

# architecture institutions and change

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## Émigré Architects and the Australian Architecture Establishment

*The scholarship of émigré architects that arrived in Australia in the period between 1930 and 1960 has focused on developing an understanding of individual architects and their particular contribution to the discipline and profession integral to a dominant architectural historiography. Examination of how architects together form movements, aesthetic affinities, and attitudes about architecture generates an understanding of the collective dimension of the discipline, and the complexities of architectural production. Significant to the capacity of the individual émigrés architects were the opportunities gained firstly, through the network of the architecture profession and institution, and secondly with one another. On arrival, except for migrants from Britain, many émigrés faced a difficult path of migration and struggled to gain registration and thus employment in the architectural profession. What were the relationships between émigré architects and architecture's institutional infrastructure – the institute, the university, and the profession? And how did this affect their experience of migration and resettlement, as well as their capacity for architectural production?*

*This paper will argue that the potential contribution of émigré architects to Australian architecture was limited by institutional structures, operations and the boundaries constituted through social networks. Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus elaborates a process in which modes of speech, bodily mannerisms (such as gait), gestures, are internalised, unconscious and embodied; and that an individual's aspirations and ambitions are conditioned by what members of that community are expected to want. In Bourdieu's theory habitus is interactive with the field and this is defined by a collective and institutional set of rules, procedures and attitudes. Potential contribution and influence on the Australian architectural scene at the time will be examined from this perspective of the relationships between the habitus of the émigrés architects and the field in which they could operate.*

The Australian architecture establishment including the practice of the profession, the (R) AIA institution, and the university as educational institution, operates as a field in Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Pierre Bourdieu developed the concept of field (*champ*) to account for the ways contexts operate more or less autonomously – that is outside politics and economics – and yet in a structured way according to their own laws and relations for functioning.<sup>1</sup> The architecture profession operates through laws, codes, contracts and procedures for registration that divide practitioners between recognised and registered architects on the one hand, and in Australia, the right to use the term 'architect,' and practitioners involved in the design, drafting and development of the built environment, yet not architects, on the other. The (R)AIA institution is developed through an objective to form a community of architects interested in the role of architecture in the shaping of society. This agenda, along with a procedure for membership into the (R)AIA, and a framework and system for awarding architecture projects deemed of high quality by that community, institutes the recognition of architects selected by it. Architectural knowledge and its production are instituted through the university. Particularity of pedagogical approach and emphasis, selection of architectural projects, and the publication and discourse generated about them institutes systems of value and meaning. But Bourdieu's theory details how these institutions – professional practice, architecture institution, university – are components of the field of architecture that in complex ways, through direct and indirect relationships, both complement and co-operate with one another, even if at times there are specific conflictual issues between them. The architecture institutions establish a hierarchical structure and system of value, authority and recognition.

But fields do not operate abstractedly. Related to Bourdieu's concept of field is his concept of habitus.<sup>2</sup> Bourdieu critiqued the purely economic basis of class distinction stating both that it was a misinterpretation of Marxist theory and that it did not account for the many factors that influence how groups in society are distinguished. The theory of habitus elaborated the 'sense of place' of a human subject or agent as a process that considered a person's approach, behaviour and strategy to fit into their world. Habitus, he argued, was internalised, unconscious and embodied, but appears through modes of speech, bodily mannerisms (such as gait) and gestures. Such habitus is adapted to the needs of the social world that the person inhabits such that even an individual's aspirations and ambitions are conditioned by what members of that community are expected to want. For the purposes of this chapter, habitus is called upon to explain the 'fit or lack of fit' between émigré architects that arrived in Australia in the period between 1930 and 1960, and the field of the Australian architecture establishment. Despite the similarity of their class and their prestigious European architecture education, many still struggled to infiltrate the architectural scene of Australia. Habitus points to the relations between each émigré architect and the architecture establishment as they arrived and settled in Australia, and how the structures of the institutions that comprise the establishment accommodated, appropriated or denied the individual and collective contribution of those émigré architects. This offers an alternative perspective and argument

to those that emphasise either personal talent and heroic individual success, or empirical histories of buildings. In other words, what were the effects of the encounters between the émigré architects and the Australian architecture establishment? This paper addresses that question through Bourdieu's theory of field and habitus.

Together, these institutions then drive a particular trajectory of what and who is valued in the architectural community at any particular time and place. Bourdieu's theory captures and explains the dynamic nature of this because at any moment the relations and positions of the agents/subjects (architects, professors/academics) that occupy the field determine the structure. Contrasting explanations that depend on structural models that are often perceived as static and given, Bourdieu's emphasis is on the combination of a heavy bureaucratic machinery and structural relations between institutions, on the one hand, and the instrumental role of agents and subjects, on the other. Agents operate the various components of this machinery to bring about change and a dynamic sense to the establishment through particularity of relations. In Australia, the role of Robin Boyd highlights this dynamic capacity of the architecture field evident in the impact of his publications, practice with Frederick Romberg, and initiative in the Small Home Service.

The discipline of architecture is thus not a static terrain. Institutions are operational and dynamic and thus can reinforce and reproduce existing parameters, or can engender a different orientation and emphasis. In addition, in Bourdieu's theory, any one field like architecture is aligned with another field, such as culture/literature/art, such that a homology with other associated fields is integral to the operation of the field of architecture. All of these, including the field of the architecture institutions, are contained within the field of power.<sup>3</sup> While several potential orientations may be apparent, not all become institutional history.

### **Field and habitus 1: Education and early employment of the European émigré architects**

Many émigré architects that arrived in Australia in the period between 1930 and 1960 came from central Europe – Vienna, Berlin, Munich, Budapest, Prague and Zurich. Considering that Vienna and Prague were cultural centres, their education and context in the inter-war period was stirred by dynamic concentrations of avant-garde movements in art and architecture. Collating the data of individual émigré architects, two general modes of institutional education emerge, the Academy of Fine Art and the Technical University. Several émigré architects attended classes at the Vienna Academy of Fine Art, an institution led by the architects Otto Wagner and Joseph Maria Olbrich and the painters Gustav Klimt and Josef Hoffmann. Each artistic discipline at the Academy had a Master School. The academy blended modern technology and artistic imagination to refine the concept of the "Gesamtkunstwerk", or total work of art, combining various media for an integrated result.<sup>4</sup> While about one half gained degrees at Academies, the other half gained degrees from technical universities. As an extension of the engineering faculties these had a strong focus on architectural science coupled with experimental design. For many, a modernist progressive idiom followed the early modernist and avant-garde idiom that combined technology and a social agenda for

the functionalist city for the masses rather than the bourgeois city of the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> The education of the émigré architects differed according to these two orientations, but nonetheless, both groups of architects were compelled by a significant role of architecture in society.

Details of source country, institution and degree gained of émigré architects who arrived in Australia between 1930 and 1960 are outlined in Table 1 below.

**Table 1** List of émigré architects who arrived in Australia 1930-1960.

	Architect	Born	City	Institution	Degree
<b>1930-1940</b>					
1	Buhrich, Hugh	Germany	1. Munich 2. Berlin 3. Danzig	Technical University in Munich and forced out by the Nazis for student protests)  Briefly studied under Hans Poelzig (institute unknown)  Completed his degree at a university in the German Free State of Danzig, now Gedansk	Architecture
2	Buhrich, Eva	Germany	1. Munich 2. Berlin 3. Zurich	Technical University, Munich  Briefly studied under Hans Poelzig (institute unknown)  Completed her degree at the Technical university in Zurich under Otto Salvisberg	Architecture
3	Epstein, Henry	Hungary	Vienna		Architecture
4	Fooks, Ernest	Czechoslovakia	Vienna	University of Vienna	Architecture and Doctorate in Technical Sciences, majoring in Town Planning (1932)
5	Janeba, Fritz	Austria	Vienna	Vienna Academy of Fine Arts	Architecture
6	Kagan, Anatol	Russia	Berlin	Technical University of Berlin	Diploma of Architecture
7	Langer, Karl	Austria	Vienna	Vienna Academy of Fine Arts and	Architecture and then studies in Art History, graduating as a Doctor of Philosophy in 1933
8	Milston, Ernest	Austria	Prague	Prague Academy of Fine Arts	
9	Molnar, George	Hungary	Budapest	Budapest Technical University	Bachelor of Architecture
10	Oser, Hans Peter	Austria	Vienna	Vienna Academy of Fine Arts	Bachelor of Architecture
11	Romberg, Frederick	Germany	Zurich	Federal Technical College in Zurich	Architecture
12	Sheldon, Robert	Austria	Vienna		Architecture
13	Stossel, Hugo	Hungary	Vienna	Technical University of Vienna	Architecture

1940-1950					
14	Elischer, Julius	Hungary	Budapest	Palatine Joseph University for Technical and Economic studies	Architectural engineering
15	Holgar, Helen	Poland	Rome	University of Rome	Architecture
16	Holgar, John	Poland	Rome	University of Rome	Architecture
17	Iwanoff, Iwan	Bulgaria	Munich	Institute of Technology of Munich	Architecture
18	Jelenik, Alex	Czechoslovakia	Prague	Prague Academy of Fine Arts	Architecture
19	Kollar, Peter	Hungary	Hungary	Technical University of Budapest	In 1950, Kollar fled the communist regime, eight months before completing his degree in Architecture
20	Popper, Kurt	Vienna	Austria	Vienna Academy of Fine Arts	
21	Rohozinski, Stefan	Poland	Warsaw	Warsaw School of Building + Polish School of Architecture in London	Diploma in Building Technology + Diploma of Architecture
22	Silberstein, Ferdinand	Czechoslovakia	Prague	The German College of Technology, Prague	
23	Slawik, Bernard	Poland	Lwow (in western Ukraine)	Politechnique	Architecture (1923-30)
23	Strizic, Zdenko	Croatia	Berlin	The Academy in Berlin	Architecture
24	Von Schramek, Eric	Austria	Prague	Prague Technical University	Diploma of Engineering in Architecture

Many European émigré architects who fled their home countries had successful architectural practices and careers. After his study in Vienna, Hungarian architect Hugo Stossel undertook large projects including office blocks and the Society Embassy in Bucharest, and designed theatres and cinemas, and a ten-storey office building. Fritz Janeba and Hans Peter Oser worked in the office of their modernist teacher Professor Peter Behrens as architectural assistants throughout their university holidays. Hans Peter Oser was employed in the office of Professor Joseph Hoffman & Oswald Haerdtl, Vienna, and they sent him to several European capitals to supervise their work, including Budapest and the Paris World Fair in 1937.<sup>6</sup> Ernest Milston established a flourishing practice in the early 1920s with Victor Furth in Prague, called Fürth & Mühlstein, and became leading architects of the Czech avant-garde, designing many exemplary buildings in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania.<sup>7</sup> Czech émigré Alex Jelenik was taught by Czech Functionalist Jaroslav Fagner. Like Russian Anatol Kagan, Jewish émigrés Hugh and Eva Buhrich were associated with Hans Poelzig, all being taught by Poelzig in Berlin. Eva completed her degree under Otto Salvisberg at the Technical University in Zurich, where the Buhrichs worked in the Swiss office of Alfred Roth, a member of CIAM who had collaborated with Le Corbusier on designs for the Weissenhof Seidlung.<sup>8</sup> Due to the political turmoil and increasing threat of their lives, they decided to emigrate to England, and eventually to Australia.<sup>9</sup> In March 1938, with war imminent, Anatol Kagan went

to London and worked in the city office of Ernest Schauerberg who later provided him with a reference. Bulgarian Iwan Iwanoff studied architecture in Munich, and worked for Emil Freymurth from 1948 to 1950, and the pair won second prize to rebuild the central area of Munich. Fellow Czech Ferdinand Silberstein-Silvan had been a well-known and highly regarded architect practising in the inter-war functionalist style before he arrived in Australia in 1949. Two of his buildings are now listed by DOCOMOMO Slovakia.<sup>10</sup>

The success of the émigré architects prior to departing shows that they were hardly novices in the institutional field of the architecture profession in Europe. Considering the émigré architects as a collective an argument can be made that they were more than successful – they were awarded, winners of competitions, leaders of avant-gardes movements – playing a central role in the field. This interaction between their habitus and the field resulted in effective and productive agency.

## **Field and habitus 2: Australian architecture institutions 1920s-1960s**

In Australia the formalisation of degrees and the establishment of architectural registration acts in the 1920s especially in the states of Victoria and New South Wales meant that students applying for registration, who had completed articles alone, found it near impossible to gain registration without a formal qualification.<sup>11</sup> In 1919, Melbourne University set up the Design Atelier, the first example of ‘higher education’ for architecture in Australia, and thus attracted students from all around Australia.<sup>12</sup> The establishment of the Atelier came at the cusp of significant change in architectural education in Australia, as it shifted from articulated to institutionalised instruction: a three-year, part time night course was offered to those who had completed basic architectural training, through articles or the completion of a diploma in Architecture.<sup>13</sup> In the 1920s Leslie Wilkinson further consolidated an institutional style of training at the University of Sydney. By 1927 Melbourne University established its Bachelor of Architecture course and degree, which combined the old diploma of Architecture and Atelier courses together into a six-year degree.<sup>14</sup> The development of architectural education in various states around Australia followed that of Melbourne and Sydney.

The habitus of the émigré architects resulting from their education in well established institutions and courses that emphasised the significant role of architecture in shaping society, whether this was with a progressive technical or functional agenda, or an avant-garde cultural agenda, contrasted dramatically to the habitus formed in architectural education in Australia at that time. Many Australian architects at the time would have completed a diploma/atelier combined degree where the emphasis was on professional practice, with possibly a more pragmatic emphasis, rather than the aims of the many of the émigré architects.

Western Australia being the final state was obliged to set up a formal University course, in 1945, as it was also the last state to be incorporated as a chapter of the RAIA in 1943.<sup>15</sup> Australia followed Britain (and Europe) in the institutionalisation of the architecture profession. This might partially explain why the émigré architects that arrived in Perth became more

integrated into the profession than their counterparts on the east coast.

The Architects Act, drafted by individual states in the 1920s, led to the creation of Boards of Architects as the registration and disciplinary bodies for the profession in each state. Architecture registration was viewed as a state-based issue and therefore no national organisation (except for the role of Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA)) to coordinate registration issues were formed until 1974.<sup>16</sup> During this time Australian institutions referred to the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) for the recognition of foreign degrees.<sup>17</sup> The Australian Registration Board of Victoria (ARBV), in the case of Ernst Fooks, in 1944, upon applying for Registration as an architect “was told that the RIBA does not recognise the Architectural Degrees or Diplomas of any European Universities or Schools of Architecture.”<sup>18</sup> In contrast to émigré British architects, very few European émigré architects were able to gain employment as architects because their professional degrees were not recognised. Austrian émigré architect Hans Peter Oser, who became a British subject prior to his arrival in Australia in 1938, gained employment, and developed networks that proved valuable for his 1945 registration application. It is perplexing to think that the degrees of the prestigious institutions did not qualify even while architectural education in Australia was still in formation. Bourdieu makes the point that an individual’s aspirations and ambitions are conditioned by what members of that community expect. This illustrates how the habitus of the local architects and their education impacted upon the formalisation of the institutional field of architecture such that the value of the émigré architects was not recognised. In Bourdieu’s sense this correlation between habitus and field builds a sense of fit or lack of fit between a person and the institutions.

### **Field and habitus 3: Interaction: Émigré architects and the Australian architecture establishment**

Many European émigré architects fled their home countries due to the political turmoil that posed major threats to many minority groups, especially the Jewish. On arrival in Australia émigré architects struggled to gain registration and therefore employment appropriate to their qualifications in the professional field of architecture. While change of education had begun in Australia, European education differed greatly to the more practical and building focused education. It is not difficult to imagine that the habitus of the European émigré architects was not similar to the habitus of the directors or employees of Australian architecture firms. Hungarian émigré architect George Molnar’s 1979 cartoon in the *Sydney Morning Herald* is most likely referring to the boat people arriving from Vietnam, and yet is also reflective of the émigré situation in the 1940s. The idea of émigrés, refugees, and migrants perceived as a threat to jobs and opportunities for the local inhabitants is a powerful narrative in Australian history.<sup>19</sup> Despite this, the practice of Krantz and Sheldon welcomed fellow émigré architects, and in 1950 welcomed Iwan Iwanoff, who became their draftsman, before opening his own firm, The Studio of Iwanoff in Perth, 1963 (see Table 2).<sup>20</sup>

Opportunity was limited. But émigré architects persevered towards architectural design and production, often with the help of a Jewish community that became connected

and developed its own habitus within the field of Australian architecture institutions, for example, Jewish émigré architect Ernest Fooks designed many larger projects for the Jewish community in the 1960s, such as the Jewish Community Centre in Canberra.<sup>21</sup> Nine additional Jewish émigré architects are included in this connected community: Kurt Popper, Anatol Kagan, Karl Langer, Ernest Milston, Hans Peter Oser, Hugh and Eva Buhrich, Hugo Stossel and Robert Sheldon (originally Schlafrig). The collaboration of Jewish émigrés is evident through the Benjamin House in Canberra, designed by Alex Jelenik, photographed by the Jewish photographer Wolfgang Sievers and furnished by Jewish furniture maker Schumin Krimper.<sup>22</sup>

**Table 2** Émigré architects in private practice.

Émigré architects in private practice, government work and competition entries				
1	Architect and Private Practice	Location and Date	Government Work	Competitions
2	<b>Elischer, Julius</b> (J. W. Elischer Architects)	Perth, 1963		
3	<b>Fooks, Ernest Leslie</b>	Melbourne, 1948-85		
4	<b>Holgar, John and Helen</b> (Holgar and Holgar)	Melbourne, mid-1950s		Ideal Home competition, 1957
5	<b>Iwanoff, Iwan</b> (The Studio of Iwanoff)	Perth, 1963-86		
6	<b>Fooks, Ernest</b>		Victorian Housing Commission assistant town planner, Melbourne	
7	<b>Janeba, Fritz</b>	Warrandyte, during the 1940s		
8	<b>Kagan, Anatol</b>	Melbourne, 1949-57	Department of Public Works, NSW, 1961	Sydney Opera House Competition, 1956
9	<b>Kollar, Peter</b>			Sydney Opera House Competition, 1956
10	<b>Langer, Karl</b>		Queensland Railways	
11	<b>Milston, Ernest</b>	Melbourne, 1950	Department of the Army, South Australia Victorian Public Works Department	<i>Sun</i> newspaper, "Ideal post-war home", 1944. Competition to design The Shrine of Remembrance Forecourt
12	<b>George Molnar</b>		Ministry of Munitions, Melbourne and Sydney	Sydney Opera House Competition, 1956
13	<b>Oser, Hans Peter</b> Own practice H. P. Oser & Associates (Mugdan & Fombertaux) Oser and Fombertaux	-Sydney, 1946 -Sydney, March 1956 -Sydney, 1963-67		
14	<b>Popper, Kurt</b>	Melbourne, 1946		
15	<b>Romberg, Frederick</b> Private Practice Romberg and Shaw (with Mary Turner Shaw) Grounds Romberg and Boyd 'Romberg and Boyd'	-Melbourne, (DATE?) -1939-1945 -Melbourne, 1953-62 -Melbourne, 1962-75		
16	<b>Sheldon, Robert</b> (Krantz and Sheldon)	Adelaide, 1946		
17	<b>Stossel, Hugo</b> (Hugo Stossel and Associates)	Sydney, 1960s		Sydney Opera House Competition, 1956

A translation of modernist ideas into the local context is evident less as a stylistic translation than adaptation to local materials/construction methods, site/landscape, and space/plan. Some have argued that a social agenda was evident in many approaches placing architecture in the role of improving the life of ordinary citizens.<sup>23</sup> Czech émigré Alex Jelinek, known for his “experimental modernism”<sup>24</sup> in the 1950s, began to use natural materials, coupled with his European design teachings to integrate indoor and outdoor spaces.<sup>25</sup> Zdenko Strizic’s Beach House at Carrum adapts local materials and existing house typologies.<sup>26</sup> Romberg’s work has been described as a mature and personalised reworking of the International style, an assimilation of local materials via an organic approach to composition.<sup>27</sup>

In 1957, Polish born John and Helen Holgar entered and won an Ideal Home competition to design a 100 square foot family home run by the Gas & Fuel Corporation and co-sponsored by the *Herald* newspaper.<sup>28</sup> Their win against 137 entries resulted in more commissions for their private practice where ironically their focus was large-scale luxurious homes for Toorak and Brighton clients (see Table 2).

Due to limited opportunities to work within an architectural firm, a job with the Public Works Department or similar government office offered a “secure, if un-stimulating employment,” designing structures for the war effort (see Table 2).<sup>29</sup> The Queensland Railways employed Karl Langer as a draftsman, where he worked until the war ended.<sup>30</sup> Encouraged by his studies in planning and looking for more ‘socially useful work,’ Anatol Kagan closed his successful private practice to join the Department of Public Works in NSW in 1961.<sup>31</sup> Ernest Fooks worked for the Victorian Housing Commission and obtained a position in Melbourne as assistant town planner, and worked on successful housing schemes in Fisherman’s Bend, Coburg, Swan Hill and Horsham until after the Second World War.<sup>32</sup> Government work provided both a support and an opportunity for émigré architects and allowed them to be involved in large projects of social housing, schools and government buildings.<sup>33</sup>

In contrast to their difficult entry into the profession, many émigré architects became involved in teaching at university level (see Table 3). As the curriculum for architecture developed towards a more institutional degree, the style of education of émigré architects, as well as their expertise and experience of the European educational field gained recognition. Austrian émigré Karl Langer began lecturing at the University of Queensland in 1940, and with his engineering expertise also undertook part-time lecturing in the Faculty of Engineering at Queensland University. Ernest Milston lectured on the history of modern architecture at the University of Adelaide in 1942. Upon his return from studies and work in England in 1947, Brian Lewis, gaining a position as the foundation Professor of Architecture and Dean of the Faculty at the University of Melbourne, appointed émigré architects including Croatian émigré Zdenko Strizic, German Helen Holgar, Viennese Fritz Janeba and German émigré Frederick Romberg to teach at the university. Lewis thought that “an influence other than local”<sup>34</sup> was required (in Australian architecture education) and provided an institutional appreciation for the expertise and education of émigré architects, but one that was limited to contract rather than full positions. Town planning was also taught in universities by some émigré architects including Ernest Fooks at Melbourne Technical College (now RMIT) and

Stefan Rohosinki at the South Australian Institute of Technology in 1969.

The position of Professor at an Australian university was attained by a few of the émigré architects (identified so far). In 1945, Leslie Wilkinson employed Hungarian émigré George Molnar to lecture at Sydney University. For years he taught design at the university before being appointed Professor of Architecture at the University of New South Wales.<sup>35</sup> Frederick Romberg was appointed senior lecturer at Melbourne Technical College<sup>36</sup> and subsequently became Professor of Architecture at the University of Newcastle. Hungarian émigré Peter Kollar was initially invited by F. E. A. Towndrow to join the staff of the Faculty of Architecture as a lecturer in Architecture at New South Wales University in 1957,<sup>37</sup> and reached the positions of senior lecturer and associate professor.<sup>38</sup>

**Table 3** List of émigré architects and their roles in education.

Émigré architects and their role in education						
	Architect	Arrived in Australia	City settled	Registered	Produced architecture	Roles in education
<b>1930</b>						
1	Buhrich, Hugh	1939	Sydney	✓	✓	
2	Buhrich, Eva	1939	Sydney	-	-	
3	Epstein, Henry	1939	Sydney	?	✓	
4	Fooks, Ernst	1939	Melbourne	?	✓	Town planning, Melbourne Technical College
5	Janeba, Fritz	1939	Melbourne	?	✓	Design teacher, University of Melbourne
6	Kagan, Anatol	1938	Melbourne	?	✓	
7	Langer, Karl	1939	Sydney	✓	✓	Lecturer, Architectural Design, QLD University
8	Milston, Ernst	1940	Adelaide	✓	✓	Lecturer, History of Modern Architecture, University of Adelaide
9	Molnar, George	1939	Canberra, Sydney	?	✓	Lecturer and Professor of Architecture, University of New South Wales.
10	Oser, Hans Peter	1938	Sydney	✓	✓	
11	Romberg, Frederick	1938	Melbourne	✓	✓	Senior lecturer, History of Architecture, RMIT. Professor of Architecture, University of Newcastle
12	Sheldon, Robert	1939	Perth	?	✓	
13	Stossel, Hugo	1938	Sydney	✓	✓	

1940-1960						
14	Elischer, Julius	1951	Melbourne, Perth	✓	✓	Convener, University of Western Australia
15	Holgar, Helen	1952	Melbourne	?	✓	University Lecturing, Melbourne University
16	Holgar, John	1952	Melbourne	?	✓	
17	Iwanoff, Iwan	1950	Perth	✓	✓	
18	Jelenik, Alex	1950	Melbourne	✓	✓	
19	Kollar, Peter	1950	Sydney	?	?	Lecturer, Senior lecturer, Associate Professor UNSW
20	Popper, Kurt	1950	Sydney	?	?	
21	Rohozinski, Stefan	1956	South Australia	?	?	Town Planning, South Australian Institute of Technology
22	Silberstein, Ferdinand	1949	Sydney	?	✓	
23	Slawik, Bernard	1948	Melbourne	?	✓	
24	Strizic, Zdenko	1959	Melbourne	?	✓	University lecturing, Melbourne University
25	Von Schramek, Eric	1951	Adelaide	✓	✓	

A role in education satisfied one part of their agenda to change society, but for some a search for something else to compensate for the lack and scope to practice architecture is evident. Some found a role around the edges of the field of institutionalised architecture, providing commentary and analysis in the form of journal or newspaper columns, books, cartoons and articles in architecture or built environment journals. These productions, encouraged by their European university education, provided a form of engagement and a way to contribute their ideas about the city and the modernist agenda in the broader field of architecture rather than through the built form. Ernest Milston and Ernest Fooks were keen to write about architecture and planning, but their articles were not included in the profession's publications.<sup>39</sup> Fooks' practice was extensive and successful, but neither his nor Milston's Australian work appeared in journals or magazines affiliated with the profession. His publications were distributed in magazines oriented towards the consumer rather than the architectural community and fellow architects such as *Architecture Today*, *Australian House and Garden* and *Australian Home Beautiful*.<sup>40</sup> Fooks and Milston remained on the outside of the profession for their subsequent careers in Australia.<sup>41</sup> Except for their house at Eaglemont Crescent, published in *Architecture and Arts* in 1965, the Holgars received minimal published recognition.<sup>42</sup> Émigré architects were keen to contribute to progressive architectural developments but the institute did not always acknowledge, value or award these efforts. Bourdieu usually outlines differences and hierarchies in a diagrammatic square field whereby a position can be located within a spectrum of positive and negative in relation to institutional value. The architectural production of the émigré architects did not accumulate to a central role in the Australian institutional field. Their effort to critically

address architecture was acknowledged but again did not attain substantial value within architectural discourse at the time. Limitation of value and recognition caused further lack of participation in those sections of the architecture establishment that operates through recognition and value to the architecture community. While *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture* corrects this trend by including entries on 33 European émigré architects, what the collective contribution is and how it oriented Australian architecture is yet to be comprehensively debated.

As a collection of works, these archi-cultural productions provide a kind of commentary on the Australian architecture establishment as a field, and how the habitus of many émigré architects did not find a good fit in relation to that field. Émigré architects, including Henry Epstein<sup>43</sup> and Ernest Fooks<sup>44</sup>, became involved in architectural and consumer boards, social housing, local town planning and artistic communities to advocate their ideas about modernist architecture and society.<sup>45</sup> Creative efforts are also evident in this collection of works – George Molnar’s cartoons, Eva Buhrich’s influential columns on architecture in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and the books published by Fooks, including *X-ray the city!* (1946, focused on planning issues for post-war Melbourne) – all expanded the scope of why architecture matters.

Success in architecture was dependent on opportunities available to émigré architects. Professor Alfred Hook is remembered to have provided support for many émigré architects who struggled to find work, and many Australian firms referred émigré architects to him.<sup>46</sup> A parallel field of social networks evolved on the boundaries of the institutional operations and procedures. However, this support proved more beneficial if combined with support within the institutional field of the architecture profession. Frederick Romberg arrived in Australia with the support of a travelling scholarship gained from a successful thesis design at the Federal Technical College in Zurich. In addition Iwan Iwanoff’s support within Krantz and Sheldon, Karl Langer’s support from Professor Robert Cummings, and Hans Peter Oser’s British citizenship differentiates their opportunities from that of Ernest Fooks, Ernest Milston, and the Buhrichs.

## Conclusion

To what extent have the efforts, commitment and role of the émigré architects arriving in Australia in the period between 1930 and 1960 been recognised, valued and integrated within the institutional field of architecture?

The influx of émigré architects into universities can be linked to the (European) university professionalism emerging in the Australian architecture schools.<sup>47</sup> Émigré architects contributed to the education of a new generation of Australian architecture and planning students, emphasising the central value of design and its contribution to innovative, social and cultural ideas. In addition, travel to Europe by Australian architects increased in the 1920s and after, and became promoted as integral to Australian architectural education.<sup>48</sup> On their return, Australian architects disseminated their new knowledge of architecture

through professional lectures, talks, presentations and publications in the institutional journal. A parallel opportunity for the émigré architects to contribute in this way might have provided a more integral role for the émigré architects. More importantly this may have been an opportunity for the different habitus of Australian and émigré architects to develop a productive dialogue, and influence the Australian institutional field.

The role in education provided the larger part of a productive encounter between the habitus of the émigré architects and the field of the Australian architecture establishment. But there is also a sentiment of lack, loss and withdrawal, and the strongest of these is evident in the disappearance from practice of Alex Jelenik, and perhaps also the increasing role of painting or other not directly architectural activities in the working lives of others, including Ernest Fooks. Is this because Jelenik and Fooks were sensitive individuals and could not find a pragmatic outlet for their professional interests and agenda? Possibly. But interpreting the situation from the perspective of the habitus of European émigré architects and the field of the Australian architecture establishment, an argument about opportunity, inclusion and recognition illustrates how the capacity of an individual is determined by the fit between field and agency. Many survived, but fewer flourished.

This gives rise to the role and difference of design talent and skill amongst the émigré architects. Talent no doubt has a role, but not nearly the major role that architectural discourse has highlighted. In this sense Jelinek shows most tragically the effect of a lack of fit between his habitus and the institutional field of Australian architecture. The tragedy of this lack of fit is also part of the Australian historical context poetically illustrated in the construction of his iconic Benjamin house in Canberra, on the one hand, and his Peregian Roadhouse on the Sunshine Coast, which was demolished in 2003, on the other.<sup>49</sup> Jelinek did not complete his architectural studies nor gain registration as an architect and subsequently returned to his native city, Vienna, in his later life.<sup>50</sup> Hugh and Eva Buhrich were also talented architects as illustrated in their house in Castlecrag (1958) but this did not lead to a successful architecture practice. In contrast, Iwan Iwanoff's profile as a talented design architect that has influenced generations of Perth architects and education in Western Australia was enabled by the support of the practice of Krantz & Sheldon.<sup>51</sup> His exceptional drawing abilities illustrate the significance of talent, but these were given scope in his own small office (1963-86) where he produced work of high quality, notable houses, including his own house, The Iwanoff House, Lifford Road.<sup>52</sup> The initial infrastructure at Krantz & Sheldon was the platform on which his practice was developed, and a fall back position should it not succeed. Bourdieu's theory of habitus and field provides emphasis exactly on this imbalance about the role of talent arguing it is not the most significant for agency in relation to the institutions field of architectural (artistic) production.

Highly educated, motivated by innovative ideas about the role of architecture, disciplined and dynamic, émigré architects arrived ready to work and contribute to architecture in Australia. There were individuals who provided support and enabled some to gain work and others to play a role in the university, and a few individual émigré architects succeeded, others produced the one masterpiece. For the large part, the potential contribution of émigré

architects was lost to the Australian architecture context. Their collective effort was met with institutional limits, boundaries, procedures, and regulations such that numerous situations led to limited possibility rather than to ongoing production and contribution. If history is approached only empirically through the study of their architectural work, the contribution of émigré architects collectively might not add up to a substantial body of work. But history can also be approached with the question, why not? In Bourdieu's terms the cultural capital of the émigré architects met with a field that did not recognise their value.

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