, *The Anxious City: British Urbanism in the Late 20th Century* (London: Routledge, 2004), 108.

dropped dramatically, from 850,000 to 460,000, leaving a housing stock that was too large, infrastructure unused, and city amenities, such as the stunning Victorian parks, poorly maintained.²⁷⁴

Urban

Building a Port City

The University of Liverpool's Department of Civic Design is Britain's oldest, opening in 1909.²⁷⁵ In fact, Liverpool was a planned town from the beginning. The original central 'H' of streets formed a modern grid-pattern, and Liverpool's nineteenth-century ring of suburban park estates was also envied in its time by more congested cities that were unable to develop projects on such a scale. Liverpool continued to pioneer strategic planning early in the twentieth century through a combination of inner-city council housing and suburban development around the Queen's Drive ring road. As the century progressed and its fortunes dimmed, Liverpool was the recipient of almost every conceivable remedy in the urban planning arsenal. Writing in 2003, Chris Couch commented,

²⁷⁴ Williams, *The Anxious City: British Urbanism in the Late 20th Century*, 4. For additional statistical information regarding population and census data, see the Liverpool Government web site at <http://liverpool.gov.uk/council/key-statistics-and-data/>

²⁷⁵ Christopher Crouch, *Design Culture in Liverpool, 1880-1914: The Origins of the Liverpool School of Architecture* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002).

*Liverpool has been a laboratory for almost every experiment and innovation in modern urban policy and planning. Between 1967 and 2000 the city played host to a Community Development Project; Education Priority Area; Inner Areas study; Area Management; Industrial and Commercial Improvement Areas; one of the first General Improvement Areas in the country; more Housing Action Areas than any other city; an Inner City Partnership; a Metropolitan Structure Plan; the Merseyside Development Corporation; more housing co-operatives than any other English city; an Enterprise Zone; a 'Minister for Merseyside'; a 'militant' Labor Council at war with a Tory Government; Estate Action; City Challenge; a Housing Action Trust; Single Regeneration Budget projects; an urban regeneration company and many, many more initiatives generated by central government, local government and other agencies from the public, private and voluntary sectors.*²⁷⁶

According to historian Nancy Ritchie-Noakes, there were two primary factors that contributed to the success of the Liverpool docks. One of these was administrative, and the other, spatial. In terms of its administration, the Trustees of the Liverpool Docks were fully integrated with the Corporation of the town and “the community of interest between the borough and the port was guaranteed by the identity of those concerned with the government of the one and the promotion of the other.”²⁷⁷ The Corporation also owned and controlled the land that would be used for dock development.

Spatially, the eighteenth century docks were located within minutes of the town center with the original grouping of docks placed immediately adjacent to the Town Hall and other administrative and civic buildings. Later docks were built on reclaimed land close to the growing city fabric. This integration, what we might term “mixed-use” today, resulted in a close connection between the mercantile character and business of the

²⁷⁶ Couch, *City of Change and Challenge: Urban Planning and Regeneration in Liverpool*, 3-4.

²⁷⁷ Ritchie-Noakes, *Liverpool's Historic Waterfront: The World's First Mercantile Dock System*, 50.

dockyards and the other aspects of Liverpoolian life. Even the dockyards exhibited a remarkable heterogeneity of function. For example, prior to the building of the Albert Dock, the site was occupied by shipbuilders, “a dozen or so warehouses, a few offices and houses, a cooperage, a pub and the Trustees’ own dockyards...[t]his latter comprised, as well as sheds and workshops, a foundry, smithies, stables, an engine house, a counting house and a basin.”²⁷⁸

These urban connections, helped Liverpool to be an effective and efficient port city. The majority of its inhabitants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were employed at the dockyards or with industries related to the manufacturing of goods coming to and leaving the city. A city map of Liverpool in 1881 reveals the structure of the city radiating from the river with an elevated railroad, the Liverpool Overhead Railroad, and a highway running parallel to the River Mersey (Figure 54).²⁷⁹ The services of Liverpool were geared almost entirely to facilitating the growth of the city’s import and export efforts, and infrastructural connections by sea and land. While supporting the exhilarating growth of the city, it was this very closeness that would result in the extreme devastation of the city once the shipping economy collapsed in the twentieth century.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ The Liverpool Overhead Railroad (LOR) was opened in 1893 to combat congestion along the waterfront. Due to fire concerns, it was engineered to use electric traction and was the first elevated electric railway in the world. Though well used and loved, the LOR closed in 1956 when the costs of repairing the line proved to be prohibitive. Joseph Sharples and Richard Pollard, *Liverpool*, Pevsner Architectural Guides (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 100. For a comprehensive history of the LOR, see Adrian Jarvis, *Portrait of the Liverpool Overhead Railway* (Hersham, England: Ian Allan Publishing, 1996). Paul Bolger, *The Docker's Umbrella: A History of Liverpool Overhead Railway* (Liverpool: The Bluecoat Press, 1997).

Rebuilding: culturally-led urban regeneration

The World Wars caused irrevocable damage to Liverpool both in terms of its cityscape and its economic foundations. The bombings of the Second World War created holes in the city and destroyed swaths of the docks.²⁸⁰ Post war efforts to broaden streets and create new, increasingly unpopular and unused, housing developments, created voids and fortress-like elements in the city that broke up the urban fabric into disparate, disconnected parts. These urban design strategies “cut off traditional connections across the city, and so cast an ugly and depressed economic shadow over neighboring environments, whilst the schemes themselves quickly became dated and unpopular.”²⁸¹

State housing redevelopment projects in the 1960s were insensitive. Shortly after its creation in 1969, the Community Development Program, tasked with addressing deprived areas, and the Department of State at the Department of the Environment, commissioned a study of inner city Liverpool. The findings were not unexpected: “the need to see urban renewal in terms of a close association with employment policies, housing and co-ordination of local services – a far cry from the former approach of clearance and rebuilding.”²⁸²

Precipitated by the Toxteth riots of 1981, the British Environment Minister, Michael Heseltine, offered a series of measures and funds to appease the population and

²⁸⁰ John Frederick Smith, Gordon Hemm, and Alfred Ernest Shennan, *Liverpool, Past, Present, Future* (Liverpool,: Northern Pub. Co., 1948).

²⁸¹ Punter, *Urban Design and the British Urban Renaissance*, 101.

²⁸² Gordon Emanuel Cherry, *Town Planning in Britain since 1900: The Rise and Fall of the Planning Ideal*, Making Contemporary Britain Series (Oxford ; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 188.

begin the process of addressing and ameliorating the urban conditions of Liverpool.²⁸³

Following a conversation with Alan Bowness, the Tate's Director, Heseltine included a new art gallery on his list of offerings to the city. The insertion of a museum would act both to appease the local constituents while also addressing the void of "high culture" that was perceived to have afflicted the city. In addition, a museum could act as a flagship feature in the reimagining of the waterfront.

As an ideological investment, the government also established the MDC, the first of England's Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) to facilitate public and private investment in Liverpool. The MDC was not a planning organization but was meant to coordinate the sale and reuse of decrepit property and buildings. "The principle task was market-oriented; removing the negative value of their land... Their principle task was not to spend public money, but to use public funds as leverage for private funds, with the ratio 1:4, public to private...."²⁸⁴

As a result of this political intervention and private investment, the 1980s marked a shift in Liverpool's attitude to planning and investment. Liverpool University became a focus of increased funding which resulted in the growth of the student population, offering a boost of young energy to the city. Housing and entertainment venues created to meet the needs of the students sprang-up around the campuses. Developers, such as

²⁸³ These riots, named for the Toxteth area of inner-city Liverpool, were a result of building tensions between the local police and the black community and were the culmination of years of perceived mistreatment, social deprivation, and poverty.

²⁸⁴ Williams, *The Anxious City: British Urbanism in the Late 20th Century*, 111.

Urban Splash, created multi-purposed business zones and public spaces with an emphasis on artistic and creative industries.²⁸⁵

Most significantly, the decade saw a renewed interest in the city's heritage both in terms of preservation and of leveraging this rich history for profit, leading to an uneasy equilibrium which, according to Richard Williams, makes Liverpool the quintessential "anxious city."²⁸⁶ The two primary projects undertaken by the MDS were the Garden Festival of 1984 located on a tract of waterfront property to the south of the city and the Albert Dock which the MDC purchased in 1982 for renewal. While the Garden Festival was ultimately criticized for being a temporary remedial band-aid, a project with no long-term benefits to its site or the city, the Albert Dock project has had lasting ramifications for Liverpool.

The lack of consistent funding did not permit for an overall urban planning proposal. Nor was the city administration able to make the staffing allocations necessary to carry out a comprehensive urban improvement plan. It is remarkable to consider that even in the 1990s, there was only one architect on staff to review building proposals and it is only since 2000 that using a grant from the British government that there are urban designers involved in the process.²⁸⁷ The work that was done tended to be piecemeal, did not address the underlying spatial and social issues confronting the city, and failed to consider the long-term implications of the inadequate design interventions.

²⁸⁵ Punter, *Urban Design and the British Urban Renaissance*, 102.

²⁸⁶ Williams, *The Anxious City: British Urbanism in the Late 20th Century*, Chapter 5.

²⁸⁷ Punter, *Urban Design and the British Urban Renaissance*, 106.

In 1998, Sir Richard Rogers was commissioned in to chair an Urban Task Force which was tasked with “establishing a new vision for urban regeneration founded on the principles of design excellence, social well-being, and environmental responsibility within a viable economic and legislative framework.” The result was a report of more than three hundred pages, *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, which proposed “design-led” tactics for coping with urban regeneration efforts across the United Kingdom.²⁸⁸ Following this report, urban design became much more fundamental in the governmental approach to renewal strategies in British cities.

As a primary target of the UTF report, Liverpool would benefit considerably from its approach to urban improvement which stressed private investment as well as government action. According to urban geographer Mike Biddulph, however, the two major elements driving recent change in the city have been *European Objective One* and *English Partnerships* funding combined with the change of city government when the Liberal Democrats took office in 1998. The new government used these funds to establish a new Urban Regeneration Company, Liverpool Vision. Like the MDC in the 1980s, Liverpool Vision does not have planning power, however, they partner with private groups to create strategic plans and facilitate new development opportunities. Using the guidelines established in the *Liverpool Urban Design Guide* (2003) and other planning documents, Liverpool Vision continues to push forward the efforts that were

²⁸⁸ Urban Task Force document quoted in *Ibid.*, Preface.

started in the 1980s with the promise of a mix of culture, commerce, and residential construction.²⁸⁹

The MDC funds were a significant factor in the Tate's decision. Also in the Albert Dock's favor was its location near good public transit, including bus and ferry, which allowed the riverside location to be linked with the city center, train station, and other cultural venues despite the boundary of the city's inner ring road. Finally, the quality of the building itself, with its monumental simplicity, offered an unparalleled container for the conversion. With its blend of classical and industrial motifs, and its quality construction, the Albert Dock and the Liverpool waterfront was listed as a World Heritage Site in 2003.

Various schemes had been proposed for the derelict Albert Docks including demolishing the warehouses and filling in the dock. Such schemes would have irreversibly changed the face and history of the area. Fortunately, the MDC encouraged proposals that preserved the Grade 1 listed buildings. The Albert Dock was decontaminated, structurally stabilized, and repurposed as a cultural center featuring the Merseyside Maritime Museum, The Conservation Center, and the Tate Gallery along with shops and restaurants (Figure 55). These offerings, when considered in tandem with the other museums in the city, gave Liverpool a higher cultural quotient than any other city in northern England. At this same time, the city applied for UNESCO World

²⁸⁹ For recent perspectives on contemporary planning efforts in Liverpool, please see Ronaldo Munck, *Reinventing the City? Liverpool in Comparative Perspective* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003); John Belchem, *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character & History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006); "'Liverpool: Work in Progress' a Special Issue of the Architectural Review," 1331, no. January (2008).

Heritage Status for the waterfront and city center districts. This sought-after status was received in 2003.²⁹⁰ The once industrial hub of Liverpool was beginning to emerge as a bustling cultural centre.

What were the precedents for this sort of cultural transformation? The repurposing of manufacturing buildings for the display of art, which seems almost commonplace today, began in force in the late 1950s and 1960s when older warehouses were transformed into lofts in New York City. Initially, these lofts were used as artist studios and then as live-work accommodations. The benefits were multi-fold since these spaces tended to be relatively inexpensive and large, allowing for the creation of art works in many different media and scales. While the early lofts were private, they began to open up to the public as a form of urban theater. A prime example is Andy Warhol's "Factory," conceived as a studio and *happening*, which moved through a variety of industrial spaces starting in 1963.²⁹¹ The Factory events developed a mystique that added to the power of these spaces. For art dealers and gallery owners, "the tendency to show art in lofts was underwritten by a belief that they were somehow more real," more authentic.²⁹² The intrigue of loft living resulted in the birth of a residential market in the 1970s when the aesthetics of the loft, with "the bare, polished wood floors, exposed red

²⁹⁰ Williams, *The Anxious City: British Urbanism in the Late 20th Century*, 108.

²⁹¹ Allan Kaprow and Jeff Kelley, *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life*, Lannan Series of Contemporary Art Criticism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 15-26. For essays and commentary on the New York art scene and "happenings" in particular, see Chapter 1: Happenings in the New York Scene (1961).

²⁹² Richard Williams, "Remembering, Forgetting and the Industrial Gallery Space," in *Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City*, ed. Mark Crinson (London: Routledge, 2005), 123.

brick walls, and cast-iron facades” caught the public’s attention and became “bourgeois chic.”²⁹³

This process of gentrification occurred in New York and other cities worldwide with nineteenth-century industrial sectors where “lofts changed from sites where production took place to items of cultural consumption.”²⁹⁴ In her book, *Loft Living*, Sharon Zukin includes a section on “Art in the Arms of Power” which explores the commercialization of the new “Big Art” and the associated emergence of art galleries in the loft sector.

*Several of New York’s ‘uptown’ galleries specializing in new art opened branches in the large loft spaces of SoHo, and many more brand-new galleries established themselves there. IN 1968, the first SoHo gallery opened its doors; by 1978 seventy-seven galleries were doing business in the area.... The dramatic increase in the number of art galleries in SoHo, which occurred largely between 1972 and 1977, testifies to the market value of the new art and the new neighborhood. Where artists innovated, their dealers were not loath to follow, and the style of the galleries varied with that of the artists.*²⁹⁵

According to the Zukin, the insertion of art into this industrial sphere resulted in numerous effects, several of which are evident at the Albert Docks. First, the economy shifted from one based on industry to one fixated on tourism and consumption; secondly, there was a reduction in “the immediacy of industrial society and its problems;” and finally, art

²⁹³ Sharon Zukin, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Urban Affairs. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 2. Zukin's seminal study of the transformation of the manufacturing buildings in New York City and gentrification more broadly. Of particular interest is SoHo's transformation and the many forces - zoning, policy, patronage, and commerce, among others - that shaped the new artists' district.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 91.

became a viable means of capital accumulation.²⁹⁶ Furthering Zukin's second point, Richard Williams's *The Anxious City* presents these re-use structures as emerging "from a humanistic desire to heal the urban wounds left by industry."²⁹⁷

This process of gentrification was also taking place on the urban scale. One example is Ghirardelli Square (1964) in San Francisco which was fashioned from factory structures into a planned public space featuring shopping, dining and entertainment venues. Designed by Lawrence Halprin, the project is recognized as "a landmark in the turn toward reusing old buildings for modern retail, dining, and entertainment, the Square also helped broker a new model of urban civic-commercial life that extended far beyond preservationist sensibilities."²⁹⁸ A private real estate venture, the square altered the character of San Francisco tourism by drawing visitors to the waterfront and offering a compelling visual vignette for the Fisherman's Wharf area. Deemed a planning success, it has also created significant "spillover" benefits for businesses in the vicinity.²⁹⁹ The square was named an official city landmark in 1965.

Other relevant urban precedents, again American, can be found in the work of American developer, James Rouse. In Baltimore and Boston, both cities with defunct nineteenth-century industrial buildings, Rouse repurposed the historic ports through the use of public – including local, state, and federal money – and private funding, an

²⁹⁶ Williams, *The Anxious City: British Urbanism in the Late 20th Century*, 118; Zukin, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*, 178.

²⁹⁷ Williams, *The Anxious City: British Urbanism in the Late 20th Century*, 115.

²⁹⁸ Alison Isenberg, "Culture-a-Go-Go": The Ghirardelli Square Sculpture Controversy and the Liberation of Civic Design in the 1960s," *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 2 (Winter 2010): picture caption.

²⁹⁹ Alexander Garvin, *The American City: What Works, What Doesn't*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 28.

economic framework that would act as a model case study for Liverpool.³⁰⁰ In Baltimore, Rouse followed planners who had implemented this system in the early 1960s. Confronted with the decaying piers, decrepit buildings, and heavy traffic and pollution he found, Rouse promised that he would create an attraction uniquely suited to the diverse character of Baltimore. “Harborplace must be a democratic, embracing, comfortable place of all people – rich and poor, young and old, of all races – a place which the diverse people of Baltimore can be proud to share.”³⁰¹ Following the 1960s master plan for the harbor, Rouse was able to catalyze the proposal into action. The result was highly influential as an example of adaptive reuse and urban renovation with its mix of public and private buildings, pedestrian access to the water, and a consistent architectural vocabulary.

Building

Liverpool Architecture

The docks were not the only noteworthy urban and infrastructural achievements in Liverpool. Due to its mercantile prosperity, Liverpool had an integrated sewage system before London, and experienced a vast improvement in land communication with the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830. During the next two

³⁰⁰ Williams, *The Anxious City: British Urbanism in the Late 20th Century*, 115.

³⁰¹ James Rouse quoted in Nicholas D. Bloom, *Merchant of Illusion: James Rouse, American Salesman of the Businessman's Utopia*, Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2004), 171.

decades, Liverpool would be linked to Birmingham and London, and the manufacturing regions to the east through a complex system of rail lines.³⁰² This web of connections, both on land and water, placed Liverpool in an enviable position in terms of its investment appeal.

The city also experienced a series of building campaigns which resulted in impressive civic structures housing political and industrial governing bodies. These city projects attracted the attention of significant architects including Giles Gilbert Scott who designed the Anglican cathedral (Figure 56) and Edwin Lutyens, the architect of the unfinished Catholic cathedral (Figure 57). Even the docks are associated with famous individuals. Thomas Telford, the renowned Scottish engineer and architect best known for his Menai suspension bridge, worked on the Liverpool docks and nearby canals. The architect, Philip Hardwick, associated with the design of railways stations and warehouses in London, worked with Liverpool's Jesse Hartley on numerous projects, including the Albert Dock.³⁰³

They cannot be said to be pretty; they are strong, masculine buildings, sleeves rolled up and muscles bulging, and Liverpool's beloved classical architecture is here stripped down to its essentials of massive Tuscan columns and heavy round arches³⁰⁴.

³⁰² Ritchie-Noakes, *Liverpool's Historic Waterfront: The World's First Mercantile Dock System*, 7.

³⁰³ Richard Pollard and Joseph Sharples, *Lancashire: Liverpool and the Southwest*, Pevsner Architectural Guides (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Sharples and Pollard, *Liverpool*.

³⁰⁴ David Lewis, *Walks through History: Liverpool*, updated ed. (Derby: Breedon Books Publishing Co Ltd, 2007), 151.

Designed to be serviceable and efficient, many of the industrial buildings were remarkably modern in their detailing with large glazed windows, modular brickwork, and refined angles. It is not surprising that a photograph of Gladstone Dock was used by Le Corbusier in *Vers une Architecture* (1931) as an example of technical and aesthetic achievement.”³⁰⁵ James Gowan, Stirling’s partner between 1955 and 1964 commented, “Le Corbusier convinced us that style should correspond to its own particular period and emanate directly from its technology, and, as a consequence bear some resemblance to the other products of industry, motor cars, aeroplanes and the like.”³⁰⁶ James Maude Richards, editor of the *Architectural Review* from 1937 to 1971, featured the Albert Dock in a 1957 special edition on industrial architecture where it was referred to as “functional” architecture, a precursor to the modern tradition. Richards followed the *Architectural Review* piece with a collaborative book featuring photography by Eric De Maré, *The Functional Tradition in Early Industrial Buildings*.³⁰⁷ With its beautiful black and white photography and pictorial tour of England, the book celebrated industrial buildings as being fundamentally modern in their detailing and functional, engineering aesthetic (Figure 58). The seminal text presented warehouses and mill buildings as inspiration to architects rebuilding postwar Britain.

³⁰⁵ Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (New York: Dover Books, 1986), vii. The image is of one of the lockgates from the Mersey River to the Port of Liverpool. Massive and impeccably engineered, this structure would have appealed to Le Corbusier (and Stirling) for its clean, functional lines.

³⁰⁶ James Gowan quoted in Adrian Forty, "Le Corbusier's British Reputation," in *Le Corbusier, Architect of the Century*, ed. Hayward Gallery., Fondation Le Corbusier., and Arts Council of Great Britain. (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1987), 37.

³⁰⁷ James Maude Richards and Eric Samuel De Maré, *The Functional Tradition in Early Industrial Buildings* (London: Architectural Press, 1958).

The Albert Dock, with its aesthetic clarity and handsome construction, provided a compelling architectural skin and an adaptable interior space that would offer a new type of public gallery space. Before becoming the Liverpool dock engineer during one of the most impressive phases of the Mersey River infrastructural development, Jesse Hartley trained as a stonemason.³⁰⁸ While his architectural decisions were somewhat eclectic – he had worked under John Carr, a Palladian designer, and William Atkinson, an architect who tended to work in the neo-Gothic mode – Hartley’s buildings were always well constructed and considered. Every aspect of the docks, such as the river wall, was beautifully articulated with masonry work of the highest standard.³⁰⁹ This attention to detail and to material honesty set Hartley apart from the long line of dock engineers in Liverpool. Though architect James Picton refers to the Albert Dock’s “massive ugliness,” the magnitude of Hartley’s contribution to the aesthetic impact of the waterfront is a masterful application of functional architecture.³¹⁰

These are the most sublime of all nineteenth-century examples of commercial and industrial architecture, with their cast-iron unfluted Doric columns, massive undecorated brick walls, repetitive elements, and avoidance of ornament worthy

³⁰⁸ From 1824 to 1860, Hartley was the Superintendent of the Concerns of the Dock Estate in Liverpool and was responsible for designing and overseeing the new dock projects being built to meet the demand of the growing trade network. His key contributions to dock construction were the creation of new lock systems to keep water levels stable; promoting different modes of fireproofing; and the use of iron as a primary building component. In addition, his projects are characterized by particularly stunning “cyclopean” stonework, no doubt due to his training as a stonemason. In addition to the intricate masonry, the Albert Docks were the first dock warehouse structure in the United Kingdom to be built using iron, brick and stone with no wooden structural components. Edgar Jones, *Industrial Architecture in Britain: 1750-1939* (London: Batsford, 1985), 117. For more information on Jesse Hartley, see Nancy Ritchie-Noakes, *Jesse Hartley: Dock Engineer to the Port of Liverpool 1824-60* (National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside 1980; reprint, 1988).

³⁰⁹ Ritchie-Noakes, *Jesse Hartley: Dock Engineer to the Port of Liverpool 1824-60*, 8.

³¹⁰ James A. Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool, Historical and Topographical, Including a History of the Dock Estate* (London: Longmans, 1873), 691.

*of C.-N. Ledoux, the French Neoclassical architect and theorist, at his most uncompromising*³¹¹

The Albert Docks are comprised of five brick-faced, U-shaped pavilions surrounding a loading basin of water which is accessible from the river. In the Albert Dock composition, Hartley uses classical and industrial motifs to great effect. While composed of ordinary brick, the façade has a classical rhythm of repetitive arches, arched openings and colonnades of the loading loggia. “The front façade, which gives on to the basin, reads as a succession of visual and functional units arranged with the subtlety of a Renaissance or Beaux-Arts monument, the ground storey composed in counterpoint to the upper floors.”³¹² In keeping with the desire to create a truly fireproof structure, the floors and ceilings are tile and brick with both cast and wrought iron structural members.

An exquisite example of functionalist vernacular architecture, the Albert Dock was well regarded and Nikolaus Pevsner remarked that “For sheer punch there is little in the early commercial architecture of Europe to emulate it.”³¹³ As architecture, the Albert Dock can be admired both for its sensible and innovative solution to the programmatic problem of bringing boats and warehouses together in a logical and pleasing arrangement and for its technical advancements. It is also admired for its aesthetics; specifically its structural and technical clarity, beautiful brickwork, and pleasing monumentality.

³¹¹ James Stevens Curl, *Victorian Architecture* (New York: Sterling Pub. Co., 1990), 33.

³¹² Searing, *Art Spaces: The Architecture of Four Tates*, 73.

³¹³ Nikolaus Pevsner quoted in Sharples and Pollard, *Liverpool*, 103.

Stirling

*Liverpool, like Glasgow, is one of those unlikely cities of the United Kingdom from which something, sometimes, emerges. ..[from] the mundane plane of architecture, it might be, from Glasgow, a Charles Rennie Mackintosh or, from Liverpool, a James Stirling.*³¹⁴

Despite the delays and controversies surrounding the building of the Clore Gallery in London, Stirling was engaged to complete the feasibility study for the adaptive reuse of the Albert Dock in Liverpool. The retention of James Stirling as the architect raised the profile of the project and gave the city another point of pride – though born in Glasgow, James Stirling was raised in Liverpool and was deeply influenced by the history, streets, and architecture of his hometown. As a child, he spent time on the docks and would have had firsthand knowledge of the mercantile activity that underwrote the physical character of Liverpool.³¹⁵ After his war service, Stirling returned to Liverpool to study architecture at the University of Liverpool, which not surprisingly given the city's cultural heritage, was the first university school of architecture in the United Kingdom when it opened in 1895.³¹⁶

While his tenure with the Clore Gallery was marred by disagreements regarding his vision for the museum and the Tate's curatorial desires, Stirling's experience in Liverpool was relatively conflict-free. In Liverpool, the ultimate objective of his design

³¹⁴ Colin Rowe introduction "James Stirling: A Highly Personal and very Disjointed Memoir" in Arnell and Bickford, *James Stirling, Buildings and Projects / James Stirling, Michael Wilford and Associates*, 10.

³¹⁵ Girouard, *Big Jim: The Life and Work of James Stirling*.

³¹⁶ Bayley and Council, *Liverpool: Shaping the City*, 22.

was to create a building that suited the needs of the occupants while still respecting the heritage and unique qualities of the original building. “I believe that the shapes of a building should indicate – perhaps display – the usage of the way of life of its occupants, and it is therefore likely to be rich and varied in its appearance and its expression is unlikely to be simple.”³¹⁷

James Stirling recalled that after the Second World War the Albert Dock resembled a marine bone-yard where disused ship parts were stored – “funnels, bridges, propellers, etc.”³¹⁸ These images of industrial detritus recall Stirling’s appreciation for Le Corbusier’s oeuvre and, as discussed in chapter 2, his own interest in context and texture. Stirling’s quote above also reinforces the importance of place in his approach to the site. With these layers of memory and meaning, the Albert Dock became a palimpsest where different traces are expressed and revealed through Stirling’s intervention.

Stirling’s enduring interest in memory and vernacular forms can be seen in his early photography, projects and writings. In his seminal essay, ‘Regionalism and Modern Architecture’ (1957), Stirling calls for “a reassessment of indigenous and usually anonymous building and a reevaluation of the experience embodied in the use of traditional methods and materials.”³¹⁹ In his discussion of this new traditionalism, Stirling supported a reading of regionalism that truly examined the ‘anonymous’ British

³¹⁷ James Stirling speech quoted in Ann Lee Morgan, *Contemporary Architects*, 2nd ed., Contemporary Arts Series. (London: St. James Press, 1987), 230.

³¹⁸ James Stirling, Michael Wilford, and Tom Muirhead, *James Stirling, Michael Wilford, and Associates: Buildings & Projects, 1975-1992* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994), 133.

³¹⁹ James Stirling, "Regionalism and Modern Architecture," *The Architects Yearbook* 8(1957): 62.

architecture and rejected a picturesque misuse of these same forms: “It should be noted that the outside appearance of [traditional British buildings] is an efficient expression of their specific function, whereas today they may be appreciated picturesquely and positively used arbitrarily.”³²⁰

Considering these statements in light of his early photographs of warehouses and docks in Liverpool, Stirling’s admiration for and use of vernacular types come into clearer focus (Figure 59). The photograph of the docks and warehouses, taken when he was a young architect in the 1950s and 1960s, feature the details, edges and connections of the industrial forms (Figure 60). Also found in the CCA archive is a photograph that Stirling took of Peter Ellis’s Oriol Chambers, considered one of the first curtain wall structures in the world (Figure 61). When it was built in Liverpool in 1856, the use of plate-glass windows and delicate ironwork was “almost unbelievably ahead of its time.”³²¹ These photographs and his own writings suggest that Stirling’s interest was not merely superficial but was concerned with the tectonic and pragmatic. The Albert Docks intervention was not an architecture that was “trying to deal with a set of flavors – things that look like things but that were not the things themselves;” rather, the context-sensitive design was true to the authentic character of its place.³²²

Stirling’s use of the term picturesque in considering the superficial application of vernacular motifs is echoed in Sharon Zukin’s consideration of the conversion of

³²⁰ Ibid.: 63.

³²¹ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius*, 4th ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 105. For a brief discussion of the building and its novel use of new materials, see Sharples and Pollard, *Liverpool*, 19.

³²² Stirling, "Regionalism and Modern Architecture," 65.

manufacturing spaces to lofts in New York City in the same period. Zukin argues that when a city's industrial base is decaying, "the urban-industrial infrastructure submits to the rules of the picturesque."³²³ Prior to the conversion, and perhaps even after, the urban space of the Albert Dock with the romantic grey landscape of the sea as a backdrop, can be read as a picturesque ruin.

Stirling's sensitive handling of the Albert Dock warehouse conversion respected the grittiness of the industrial architecture, while transforming the interior into a unique and site-specific place to view art. As with his Clore gallery in London, there are some windows in the galleries allowing for a visual connection with the dock and the river, presenting the location as part of the museum experience (Figure 62 and Figure 63). In fact, the ensemble of cultural and commercial programs that now occupy Albert Docks – shops, museums, hotels - are all subordinate to the dock's architectural skin.

Further evidence of Stirling's desire for a nuanced approach to urban interventions can be seen in his writings at the time of his "Roma Interrotta" submission in the later 1970s. Stirling spoke out strongly against the postwar degradation of England's industrial nineteenth century cities and Liverpool in particular. Rejecting the modern notion of "progress" (total redevelopment), which resulted in "a lethal combination of urban motorways and modern commercial architecture, what he called 'modern blocks': 'Thus cities have lost their identity and townspeople are numbed with

³²³ Zukin, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*, 180.

loss of memory while their children grow up in kitschplace and junkland.”³²⁴ The conversion of an existing industrial structure through adaptive reuse offered a direct link to a rich and multi-textured history.

Adapting the Albert Dock

*I think that converted industrial buildings, at this time in history, seem to be the absolutely best museum buildings for modern and contemporary art, and I think there are many reasons for this. One thing may be that you don't put the same pressure on the audience in terms of high culture; you don't have so many symbols and signals, as you do when you have major staircases and colonnades and long sequences of galleries.*³²⁵

Preservation, restoration, recycling, converting – these processes of renewal and reuse have a mixed history in architectural practice. While Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) was known for his creative interpretations and rebuilding of older, specifically Gothic, structures, later practitioners and theorists have taken a more conservative approach. In *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), John Ruskin rejected Viollet-le-Duc's technique of restoration and rebuilding as being “the most total destruction which a building can suffer,” calling instead for an attitude of architectural conservation.³²⁶ In

³²⁴ James Stirling, "Revisions of the Nolli Plan of Rome" quoted in Vidler, *James Frazer Stirling: Notes from the Archive*, 215.

³²⁵ Tate Modern Director Lars Nittve quoted in Karl Sabbagh, *Power into Art* (London: A. Lane, 2000), 225.

³²⁶ John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 4th ed. (Kent: George Allen, 1883), 194. For a description of Ruskin's attitude towards conservation, see Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, Butterworth-Heinemann Series in Conservation and Museology (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2002), 174-212.

part due to Ruskin's considerable influence, William Morris founded *Britain's Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings* in 1877 "to counteract the highly destructive 'restoration' of medieval buildings being practised by many Victorian architects."³²⁷ Today, the re-use of industrial buildings as art venues has become almost cliché. "The tidied up industrial space has become as much the conventional gallery form as the Greek Temple use to be."³²⁸

In his essay, 'Nostalgia for Ruins,' Andreas Huyssen analyzes the ongoing obsession with the material qualities of industrial remains:

Such ruins and their representation in picture books, films, and exhibits are a sign of the nostalgia for the monuments of an industrial architecture of a past age that was tied to a public culture of industrial labour and its political organisation. We are nostalgic for the ruins of modernity because they still seem to hold a promise that has vanished from our own age: the promise of an alternative future."³²⁹

For Huyssen, this fascination is a "reaction to the accelerated speed of modernisation, as an attempt to break out of the swirling of empty space of the everyday present and to claim a sense of time and memory."³³⁰ The adaptive reuse of industrial buildings therefore has philosophical implications beyond the references to the spaces of artistic production and the reappraisal of the vernacular as a compelling container. These

³²⁷ For information on the history and mission of SPAB, see their web page: www.spab.org.uk

³²⁸ Architecture critic Dejan Sudjic quoted in Williams, "Remembering, Forgetting and the Industrial Gallery Space," 121.

³²⁹ Andreas Huyssen, "Nostalgia for Ruins," *Grey Room* 23, no. Spring (2006): 8.

³³⁰ ———, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 5.

structures appeal to the nostalgic desires of a “memorial culture” looking for authentic roots in a provocative past that holds promise for transformation in the future.³³¹

In comparison to the grandiose architectural Greek Temple fronts of nineteenth and early twentieth century museum buildings, and even when considering the more subtle, offset entry façade of the Clore Gallery in London, the Tate Liverpool offers a very different interpretation of the museum as an urban and architectural element. Coming in the late 1980s, it was not the first museum to occupy a derelict industrial building, but was part of the early trend that considered such buildings as perfect containers for modern and contemporary art. Designed for storage, warehouse structures offered wide-open spaces that would offer the spatial flexibility to present the different scales of modern art. Of particular note are P.S.1 in Long Island City (1976), The Temporary Contemporary in Los Angeles, (1983), and the Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art (Mass MoCA) in North Adams (begun in 1985), all built in repurposed structures. Countless other adaptive reuse structures have followed including the celebrated Dia Art Foundation’s Dia:Beacon in Beacon, New York (2003), the Museum of Contemporary Art Detroit (2006), and, of course, the Tate’s own Tate Modern (2000) discussed in Chapter 4. While each of these museums presents a different version of adaptive reuse, they all illustrate variations on the contextual approach taken by Stirling at the Tate Liverpool.³³²

³³¹ Ibid., 31.

³³² In addition to the scholarship analyzing the implications of repurposed buildings and museums, there is a growing body of literature outlining the pragmatics of such endeavors. Select examples include Carol Berens, *Redeveloping Industrial Sites: A Guide for Architects, Planners and Developers* (Hoboken, N.J.:

In Liverpool, the potent history of the site was tapped in Stirling's early sketches.³³³ One seems to depict aspects of Stirling's early memories of the site as a depository of old shipyard artifacts.³³⁴ The sketch presents the entryway to the new Tate as composed of a ship's bridge and gangways inserting themselves into the north wall of the warehouse with a "tugboat"-esque element forming a type of entry pavilion (Figure 64). This sketch suggests a more dynamic intervention than the one that was ultimately made in significant part due to the conservationist desires of the Liverpool government and the building's protected status. Despite the highly animated postmodern pastiche of these early elevations, the Tate Liverpool design would end up being one of Stirling's most discreet projects with a respectful stance to its container and contents. While demure, the structure has personality and avoids Stirling's complaint that he's "sick and tired of boring, meaningless, non-committed, faceless flexibility, and the open-endedness of so much present day architecture..."³³⁵

The ground level façade of the Tate Liverpool is recessed. Within the Doric loggia, a bold orange-red sign reads "Tate Gallery" is framed by paneled walls framed in blue and orange-red with nautical themed "port hole" windows (Figure 65). From across

John Wiley & Sons, 2011); Justin B. Hollander, Niall Kirkwood, and Julia L. Gold, *Principles of Brownfield Regeneration: Cleanup, Design, and Reuse of Derelict Land* (Washington: Island Press, 2010); Barry Lord, Gail Dexter Lord, and Lindsay Martin, *Manual of Museum Planning: Sustainable Space, Facilities, and Operations*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, Md.: AltaMira Press, 2012).

³³³ CCA James Stirling Fonds

³³⁴ James Stirling and Michael Wilford, "James Stirling / Michael Wilford Fonds / File 68: Tate in the North," in *AP140.S2.SS1.D68* (Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture © CCA 1982-1990). The sketches, drawings and photographs of the Tate Liverpool considered during this research were found at the CCA in File 68 (AP140.S2.SS1.D68) and at the Tate Archives in Boxes TG/65b/08 and TG/8/PH1 unless otherwise noted. Specific files are listed where appropriate.

³³⁵ James Stirling quoted in Arnell and Bickford, *James Stirling, Buildings and Projects / James Stirling, Michael Wilford and Associates*, 252.

the dock basin, which Stirling referred to as “that perfect plaza of water,” the museum is scarcely visible.³³⁶ This is not an architecture of the exterior, or at least, not one experienced at any distance (Figure 66). Partially as a requirement of its registered status and in accordance with the MDC’s scheme, the design retained the overall aesthetic impact of the Albert Dock elevations, with their classical rhythm and refined simplicity. Fortunately, the docks were a compelling container within which to work. According to historian James Stevens Curl, “some canal and dockside architecture seemed to point towards a new style where Classical relationships of proportion, solid and void, and integrity of geometry would be paramount, but stripped of all the tyranny of overt use of the Orders, and minus all decorative frippery.”³³⁷

This was important given that many different programs were slated to be housed within the dock structure. In response to these constraints, Stirling’s design transforms the recessed portion of the dock to indicate the entry of the museum and leaves the rest of the exterior undisturbed. With the exception of the Doric columns which are now painted an orange-pink, a distinct contrast from Hartley’s industrial black, the façade is intact. It is on the interior where the transformations take place though even there the alterations are muted and respond specifically to programmatic requirements.

Hartley’s warehouse, offering over a million square feet of space, was divided into five stories stacked in decreasing heights and also included a basement and mezzanine levels (Figure 67). The interior spaces were strictly utilitarian and consisted of

³³⁶ Searing, *Art Spaces: The Architecture of Four Tates*, 73.

³³⁷ Curl, *Victorian Architecture*, 33.

wide-open floors with a steady rhythm of cast-iron columns supporting iron beams which were spanned by a brick vaulted superstructure (Figure 68). The beams are further reinforced by iron tie-rods. While the exterior columns of the arcade represent a simplified Doric with its heavy proportions and solid demeanor, the interior columns are a more slender variation on the Doric. These interior columns do not have a base and the capital itself becomes a structural flange to support the spanning beam. The interior visual experience is one of a field of columns supporting a regular rhythm of undulating brick vaults (Figure 69).

The windows to the basin and the river are punched through the heavy exterior wall which gives a distinct impression of framing a particular vista for visual consumption. The segmented arches of the window frames mirror the brick vaults of the ceiling inside. While not revealed on the elevation, the bay units vary in depth.

Taking as a bay the slide of interior space framed by columns, each eight-bay unit, subdivided longitudinally by a brick spine wall, is twice the depth of its five-bay sibling, and is separated from it by an interior cross wall perpendicular to the outer facades. The 5:8 ratio is one beloved by architects from ancient times to Le Corbusier and is often used as the numerical expression of the Golden Section.³³⁸

The thoughtful layout and proportional system would have appealed to Stirling when he was commissioned to complete the conversion. It is no wonder that in his design, Stirling attempted to retain these spatial characteristics and to highlight them in

³³⁸ Searing, *Art Spaces: The Architecture of Four Tates*, 75.

his reconfiguration of the interior. In their project brief, the architects stated the underlying intentions of their proposal:

Only make alterations where necessary...mainly of two categories – those required in making a sequence of galleries...and an entrance hall that is a public meeting space...[and those required] to achieve environmental standards necessary for exhibiting art...on the international gallery circuit.³³⁹

From the oversized letters of the “Tate Gallery” sign to the deliberately undersized entry foyer, Stirling’s Tate Liverpool offers a distinctly populist interpretation of an art museum (Figure 70). While the nautical themes could be cliché, the overall impression succeeds in offering simple, yet deliberate references to history and place that add layers of meaning to the museum’s spatial and artistic offerings (Figure 71). The choreographed circulation lacks the impact of the earlier Tate designs with the monumental stair and the complex entry sequence of the Clore. In contrast, the paving of the dockside arcade continues through the glazed foyer wall into the main public space (Figure 72). This transparency and continuity allows the visitor to view the interior prior to entering—the invitation extends through the walls. Compared to the majestic grand entries seen in earlier museums, the ground floor entrance at the Tate is markedly casual. Instead of elevating the museum on a plinth and suspending the experience of the art, the casual pedestrian could gaze in through the large storefront windows at the lobby, the reception desk, and the ground level displays. In this regard, Stirling’s Tate Liverpool is

³³⁹ Stirling and Wilford Feasibility Study (Tate Archive)

similar to Philip L. Goodwin and Edward Durell Stone's design for the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York.

As mentioned, finances did not permit the Tate to complete the entire project at the outset and a phased approach was taken. Phase One, completed for the opening in 1988, involved the removal of the mezzanine level through most of the space to allow for higher rooms to better display art and provide for more monumental public gathering spaces. The ground level offered two galleries and a reception desk (Figure 73). Stirling's designs left the exterior of the building almost untouched but transformed the interior into an arrangement of simple, elegant galleries suitable for the display of modern art. The fourth floor, later developed into additional galleries in Phase Two, was not converted. Over the entry hall, a small café and bookstore were inserted with views into the entry hall. A further phase of refurbishment carried out in 1998 by Wilford and Partners converted the previously unused top floor to create additional public facilities including an auditorium and further educational spaces as well as a temporary exhibition space. The mezzanine café, "nicknamed the 'blue bum' by Stirling," was removed to open up the foyer, and the façade's blue and orange screens were edited to allow for additional glazing.³⁴⁰ In the relentless effort by the Tate to remain current and fresh, recent enhancement by Arca in 2008 renovated the reception area to permit better monitoring of ticketing and more fluid access to the museum shop and café. "The dramatic main reception desk "...is a long, bright orange, extruded form, which flows theatrically

³⁴⁰ Pollard and Sharples, *Lancashire: Liverpool and the Southwest*, 269.

through the space...[creating] a focal point that epitomizes the convergence of business with art.”³⁴¹

Exhibit

Specialized Art Spaces

“The positive aim of the ‘Tate in the North’ is to exhibit more works of modern art to a new and larger public.”³⁴² In 1980, the Tate was looking for a site outside London in which to display works from its national collection of modern art. During World War Two when the museum was closed in London, the Tate had circulated works to regional museums, for example there were several loans in 1945 to institutions in Norwich, Sheffield and Bristol, in an effort to fulfill what it felt was its obligation to share its materials. Since 1968, the museum had led an active lending program which promoted the dissemination of exhibits and works to smaller regional museums and the Tate hoped to develop satellite locations to house and display some of its collection which resided in storage. The logic for restricting the works to be shown in the new venue to the modern period derives from the character of most regional collections, many of which are strong in the art of earlier periods. Aside from the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art in Edinburgh, there were no significant modern and contemporary art collections outside of the nation’s capital and the Tate felt an obligation to be a part of a

³⁴¹ Graeme Brooker and Sally Stone, *Elements/Objects* (Lausanne, Switz.: AVA Publishing, 2010), 80-1.

³⁴² Gallery, "The Tate Gallery: Illustrated Biennial Report 1984-1986," 21.

national program of art education. “It is not sufficient for the millions in the North of England that London is within a three or four hour journey. The full experience of art can be achieved only by regular exposure, and must have a place within the community.”³⁴³

Like the Clore, the galleries in Liverpool were designed to recede and privilege the viewing of art over architectural appreciation. During the design process, various proposals were made for more strident color schemes and material palettes. Ultimately, however, Stirling was influenced by the curatorial desire to keep the gallery rooms as neutral as possible. The detailing is beautiful with an emphasis on revealing the building’s original underpinnings.

*We often find ourselves judging a museum favorably only when we experience a coherence between good exhibits placed in a space that enhances their allure, and architectural spaces, the characteristics of which are emphasized and even defined by the very existence of the objects on display. When discussing a new museum we should not simply praise or criticize its innovative architectural design, but we should carefully examine the exhibitions spaces that it provides. In other words, is it simply a magnificent building or is it also a magnificent museum?*³⁴⁴

In the Tate Liverpool, the answer to James Trulove’s question is the latter. This museum really works. While their planning was significantly constrained by the existing structure and columnar grid, the galleries are simply arranged. The galleries on the first two floors are organized enfilade, the traditional sequential approach favored since the

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ James Grayson Trulove, *Designing the New Museum: Building a Destination* (Gloucester, Mass.: Rockport Publishers, 2000), 13.

earliest museum types (Figure 74). Since Tate Liverpool does not have a permanent collection, these gallery suites are not used to present art works based on preconceived notions of category or progress but instead offer another way of grouping thematic presentations. In addition, since the museum is relatively modest in scale, the gallery organization allows for a clear sense of direction that helps to orient the visitor. Since the galleries on this level have low ceilings and the frequent columns, curators have found it difficult to present larger pieces in the spaces. The spaces are fairly traditional except for the busy presence of the columns and other relics from the structure's use as an industrial warehouse (Figure 75).

The ground level galleries are blind with no external windows. In the upper levels, a small selection of windows were retained. These deep apertures allow for compelling glimpses of the water and other buildings across the dockyards. As with his design for the Clore, Stirling offers these windows as a form of relief from the relentless viewing of art while also establishing a clear connection between the art within, the architecture of the building's skin, and the external context in which the museum is situated. In some regards, these glimpses are reminiscent of Richard Rogers and Renzo Piano's Centre Georges Pompidou built in Paris in 1971. The Pompidou's external escalator, where the visitor can ride up the side of the building and view both the interior of the museum and wonderful vistas of Paris speaks to the interest in presenting the city and the architecture as elements in the museum's entertainment repertoire. Featuring its monumental high-tech architectural skin, the Pompidou is notable in that it is the first

museum to represent a tourist destination where the architecture is as much a part of the museum's collection as the art.

As a canvas for contemporary art, the industrial building offered an ambience not unlike the loft spaces in which the works were produced, allowing for continuity in context. In addition, for some art genres, the juxtaposition of the pieces and the rough spatial frame offered a pleasurable sense of shock. This “disjuncture between the culture of art and the raw or downbeat surroundings” accentuated the experience of the art and provided an edgy contrast to the older structures.³⁴⁵ The selection of an adaptive reuse structure for the Tate in the North points forward to decisions a decade later to house the Tate's London branch, the Tate Modern, in the defunct Bankside Power Station. According to Iwona Blazwick, Tate Modern curator from 1997-2000, these raw industrial buildings offer “metaphoric spaces for pioneering frontiers and rugged individualism...and come to emblematised opposition, ‘real’ experience and the heroic ethos of American culture.”³⁴⁶ The changes in exhibition spaces originally espoused by artists and appropriated by commercial galleries in places like SoHo, were ultimately institutionalized by art museums.

³⁴⁵ Williams, *The Anxious City: British Urbanism in the Late 20th Century*, 115.

³⁴⁶ Iwona Blazwick quoted in Reesa Greenberg, "The Exhibited Redistributed: A Case for Reassessing Space," in *Thinking About Exhibitions*, ed. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, and Sandy Nairne (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), 248.

Programming, Outreach and Education

*Museums are no longer places to preserve works that have lost their social, religious and public functions, but places where artists meet the public and the public becomes creative.*³⁴⁷

During the two years that the Albert Dock warehouse was being converted, a series of artworks were commissioned in and around the Dock to promote the Tate in Liverpool. These included a public sculpture by the artist Tony Cragg (Figure 76), a billboard painting by the painter Stephen Campbell, and a live performance by artist Bruce McLean and musician David Ward, who would go on to create a performance piece for the opening celebrations two years later. These collaborations with British artists were prescient of a continued engagement with the contemporary arts scene, an effort also supported by the Tate's Turner Prize which was established in 1984 to reward contemporary artists younger than fifty years of age. While the Prize has been highly controversial, it has nevertheless fulfilled its mission to augment the stature of working artists pushing the boundaries of artistic production. In considering the Turner Prize in light of the Tate's physical expansion, it is clear that the Tate as an institution was repositioning itself to meet the changing arts scene in England and internationally.

This project cannot be realised without some sacrifice on the part of the Tate at Millbank and its visitors. The collection of modern international art, though rich, does not have so many outstanding masterpieces.... To divide the collections in two will not be possible, since both would be inadequate. Accordingly, groups of works comprising complete exhibitions of part of the collection will be transferred to Liverpool for periods of at least six months at a time. In this way those in the

³⁴⁷ Puntus Hulten, Pompidou's First Director, quoted in Victoria Newhouse, *Towards a New Museum* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1998), 193.

*North will have the chance to see the strengths of the Tate collection at their highest intensity.*³⁴⁸

The Gallery was opened on 24 May 1988 by HRH Prince Charles. The Director, Alan Bowness, was particularly keen for the Prince to be involved because of his interest not only in art and architecture, but also in the rejuvenation of inner city areas. Bowness also aimed to use the 'Tate in the North' as a venue for major exhibitions of important modern art. The opening exhibitions featured international Surrealism and also a display of the Rothko murals - exhibits with popular appeal (Figure 77). There was also an exhibition of the sculpture of Henry Moore designed to be a ninetieth birthday "tribute" to the sculptor, a celebrated artist from the north of England.³⁴⁹ In a lecture prior to the museum's opening, the Tate Liverpool's curator, Richard Francis, described the opening exhibition themes as being focused on "urban decay and renewal." He offered the following interpretation of the Surrealist exhibit and Max Ernst in particular:

*In 1934 Max Ernst, the expatriate German artist, made 'Europe after the Rain' to express his renewed hope for his country after the bombings of the war [WWI] that had destroyed so much of it. Ernst's work is hopeful and provocative, expecting much to come from the rebuilding. Are we being too fanciful to think of the economic miracle and the re-establishment of European art as a results of this?... We [the Tate] are working in a real landscape where the chances to renew are vital not only to us but to our most local constituents.*³⁵⁰

Working independently from their London parent, the Liverpool Tate initiated major exhibitions both of contemporary British art and of international modern art. The

³⁴⁸ Gallery, "The Tate Gallery: Illustrated Biennial Report 1984-1986," 21.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 23.

³⁵⁰ Richard Francis, "Contemporary Art in the North," *RSA Journal* 137:5389, no. Dec 1988 (1988): 16.

gallery also established links with art institution in Europe and America in order to take advantage of traveling exhibits and art sharing partnerships. The annual objective of the museum was to present a cycle of works from the Tate's Modern, British and foreign collections in tandem with traveling exhibits from other institutions.

Most crucial to its separate identity, however, is the distinctive approach to display and interpretation that it has developed. The overall aim has been to be more helpful and informative, to provide more didactic materials. It is significant that this has evolved in response to the demands of the gallery's visitors – its location and the constituencies it is trying to reach has forced the Tate Liverpool to take issues of access and communication more seriously than had previously been the case at Millbank. It has been widely praised for its educational program and for its outreach work with local groups. From its very opening, with its collaborations with artists and theatrical shows, the Tate Liverpool has attempted to offer wider artistic and cultural activities. These include an artist in residence program, workshops and lectures, and outreach programs aimed at taking the messages of modern and contemporary art to as broad an audience as possible.

This shift to a more education and artist-based process is not isolated to the Tates but is part of a new approach to museology, sometimes referred to as the “new museology.” The TC in Los Angeles also saw its success and viability as outcomes of its outreach programming. Five years after it opened, MOCA's director, Richard Koshalek, judged the success of the museum in this way: "MOCA's survival is the result of its ability to collaborate. Our strength is a collective attitude that allows us to work with the

city, public leaders, other cultural institutions and many different constituencies, including artists, architects, photographers and performers."³⁵¹ In addition to displaying contemporary art, the museum saw itself as being a center for the promotion and encouragement of art education and literacy.

Conclusions

In the design of museums for contemporary art, there is a shift from interiors modeled on wealthy domestic homes, like the spaces of the original Tate Gallery, to raw spaces based in industry. These former warehouses, factories, and dockyards provided a clear reference to the production of the new arts and the artist studios where they were created. "This shift in desired exhibition space corresponds to the emphasis placed on process rather than product in the making of art in the sixties and seventies when, increasingly, art was defined and described as work."³⁵² Built in a nineteenth-century industrial complex, the architect's intention was to retain as much of the historic structure as possible while adding new elements as needed. The result is a mix of the old and new where the line between the construction phases is blurred through compatible material uses and sympathetic interventions. The contemporary art museum offers a rich and

³⁵¹ Suzanne Muchnic, "Moca Marks a Milestone: Temporary Contemporary Will Celebrate 5th Year in High Spirits," *Los Angeles Times*, December 7 1988.

³⁵² Greenberg, "The Exhibited Redistributed: A Case for Reassessing Space," 246.

varied environment for the display of art while retaining the patina of the original program of the building.

Some have questioned the Tate Liverpool's position in the Albert Dock amidst gift shops, themed attractions, and commercial displays. Before it opened, one critic declared: "Not to put too fine a point on it, art has been annexed by the Liverpool Entertainment Industry. The Tate of the North is just one more attraction which will be on offer in the revitalized tourist trap of Albert Dock."³⁵³ Others question the assumption that high culture will necessarily be endangered by contact with popular culture – "The Tate rather kept to itself, being neither contaminated by, nor dominating the rest of the site. Heritage and fantasy are there, nonetheless...."³⁵⁴

More immediately controversial, however, has been the Tate's relationship with the city beyond Albert Dock. At least to start, many locals viewed the whole development as something foisted on Liverpool by the government in London. Such perceptions are enhanced by the location of Albert Dock, which despite new signage, the renovation of Pier Head as a civic space, and the insertion of Liverpool One as a new urban shopping node with links to the dock cultural centers, still feels removed from the rest of the city. Much was also made of the fact that the opening of the Tate satellite followed by just seven years the closure of the Tate and Lyle refinery in Liverpool – a

³⁵³ Waldemar Januszczak, "Arts Review," *Guardian*, 23 March 1985. The concern regarding the rebranding of the Tate as a commercial operation is covered in many places. For one example see James B. Twitchell, *Branded Nation: The Marketing of Megachurch, College, Inc., and Museumworld* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 244-45.

³⁵⁴ Adrian Mellor, "Enterprise and Heritage in the Dock," in *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture*, ed. John Corner and Sylvia Harvey (London: Routledge, 1991), 103.

closure that left 1,500 unemployed and further decayed the morale of the city. Was the Tate trying to make amends? Jonathon Harris, in his discussion of Abstract Expressionism at the Tate Liverpool, characterized the gallery along with comparable institutions in urban sites as “attempts to neutralize...problems presented by the underclass in contemporary societies.”³⁵⁵

Critique of the Tate Liverpool as an arts venue focused on its identification as an offshoot of a London institution. “Its very existence tells the people of Liverpool that they cannot forge their own models of cultural development.”³⁵⁶ In fact, by looking through Trustee records, the Tate Liverpool had never been intended to be a community resource but to attract visitors through the North. However, the intention to appeal to Liverpool residents was always a priority. As Penelope Curtis, a former curator of exhibitions argues, “...the charge that the gallery is insufficiently part of its locality ignores the disparate, itinerant nature of a leisure audience which would hardly ever be described as local.”³⁵⁷ Her comments and others reveal the Tate institution’s sensitivity to the issue of the museum “being airlifted into the city.”³⁵⁸ Since its opening, the Tate Liverpool has proved its intentions and has developed into far more than an additional display space for the parent institution. Attendance levels at the Tate Liverpool since it opened have been between five hundred and seven hundred thousand annually, doubling the original projections. In the 2012-2013 fiscal calendar, the Tate Liverpool contributed

³⁵⁵ Jonathan Harris, "Abstract Expressionism at the Tate Gallery Liverpool: Region, Reference, Ratification," in *American Abstract Expressionism*, ed. David Thistlewood, *Tate Gallery Liverpool Critical Forum* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press and Tate Gallery Liverpool, 1993), 105.

³⁵⁶ Philip Dodds, "Won from the Art," *New Statesman*, 17 June 1998, 46.

³⁵⁷ Penelope Curtis, "Uses of Ownership," *Museums Journal* (1993): 31.

³⁵⁸ Dodds, "Won from the Art," 46.

over £8 million to the local economy.³⁵⁹ In addition to their own programming and outreach, the museum is a member of Liverpool Arts Regeneration Consortium (LARC), an alliance of seven of the city's major cultural organizations established to leverage art and culture in the regeneration of Merseyside.³⁶⁰

Today, Liverpool's city fabric is characterized by a rough texture with occasional moments of urban clarity and architectural significance. There are gaps and breaks between the city center and the waterfront warehouses that financed its construction. Despite the removal of the Liverpool Overhead Railway (LOR), nicknamed the "Dockers' Umbrella" since the dock workers had to walk under it to reach the dockyards, the physical divide is still defined by the multi-lane A5036 highway that runs between the downtown and the docks (Figure 78 and Figure 79). When the regeneration efforts began in the 1980s, a variety of proposals suggested new pedestrian links between the city center and docks to overcome this barrier.³⁶¹ These included a pedestrian bridge across the Strand that would alight at the Canning Dock.³⁶² These planning aspirations were never realized, however, and the inner ring road continues to act as a divisive urban feature. Current renewal efforts, in particular the *Liverpool One* initiative, are attempting to fill the intervening spaces with buildings and program that will complement the

³⁵⁹ Tate Press Office, "2012-13 Is a Year of Success and Worldwide Development for Tate," Tate, <http://www.tate.org.uk/about/press-office/press-releases/2012-13-year-success-and-worldwide-development-tate>. Accessed September 30, 2013.

³⁶⁰ LARC, "Liverpool Arts Regeneration Consortium," <http://www.larc.uk.com/>. Accessed December 22, 2013.

³⁶¹ The A5036 trunk road connects the Liverpool docks to the rail station in Dingle and to the surrounding highway network. It carries several names along the Liverpool waterfront including The Strand and is six lanes wide at certain points.

³⁶² Couch, *City of Change and Challenge: Urban Planning and Regeneration in Liverpool*, 121.

historical fabric while also offering new cultural, tourist, and retail nodes.³⁶³ While these tourist-driven economic agendas have not produced the shift in poverty that is required, it has just recently been acknowledged that new policies are needed to overcome the disconnect between the regional economic development agenda and the neighborhood renewal and social inclusion objectives.³⁶⁴ It may be that museums, as representations of cultural and national heritage are being asked to do too much. Fundamentally, the economic model is tourism.

*[Tourists] come in droves to a restored city that offered them a quality of life they could never find in a shopping mall. Yuppies...would gentrify the central areas close to downtown and inject their dollars into restored boutiques, bars and restaurants. Finally, the restored city would actually become a major attraction to tourists, providing a new economic base to the city.*³⁶⁵

While it is tempting to see the “selling of the city”³⁶⁶ as a byproduct of recent globalization, the dockyards of Liverpool offered a form of spectacle from their inception as the primary gateways to the city. Considering the frequency with which they appeared in literary works, their raw beauty and strength was compelling as a backdrop to the story of industrialization and, later, of globalization.³⁶⁷ The desire to view and experience the

³⁶³ Littlefield, *Liverpool One: Remaking a City Centre*. This volume presents the Liverpool One initiative and its architectural, social, and cultural strategies.

³⁶⁴ Marilyn Taylor, "Transforming Disadvantaged Places: Effective Strategies for Places and People," (Joseph Roundtree Foundation, 2008).

³⁶⁵ Peter G. Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, UK ; New York, NY, USA: Blackwell, 1996), 348.

³⁶⁶ Ashworth and Voogd, *Selling the City: Marketing Approaches in Public Sector Urban Planning*.

³⁶⁷ Michael Murphy and Deryn Rees-Jones, eds., *Writing Liverpool: Essays and Interviews* (Liverpool: Liverpool Univ Press, 2007), This volume presents a collection of twelve essays and six interviews that aim to survey the artistic output and ‘distinctive literary voice’ of Liverpool; Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987).

space of the docks is made explicit in the overhead railroad advertisements which sold round trips to see “the finest docks in the world and the giant ocean liners” (Figure 80).³⁶⁸

The docks, then as now, “have been central to determining the physical image of the city” from the moment of their creation.³⁶⁹

As a catalyst for urban regeneration, the Tate Liverpool has had mixed results. The Albert Dock is a must-see on the tourism circuit and the museum gets very favorable reviews for its exhibits, programming and educational efforts. The following excerpts from a Tate Press Release dated 13 July 2010 on the occasion of the Tate Liverpool being awarded the *Freedom of the City*, nicely illustrates the positive impression the museum has made in Liverpool:

Tate Liverpool is to be given the Freedom of the City in recognition of its two decades as a major cultural presence in the city. It is an integral part of the artistic and cultural life of the city - and is the most visited modern and contemporary art gallery outside London. Since it opened it has hosted more than 150 exhibitions, and in 2008 was responsible for one of the highlights of Liverpool's Capital of Culture year when it displayed the work of Gustav Klimt.

Liverpool's Lord Mayor Councillor Hazel Williams said: “Tate Liverpool has been an outstanding success and is now a fully established major cultural institution. I personally enjoy visiting its thought-provoking and high quality exhibitions and it is wonderful to have such an internationally renowned gallery on our doorstep.”

Tate Liverpool Director Christoph Grunenberg said: “We are delighted that Tate Liverpool has been admitted to the Freedom Roll of the City. Tate is enormously grateful to the city and the local people who have supported Tate Liverpool since its inception in 1988.”

Executive Director Andrea Nixon continued, “We look forward to our continued work with the city and our local communities: attracting more visitors to the city,

³⁶⁸ Sharples and Pollard, *Liverpool*, 100.

³⁶⁹ Couch, *City of Change and Challenge: Urban Planning and Regeneration in Liverpool*, 13.

expanding on the 60,000 local school and community participants we engage with each year, and allowing as many people as possible to enjoy an exciting range of special exhibitions and Tate collection displays."

Leader of Liverpool City Council Councillor Joe Anderson said: "Tate Liverpool is a great example of the way in which the city has reinvented itself. It is one of Liverpool's major tourist attractions which has played host to millions of visitors during the last 20 years. As well as attracting national and international visitors, Tate Liverpool is equally popular locally and is a particularly prized visit for schoolchildren."

Opposition leader Councillor Warren Bradley said: "Tate Liverpool is a real gem. It was an immediate success and was the first example in the UK of culture-led regeneration for a major inner city project. It has gone from strength to strength and played a leading role in the bid for and delivery of Liverpool's amazing year as European Capital of Culture 2008."³⁷⁰

The Tate has played many roles in Liverpool – educator, collaborator, entertainer, and regenerator. The Tate's success has spilled over into other parts of the waterfront which have seen considerable investment with new amenities appearing in many of the mercantile structures. There are new museums as well, the most recent being the Museum of Liverpool which opened in 2010.

The rest of Liverpool has seen less change. The Art in Liverpool map is telling (Figure 81), revealing the scattered character of arts venues in the city and belies the planning rhetoric that promised to ensure "that the redeveloped docklands [would again become] part of the fabric of the city."³⁷¹ While not a cure-all, the Albert Dock renovation marks an early moment of renewal that has catalyzed other pockets of

³⁷⁰ Tate Press Office, "Tate Liverpool Receives Freedom of the City of Liverpool," (<http://www.tate.org.uk/about/pressoffice/pressreleases/2010/22221.htm>, 13 July 2010).

³⁷¹ Couch, *City of Change and Challenge: Urban Planning and Regeneration in Liverpool*, 132.

improvement throughout the city, culminating in Liverpool's selection as the 2008 European Capital of Culture.³⁷²

³⁷² "Liverpool: Work in Progress' a Special Issue of the Architectural Review."

Chapter 4: The Later Tates

The later Tates in St. Ives and Bankside, London, are, in many respects, extensions of the approaches taken by James Stirling in Millbank and Liverpool. St. Ives, like the Clore, is a bespoke design created for a particular collection and site. The Tate Modern is an adaptive reuse project that uses an industrial shell to create a memorable space to display modern art. Both museums manipulate heritage and history in different ways to reimagine their cityscapes. This is achieved partially through the processes of adaptive reuse and brownfield development where the palimpsest of the urban context is revealed. Another tool for the later Tates has been its increasing focus on local community and neighborhood development. It is instructive to look at the Tate museums in light of adaptive reuse strategies and larger shifts in museology to see how the institution both complements and problematizes interpretations of the contemporary museum.

Adaptive Reuse and Brownfield Development

A shared characteristic of all four Tates is their use as engines for economic regeneration. This function is indexed in a variety of ways in the museum designs; each

of them addresses the *genius loci* through adaptive reuse or brownfield decontamination and development. With allusions of gasometers, turbines, dockyards, and prisons, each offers a vision of improvement through the physical and symbolic reclamation of the site.

What is adaptive reuse and what does it mean to repurpose a building? The restoration of a building is by itself a complicated problem, conjuring up questions about the relationship between the old and new parts of the structure. The reuse of the old building as a museum of art adds a new set of relationships, multiplying the interactions and enhancing the complexity. Phoebe Crisman's essay on four contemporary museums explores the issue of preservation and sanitization by asking which elements are preserved and which are cleansed. She concludes that in most industrial buildings converted to create art spaces, the "accumulated and unnecessary features are removed, surfaces are sanitised, and the stigmas of former economic or social disenfranchisement and neglect associated with particular buildings are purposefully forgotten."³⁷³ At the original Tate in Millbank, the site was swept clean. What was retained was the cultural knowledge that a prison had once occupied that place. In Liverpool, the process was more complex in that the physical presence of the architecture remained along with the material traces of a lost way of life and economy. "If a building is adaptively reused and filled with contemporary art, however, architecture and art may combine to create a lens

³⁷³ Phoebe Crisman, "From Industry to Culture: Leftovers, Time and Material Transformation in Four Contemporary Museums," *The Journal of Architecture* 12, no. 4 (2007): 405. The four museums presented in her essay are MASS MoCA, the Design Zentrum, Dia:Beacon and Tate Modern. While Crisman finds the first two retain more traces of their original function and the latter are more completely sanitized, she concludes that "... leftover and reconfigured industrial architecture is an effective means of allowing the past to remain visible and provocative, while positioning cultural institutions in the present as part of ongoing and open processes of imagination, interpretation and accretion in time, with no end in sight." 418-19

that magnifies our awareness of historical change and exposes the ideologies of progress embodied in buildings designed for optimal commodity production.”³⁷⁴ As spaces for contemporary art, manufacturing buildings have typically been sterilized and offered as a cleansed backdrop for the display of art.

P.S.1 opened in 1976 in an abandoned public school building. Its first exhibit was called “Rooms” and it featured works presented in the seventy-eight vacant classrooms where no aesthetic improvements or changes had been made. “In this de-sanctified context the work of art radiated a new set of meanings, particularly its opposition to what was regarded as the bourgeois gentrification of official culture.”³⁷⁵ While architect Shael Shapiro did ultimately make subtle and almost invisible alterations and improvements to the interior of the school building, the Romanesque revival exterior was left untouched. The energy and excitement of the space as an art gallery springs almost entirely from its existing “found,” container.

Opening just a few years before the Tate Liverpool in 1983, Frank Gehry’s The Temporary Contemporary (TC) in Los Angeles offers several parallels to the Tate situation. While initially conceived of as a temporary exhibition space for The Museum of Contemporary Art Los Angeles (MOCA) during the construction of a new building designed by Arato Isozaki’s, the museum’s popularity and success led to permanent status and its renaming as The Geffen Contemporary (following a generous donation

³⁷⁴ Ibid.: 406.

³⁷⁵ Davis, *The Museum Transformed: Design and Culture in the Post-Pompidou Age*, 174.

from The David Geffen Foundation in 1995). Gehry's design left the structure intact; only making those alterations needed to allow for public access and facilities.³⁷⁶

The case of the TC offers institutional parallels to the Tate situation that go beyond the choice of site. Like the Tates, MOCA in the 1980s found itself looking for ways to expand its reach and present more of its collection. Today MOCA has three buildings – MOCA Grand Avenue, The Geffen Contemporary at MOCA, and MOCA Pacific Design Center – each with its own architectural vocabulary and unique spaces. While they all draw from the same permanent collection and feature contemporary art (defined as work produced since 1940), each facet of the institution presents different exhibits and hosts a variety of traveling shows. Other institutions, including the Guggenheim, which in addition to its global expansion also opened a short-lived branch in SoHo, have expanded their operations by creating more space to exhibit their collection, and have competed in the growing contemporary art tourism market to attract larger audiences and wider bases for fundraising.

This trend towards the diversification of venues was not isolated to public museums. According to museum consultant and historian Reesa Greenburg, this multiplication of brand name galleries within the same city began in New York during the 1980s and 1990s where the multiplication of spaces allowed for a blurring of “uptown” and “downtown” labels. “Spreading art around in this fashion can be seen as

³⁷⁶ Barbaralee Diamonstein-Spielvogel, *Remaking America: New Uses, Old Places*, 1st ed. (New York: Crown, 1986), For a discussion of the project and its appropriation of a Little Tokyo warehouse see the chapter on The Temporary Contemporary beginning on p. 180.

niche-marketing, bringing it to wider, more varied and targeted audiences or offering different conditions in which art can be examined."³⁷⁷ In this regard, while the Tate was attempting to reach a far broader and diverse audience in its capacity as a national museum, the provincial expansion was certainly of its time. The ideological roots of this physical change were half a century old.

Designed by Simeon Bruner of Bruner/Cott and Associates, Mass MoCA opened in 1999 after more than a decade of development. The process of converting the nineteenth-century industrial complex³⁷⁸ began in 1985 when Thomas Krens, then the Director of the Williams College Museum of Art in nearby Williamstown, saw potential in the disused buildings as a possible exhibition site. With Massachusetts legislative support formalized in 1988, the process of developing political, community, and private sector support began in earnest. Bruner/Cott was named project architect in 1992 and, the final design was completed in 1995.³⁷⁹ The architect's intention was to retain as much of the historic structure as possible while adding new elements as needed. The result is a mix of the old and new where the line between the construction phases blurs through compatible material uses and sympathetic interventions. The contemporary art museum

³⁷⁷ Greenberg, "The Exhibited Redistributed: A Case for Reassessing Space," 251.

³⁷⁸ From 1860–1900 twenty-six brick and heavy timber mill buildings were built to house a fabric printing plant. The buildings were then repurposed and the Sprague Electric Co. occupied the complex from 1942–85 when the complex was abandoned. See the museum website at www.massmoca.org. and Jennifer Trainer, *Mass Moca: From Mill to Museum* (North Adams, Mass.: MASS MoCA Publications, 2000).

³⁷⁹ Mass MoCA, "Mass Moca - History of the Site," <http://www.massmoca.org/history.php>.

offers a rich and varied environment for the display of art while retaining the patina of the original program of the building.³⁸⁰

The “New” Museology

*The 1960s are in many ways the key transitional period, a period which the new international order (neocolonialism, the Green Revolution, computerization, and electronic information) is at one and the same time set in place and is swept and shaken by its own internal contradictions and by external resistance.’ This new order is variously known as late capitalism, multinational capitalism, post-industrialization, or the consumer society.*³⁸¹

In the museum field, the postmodern shift was marked by a climate of increasing reflexivity within the profession identified as the “new museology,” a term coined by Peter Vergo in his 1989 book. Vergo defined it as “a state of widespread dissatisfaction” and advocated for deeper discourse about the museum intentions.³⁸² According to Vergo, in the 1970s and 1980s, political and economic pressures forced museum professionals to shift their attention from their collections to visitors. Whereas in the past the museum tended to be exclusive and elitist, signs of a progressive opening-up and greater accessibility appeared starting in the 1960s.

³⁸⁰ Berens, *Redeveloping Industrial Sites: A Guide for Architects, Planners and Developers*, 171.

³⁸¹ Frederic Jameson quoted in Nesbitt, *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory 1965-1995*, 21.

³⁸² Peter Vergo, ed. *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books, 1989), 3.

Parallel to the shifts in museums, the field of architecture saw tremendous changes in the 1960s and 1970s. According to Kenneth Frampton, “There is little doubt that by the mid-sixties, we were increasingly bereft of a realistic theoretical basis on which to work.”³⁸³ In the void, architecture turned to discourses found outside of the discipline. Like contemporary museology and the “new art history,” postmodern architectural theory is composed of a litany of influences.³⁸⁴ The multiplicity of sources in the theoretical underpinnings of these disciplines has effected many changes in museum and architectural practice. As with museology, architecture saw an increased interest in the plurality of meaning and narratives that exist in history and in contemporary society. This resulted in the embracing of many aesthetics and the application of traditional architectural styles in a host of new ways. In museums, we see the development of new building and exhibition typologies that challenge the traditional meaning of museums themselves.

In recent commentary, Sharon MacDonald describes the new museology as being more humanistic and theoretical. MacDonald highlights three characteristics of the new museology that are reflected at the three scales of design being examined in this study. Firstly, the paradigm calls for a deeper understanding of the **contextualization** of museum objects. Two ways this is manifested in the Tates is in the specialized gallery spaces and the architectural connections between the space of the gallery and the urban

³⁸³ Nesbitt, *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory 1965-1995*, 22.

³⁸⁴ Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2001); Jonathan Harris and Tate Gallery Liverpool, *Dead History, Live Art?: Spectacle, Subjectivity and Subversion in Visual Culture since the 1960s*, Tate Liverpool Critical Forum (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007).

context. Secondly, it calls for an **expansion of influence** that would permit new subjects and issues not previously addressed in museums. Primarily curatorial in nature, this characteristic is given voice through thematic and traveling exhibitions. As globalization makes international lending more feasible, the exposure to new forms of art is increasing. Finally, the new museology calls for an increased awareness of the **audience** and the recognition of voice and perception within the museum space.³⁸⁵ “The new museology demands that curators create visual and textual structures that address the broadest range of viewers as honestly and profoundly as possible.”³⁸⁶ In her discussion of museums and community, Elizabeth Cooke refers to the museum’s intersecting roles as providing “contact zones” for communities by providing layers of heritage, interpretation, and display.³⁸⁷

In his essay, “The Museum Refuses to Stand Still,” Kenneth Hudson discusses the changes in how the International Council of Museums (ICOM) has defined “the museum.” He cites the difficulty in finding the appropriate terms that will appropriately address the practices of the many varieties of museum worldwide. In particular, the use of the terms “community,” “public,” and “society” were troublesome. Hudson argued “...the most fundamental change that has affected museums during the half century since ICOM was set up is the now almost universal conviction that they exist in order to serve

³⁸⁵ Sharon Macdonald, *A Companion to Museum Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2006), Introduction, 2.

³⁸⁶ John R Clarke, "Exhibition Review - Finding Lost Antioch: Exhibition, Catalogue, Programs (Antioch: The Lost Ancient City)," *The Art Bulletin*. 85, no. 1 (2003): 185.

³⁸⁷ Elizabeth M. Crooke, *Museums and Community : Ideas, Issues and Challenges*, Museum Meanings (London ; New York: Routledge, 2007), 133.

the public.”³⁸⁸ The Tate’s history, however, problematizes this position. While the language, methods, and strategies used to serve this “public” have changed, the Tate was created through a “gift to the nation;” as a means to allow the average British citizen to be “improved” through association with British art. Today, art and culture continue to be instrumentalized in strikingly similar ways.

In one of his many writings, Stephen Weil emphasizes the need for museums to embrace the two revolutions that have occurred in the operation of museums. Both of these “revolutions” are part of the new museology in that they refocus the mission of the institution from museum methods to the purposes of the museum. Weil refers to the first as a “change in institutional focus” – “the collection, once its *raison d’être*, was now simply one of a number of resources to be used for the accomplishment of a larger public purpose.”³⁸⁹ The second revolution was in terms of the public’s expectations. These expectations could be varied but are broken down into two primary categories: the first required the museum to improve the life of the individual and community in some way, and the second was that these positive outcomes would be consistent and in line with the needs of that community. The cases of the Tate museums suggest that these revolutions may not be so revolutionary.

³⁸⁸ Kenneth Hudson, "The Museum Refuses to Stand Still," in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, ed. Bettina Messias Carbonell (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004), 85.

³⁸⁹ Stephen E. Weil, *Making Museums Matter* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), 82.

Tate St. Ives

Housed in a purpose-built gallery on a site previously occupied by a gasworks, Tate St. Ives opened in 1993 overlooking the beach and sea. The gallery's mission is to display art of the St. Ives School, a group of artists working in a modernist idiom that lived in and were associated with the town from the 1920s onwards. Originally based in fishing, the small town's economy shifted to an arts-based tourism over the last century. Old fishermen's cellars huts and storage tanks were transformed into studios and, while retaining much of its original appearance, many of the buildings were adaptively reused for arts purposes. It was a logical move for the Tate to expand to St. Ives since it already administered the Barbara Hepworth Museum; a museum based in the artist's studio and garden in St. Ives.³⁹⁰

The impetus to build a gallery, however, had been decades in the making. According to Janet Axten, the coordinator of the St. Ives Tate Action Group, the story begins at the end of the First World War when the town first had the idea of creating a memorial art gallery to commemorate those lost during the war.³⁹¹ Various other attempts were also unsuccessful despite the support of local artists and politicians. During the 1950s and 1960s, artist Ben Nicholson was a champion of St. Ives art and later, artist Patrick Heron linked the St. Ives School to the international art scene:

³⁹⁰ Michael Tooby, *Tate Gallery St. Ives, Barbara Hepworth Museum and Sculpture Garden: An Illustrated Companion* (London: Tate Gallery, 1993).

³⁹¹ Janet Axten, *Gasworks to Gallery: The Story of Tate St. Ives* (St. Ives: Janet Axten and Colin Orchard, 1995).

*Outrageous as the present art establishment in London would find it, a case could well be made for considering St. Ives the influential centre of Western painting during the late Fifties – at the moment (1957-58) when Paris began its nosedive from unchallenged pre-eminence, but New York's contribution had yet to become apparent outside Manhattan island.*³⁹²

Several factors in the mid-1980s furthered the cause. First, Tate Britain opened a major exhibition, *St. Ives School 1939-64: Twenty-five years of Painting, Sculpture and Pottery*. This exhibition inserted St. Ives back into the national conscience. Secondly, the new Secretary-General of the Arts Council, Luke Rittner, published a policy document aimed at redistributing arts funding more equitably between London and the provinces.³⁹³ Finally, the initiative for the project came not from the Tate but from the Cornwall County Council, who purchased the site and commissioned the building. Initially, the Tate agreed simply to lend pieces of their St. Ives School collection. It was only later that they assumed a managerial role. From the first, it was understood that the gallery would have to earn a significant portion of its own income, and for this reason, it charges an entrance fee. Even so, it still relies on government funding and donations to cover its costs.

It was crucial for the success of the project that the building be unique and attract visitors in its own right. The architects, Eldred Evans and David Shalev designed the gallery to fit in with its surroundings. The two architects knew St Ives well; this was reflected in the design in which the curves of the Loggia and the rotunda recall the former

³⁹² Patrick Heron quoted in 1977. "St. Ives School of Painting," <http://schoolofpainting.co.uk/about-us/porthmeor-studios/>.

³⁹³ Luke Rittner, "The Glory of the Garden," ed. Arts Council of Great Britain. (1984).

gasometer while the honey-colored stone echoes the sand of the beach below (Figure 82). In addition to the five galleries, the building also includes an education room, a bookshop and a rooftop café.

Since the works displayed in the galleries were created in St Ives, the design of the building is also intended to provide some insight into the artists' source of inspiration. Visitors can turn from the works on display to the large windows looking out on the beach and sea – these windows also ground the visitor in the city by establishing a direct link between the galleries themselves and their site conditions. In addition, local artists helped shape the final appearance of the building. Most notably, Patrick Heron designed an unleaded stained glass window for the entrance hall (Figure 83).

Community

A crucial element in the structure and organization of the contemporary museum is that it offers the population an active role in shaping and participating in the museum.³⁹⁴ The public orientation of the "new" museum is based on the desire to have public participation in its various activities. Tate St. Ives's location right on the beach in a holiday resort means that the gallery is well placed to attract people who would not normally attend a modern art museum. The displays are complemented by the gallery's active education and outreach programs, which plays a crucial role in making the Tate St. Ives a cultural as well as an economic resource for Cornwall. From the start, the gallery

³⁹⁴Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe, *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996).

ran a whole series of different projects, collaborating with local schools and colleges, and with local artists.

One way that the Tate St. Ives has consistently reached the community of artists is serves is through mutually beneficial programming. From the commissioning of the Patrick Heron stained glass window for the entry hall, the museum has sought to include St. Ives school artists, past and present, in its outreach and programming. This is true of its education and curatorial departments. The museum presents this same audience as the actor and object of the museum's work. Presentation and preservation of heritage are considered within the context of social action and change.³⁹⁵ Heritage in St. Ives is a resource to be developed within the context of community improvements, which further deepens the nostalgic and symbolic function of the institution in its context.

In terms of its operation, the case study of the Tate St. Ives offers a different model from the other Tates. While the museum is managed by the Tate, it was spearheaded by regional interests. Unlike the Tate Liverpool where issues of ownership have resulted in negative feelings, the Tate St. Ives displays works made in the close vicinity. In its architecture and the art it exhibits, the museum celebrates its *genius loci* (Figure 84). The exhibitions reflect St. Ives history as an artist enclave and promote the unique qualities of the city in which it is housed. To a much greater extent than at the

³⁹⁵ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); G. J. Ashworth and J. E. Tunbridge, *The Tourist-Historic City: Retrospect and Prospect of Managing the Heritage City* (London ; New York: Belhaven Press, 2000); Melanie K. Smith, *Tourism, Culture and Regeneration* (Cambridge, MA: CABI Pub., 2007).

Millbank or Liverpool sites, the architecture of the building was conceived as an attraction in and of itself.³⁹⁶

*Each of the spaces in the building is a different shape and a different volume and communicates a different sense of perception of the space as you move through it which, as the architects say, is an extension of visiting the town itself. St Ives is full of quirky spaces sudden changes of volume and then glimpses of the sea beyond.*³⁹⁷

The desire to attract visitors for economic gain through a compelling piece of architecture was explicitly stated in the design brief. As an example of urban improvement, the use of the brownfield site and its location on the beach has linked the museum directly with the rhythm and history of the town (Figure 85).³⁹⁸ If a museum really wants to initiate identity-forming and relevant work within the context of a given population, it must orient itself to the local conditions and to the specific interests and needs of that population. "It has to be a museum that's not only a tourist attraction, but a museum that's really rooted in the area where it exists in the local community."³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ Stephens, "On the Beach: Art, Tourism, and the Tate St. Ives."

³⁹⁷ Director of St Ives Michael Tooby, "St Ives: The Tate and the Future," (Tate Gallery Millbank1993).

³⁹⁸ Axten, *Gasworks to Gallery: The Story of Tate St. Ives*.

³⁹⁹ Sabbagh, *Power into Art*, 226.

Market

Tate St. Ives is regularly cited as proof that an art institution can lead economic regeneration and continues to influence other British seaside towns.⁴⁰⁰ Surveys indicate that many visitors do come to the region with the specific intention of visiting the gallery with 85% of the total coming from outside Cornwall.⁴⁰¹ In marketing terms, the Tate has succeeded in repositioning St. Ives as a holiday destination that attracts affluent tourists. On the negative side, some cultural critics suggest that Tate St. Ives constructed a new image for the town while denying social and economic reality. Chris Stephens argues that the Tate participates in the economy of tourism by constructing a nostalgic image of St. Ives as a picturesque harbor village; a fiction perpetuated through St. Ives art that depicts a quaint, “authentic” past. “Gallery and artists are united within a single image of St. Ives as both the site of artistic production and, in its picturesque timelessness, an appropriate object for the tourist gaze.”⁴⁰²

Tate Modern

Launched in 2000, the Tate Modern presented a controversial curatorial concept, which rejected chronology and instead grouped art thematically. Arranged in galleries

⁴⁰⁰ Simon Tait, "Can One Building Save a Dying Town? Maybe. Simon Tait Meets the Architect Behind Margate's Stunning New Gallery," *The Critics Circle*(2011), <http://criticscircle.org.uk/visual-arts/?ID=206&PID=6>.

⁴⁰¹ Tate St. Ives, "Tate St. Ives Annual Report 2008-09," (St. Ives: Tate Museum, 2009); Tate St.Ives, "Tate St.Ives Annual Report," (St. Ives: Tate Museum, 2008).

⁴⁰² Stephens, "On the Beach: Art, Tourism, and the Tate St. Ives," 117.

with titles like ‘Landscape/Matter/Environment’ or ‘Still Life/Object/Real Life’, the idea was to enlighten the visitor through the juxtaposition of works from different periods and media. The new connections would promote dialogue between the viewer and the object, while also engaging other pieces in the collection and the space of the gallery itself. This concept moved the collection away from the representation of a single history or interpretation and promised a more wide-ranging view of art.

*It's the interwoven story of art in the twentieth century. So that art from America and Europe, largely speaking, has been seen in conjunction and juxtaposition and in comparison with British art. And that's something that we can do here for a British gallery of modern art that cannot be done in New York and cannot be done in Paris, and that's the unique opportunity of why we need our own Tate Gallery of Modern Art.*⁴⁰³

Contemporary exhibit designs where the art objects themselves are questioned in new ways, test the “new art history,” which rejects a purely chronological and progress-based view of art development. While some curators and patrons still subscribe to the “Art for Art’s Sake” idea of art appreciation, many reject the notion of a universal beauty and even the communicative potential of objects without introduction or context. “Museums are no longer places to preserve works that have lost their social, religious and public functions, but places where artists meet the public and the public becomes creative.”⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰³ Tate curator Frances Morris quoted in Sabbagh, *Power into Art*, 207.

⁴⁰⁴ Puntus Hulten, the Centre Georges Pompidou's first Director, quoted in Victoria Newhouse, *Towards a New Museum* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1998), p.193.

The Tate Modern was the inevitable consequence of the Tate's mission to be Britain's premier venue for contemporary art; a need that emerged from the 1917 Lane bequest of a collection of modern, European art.⁴⁰⁵ As noted, while a tremendous effort was made to balance the needs of the two collections, success was elusive. Finally, between 1979-1990 the task of managing and reconciling the two, each with its unique presentation and spatial requirements, became at times detrimental to the overall aims of the museum. Following the provincial expansion to Liverpool in the 1980s and St. Ives in the early 1990s, these problems lead to the 1992 decision of the Trustees to create a separate museum for the modern collection.⁴⁰⁶

This new responsibility necessitated perpetual acquisitions and demanded a large and celebratory container. The result is the Tate Modern, an adaptive reuse of Sir Giles Scott's 1947 Bankside Power Station (1947) completed by the Swiss firm of Jacques Herzog and Pierre de Meuron following an international competition (Figure 86). The decision to reuse a defunct power station and transform it into the Tate Modern continued the Tate's institutional interest in urban improvement and affirmed its dedication to historic preservation and sustainable development. Director Nicholas Serota's desire to retain the patina of history underscores the role of urban detritus in establishing the spatial prerequisite for nostalgia, the palimpsest.

The first immediate response to the building is to scrub it down, make it clean and shiny, and it'll be bright and beautiful. But actually when you look into it you find the building was built in two stages, that there are slightly different bricks on the

⁴⁰⁵ Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, 38-39.

⁴⁰⁶ Tate Archive, December 1992 Press Conference

*upstream side from the downstream side. If you clean it you're going to expose that. You're going to wash away a certain sense of the patina of history. And there's a danger that we'll get the whole thing so cleaned up it'll no longer be the building that we wanted or that we saw or that we were inspired by.*⁴⁰⁷

The architects retained much of the building's shell. The goal, however, was not related specifically to heritage preservation though this was a happy byproduct of the design. The imageability of the Power Station façade was the perfect symbol for the museum. With its clean, modern lines, stunning brickwork and iconic chimney, little embellishment was needed to make it a memorable structure. The entry sequence, like the Clore's, is carefully choreographed. The visitor enters the building on its short end by walking down a ramp that seems to slide under the building. The doors are nondescript and the scale seems out of proportion with the rest of the immense structure. Once inside, however, the monumental scale and striking impression of the turbine hall is an awe-inspiring spatial experience.

Located on the south bank of the Thames opposite St. Paul's Cathedral, the new Tate is found along the Millennium Mile, a mile-long stretch of riverbank that was renovated and renewed for the millennium. This mile stretches from the London Eye Ferris Wheel down past the Tate and the new Shakespeare Globe Theatre. To mark the Millennium, the riverfront was renewed with a new pedestrian walkway, plantings, and the Norman Foster designed Millennium Bridge – a pedestrian suspension bridge linking the Tate with St Paul's Cathedral on the opposite shore. The Tate and many of these

⁴⁰⁷ Tate Director Nicholas Serota quoted in Sabbagh, *Power into Art*, 54.

other projects were funded in part through the National Lottery's Heritage Lottery Fund.⁴⁰⁸

Community

While the riverfront saw considerable development for the millennium, one of the goals of the Tate project was to see the urban and economic benefits of the new museums permeate further into the Southwark/Bankside area. This desire resulted in the Tate hiring Richard Rogers and Partners to develop an urban strategy and plan that would complement the adaptation of the power station being designed by Herzog and de Meuron. While elements of the Bankside Urban Study were implemented, the study also laid the groundwork for continued efforts in Southwark (Figure 87).⁴⁰⁹ The most recent addition is the Bankside Urban Forest, an initiative involving many different planning agencies and community groups (Figure 88).⁴¹⁰

In both cases, the planners worked with local constituents and groups to find common needs and a productive vision for future urban development and improvement.

⁴⁰⁸ Tony Gilmour, *Sustaining Heritage: Giving the Past a Future* (Sydney, AU: Sydney University Press, 2007), 151, Chapter 3.

⁴⁰⁹ Richard Rogers, "Bankside Urban Study." (London: Tate Gallery, 2001), <http://www.tate.org.uk/about/pressoffice/pressreleases/bankside.htm>.

⁴¹⁰ From the framework description: Why a forest?

"A forest is a place with a strong overall character, which allows diverse activities, freedoms and places within it. The aim of the Bankside Urban Forest is to achieve this quality in a city context. The strategy is not literally to turn the area into a forest, although it does create opportunities for greening, using trees, planted walls, and other means."]

The Bankside Urban Study is especially notable for its focus on community involvement, an approach favored by Tate leadership. To generate the report the Rogers team spoke with people who live and work in the area over several months, and sought creative solutions to issues they raised. The study made a number of key recommendations including improved key routes and access throughout the area, enhanced public realm and streetscape, reinforced neighborhood identity, and the creation of community facilities.

The Bankside Urban Forest is an urban design and landscape architecture framework designed by the architecture firm of Witherford Watson Mann (WWM). Unlike top-down masterplans, the Bankside Urban Forest advocates a “User Centered Design” approach to researching and designing urban projects. Using ethnographic studies as a guide, WWM worked with a historian to write a “local” history and had a photographer capture parts of Bankside that were of particular importance to the community. The framework included a number of illustrative projects including the creation of a Tate Modern playground and a planted arch, improved landscaping and pedestrian access, and the widening of several public gathering spaces including Flat Iron Square. The framework, instead of being prescriptive, is designed to manage incremental changes across Bankside. At a recent Greater London Authority regeneration conference, Alistair Huggett, a Project Manager in Southwark discussed the implementation of the Bankside Urban Forest’s micro-development strategies as tools of renewal:

*We did not approach Bankside with the ‘dead hand’ of master planning. You will not find anywhere a masterplan for Bankside. There has been much more of an organic approach to our way of dealing with the area. Architects must focus on people, not masterplans, if they want to reinvigorate failing town centers.*⁴¹¹

A successful recent example of local design spearheaded by the Bankside Urban Forest initiative is *Nesting 1 2 3*, a project designed by 51% Studios. The architectural firm researched urban birds and designed a series of nesting boxes in three styles – blocks, boughs and bushes – to meet the needs of the different species in Bankside. Continuing the participatory agenda that emerged in the 1980s, the Bankside planning agencies and the Tate management considered not just the substantive value that design can play in a community, but also the value of a design process that includes the various stakeholders.

In addition to the urban planning implications of the project, the museum also presents a different attitude to the city than its institutional predecessor. Unlike the Tate Britain, where the galleries are introspective, neo-classical and art-oriented, Tate Modern features London and minimalist Architecture. Perhaps this is only appropriate for a museum that redefines the viewer’s relationship to the art, the building and the city. In the urban landscape, the museum can serve as a key icon of a city’s identity, a public symbol of shared values. The building is far more effective an urban advertisement than a single work of art.

⁴¹¹ Alistair Huggett, "Bankside Urban Forest" (paper presented at the London High Street Network, Business, Culture, and Regeneration, London, July 17, 2013 2013).

The tasks that the "new" museum performs - collection, documentation, research, conservation, and public programs - correspond with those of traditional museums. In the "new" museum, "continuing education" and "evaluation" are added to the list.⁴¹² Considering the architecture of the Tates, it is clear that many of these ingredients are clearly in play. An examination of the Tate's expenditures and program allocations over the century reveals a definite shift towards instructional outreach and pedagogy. While education and a civilizing mission were present from the institution's foundations, the way architecture is leveraged to achieve these objectives has changed considerably as precious square-footage is dedicated to class and meeting rooms, auditoria, and open-storage facilities. Parallel to the growth of the gallery space itself has been the tremendous expansion of storage, archives, and conservation laboratories.⁴¹³

Market

*Museums are pump primers, their presence can be compared to the opening of a subway station, or even an airport: an investment which has the effect of raising property values. They have the ability to raise the profile of a development, bringing life into an area.*⁴¹⁴

⁴¹² Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *The Educational Role of the Museum*, 2nd ed., Leicester Readers in Museum Studies (London: Routledge, 1999).

⁴¹³ A Conservation Department was only established at the Tate in the 1950s. Collection Care - <http://www.tate.org.uk/>

⁴¹⁴ Deyan Sudjic, *The 100 Mile City* (London: Harcourt Brace, 1992), 141.

Using terminology drawn from business management, Weil refers to the “Museum as Social Enterprise.”⁴¹⁵ These shifts forced the museum to look more to private funding and ticket revenue with a resulting increase in accountability to its publics and a deliberate shift in the design of their exhibits. The political ambience demanded a more equitable distribution of public moneys to museums and cultural centers.

*There are ... two distinctive political demands that have been generated in relation to the modern museum: the demand that there should be parity of representation for all groups and cultures within the collecting, exhibition and conservation activities of museums, and the demand that the members of all social groups should have equal practical as well as theoretical rights of access to museums.*⁴¹⁶

Both of the social demands identified by Tony Bennett above emerged with the loss of museum autonomy, when the museum came under the increased administrative control of the political representation system and the economic imperatives of the corporate marketplace. The result has been a significant change in the way museums approach their audience and I would argue, their architecture. “Rather than edifying, the museum increasingly plays to the masses in competition with tourist sites, amusement parks, cultural centers, bookstores, and shopping malls.”⁴¹⁷ Exhibition design and new museum architecture have become more event-oriented or experience-based in order to maintain their position as cultural and economic flagships. Phillippe de Montebello,

⁴¹⁵ Weil, *Making Museums Matter*, 75.

⁴¹⁶ Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, 9.

⁴¹⁷ Chon A. Noriega, "On Museum Row: Aesthetics and Politics of Exhibition," *Daedalus* 128, no. 3 (1999): 64.

director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York from 1977 to 2008, noted that “The competitive hyperactivity of most museum programs is no longer the glow of health but the flush of fever”⁴¹⁸ where the focus had shifted too far toward the bottom line at the expense of the core mission. This “fever” has resulted in an ever-growing list of museum expansions and additions with sometimes less than positive results. “Museums that get into enlargements tend to forget the here and now, to concentrate exclusively on the building, meaning that the contents suffer.”⁴¹⁹ As seen in the case of Tate Liverpool, tourism is the primary economic and cultural mechanism by which the museum remains operational.

The changes associated with the new museology are not solely attributable to economic change, to the “cultural logic of late capitalism.”⁴²⁰ However, these political and economic shifts have been decisive in bringing about a new climate of audience-awareness and reflexivity.⁴²¹ The effect has been to propel museums in a progressive direction towards greater accessibility and wider public participation to dispel elitism and make museums more representative.

⁴¹⁸ Phillippe de Montebello quoted in Edward P. Alexander, Mary Alexander, and American Association for State and Local History, *Museums in Motion : An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums*, 2nd ed ed., American Association for State and Local History Book Series (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2008), 23; Victoria Newhouse, *Art and the Power of Placement* (New York, N.Y.: Monacelli Press, 2005).

⁴¹⁹ Departing Tate Modern Director Vicente Todoli quoted in Giles Tremlett and Charlotte Higgins, "Museums Should Concentrate on Collections, Says Outgoing Tate Modern Director," *guardian.co.uk* Thursday 18 March(2010), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2010/mar/18/tate-modern-extension-vicente-todoli>.

⁴²⁰ Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," *New Left Review* 146(1984).

⁴²¹ Christophe Demaziere and Patricia Ann Wilson, "Local Economic Development in Europe and the Americas" (paper presented at the Economic Development Conference, London, UK ; New York, 1996). Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). Sandra Mottner and John B. Ford, "Measuring Nonprofit Marketing Strategy Performance: The Case of Museum Stores," *Journal of Business Research* 58, no. 6 (2005).

Tate Modern has been an unparalleled success. With visitor figures maintaining astronomic levels, 5.5 million in 2012, the Tate Modern is the most visited museum of modern and contemporary art in the world.⁴²² Bankside itself has seen tremendous growth. Emerging from the Bankside Urban Forest framework, landscape and streetscape improvements continue throughout the area. Mixed-use business and residential construction persist unabated. The tempo of improvement has been consistent despite the difficult economy in Britain. While not all of the projects are large in scale, the positive multiplier effect of the Tate Modern is indisputable.

Conclusions

*The 'romantic age' of the untouchable, unaccountable, unchallengeable, perhaps even ineffable museum is over. The world is asking tough questions of use, questions we need to answer. We are accountable to our publics. But we must shape the terms of that accountability by clearly articulating the institutional ends by which we ask to be judged. Each museum must ask itself what it is for, and more than that must ask itself how to determine its own success or failure. We must marry practicality with clear public purpose. Only then, and finally, will we be worthy of our calling.*⁴²³

Marc Patcher's call for accountability accepts the view that the nineteenth century museum was aloof and disengaged. As discussed in Chapter 1, however, the Tate, though founded and created by an elite class, was never unaccountable or unchallenged. Buffeted by a wide range of constituents who felt personally invested in both the process

⁴²² Office, "2012-13 Is a Year of Success and Worldwide Development for Tate."

⁴²³ Marc Pachter, Director, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, quoted in Weil, *Making Museums Matter*, Foreword, p.xiii.

and the product of a Gallery of British Art, the Tate was molded by public opinion and the press. In her essay on the debate, Amy Woodson-Boulton refers to Michael Wolff's view of "the press as the verbal equivalent of the city" and of "'journalism [as] essential in both the creation and the revelation of a general urban culture.'"⁴²⁴ The press was a forum where issues ranging from urban development to acquisition policies to social uplift were discussed; it provided a venue where both culture and the city were shaped. With its continuous engagement at the scale of the city, the Tate museums offer a revision of the new museology paradigm.

It has become increasingly important in recent decades for public museums and galleries in Britain and elsewhere to justify their share of government funding by demonstrating that they function for the benefit of a broad public rather than a privileged few.⁴²⁵ At the same time, museums have come to be seen not simply as more or less worthy recipients of subsidy, but as potential generators of income for the communities in which they are located. "The museum that does not prove an outcome to its community is as socially irresponsible as the business that fails to show a profit. It wastes society's resources."⁴²⁶ They are crucial to the cultural policies adopted by many local governments and other official bodies in order to improve the quality of life in the city or region, and to promote economic growth.

⁴²⁴ Woodson-Boulton, "The Art of Compromise," 149.

⁴²⁵ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Cultural Diversity: Developing Museum Audiences in Britain* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1997); ———, *Museums and Education: Purpose, Pedagogy, Performance* (London: Routledge, 2007).

⁴²⁶ Stephen E. Weil quoted in Sheila Watson, ed. *Museums and Their Communities*, Leicester Readers in Museum Studies (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), 1.

The explosion of art facilities in the last decades, can be compared to the great expansion of museums in the late nineteenth-century Britain. While, the political and economic situation is very different, the mixture of civic pride and civilizing mission underlying the golden age of museum construction continues into the present. The alliance of capital and government and the fundamental notion that the public good is served by increasing access to culture seen in contemporary practice are seen vividly in Brandon Taylor's analysis of the original Tate Gallery.

The founding of the gallery also raised the possibility that 'philanthropic' individualism was ultimately compatible with a cultural authority deriving from the state and its civil service, and that something identifiable as the "public good" could be defined by the conjuncture of the two...The Tate Gallery also represented a relatively new – for 1897 – compromise between the interest of entrepreneurial capitalism and the amateurish style of cultural management typical of the old nobility.⁴²⁷

The Tate continues to expand. At the time of this writing, Tate St. Ives is slated for a renovation and addition and Herzog and de Meuron's Tate Modern 2 (TM2) addition is under construction (

Figure 89). Using a unique perforated bridge lattice as a façade screen, the addition references the original Sir Giles Scott brickwork while simultaneously making the building more transparent. The ribbon windows are placed to offer particular vistas of London, again linking interior and exterior experiences (Figure 90). The basement level of the TM2 is comprised of the Power Station's former oil tanks. Transformed into gallery spaces for live performances and video art, the tanks will, according to Director

⁴²⁷ Taylor, "From Penitentiary to Palace of Art," 27.

Nicholas Serota, "...bring the kind of work that has traditionally been seen in alternative spaces, for short durations, and often barely recorded, into the museum. It will bring it into our own sense of art history as something that is not on the margins, but something central to art...." [The tanks] will provide "a new instrument in the orchestra that is Tate Modern."⁴²⁸ In the case of the Tate institution, the instrumentality of its museum architecture has been and remains a powerful tool in its cultural initiatives.

⁴²⁸ Tate Director Nicholas Serota quoted in Charlotte Higgins, "Tate Modern Unlocks Tanks – and Introduces Live Art into Mainstream," *The Guardian* (2012).

Chapter 5: The Museum – object, container, and regenerator

*In the end, a museum bears the burden to explore the new with respect for the past; to respond to the aura of its urban environment while leading it forward, and to set an example for architects, artist, and the public in the decades and centuries to come.*⁴²⁹

In her book, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill contrasts the modernist museum of the 19th century, which was imagined mainly as a building—an authoritative classifier that produced knowledge and the dominant narrative through place-based exhibitions and transmitted authoritative factual information through the process of exhibition—with a new museum model, the post-museum.⁴³⁰ Hooper-Greenhill sees the post-museum as a site of mutuality, where knowledge is constructed, rather than taught. The post-museum is an experience—one that can move beyond institutional walls. In the post-museum, the question of voice becomes paramount with the institutional voice incorporating visitor perspectives and needs.

While the findings of this study agree with Hooper-Greenhill’s assessment that the contemporary museum is an experience that moves beyond institutional walls, the

⁴²⁹ Trulove, *Designing the New Museum: Building a Destination*, 11.

⁴³⁰ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*.

Tate institutional design choices since 1897 suggest that the objective to operate *without and within* the walls has always been present. Some notable changes have occurred, however. While the early museum featured opaque walls and was placed as an object on its site, the newer Tates make visual connections between the interior and exterior of the building, which allows the urban condition to be in dialogue with the art experience. In addition to adapting industrial buildings in brownfield locations, the later Tates have subscribed to a participatory planning model that draws the local constituents into the design process through outreach and education. Finally, the loss of established stylistic codes accompanying postmodernism has galvanized an explosion of museum architectures each seeking to outdo the previous in its inventive and progressive form. The emphasis on the imageability of architecture has permitted an extraordinary level of aesthetic experimentation.⁴³¹ The rendering of Diller Scofidio and Renfro for the “Bubble” addition to the Hirshhorn Museum on the Washington Mall is a recent example of this trend. “If buildings define the institutions they house, the inflatable [“bubble”] promised to be a daring, innovative, puckish signal that bright, unconventional minds are cracking inside. ‘Thinking different,’ it said.”⁴³² This saturation of the image is a marketers dream.⁴³³

Though the institutional impetus to showcase architecture might seem obvious, the civic sponsorship - through tax exemptions, financial grants, and lottery funds - of museums and other cultural institutions have accelerated in recent years. To generate

⁴³¹ Zimmerman, "Photographic Images from Chicago to Hunstanton."

⁴³² Joseph Giovannini, "Blowing up the Art World," *Smithsonian* May(2013).

⁴³³ Neil Leach, *The Anaesthetics of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).

revenue and attract residents and tourists, many cities have turned to cultural planning.⁴³⁴ Today, in the increasingly competitive global attraction market, architecture and urban planning come together in seemingly new ways in the contemplation of the tactical use of museums as renewal catalysts. The success of the Guggenheim Bilbao highlights the use of museum architecture as a tool of urban reimagining. The contemporary design scene is peppered with new museums, each hoping to have the desired "Bilbao Effect" on its city or neighborhood.⁴³⁵

Tate is a brand that niche-markets art experience. Its galleries are showrooms. However, this is still art and not just business; the commodity must not show too glossy a face. The reclamation of an industrial space that provides the shell for the Tate Modern lends the building a fashionably squatted aspect...unlike the old purpose-built Tate with its massive portico and reek of victory over the penitentiary that once stood in its place. Victors ascend into that art temple...Tate Modern begins with a descent...home to the new-style 'accessibility rules' culture industry.⁴³⁶

Economic pressures have changed the relationship of the museum with its constituents and the approach to design. Just as the Tate Liverpool was faulted for situating itself amongst commercial venues, Tate Modern and the branding of the Tate has been highly criticized.

⁴³⁴ John Tribe and ScienceDirect (Online service). "The Economics of Recreation, Leisure and Tourism." (New York
Florence: Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group [Distributor], 2011),
<http://proxy.lib.umich.edu/login?url=http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/book/9780080890500>.

⁴³⁵ Ana María Guasch and Joseba Zulaika, "Learning from the Bilbao Guggenheim: The Museum as Cultural Tool," in *Learning from the Bilbao Guggenheim: The Museum as Cultural Tool*, ed. Ana María Guasch and Joseba Zulaika (Reno: Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, 2005).

⁴³⁶ Esther Leslie, "Tate Modern: A Year of Sweet Success," *Radical Philosophy* 3(2001).

Urban: memory, nostalgia, and utopia

Once it [the museum] was a place that had instruction and the propagation of a particular view of the world as its underpinning. Now it has come to be seen as an urban landmark – a replacement for the missing agora, a place devoted to spectacle.⁴³⁷

James Stirling's early concept sketch for the Tate Liverpool was replete with funnels, gangways, and other dockyard elements. These nostalgic elements, drawn from his childhood memories of the Albert Dock, remained unrealized in the final design. His conversion of the dock was, however, decidedly historical with its retained brickwork, columns, and paving. As symbols of the maritime roots, Stirling added playful portholes and other references to the biography and heritage of the site. Celebrated for its retention of authentic architectural elements, the project is simultaneously criticized for its overly simplistic and mediated presentation of history.

In the Tate Modern conversion, Herzog and de Meuron blur the distinction between the old and the new components. While many elements, including brickwork and iron ties, are retained, the new materials are coordinated to such an extent that it is not always possible to distinguish the connection. According to the art historian Alex Potts, "the whole display is an evacuation of memory and nostalgia...the amazingly powerful effect of the whole thing [does] block out associations." At the same

⁴³⁷ Sudjic, *The 100 Mile City*, 143.

roundtable discussion, art historian and curator Julian Stallabrass noted the sanitized use of history at the Tate in comparison with older industrial galleries:

If you went to so-called alternative exhibitions of British art in the 1990s, they were often housed in industrial ruins. Many were unrenovated and bore clear traces of their past use. Signs admonishing workers, or sinks and other fittings. The feeling of a ghost workplace was still very much present. Personally, I don't find that at Tate Modern. There's not that kind of poignant juxtaposition of postmodern products disporting themselves in the ruins of modernity.⁴³⁸

The subjectivity of memory and its instrumentality in identity (and museum) formation highlights the concepts of nostalgia and utopia. Svetlana Boym's two types of nostalgia (selective and restorative) are seen in the Tate projects as they move from a nineteenth century nation-building paradigm (restorative nostalgia), to the late twentieth century, when the museum expands both geographically and programmatically in museum spaces that act as reflective palimpsests. The original Tate Gallery erased the Millbank Penitentiary in an act of urban forgetting. However, as discussed in Chapter I, the project was considered in the collective consciousness as an enlightening space, directly referencing the reformative agenda of the prison. In this way, the new building represents both a selective nostalgia in its neoclassical architecture and a tactical erasure that created space for a utopian, civilizing project. Almost a century later, when the Tate Liverpool was created, Stirling's adaptive reuse of the Albert Dock can be read as a battleground of nostalgias in architectural and marketing terms; each being tapped for

⁴³⁸ Alex Potts and Julian Stallabrass quoted in Williams, "Remembering, Forgetting and the Industrial Gallery Space," 129.

marketing and branding purposes as the city fought for relevancy and rebirth following its harrowing postindustrial decline.

While nostalgia and utopia can be understood as antonyms, placed diachronically at either limit of the twentieth century (modern to postmodern), the case of the Tates suggests a more nuanced, synchronic understanding where utopia acts as nostalgia for the perfect future, and nostalgia is utopia of the past, a longing for idealized, nonexistent situation. Both terms refer to the question of identity, a critical subject in museum studies in both a personal sense and in the sense of community, or specific groups within a society.⁴³⁹ Determined by arbitrarily selected historical perspectives, both nostalgia and utopia reflect cultural memories, and concepts of the self-representation, ranging from social behavior and cultural practices to individual artifacts.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁹ There is a large and growing literature on identity, identity politics, and identity formation in Museum Studies. For a sampling of the ways identity is explored in this field, see John H. Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience* (Walnut Creek, CA.: Left Coast Press, 2009); Gail Anderson, *Museum Mission Statements: Building a Distinct Identity*, Professional Practice Series (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Museums, 1998); Brenda J. Allen, *Difference Matters: Communicating Social Identity* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 2004); Macdonald and Fyfe, *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*; Kylie Message, *New Museums and the Making of Culture* (Oxford, UK ; New York: Berg, 2006); Ivan Karp et al., *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); Emily King and Angus Hyland, *C/Id : Visual Identity and Branding for the Arts* (London: Laurence King, 2006); Jonathan Harris, *Identity Theft: The Cultural Colonization of Contemporary Art*, Tate Liverpool Critical Forum (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008); Selma Holo, Katrina Ampil Bagaybagayan, and Jennifer Jaskowiak, "Open House West: Museum Architecture and Changing Civic Identity," Fisher Gallery (University of Southern California).

⁴⁴⁰ Williams, "Remembering, Forgetting and the Industrial Gallery Space."

Architecture: imageability, memorability and authenticity

...a meeting held in Liverpool in 1998 to discuss the future of museums proposed a new definition of a museum as a 'framed experience rooted in authenticity'. This definition liberates the museum from the walls of the institution and locates it securely in each of us as a way of thinking; a dimension of all human life that the physical museum, at its best, may present but not contain."⁴⁴¹

Postmodern architecture adds to the muddling of nostalgic and authentic elements. Its central stylistic attributes, the appropriation of a historicizing architectural vocabulary and the combination of mutually contradictory styles, create a spectacle of historical and nostalgic references while at the same time disassembling whatever historical meanings those references might possess. "The things of the past are never viewed in their true perspective or receive their just value; but value and perspective change with the individual or the nation that is looking back on its past."⁴⁴²

All of the Tate museums project their image on the city. Over the century, however, a more dynamic and reciprocal relationship between the city and gallery interior has emerged. Starting with James Stirling's windows at the Clore and his decision to retain the views of the Mersey in Liverpool, the transparency of the museum walls permits the framing and reflection of the city that contains it.

⁴⁴¹ David Anderson, Head of Education at the Victoria & Albert Museum, speaking during the *Museums and the City: A Creative Combination?* Forum held at Parsons The New School, Wednesday, March 12, 2008.

⁴⁴² Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Use and Abuse of History*, trans. Adrian Collins ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1957), 19.

...the reigning idea...is the vista: the sudden opening in the wall of a given gallery to allow a glimpse of a far-away object, and thereby to interject within the collection of these objects a reference to the order of another. The pierced partition, the open balcony, the interior window – circulation in these museums is as much visual as physical, and that visual movement is a constant decentering through the continual pull of something else, another exhibit, another relationship, another formal order, inserted within this one in a gesture which is simultaneously one of interest and of distraction⁴⁴³

In her examination of public museums in England, Amy Woodson-Boulton argues that in recent decades a new narrative has emerged that privileges art appreciation over user experience in museum exhibitions.⁴⁴⁴ While the growth of museum education departments over the last century and the current rhetoric regarding active engagement suggest that this is true, the architecture of the museum tells quite a different story. The architectural story is of a growing desire to offer new visual and spatial experiences to the museum visitor. The image of the museums must be memorable and the architecture, as a compelling container, now needs to be the most engaging piece in the collection. The museum building, pressed to act as institutional image, cultural balm, and economic catalyst, reveals in its imageability that architecture is fully embedded in the market and the machine of tourism.

...architecture appears as a cipher in which is encoded a virtual universe of production and consumption, as well as a material unit, a piece of that universe that helps to keep it going. At the very moment when so-called postmodern architecture jettisoned modernism 'machine aesthetic,' it revealed itself to be part of a new machine as well as a representation of that machine.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ Rosalind Krauss, "Postmodernism's Museum without Walls," in *Thinking About Exhibitions*, ed. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, and Sandy Nairne (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), 245.

⁴⁴⁴ Woodson-Boulton, *Transformative Beauty: Art Museums in Industrial Britain*, Chapter 5.

⁴⁴⁵ Martin, *Utopia's Ghost: Architecture and Postmodernism*, Again, xi.

Exhibit: education and the “Big Idea”

Exhibit designs have been affected substantially by the new museology. These installations tend to be theme-centered and interpretive, in contrast to predominantly object-oriented, chronological museum hangs. For example, MoMA presented a thematic hanging of its collection before it closed for renovations in the late 1990s.⁴⁴⁶ Of particular interest are the acceptance of multiple voices in the museum and the specialization of art spaces to suit particular media. It is not accidental that in 1989, the year Vergo’s “new Museology” was published, that the Tate Gallery was remodeled and featured a rehang of its collection. This trend continues: in 2005, the Detroit Institute of Arts reopened after major remodel and reinstallation of the permanent collections. Based on extensive research and focus group testing, the thematic reorganization “marks a significant shift from a purely art historical framework to one that draws upon concepts rooted in general life experience.”⁴⁴⁷

The new museology refers to a transformation of museums from being exclusive and socially divisive institutions to ones that attempt to engage a wide range of stakeholders. In museums, in the professional journals and in the museum studies literature there is a critical stance towards old assumptions and ways of working.⁴⁴⁸ The

⁴⁴⁶ John Elderfield, *Modernstarts: People, Places, Things* (New York: Museum of Modern Art: Distributed by Harry N. Abrams, 1999).

⁴⁴⁷ Graham Beal, "The Detroit Institute of Art Reinstallation: What's the Big Idea?" (paper presented at the The University of Michigan Museum Studies Forum, University of Michigan, 16 September 2004).

⁴⁴⁸ For a sampling of the literature covering these issues please see: Nick Merriman, "Museum Visiting as a Cultural Phenomenon," in *The New Museology*, ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion Books, 1989). Carol

perceived elitism, the divisiveness, the transparently ideological mission of many museums has been widely debated in the literature. Coming to terms with a plurality of pasts that are often in conflict with each other is no simple task. What is lost when attention is redirected from the museum's core, intrinsic mission?⁴⁴⁹

...the manifest tensions between the instrumentalisation of museums and galleries, and the potential to undermine their core purpose. These tensions are particularly acute where investment or performance is evaluated in a uni-dimensional manner. The potential confusion of what are the objectives of investment is represented at their crudest as the tension between regenerating neighbourhoods and creating an educational, or insightful, cultural experience.⁴⁵⁰

Conclusions

The task involved in bringing together the petrified remnants of yesterday and the life of today provides a vivid illustration of what tradition always means: not just the careful preservation of monuments, but the constant interaction between our aims in the present and the past to which we still belong.⁴⁵¹

In her essay on memory and museums, Michaela Giebelhausen looks at the museum's role as a container and asks, "How does the museum remember, piece together

Duncan and Alan Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, ed. Bettina Messias Carbonell (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004). Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, "Counting Visitors or Visitors Who Count," and Tony Bennett, "Museums and the 'People'," in Robert Lumley, ed. *The Museum Time-Machine: Putting Cultures on Display* (London: Routledge, 1988).

⁴⁴⁹ Hans Mommaas, "Cultural Clusters and the Post-Industrial City: Towards the Remapping of Urban Cultural Policy," *Urban Studies* 41(2004); Malcolm Miles, "Interruptions: Testing the Rhetoric of Culturally Led Urban Development," *Urban Studies* 42, no. 5 (2005).

⁴⁵⁰ Caroline Donnellan Corinna Dean, Andy Pratt, "Tate Modern: Pushing the Limits of Regeneration," *City, Culture and Society* 1, no. 2 (2010): 17.

⁴⁵¹ Hans-Georg Gadamer, "The Relevance of the Beautiful" (1977) quoted in Steven W. Semes, *The Future of the Past: A Conservation Ethic for Architecture, Urbanism, and Historic Preservation*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2009), 159.

some sort of history?"⁴⁵² The story of Tate museum architecture from the nineteenth century foundations through to the postmodern iterations under James Stirling reveals a search for meaning within the urban fragments and detritus of their contexts. The desire to both sanitize and preserve history in the palimpsest of the site has been unremitting.

*Universally associated with cultural myths and rituals, museum architecture does not only serve as a tangible container of lore; it itself possesses mythical attributes. Both myth and architecture are narrative metaphors for social construction, defining boundaries for human interaction with other humans and nature. Museum architecture revolves around fresh rituals and contemporary myths - those of site, fragmentation, scale, technology, programmatic flexibility, and cross-cultural connection.*⁴⁵³

The original Tate civilized Millbank by erecting a museum on the site of a notorious penitentiary. The works of art on display evoked a nostalgic past meant to reinforce a higher moral ground and whose “transformative beauty” would cleanse the physical and ethical filth of the industrial city.⁴⁵⁴ As the first satellite of the London museum, the Tate Liverpool represented an effort to democratize modern art by making it accessible to the public in the English provinces. In addition, its opening was interpreted by many as a cultural balm for a city ravaged by war, post-industrial decline, and social upheaval. Like the Millbank museum in London, the Liverpool branch was built with urban regeneration as an explicit goal. In fact, here government renewal and local

⁴⁵² Michaela Giebelhausen, "Lost Worlds: How the Museum Remembers," *Working Papers in Art and Design* 4(2006), http://sitem.herts.ac.uk/artdes_research/papers/wpades/vol4/mgfull.html.

⁴⁵³ Susanna Sirefman, "Formed and Forming: Contemporary Museum Architecture," *Daedalus* 128, no. 3 (1999): p.298.

⁴⁵⁴ Woodson-Boulton, *Transformative Beauty: Art Museums in Industrial Britain*.

initiative funds were the primary source of financing with the Tate museum offering only a small fraction of the total budget.

This public/private partnership was conceived as a way of introducing cultural capital into a city in decline with the hopes of attracting other private investment and tourism. The growing emphasis on progressive, participatory planning, first seen at the Tate Liverpool and most fully articulated later with the Tate Modern, was an institutional attempt to meet the challenges and aspirations of their communities in an active manner.⁴⁵⁵ While financial considerations were paramount, the urban psyche of the city was also at stake. Choosing to house the museum in a former dock structure, the Tate and its architect, James Stirling, acknowledged the history of the city as a mercantile giant and gave new purpose to the docks that had been the primary location of Liverpool's initial success and growth.

*"Dull, inert cities...contain the seeds of their own destruction and little else. But lively, diverse, intense cities contain the seeds of their own regeneration, with energy enough to carry over for problems and needs outside themselves."*⁴⁵⁶

The use of museums and other cultural buildings as remedies for the ills of the industrial city was common in England at the end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁵⁷ A concern for the urban fabric was also present, in part emerging from William Morris's *Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings* and the emergence of theories of historic preservation

⁴⁵⁵ Robert R. Janes, "The Mindful Museum," *Curator: the Museum Journal* 2 JUL (2010); ———, *Museums in a Troubled World: Renewal, Irrelevance or Collapse?*, Museum Meanings (London: Routledge, 2009).

⁴⁵⁶ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Modern Library, 1969), 444.

⁴⁵⁷ Woodson-Boulton, *Transformative Beauty: Art Museums in Industrial Britain*.

and restoration. The Scottish biologist and urban theorist, Patrick Geddes referred to architecture as “crystallized history.” According to Geddes, cities should be “Open-Air Museums— a series of surviving buildings which would have some characteristics, if not of each generation or even century, at least of each great period of culture, each great phase of social and civic life.”⁴⁵⁸ This investigation of the Tate museums reveals that the institutional desire to transform the city, affect social and civic life, and build cultural capital has been consistent from the Tate Gallery’s foundation.

⁴⁵⁸ Patrick Geddes, "Civic Education and City Development," *Contemporary Review* 88 (1905).

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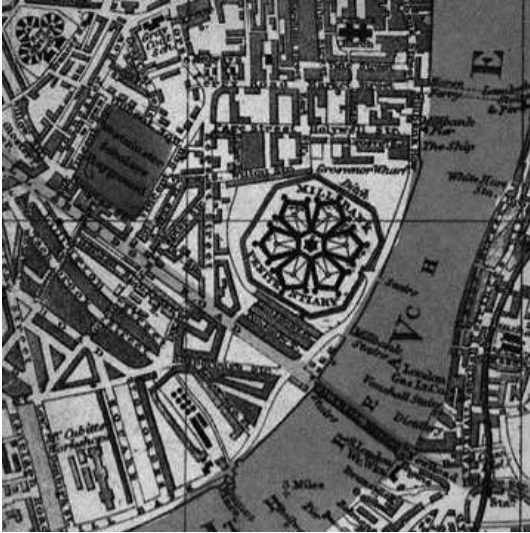


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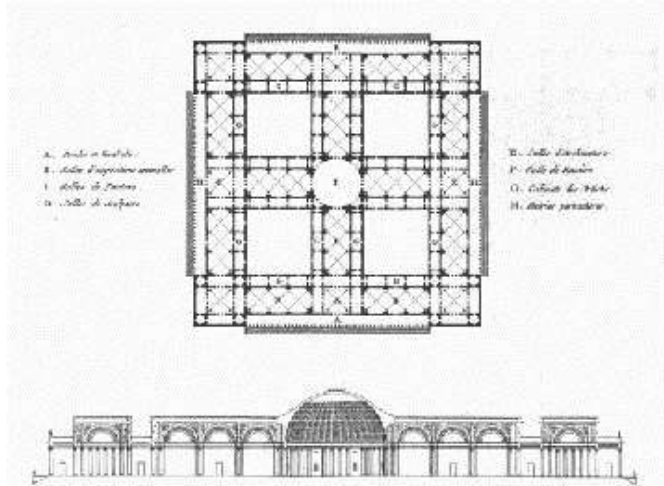


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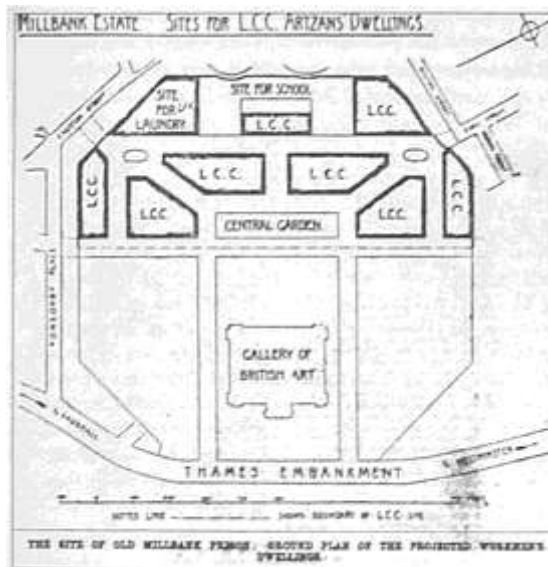


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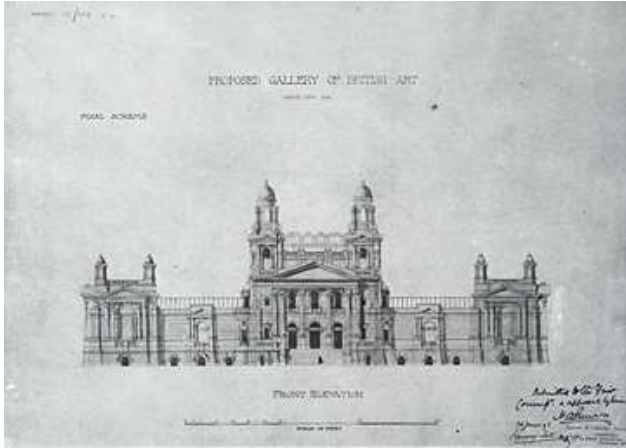


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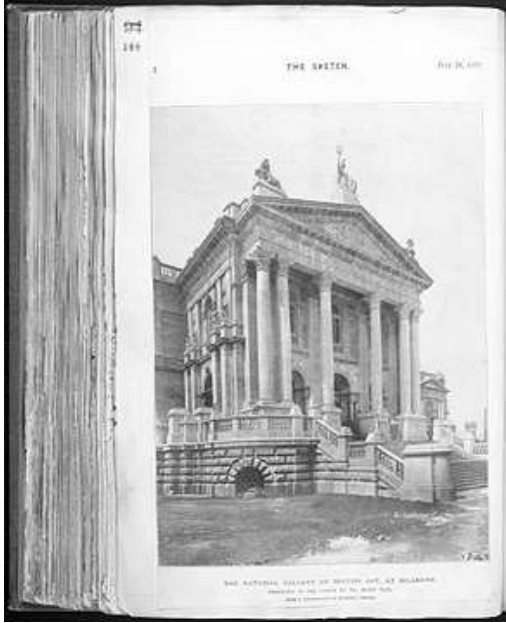


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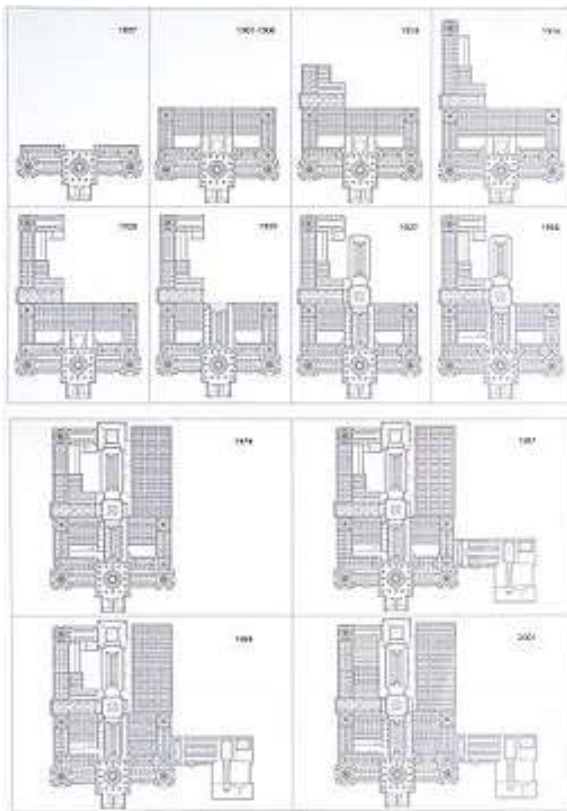


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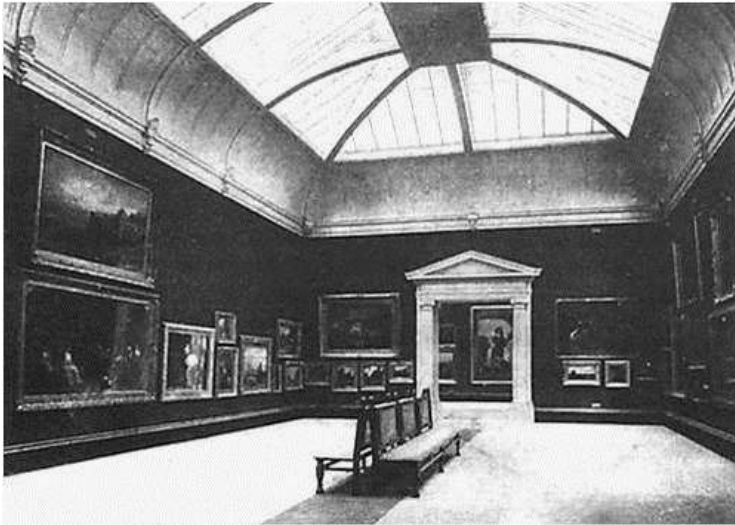


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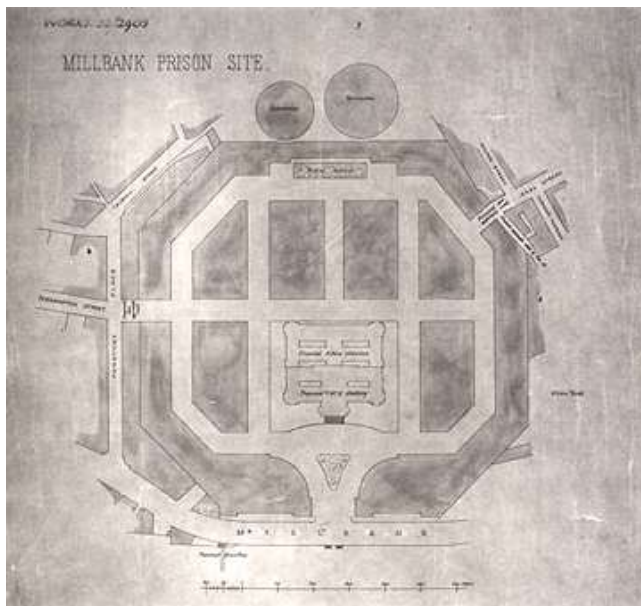


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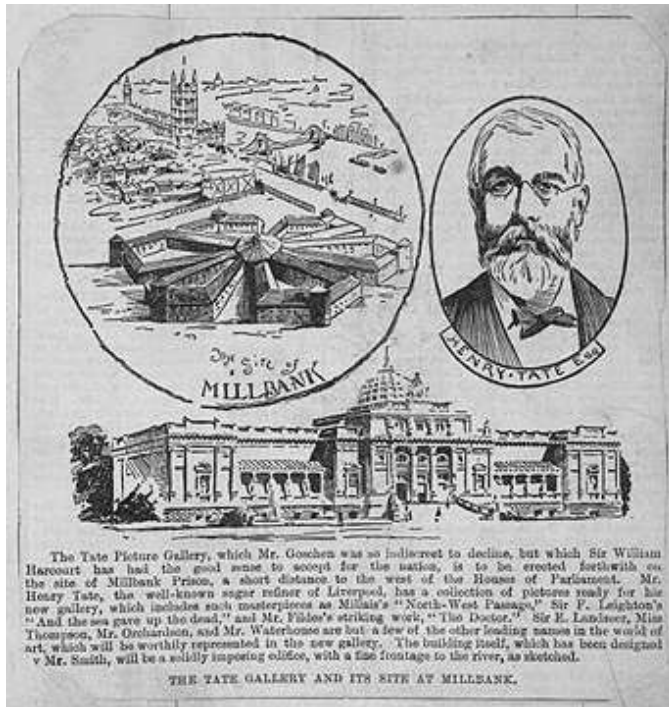


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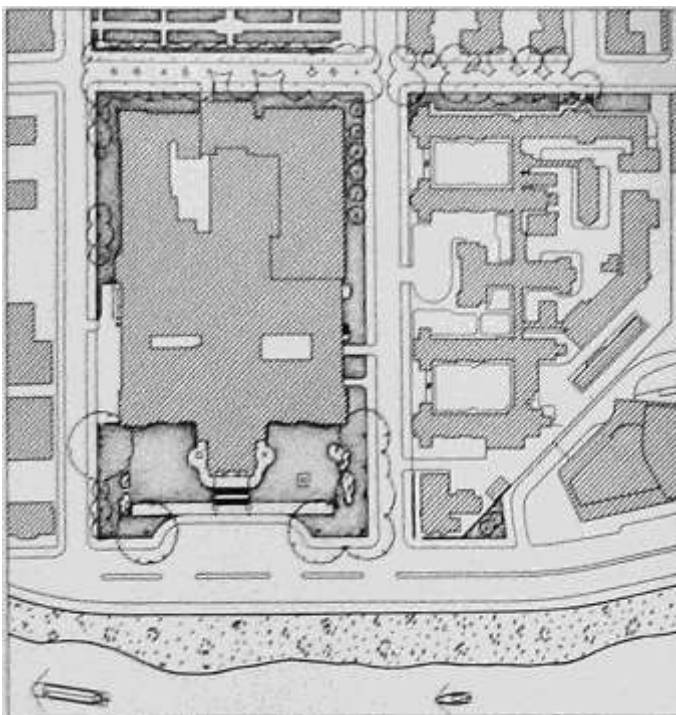


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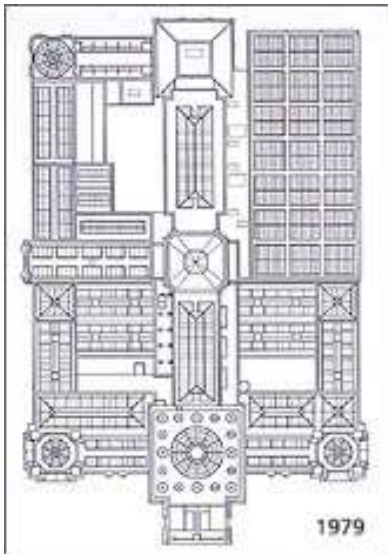


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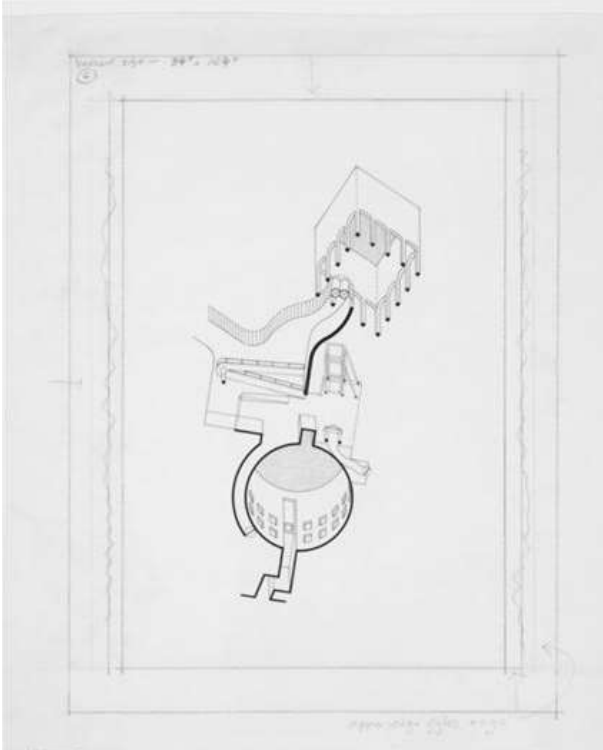


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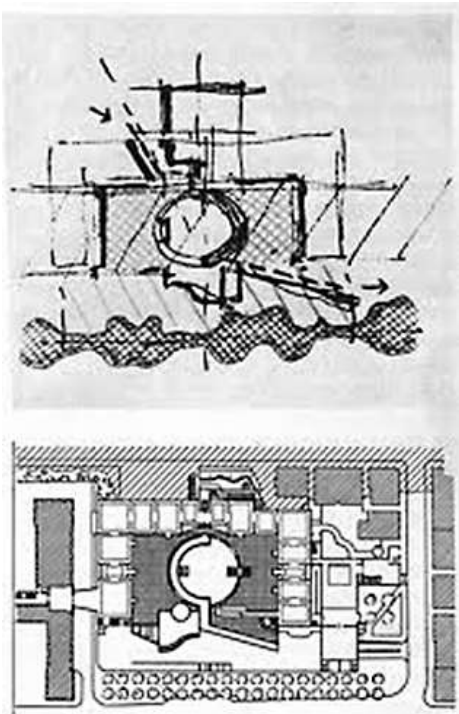


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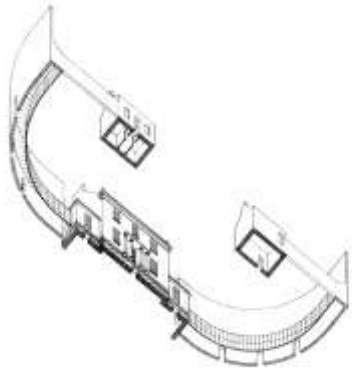


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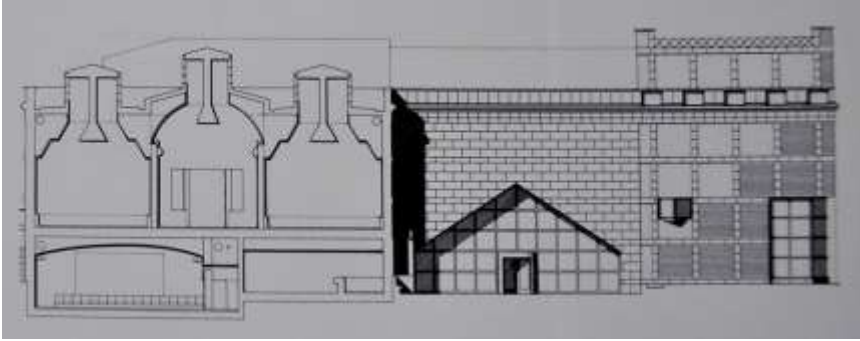


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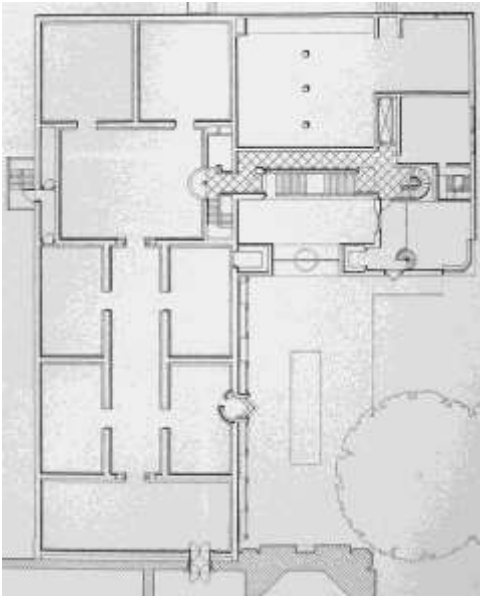


Figure 35. The plan drawing of the Clore Gallery at the entry level depicting the courtyard and entry sequence. The regular arrangement of galleries is seen. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)

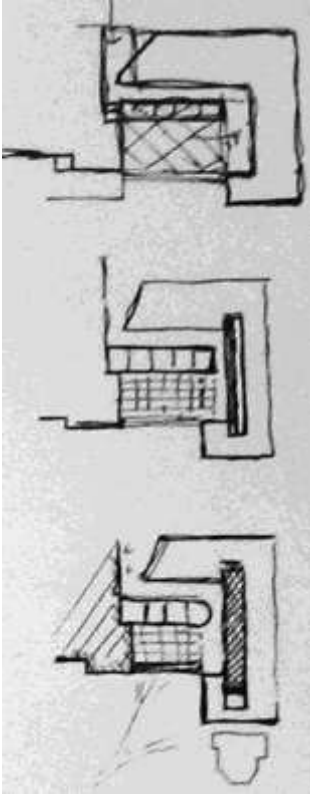


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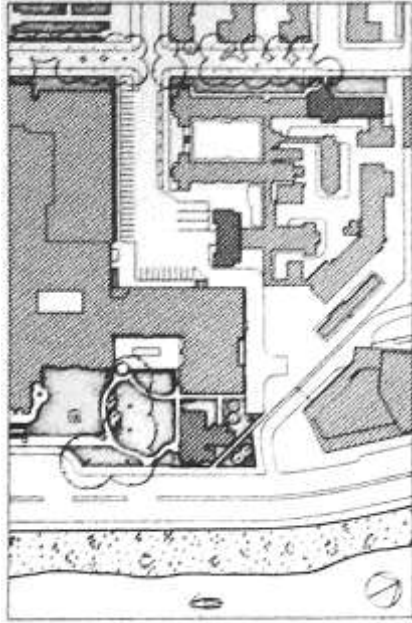


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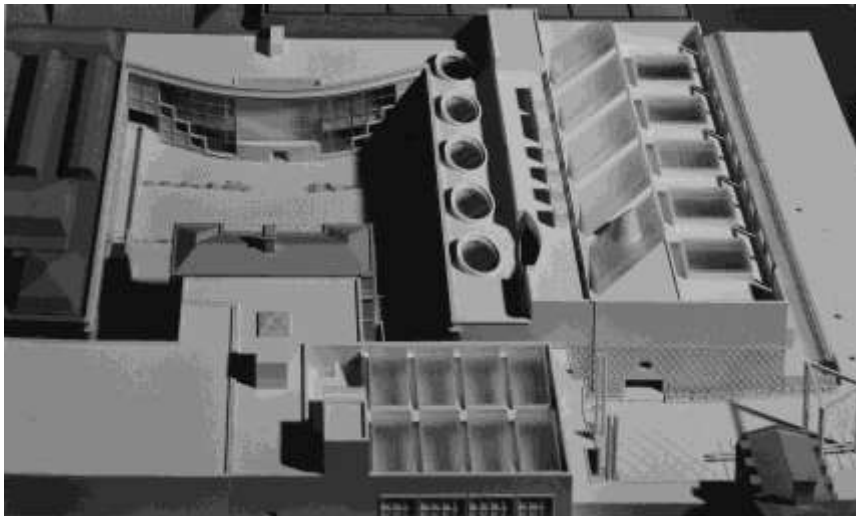


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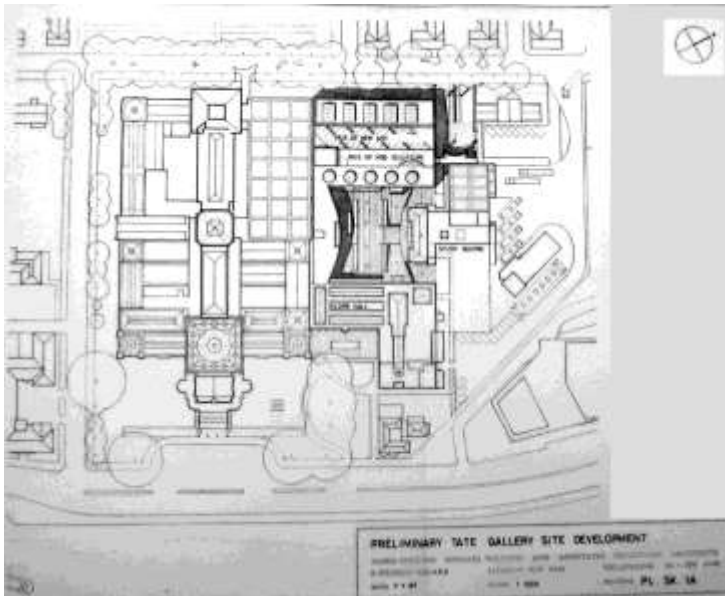


Figure 41. Preliminary Site Development drawing showing the arrangement of different specialized museums around a central courtyard. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)



Figure 42. A photograph of the model for the New Museums looking at the Sculpture Garden and the facade of the Museum of Modern Sculpture. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)



Figure 43. A photograph of the model for the New Museums looking at the facade and entry to the museums from John Islip Street. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)

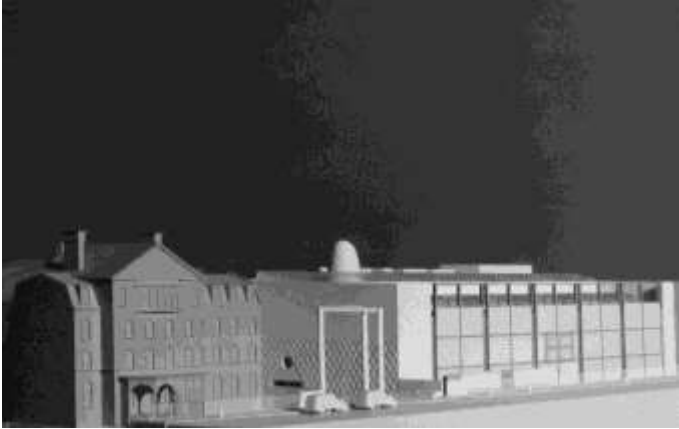


Figure 44. A photograph of the model for the New Museums looking at the John Islip Street facade. The material choices and patterning are similar to those realized at the Clore Gallery. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)

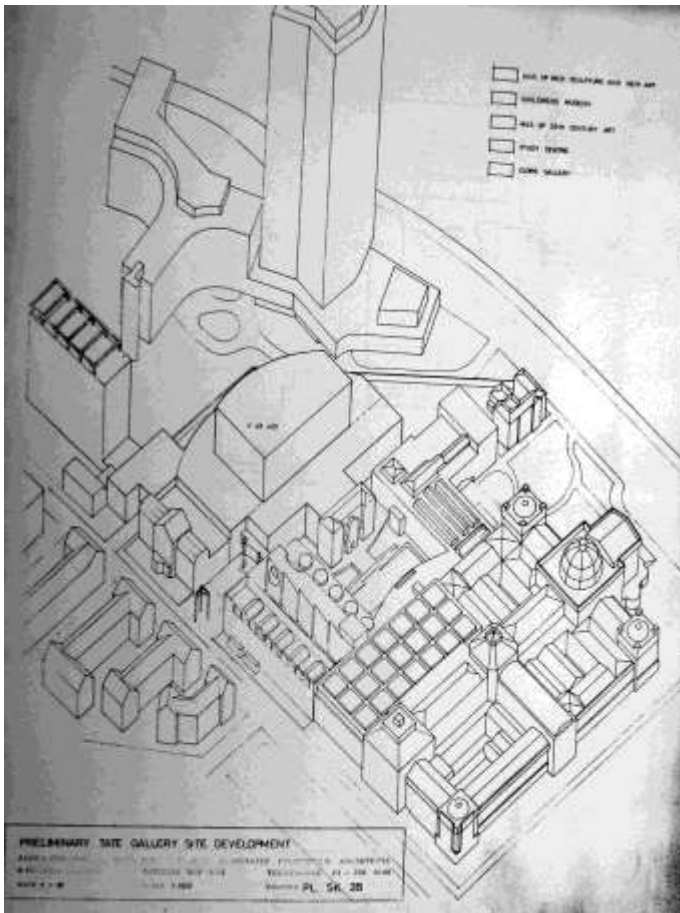


Figure 45. Preliminary Site Development axonometric drawing including the Children's Museum with the Museum for 20th Century Art stacked on top. Note the Millbank Tower behind the massing of the museums. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)

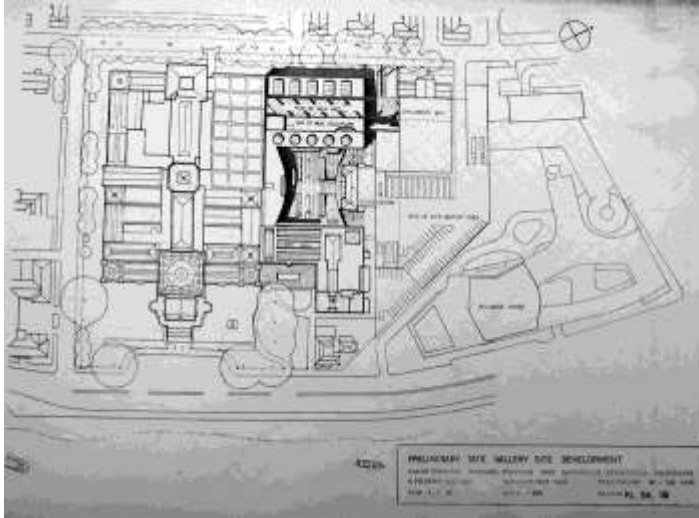


Figure 46. Preliminary Site Development drawing including the Children's Museum. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)



Figure 47. An oblique angle photograph of the Tate Britain facade looking toward the Millbank Tower. (Tate Archive)



Figure 48. Photograph of two of the Clore galleries. Though Stirling intentionally avoided the vibrant paint choices of the public areas, the dull tones of the galleries were criticized for not complementing Turner's inventive use of color. In the space of the galleries, Stirling sought to have the architecture recede to allow the art to shine. (Tate Archive)



Figure 49. Gallery window detail. (Author)



Figure 50. Liverpool's "Three Graces" - the Royal Liver Building, Cunard Building and Port of Liverpool Building – located on Pier Head. (Wikipedia Creative Commons BY-NC-SA)



Figure 51. Houseboats anchored in the Salthouse Dock Basin. (Author)



Figure 52. A view looking across the basin to the Tate Liverpool quadrant of the Albert Dock. Note boat in foreground. (Tate Archive)



Figure 53. An aerial view of Albert Dock prior to the dredging of the basin and decontamination of the industrial site. (Tate Archive)

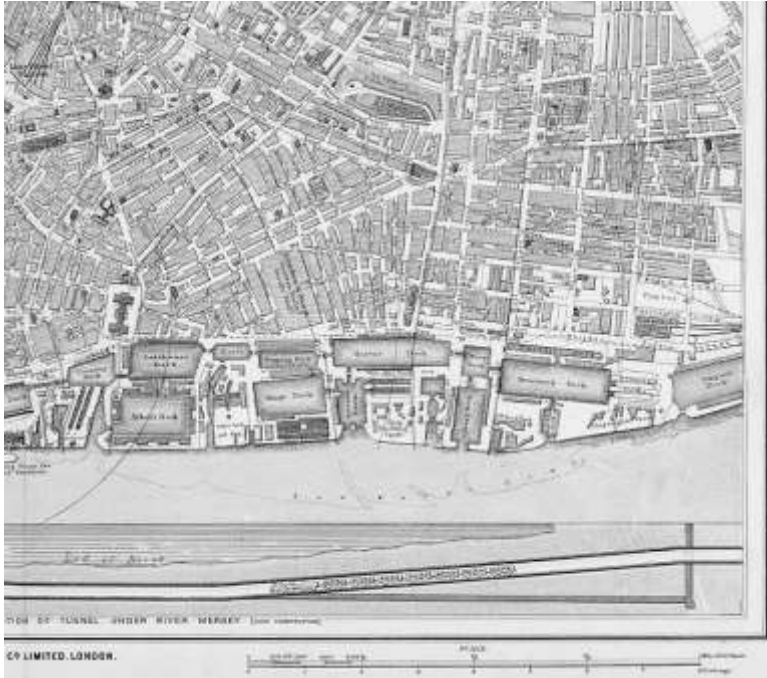


Figure 54. Detail of Letts, Son & Co's 1881 map of Liverpool showing the Albert Dock. (National Archives, UK)



Figure 55. An aerial view of Albert Dock following the dredging of the basin and decontamination of the industrial site. (Tate Archive)



Figure 56. Aerial view of Liverpool Cathedral, 2010. (Wikipedia Creative Commons BY-NC-SA)



Figure 57. Edwin Lutyen's Catholic Cathedral design. The project was never fully realized. (Wikipedia Creative Commons BY-NC-SA)



Figure 58. Photograph of the Liverpool Docks featured in *The Functional Tradition in Early Industrial Buildings*. (J.M. Richards, 1958)



Figure 59. James Stirling photograph.
View of Warehouses, Liverpool, England, no date. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)

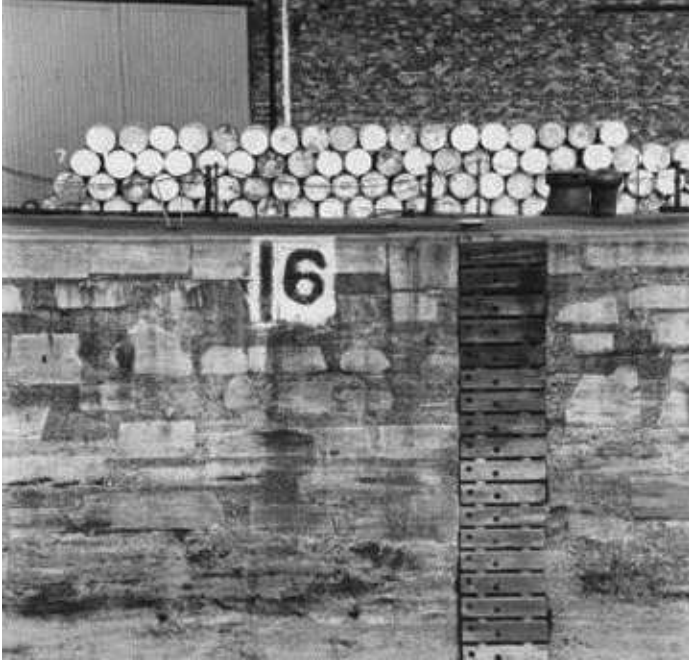


Figure 60. James Stirling photograph.
View of Liverpool Dock, England, 1961. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)



Figure 61. James Stirling photograph.
Oriol Chambers, Liverpool, England, 1950. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)



Figure 62. A gallery view showing exterior window. (Tate Archive)



Figure 63. A gallery view showing a window seat overlooking the River Mersey. (Tate Archive)

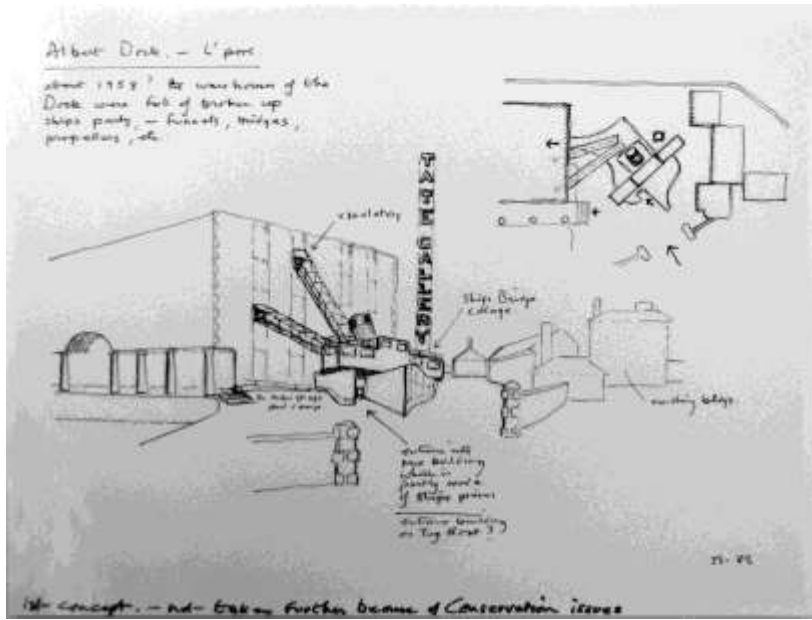


Figure 64. An early design process sketch by James Stirling. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)



Figure 65. View of the color palette and porthole motif of the entry facade. (Author)



Figure 66. A view looking across the basin to the Tate Liverpool quadrant of the Albert Dock. (Tate Archive)

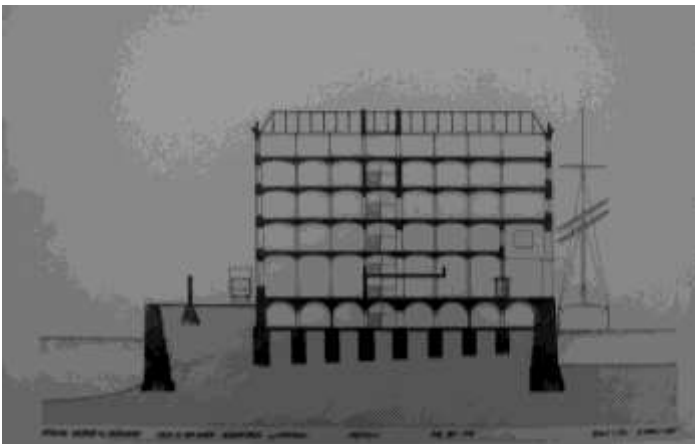


Figure 67. Section with foundation pilings indicated. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)



Figure 68. A column capital detail. (Tate Archive)

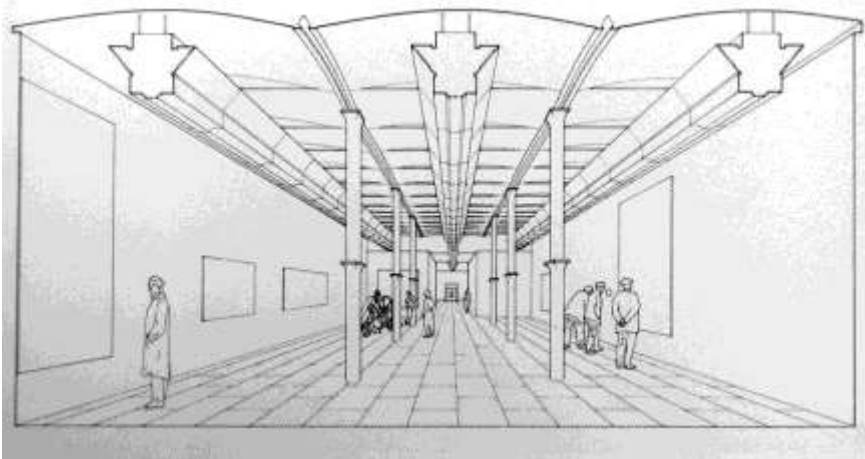


Figure 69. A perspective drawing of a gallery space. Note the columns and the attention to the light fixtures. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)



Figure 70. Opening poster for the Tate Gallery Liverpool - The National Collection of Modern Art in the North of England. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)



Figure 71. This view of the basement lobby clearly shows the mix of old and new materials including an exposed brick arch, steel supporting column, and white walls. (Tate Archive)



Figure 72. Two views of the entry foyer. Note the projecting "blue bum" of the cafe. (Tate Archive)

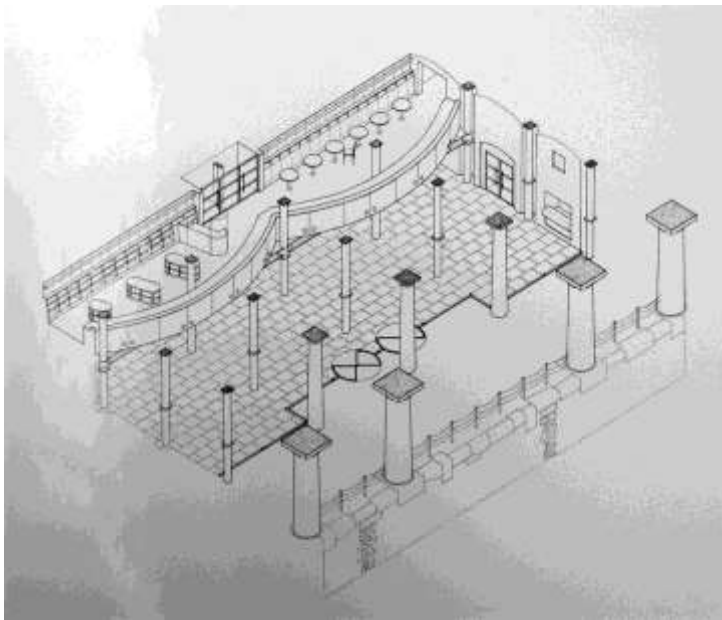


Figure 73. Axonometric of the entry foyer. Note "blue bum" of the cafe. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)

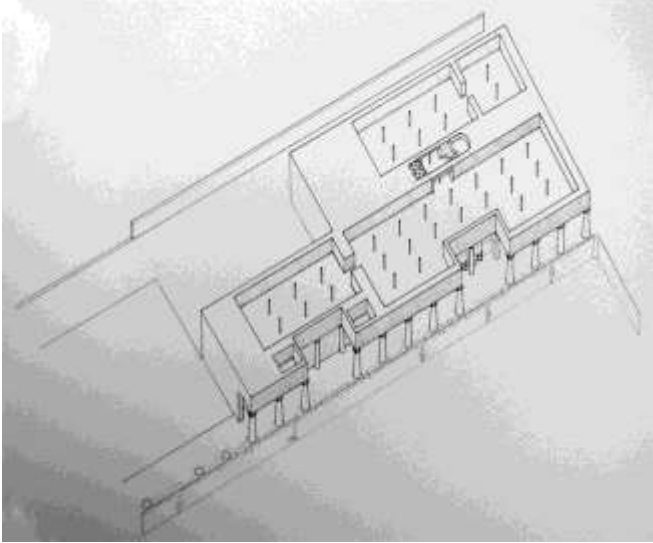


Figure 74. Axonometric of the gallery level. (CCA, James Stirling/Michael Wilford Archive)



Figure 75. A view of a gallery with contemporary sculpture. (Tate Archive)



Figure 76. Tony Cragg sculpture. 'Raleigh' was made in Liverpool in August 1986 as part of a series of summer events organized by the Tate Gallery in collaboration with the Merseyside Development Corporation and the Walker Art Gallery, to publicize the new museum. Made from both found and specially fabricated objects, the work was assembled on an area of grass close to the Tate Gallery Liverpool. Although it is now a permanent installation, it was not originally intended to be site-specific. (Tate Archive)



Figure 77. A view of the opening exhibit of Rothko paintings. (Tate Archive)



Figure 78. Aerial view of Albert Dock with A5036 and the city center in the background. (North West Coast Aerial Survey, Liverpool, liverpool.gov.uk)



Figure 79. The Liverpool Overhead Railroad seen parallel to Strand Street (now also called A5036) in the early 1950s. (Wikipedia Creative Commons BY-NC-SA)

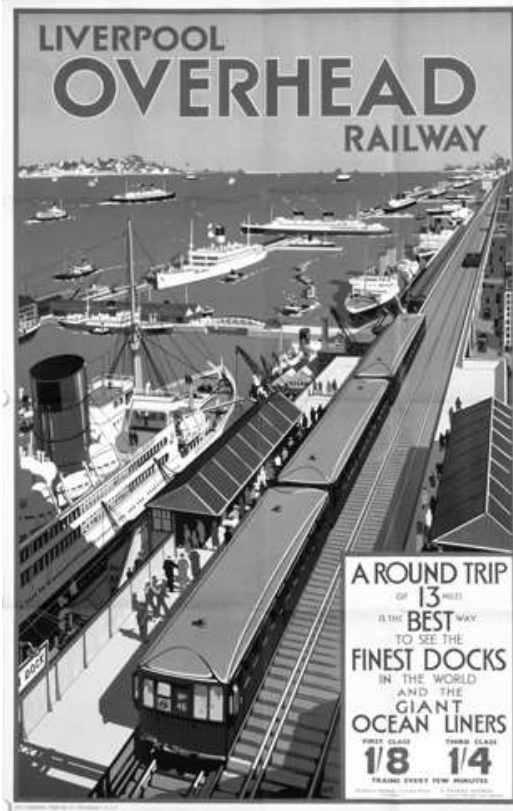


Figure 80. Advertisement to see the Liverpool Docks from the Liverpool Overhead Railroad. (Wikipedia Creative Commons BY-NC-SA)

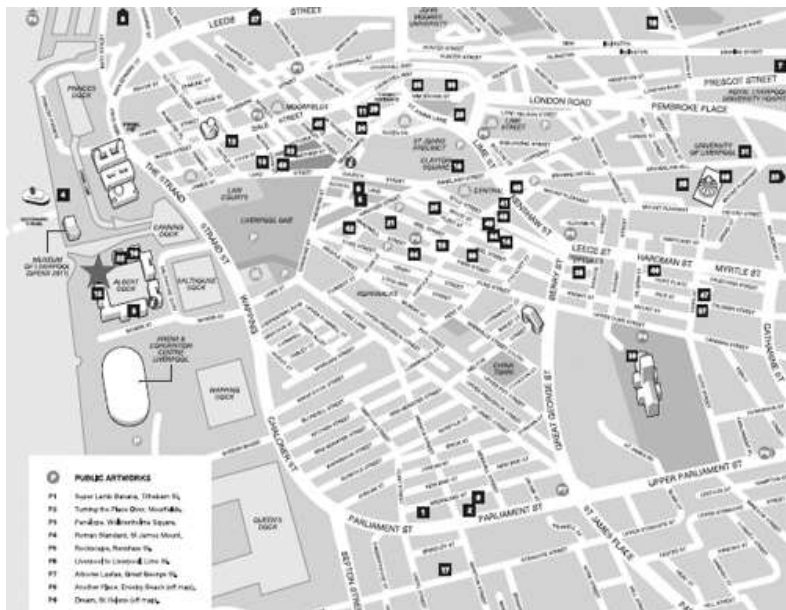


Figure 81. Art in Liverpool Map, 2010. (Art in Liverpool, artinliverpool.com)

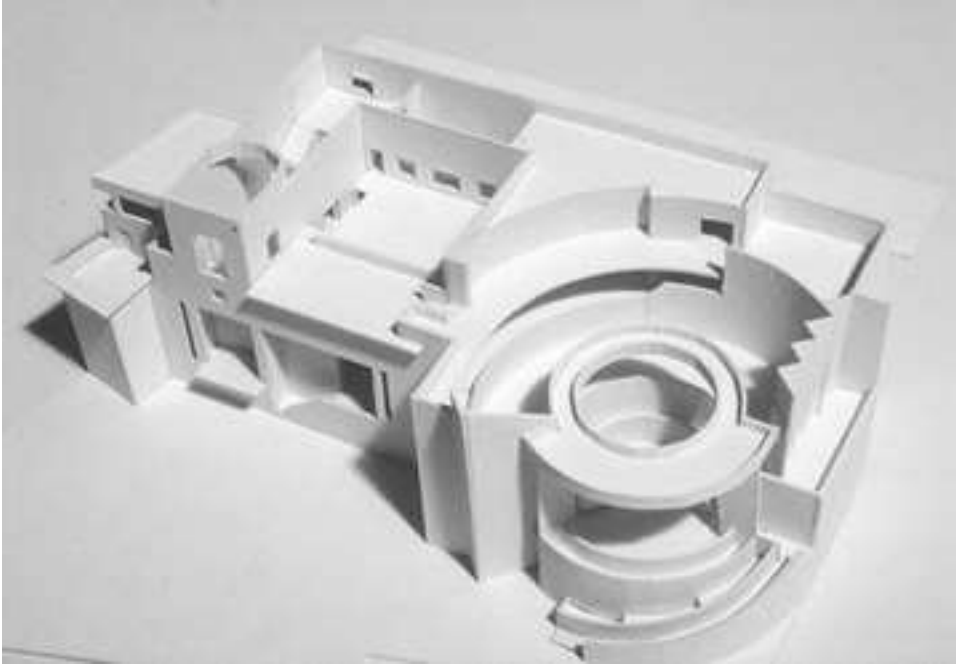


Figure 82. Evans and Shalev model of the Tate St Ives design, 1990. (Tate Archive)



Figure 83. Patrick Heron (1920-1999), 'Window for Tate Gallery St Ives' 1992-3 (The Tate, www.tate.org.uk)



Figure 84. Ben Nicholson (1894 – 1982), Ben Nicholson OM, 1943-45 (Tate Online Catalogue, www.tate.org.uk)



Figure 85. Photograph showing an aerial view of the construction site of Tate St Ives. The Gallery was built on the site of a derelict gasworks overlooking Porthmeor Beach. (Tate Archives)



Figure 86. Tate Modern: Facade viewed from the Thames. Herzog and de Meuron's 2000 conversion retained the shell and chimney of Sir Giles Scott's Bankside Power Station. (The Tate, www.tate.org.uk)



Figure 87. Bankside Urban Study is a specially commissioned urban study of the Bankside area that accompanied the conversion of the Bankside Power Station. The study was completed by the Richard Rogers Partnership in 2000. (The Tate, www.tate.org.uk)

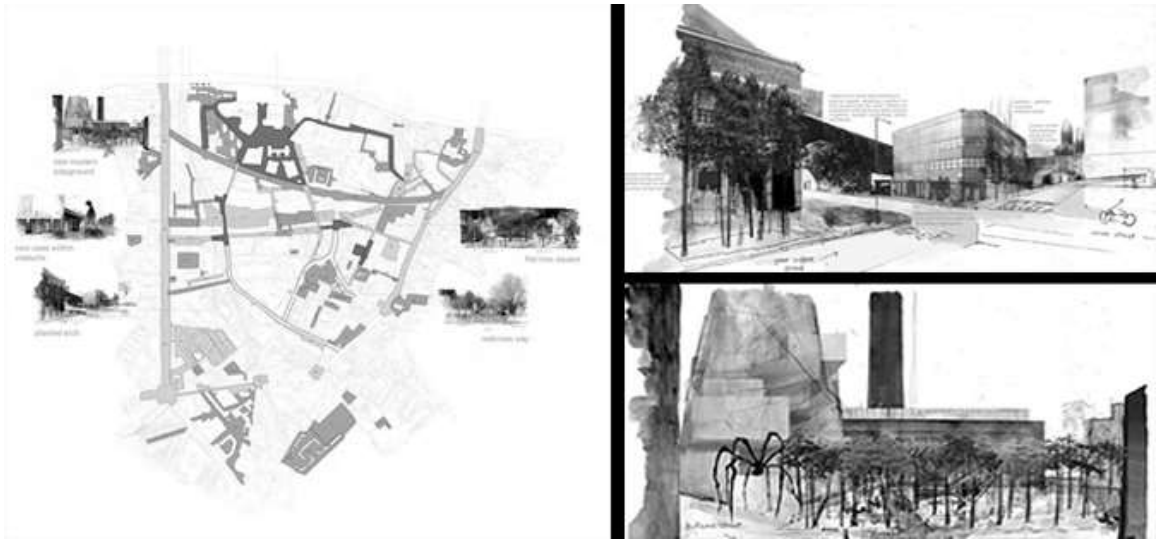


Figure 88. Bankside Urban Forest is a plan for the regeneration of the public realm in the Bankside and Borough area. The design framework was created by Witherford Watson Mann Architects. (betterbankside.co.uk)

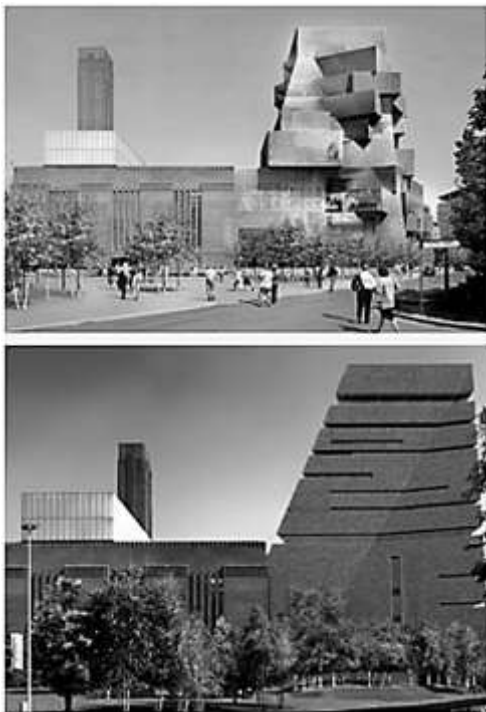


Figure 89. Herzog & de Meuron's proposals for Tate Modern 2 (2006, 2008). The addition will increase Tate Modern's display space by 60% over 11 levels, and provide additional performance and education spaces, retail areas, cafes and offices. The original tanks in the basement level have been converted as performance spaces. (The Tate, www.tate.org.uk)



Figure 90. Tate Modern 2: Architectural rendering of a view in the new Tate Modern addition. With ribbon windows and perforated brick lattice, the façade carefully choreographs vistas and modulates light entering the building. (The Tate, www.tate.org.uk)

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