

# The Architect as Psychologist

## Charles W. Moore's Professional Self-Conception and the Conversion of 403 Elm Street<sup>1</sup>

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After being appointed chairman of the Department of Architecture at the Yale School of Art and Architecture in 1965, Charles Moore moved into a modern rental house designed by one of his new colleagues. Unhappy with the residence, which he characterized as “definitely not me,”<sup>2</sup> Moore decided to purchase an old house from the 1860s near the New Haven campus. Over the next several years, he continuously transformed the wooden structure. Even though most of his interventions affected the interior, the modified house became widely known: Besides serving as a recurring party venue for fellow faculty members,<sup>3</sup> Moore's 403 Elm Street was featured in international publications—both in the architectural press and a 1969 issue of *Playboy* magazine.<sup>4</sup>

Given that 403 Elm Street—the fourth of eight houses that Moore built or adapted for himself over the course of his life—was exposed to a large audience in this manner, it seems worthwhile to consider it in the light of the tradition of architects' own houses. From this point of view, an examination of the transformations Moore effected may shed light on his profes-

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1 This essay is based on the author's PhD thesis, *Orte für das Selbst* (2021), which was published by Birkhäuser as part of the *Bauwelt Fundamente* series in December 2024.

2 David Littlejohn, *Architect: The Life and Work of Charles W. Moore* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 77.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, 81.

nal ethos. Indeed, this approach reveals that Moore conceived of himself as comparable to a psychologist or psychiatrist.<sup>5</sup>

## Built Business Cards

In the nineteenth century, designing bourgeois dwellings became a standard task for architects in its own right. As such, the architect's own house has been viewed as a kind of "built business card."<sup>6</sup> Clients-cum-architects have used the opportunity to design their own residences so as to reflect their approaches to architecture, and with it their professional ethos. In his book *Architekten wohnen*, Jörg Stabenow considers the example of the director's house in Dessau, based on a design by Walter Gropius. Stabenow observes that the architect was not necessarily pushing boundaries, but attempting to distill the mainstream of modernist architecture,<sup>7</sup> and frames the director's house as an attempt to show the potential for reaching a consensus about the essential features of the movement. This observation corresponds with Gropius's endeavor—characteristic of his directorship of the Bauhaus school and his involvement with The Architects' Collaborative—to propagate teamwork instead of solitary design.

Over the years, Gropius came to epitomize the "father figure" of a modernism that a subsequent generation of architects would consider overly dogmatic. The same year that Moore bought 403 Elm Street, Robert Venturi's book *Complexity and Contradiction* and Aldo Rossi's work *L'architettura della città* laid the theoretical foundations for architectural postmodernism. With this in mind, postmodernism can be seen not only as a recourse to traditional forms or typologies, but also as an attempt to reset the architectural profession—as Sylvia Lavin argued in her 2020 book *Architecture Itself and Other Postmodernization Effects*.

Postmodern architecture, Lavin claims, should be regarded as a reaction to institutional constraints that came into being in the United States

5 Cf. Kevin Keim, *An Architectural Life: Memoirs & Memories of Charles W. Moore* (Boston: Bulfinch Press / Little, Brown, 1996), 129; cf. Littlejohn, *Architect*, 19.

6 Cf. Jörg Stabenow, *Architekten wohnen: Ihre Domizile im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Verlag Bauwesen, 2000), 13.

7 *Ibid.*, 141.

following World War II. According to Lavin, architects had found themselves degraded to “bureaucrats, mostly anonymous workers operating collectively in ways designed to suppress personal expression in favor of expeditious results.”<sup>8</sup> Postmodern architects, by contrast, tried to distinguish themselves as creative individuals. They hence advocated the view that every design had to be regarded as the expression of an individual genius: “[P]ostmodernism’ first began to appear in the mid-1960s to refer to the critique of modernism as a dogma but eventually became a catch-all for the heterogeneous formal and stylistic attributes that were held together by the notion that architectural work expressed the unique imagination of a single architect.”<sup>9</sup> Given that Moore is considered one of America’s most influential postmodernists, it seems particularly promising to scrutinize the renovation of his New Haven house with an eye to interrogating the professional self-conception that guided his work.

## A Fun House

After Moore took over 403 Elm Street, the most striking modification he made that was visible from the street was placing a metal object by artist Fred Hearst next to the entrance.<sup>10</sup> He also constructed a new timber wall to shield the rear garden from an adjacent hotel. Far more spectacular, however, were the alterations Moore made to the interior (Fig. 65). The architect initially intended to gut the house entirely, in line with what he described as the usual procedure of the time.<sup>11</sup> Realizing, however, that he would hardly gain any space this way, Moore instead decided to open up the floors in three places and insert two-story plywood towers into these apertures. The fact that he assigned no specific function to the towers testifies to the long-lasting impact exerted on Moore by the architect Louis Kahn. As in earlier projects, Moore—who taught alongside Kahn at Princeton from 1958 to 1959—availed

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8 Sylvia Lavin, *Architecture Itself and Other Postmodernization Effects* (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2020), 19.

9 *Ibid.*, 21.

10 Cf. Littlejohn, *Architect*, 81.

11 Cf. Charles Moore, “The Yin, the Yang and the Three Bears,” in *Charles Moore: Buildings and Projects 1949–1986*, ed. Eugene Johnson (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 16.

himself of the concept of “served spaces” and “servant spaces,” which Kahn and Anne Tyng had introduced with their Trenton Bath House in Ewing Township, New Jersey.

Given the impossibility of defining these shafts by their function, Moore gave a proper name to each of the towers. The structure beside the entrance, rising from the basement to the ground floor, bore the name “Howard,” after a dog he once knew in New Orleans.<sup>12</sup> The tower close to the northwest exterior wall, connecting the entrance level to the upper floor, was called “Beringaria,” having the wife of Richard the Lionheart as its namesake—or “an early Cunard liner named after her, or one of Charles’ cats.”<sup>13</sup> The third tower, spanning the entire height of the rear annex, was named “Ethel.”

While the towers helped structure the interior of the house, the cutouts in their double-layer plywood walls afforded spectacular vistas. While Beringaria’s window-like openings, partially equipped with stained glass, followed the layout of the façade behind, the circular segments cut from the walls of Howard and Ethel were intended to induce an altered perception of space: “What the circles did was make it possible within the limits of the little tubes to have circles of eighteen foot diameter, a size that you would scarcely think you could afford for a piece of furniture for a house so small and funny.”<sup>14</sup>

Moore’s 1977 book *Body, Memory, and Architecture* attests to his intense preoccupation with matters of spatial perception. Introduced by the architect and his co-author, the sculptor Kent Bloomer, as a “product of our joint efforts to teach fundamentals of architectural design,”<sup>15</sup> the publication is based on the assumption that modernism in many ways neglected patterns of human perception. As a praiseworthy exception, the authors mention gestalt psychology: “This brilliant group of theorists was able to demonstrate ... that in fact irrational forces in the act of perceiving reacted on and transformed the object being perceived.”<sup>16</sup> Just like Geoffrey Scott, who in his 1914 publication *The Architecture of Humanism* emphasized the “distinction between

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12 Cf. Littlejohn, *Architect*, 78.

13 *Ibid.*

14 Cf. Keim, *An Architectural Life*, 127.

15 Kent Bloomer and Charles Moore, *Body, Memory, and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), ix.

16 *Ibid.*, 31.

the appearance of bigness and the feeling of bigness a building gives,”<sup>17</sup> the cutouts within Howard and Ethel can be seen as an attempt to manipulate spatial perception through the application of gestalt psychology’s “Law of Closure”: As beholders completed the missing segments in their minds, they were meant to imagine shapes too big for the space, thus receiving an impression of a far larger interior.

But it was not just the towers that were “done with an eye to [making] the place, the dinky little place, look giant.”<sup>18</sup> A cardboard cutout of the actress Shirley Temple, known for her short stature, served the same purpose.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the decision to extend the Corinthian columns—employed in the basement as spolia—through jack posts should not be seen as a merely pragmatic solution to guarantee the sturdiness of the old house. Rather, extending the columns served to counteract the impression of the ceiling’s low height. In the same vein, a *trompe l’oeil* painting of a dome positioned over the architect’s bed functioned to perceptually widen the space.<sup>20</sup> However, not every feature of the lush decoration served this purpose. The digits from one to six that could be found in the entryway allegedly originated in a dream experienced by Moore’s employee Bill Hersey.<sup>21</sup> Moore later claimed that he used the numbered Masonite boards to show how much he was in debt. Even more personal biographical details are to be found in the portraits of two of his ancestors or the neon “42” sign, which was given to Moore as a birthday present on October 31 1967.<sup>22</sup>

## A London Model?

It hardly comes as a surprise that 403 Elm Street has been compared to the house built by British architect John Soane for himself in London at the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>23</sup> The two residences, separated by an ocean and

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17 Ibid., 32.

18 Keim, *An Architectural Life*, 172.

19 Ibid.

20 Cf. Littlejohn, *Architect*, 80.

21 Cf. Keim, *An Architectural Life*, 172.

22 Cf. Littlejohn, *Architect*, 80.

23 Ibid., 79.

one-and-a-half centuries, both feature multifaceted, partially two-story spaces and illusionistic tricks that, just like the extraordinary collections of their proprietors, were kept hidden behind inconspicuous façades (Fig. 66). Moreover, Moore is reported to have said that Soane's house on Lincoln's Inn Fields could have been built by himself, if only he had more taste.<sup>24</sup>

The two architects' houses were also both subject to continuous alteration. Moore is said to have ceaselessly transformed his house, even in the presence of guests.<sup>25</sup> Photographs of 403 Elm Street seem to affirm such accounts: While a picture of the architect's bed taken by Norman McGrath, for example, shows the illusionistic dome, earlier images reveal cotton clouds and hovering *putti* in its place. Shots of Berengaria at different times attest that the tower was equipped variously with a disco ball and a Mexican lantern from the eighteenth century.<sup>26</sup>

The transformations Soane made to his London house over the decades were even more comprehensive. According to Carsten Ruhl, Soane strove to present the beholder with an extensive project of "self-musealization."<sup>27</sup> Conceiving his residence as an autobiography built in stone, Soane attempted to showcase his architectural genius through the *mise-en-scène* of a variety of exhibits<sup>28</sup>—ranging from works of antiquity and their copies to pictures by painters of his acquaintance, a lock of Napoleon's hair, and a portrait of Fanny, his wife's pet dog.

Soane's seemingly disparate collection is given meaning solely through the biography of its owner. The ambition to stage his personality is evident in the placement of Soane's own portrait bust, lit by a skylight and

24 Cf. Charles Moore, Gerald Allen, and Donlyn Lyndon, *The Place of Houses* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 296. In his essay "Schinkel, Soane, and Jefferson," published posthumously, Moore counts Soane among the architects active around 1810 whose recourse to the past could still be considered exemplary (cf. Keim, *An Architectural Life*, 220–234).

25 Cf. Littlejohn, *Architect*, 77: "Actually, it was never 'done.' He kept changing it as long as he lived in it—sometimes during parties—using the house as a full-scale laboratory for experiments in space, color, optical effects, and visual wit."

26 *Ibid.*, 78–79.

27 Cf. Carsten Ruhl, "Autobiographie und ästhetische Erfahrung: John Soanes Künstlerhaus in Lincoln's Inn Fields," in *Ein Haus wie Ich. Die gebaute Autobiographie der Moderne*, ed. Salvatore Pisani and Elisabeth Oy-Marra (Bielefeld: transcript 2014), 129–56, 135, my translation.

28 *Ibid.*, 137, my translation.

juxtaposed with a cast of the Apollo Belvedere. According to Ruhl, Soane introduced himself as a “heaven-born architect” whose genius is illuminated by the splendor of Apollo, the God of light and leader of the muses.<sup>29</sup> If Moore’s house in New Haven followed this model, it would not only exemplify the self-conception of a profession convinced of its intellectual significance and proudly referring to its own tradition; in accordance with Sylvia Lavin’s assessment, it would also underline the importance of outstanding artistic genius.

When 403 Elm Street is compared to the Soane House, however, it becomes clear how cheap the materials were that Moore used in his alterations. Furthermore, unlike his British counterpart, Moore never sought to negotiate a Parliamentary Act that would see his collection preserved after his death by opening the house to the public as a museum. Finally, in contrast to the development of the Soane House, Moore’s New Haven transformations were not prompted by the needs of an ever-growing collection. Instead, in an interview with Heinrich Klotz and John Wesley Cook, Moore made clear that he remodeled his house without any plan in mind, simply following his intuition: “When I did the first layer of remodeling—moving the bathroom and putting in the stairs and cutting the holes—I still didn’t know what I was going to do with the plywood. . . . It was done piece by piece. When I started in the entrance hall, I had no idea what the rest would be like.”<sup>30</sup> This description of an almost unconscious process of transformation suggests that we should take another model into consideration.

## As If Built in a Dream

Moore’s account in the aforementioned interview suggests he intended to emphasize the affinity between his public transformation of 403 Elm Street and the almost vegetative formation of the house built over several decades by Carl Gustav Jung on the shores of Lake Zurich in Bollingen (Fig. 67). In his memoir *Dreams, Memories, Reflections* (*Erinnerungen, Träume, Gedanken*), published for the first time in 1962 and released in English the year after, the

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29 Ibid., 147, my translation.

30 Heinrich Klotz and John Wesley Cook, *Conversations with Architects* (London: Lund Humphries, 1973), 245.

Swiss psychiatrist recounts that he built his so-called Tower “in a kind of dream.”<sup>31</sup> Driven by the need “to achieve a kind of representation in stone of my innermost thoughts and of the knowledge I had acquired,”<sup>32</sup> Jung, in his own words, followed only “the concrete needs of the moment.”<sup>33</sup>

Jung describes how, in the beginning, he only wanted to erect a kind of primitive hut. But even before it was finished, he decided to build a circular, two-story house instead, which was completed in 1923. Over the following years he added a “central structure . . . with a tower-like annex”<sup>34</sup> that would be extended in 1931. However, this didn’t mean that the structure—which Jung adorned with his family coat of arms, as well as that of his wife and sons-in-law, adding a stone tablet into which he chiseled the names of his male ancestors for good measure<sup>35</sup>—was completed. Jung explained that, in 1935, he felt the desire for “a piece of fenced-in land,”<sup>36</sup> and decided to construct a loggia and a courtyard. Finally, following his wife’s death in 1955, Jung added another story to the middle section, turning it into a third tower. At the end of this transformation process, which Moore and co-authors Gerald Allen and Donlyn Lyndon described in their 1974 book *The Place of Houses*,<sup>37</sup> the residence in Bollingen, just like the house in New Haven, consisted of three towers and an enclosed garden.

Nonetheless, we might question if Moore really was just following spontaneous ideas when transforming 403 Elm Street. Records from Moore’s archive suggest organized design and intent in line with a particular conception of the architect’s role, not outright spontaneity. Alongside plans dating up to April 5 1966,<sup>38</sup> invoices show that Moore received comprehensive material deliveries between mid-April and June of the same year.<sup>39</sup> Rather than

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31 Carl Gustav Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (New York: Vintage, 1989), 225.

32 *Ibid.*, 223.

33 *Ibid.*, 225.

34 *Ibid.*, 224.

35 *Ibid.*, 232.

36 *Ibid.*, 224.

37 Cf. Moore, Allen, and Lyndon, *Place of Houses*, 129.

38 Cf. Charles Moore, *Plans of the Moore residence in New Haven, April 5 1966*, Charles W. Moore Archives, Alexander Architectural Archives, University of Texas at Austin.

39 Cf. *Batter Lumber Co., Inc., Invoice for wood supplies to Charles W. Moore*, undated, Charles W. Moore Archives, Alexander Architectural Archives, University of Texas at Austin.

indicating his striving for architectural self-realization, Moore's adaptation of the New Haven house demonstrates a professional self-conception of the architect as a kind of psychiatrist or psychologist. This observation parallels the opinion of his biographers. Kevin Keim, for example, underlines that "Moore listened. He had the ability to convey to others that what they were saying was important. Like an architect-psychologist, he absorbed what they did, where they enjoyed going, what they liked to collect—turning an interaction into a process of self-realization for the clients."<sup>40</sup>

In *The Place of Houses*, Moore, Allen, and Lyndon describe the necessity of figuring out the client's "dreams and fantasies"<sup>41</sup> in order to incorporate them into an individual house. In contrast to the modernist quest for universal and functional answers to the housing question, Moore and his colleagues encouraged their readers to follow their individual predilections—without, however, neglecting cultural customs or general human, "archetypal" needs.<sup>42</sup> Both the recollections of Moore's clients and the judgements of critics suggest that such an approach indeed informed the architect's practice.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, it was only through this procedure, we might conclude, that Moore's much-cited aim could be achieved—that is, the creation of places that not only let the people know where, but who, they are.<sup>44</sup>

If in the design process Moore took consideration of his clients' own self-realization—as Keim suggests—then this marks a contrast to Lavin's description of late postmodernism. Furthermore, it is clear that Moore even attributed political significance to his Jungian approach. When, following a lecture at Harvard University in 1974, he was asked whether he considered his work political, Moore answered: "I like to think that the 20th century is probably inhabited by Freudians and Marxists and some think that improvement is going to come by social action and others think that it is going to

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40 Keim, *An Architectural Life*, 129; cf. Littlejohn, *Architect*, 19: "Moore can listen to clients—at least to those he likes—remarkably well, rather like a good psychiatrist."

41 Moore, Allen, and Lyndon, *Place of Houses*, 144.

42 Charles Moore, "Shape," in *Dimensions: Space, Shape, and Scale in Architecture*, ed. Charles Moore and Gerald Allen (New York: Architectural Record Books, 1976), 12.

43 Cf. Keim, *An Architectural Life*, 132; cf. Heinrich Klotz, *Moderne und Postmoderne* (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1984), 180; cf. Littlejohn, *Architect*, 234.

44 Cf. Charles Moore, "Plug It In, Rameses, and See If It Lights Up, Because We Aren't Going to Keep It Unless It Works," in *Perspecta* 11 (1967), 34.

come by individual action. So that leaves me not a Marxist but a Jungian and I don't think that means apolitical."<sup>45</sup>

## Mass Society and Counterculture

In her introduction to Jung's work, authorized by the psychiatrist himself, Jolande Jacobi identifies the "perfection of [one's] own personality"<sup>46</sup> as the aim of analytical psychology. Referring to Jung's essay "Integration of the Personality" ("Die Wirklichkeit der Seele"), she emphasizes the hardships that accompany this striving toward wholeness:

The evolution of the personality is at once blessing and curse. One must purchase it dearly—for it brings with it isolation. 'Its first consequence is the conscious and unavoidable exclusion of the individual from the undifferentiatedness and unconsciousness of the herd.' It means not only isolation, however, but at the same time fidelity to own's own law. 'Only he who can deliberately say 'Yes' to the power of the destiny he finds within him becomes a personality,' and only such a personality is able to find its true place in a collective, only it is truly able to form a community, i.e., to be an integral part of a group of human beings and not merely a cipher in the mass, which always consists only of a sum of people and never can become, like the community, a living organism that receives life and bestows life.<sup>47</sup>

After 1945, critical discourse in the United States and Western Europe frequently referred to conformist postwar society as a "herd" or "mass"—as exemplified by Jung and Jacobi. Moore's position in this debate becomes obvious from a book review entitled "The Shapes of Our Time," published in the *Architectural Record* in 1957. Discussing *Problems of Design* by architect and designer George Nelson, Moore harshly objected to the author's theses. Most

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45 Charles Moore, Typescript of the lecture series "Flights from the Dialectic," Lecture of March 7 1974, 19, Charles Moore Foundation, Austin.

46 Jolande Jacobi, *The Psychology of C. G. Jung: An Introduction with Illustrations* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951), 77.

47 *Ibid.*, 123–124.

of all, he took offense at the lecture “The Enlargement of Vision,” in which Nelson calls upon his colleagues to adapt to a new *Zeitgeist*: No longer should architects try to counter or even bemoan the advancing degradation of the individual, but rather they should embrace it as an opportunity.<sup>48</sup> Strongly rejecting this proposition, Moore referred to William Whyte’s study *The Organization Man*.

A criticism of Americans’ conformity, Whyte’s book is just one of many publications—including those by the Frankfurt School—that exposed the shortcomings of a technocratic mass society.<sup>49</sup> Yet while different ideological camps agreed in their critique, the proper way to respond was generally disputed. While intellectuals such as Erich Fromm advocated a profound transformation of both the political system and the economic order, authors like Whyte were convinced that “any real change will be up to the individual himself.”<sup>50</sup> The so-called counterculture of the 1960s might be considered to have combined both approaches, addressing the individual person while still aiming to transform society at large. Although the phenomenon emerged in different places, one countercultural hotspot was the Bay Area, where Moore taught at the University of California at Berkeley from 1959 to 1965.

However difficult it may be to precisely define 1960s counterculture (named, incidentally, after Theodore Roszak’s 1969 book *The Making of A Counter Culture*),<sup>51</sup> Fred Turner has tried to demarcate it from the New Left: “If the New Left turned outward, toward political action, this wing turned inward, toward questions of consciousness and interpersonal intimacy, and toward small-scale tools such as LSD or rock music as ways to enhance both.”<sup>52</sup> Developing another explanatory approach in their introduction to the book *Imagine Nation*, Peter Braunstein and Michael Doyle stated:

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48 Cf. George Nelson, “The Enlargement of Vision,” in *Problems of Design*, ed. George Nelson (New York: Whitney, 1957), 59–74.

49 Cf. Andreas Reckwitz, *Subjekt* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2010), 123.

50 William Whyte, *The Organization Man* (London: Penguin, 1963), 372.

51 Cf. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle, “Historicizing the American Counterculture of the 1960s and ’70s,” in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and ’70s*, ed. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (New York: Routledge, 2002), 5.

52 Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 31.

The lever . . . would need to be positioned so as to shift the culture, and the culture would be moved one person at a time. If and when enough people had transformed themselves, the result would be like a magnetizing piece of iron: its energy becomes concentrated when the polarity of a sufficient quantity of individual molecules is realigned. The dominant culture could hardly help but be changed when thousands, perhaps millions of people formerly in its thrall incrementally aligned their values and actions to contradistinguish themselves from it.<sup>53</sup>

Emphasizing the above-mentioned preoccupation with the personal, Roszak stated that, compared to sociology, psychology was gaining in importance.<sup>54</sup> He emphasized that Jung, elsewhere considered obscurantist, was embraced by the counterculture.<sup>55</sup>

## Now and Then

Although the self-conception of the “architect-psychologist” is particularly evident in Moore’s designs for houses, it also informs his larger projects. In line with the ideas developed by members of Team 10, Moore hypothesized an analogy between the house and the city. While the notion of the house as a little city is very obvious in *Body, Memory, and Architecture*,<sup>56</sup> Moore’s designs for urban spaces attest to an aim to design squares as rooms in the open air. For example, Eugene Johnson mentioned the similarities between the sequences of oval spaces that Moore and his team designed for the Beverly Hills Civic Center and a project by Francesco Borromini for the Palazzo Carpegna in Rome.<sup>57</sup>

More successful than his translation of formal principles between buildings and urban plans, however, were Moore’s attempts to apply his psycho-

53 Braunstein and Doyle, “Historicizing the American Counterculture,” 10.

54 Cf. Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counterculture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969), 64.

55 *Ibid.*, 52n4; *ibid.*, 144.

56 Cf. Bloomer and Moore, *Body, Memory, and Architecture*, 46–49.

57 Eugene Johnson, “Performing Architecture: The Work of Charles Moore,” in Charles Moore: *Buildings and Projects 1949–1986*, ed. Eugene Johnson (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 88.

logical method to participatory planning. One of the projects that Moore and his colleagues at the Moore Ruble Yudell office designed in collaboration with future users was the Episcopal church of St Matthew in the Pacific Palisades. Moore described his approach as an “Ecclesiastical Rorschach test,”<sup>58</sup> referring to eponymous inkblot technique of psychiatrist Herman Rorschach: He confronted parishioners with a sequence of two sacral buildings at a time to gauge their reservations and preferences. (Meanwhile, the way Moore described the challenge of involving quarreling factions in the planning process also bears comparison to group therapy.) The most important aspect of user participation was most likely Moore’s desire to overcome technocratic planning and instead give future users an impression of personal agency. Recalling Jolande Jacobi’s remarks on Jungian psychology, we might say that the developed personality—to be promoted by the architect-psychologist’s tailor-made house—is a prerequisite for such communal collaboration.

While in many ways Moore’s approach to participatory planning still appears clear-sighted and exemplary, 403 Elm Street no longer bears witness to the architect’s self-conception: After a series of eight burglaries within a few months, Moore gave up the house in 1971, relocating both his home and his office to Essex, Connecticut. Following his departure, the house was sold to a couple whose marriage, according to Moore, was saved by the architecture.<sup>59</sup> Another subsequent owner, however, despised Moore’s interventions and returned the house to its *status quo ante*.

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58 Charles Moore, “Participation, California Style,” in *Language of Architecture: Lectures, Seminars and Projects*, Urbino 1981, ed. International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design (Florence: Sansoni, 1982), 55.

59 Cf. Littlejohn, *Architect*, 81.

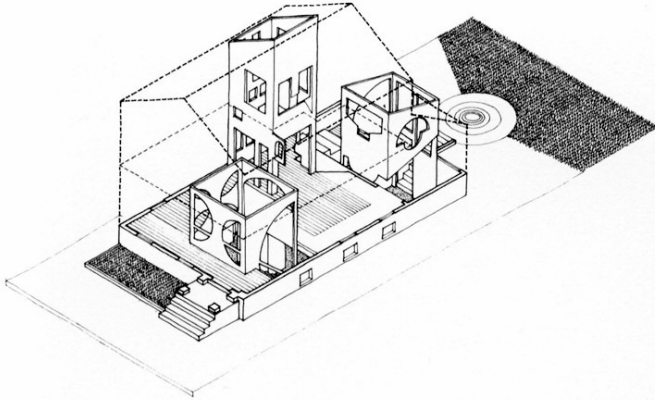


Fig. 65.  
Charles W. Moore, Moore House, New Haven CT (1966–1971).



Fig. 66.  
John Soane, Soane House, London (1792–1825). Engraving by Mason Jackson, published in the Illustrated London News.



Fig. 67.  
Carl Gustav Jung, Bollingen Tower, Bollingen (1923–1955). Photo by Martin Gledhill.

