

Marketing Modernism with the R.S. Reynolds Memorial Prize

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This paper examines the influence on modern architecture of the R.S. Reynolds Memorial Prize, which bestowed \$25,000 and an original work of aluminum sculpture to an architect from 1957 to 1993. Established by Reynolds Metals, once the second largest aluminum producer in the United States, the purpose of the prize was stated publicly: “The Award is conferred annually on an architect who, in the judgment of his profession, has designed a significant work of architecture, in the creation of which aluminum has been an important contributing factor.” Investigating the prize in the context of the competitive postwar aluminum cladding industry, however, reveals a commitment only conveyed privately in company communications: The Reynolds award was largely a tool of competition between industry titans such as rival Alcoa, whereby architects and their projects were appropriated as a marketing medium. Furthermore, to compete with Alcoa, Reynolds even celebrated works of architecture employing Alcoa-sourced aluminum in their own publications and advertisements, blurring the line of authorship between the architect on the one hand and competing producers on the other.

Drawing from Reynolds Metals and Alcoa company archives, this paper analyses the Reynolds competition as one of many tactics employed by producers to promote aluminum as the quintessential modern material. By publishing competition-winning works of aluminum architecture in marketing materials, producers enacted them as “silent salesmen.” Reflecting upon the assertions of promoters in the decades surrounding World War II that aluminum was agentic in modernizing the commercial landscape, this paper shows a way in which modernism – the reactions to modernity in visual, textual and architectural productions – was a marketing project. The reproduction of competition winners in promotional material constituted a modernism to sell aluminum for the producer. Examining this award shows one significant example of a broader engagement of material manufacturers with architects, educators, and professional organizations, revealing their persistent attempts to seek profit by influencing opinions and shape the built environment.

INTRODUCTION

Reynolds Metals and Alcoa were fierce competitors in the arena of twentieth-century aluminum production until Alcoa bought Reynolds in 2000. The purchase closed a chapter of competition for aluminum resource extraction and market capture that began before World War II and accelerated when Reynolds leveraged regulators’ anti-monopoly ambitions for the disruption of Alcoa, allowing Reynolds to gain control over state-of-the-art plants and patents. The two titans of aluminum fought for control over markets including the construction sector, which included aluminum cladding, mechanical components, and fixtures. In reaction, both companies developed robust marketing departments arrayed across the country as regional sales offices, a network to distribute marketing materials across multiple vectors of print and television, collaborations with famous architects and, central to this paper, architectural competitions.

As the upstart competitor, Reynolds was keen to associate the company name with visible, celebrated examples of aluminum in architecture. While professional architects and architecture students were delighted to win the R.S. Reynolds Memorial Award as a recognition by Reynolds of their design abilities, documents contained in Reynolds archives show that the company viewed the award as a different type of competition. Instead, it was a weapon of competition against industry competitors like Alcoa.

CORPORATE COMPETITORS

Sitting on the desk of R.S. Reynolds, Jr. was a dagger, the tip of which pierced a small translucent block. The dagger was a message: “we have slain the dragon of price.” This message, written in an advertisement under a similar sword, referred to the higher price of aluminum in a market dominated by Alcoa before Reynolds emerged as a viable competitor. To Reynolds, the “dragon” was Alcoa. Reynolds could claim, with a high degree of certainty, that their opposition to Alcoa provided the competition needed to help lower the price of aluminum and allow greater affordability of use in a variety of developing markets.

Although aluminum found widespread use in architecture before World War II – one of the first large scale uses was window framing on the Chrysler Building (1929) - its use accelerated rapidly after the war. Dozens of new plants and processing facilities were constructed with funding from the federal government to churn out aluminum components such as gun turrets



Figure 1. Left to right: Jos. H. McConnell, R.S. Reynolds, Jr., with dagger on desk. Reynolds Metals Company.

and airplane parts needed to fly sorties over the battlefields in Europe. After the war, upon the sale or return of plants to Alcoa, Reynolds Metals and Kaiser, executives began plotting ways in which this vastly expanded industrial capacity could be turned to domestic markets.

Regulators had for decades been maneuvering to enact anti-monopoly action against Alcoa. Although the United States depended greatly on Alcoa's aluminum expertise during the war, afterwards, regulators' position hardened. Alcoa's hand was forced with threat of dissolution, resulting in state of the art plants such as the Hurricane Creek plant in Arkansas transferring to Reynolds' control, producing the first viable domestic competition for Alcoa since the company formed as the Pittsburgh Reduction Company in the late 1800s. During immediate postwar years, Alcoa still maintained a dominant market share, with 50% domestic capacity. Reynolds held 30% of domestic capacity, while Kaiser maintained up to 20%.¹ Yet, Reynolds executives pined for a greater share, driven at first by patriotism (the company founder claimed to be driven to form a company after seeing an increase in German aluminum production before World War II) and underpinned by their belief that aluminum could yield prosperity for end users, consumers, and themselves.²

MARKETING ALUMINUM AS MODERN

Aluminum was a relatively new material to the twentieth century. Buoyed by its properties of resistance to corrosion, lightweight, and malleability, it was a highly useful material quickly adopted by manufacturers such as Kawneer as a substitute for other

metals. As such, producers sought to define and control its image. Alcoa and Reynolds promoted aluminum as a futuristic material that, if specified, could bring a future of prosperity to the present. Variations of this message resonated widely with postwar buyers, memories fresh of restrictions, rations, and the ravages of war. Accordingly, aluminum producers developed robust marketing departments to create new markets such as aluminum foil, and expand existing markets in automobiles and construction.

Marketing projects in the construction market targeted architects who had control over the specification of materials and owners who might be attracted to the low maintenance of aluminum components. Advertisements capitalized on the usefulness and - because of its relative newness - mystery of aluminum, to promote claims at large and small scales. Metanarratives such as, "aluminum is the theme metal of the twentieth century" oriented readers to imaginative futures, while advertisements in trade journals like *Architectural Record* touted the usefulness, cost-effectiveness, and material advantages of aluminum.

A consistent context to promotional messages about aluminum concerned the claimed modernness of the material. These claims were made in two significant ways. First, producers maintained aluminum was modern for its ability to improve existing conditions. Aluminum cladding was sold as a "slipcover" to be placed over existing brick facades to provide an updated look in tune with, according to one advertisement, "the modern tempo." Second, it was promoted as a material that could bring about improved future conditions. Alcoa and Reynolds advertised ways that aluminum should be specified as cladding to yield thinner, lighter walls, and by extension, more profitable spaces. As an iconic representative of the potential of aluminum, The Alcoa Building (Harrison & Abramovitz, Pittsburgh, 1953) was explained as a "salesman" to demonstrate the potential and advantages of aluminum, from its decorative aluminum façade to the many functional and aesthetic applications within.³ Aluminum-clad buildings were frequently described as modern by journalists and advertisers alike.

APPROPRIATING FAME AND EXPERTISE

Solidifying the image of aluminum as modern was a foundational effort for the marketers of both Alcoa and Reynolds. Beyond advertisements, both companies leveraged the fame associated with names and reputations of modern, famous architects to further bolster aluminum as essentially modern. Alcoa hired well-known architects like Harrison and Abramovitz who they believed held the expertise to help the company solve design problems, but also had an established, publicized reputation. Reynolds collaborated with Minoru Yamasaki, another architect with a respected reputation noticed by architectural journalists. When projects by Harrison and Abramovitz, such as the Alcoa Building, and the Reynolds Regional Sales Office by Minoru Yamasaki were reproduced in the pages of architectural journals, the association of aluminum with the reputation of modern

architects constituted an appropriation by the producers to frame aluminum as essentially modern.

Reynolds sought to further exploit its association with modern architects when it published a handsome, three volume set called *Aluminum in Modern Architecture*, which profiled dozens of aluminum-clad buildings by noteworthy architects in the United States and Europe. Filled with glossy photographs and details, the compendium showed projects that contained aluminum produced by its own plants and aluminum produced by its competitors such as Alcoa. In addition to building projects, Reynolds was keen to include quotes by famous architects praising aluminum. Several architects such as Minoru Yamasaki, Buckminster Fuller, and Walter Gropius were interviewed and asked questions leading to their ruminations on the material.

Yamasaki saw in aluminum an aesthetic potential, saying, “If we can produce really lovely ornaments through machine — machine made ornament — then we are proving something.”⁴ Consequently, his design for the Reynolds Great Lakes Regional Sales Office (Southfield, MI., 1967) featured a gold anodized aluminum screen, described by Yamasaki in aesthetic terms as a “jewel on stilts.”⁵ Fuller waxed poetic about the agency of aluminum, as though it were an entity with its own will, explaining, “What you are then prone to look upon, when you ask me about aluminum, is its unique behaviors, to which there is no competition whatsoever.”⁶ Gropius focused on the material’s qualities, proclaiming the architect “should be made familiar also with the specific qualities of aluminum.”⁷ Reynolds message was this: Reynolds produces aluminum, aluminum is modern, and the icons of modern architecture attest to the fact.

ALUMINUM AWARDS

The multi-pronged marketing approach of Alcoa and Reynolds extended from print to television to collaborations with famous architects, reaching even further into the sphere of the non-famous, uncelebrated architects through the sponsorship of competitions. Alcoa sponsored the Aluminum Curtain Wall Competition in 1956 and Reynolds founded an annual competition that — until the founding of the Pritzker Prize — bestowed the highest monetary award on an annual basis in the United States to an architect. The R.S. Reynolds Award, founded in 1957, gave \$25,000 to an architect, accompanied by an original work of aluminum sculpture crafted by a different artist each year. The award was given every year from 1957 to 1993, at which time it was retired. Administered by the AIA and directed by a board of supervisors at Reynolds Metals, 35 awards were given with an equal number of sculptures, some of which today are housed in the collections of major museums in the United States.

Aluminum companies were among many other material producers and trade organizations that sponsored competitions as a means of raising awareness of their architectural building products. In 1909, the industry trade magazine *Brickbuilder* sponsored the Terra Cotta House Competition to promote the



Figure 2. Eugene J. Mackey and Joseph D. Murphy won the 1961 Prize, Climatron, St. Louis, Missouri, 1961. Alexander Smith.

material. In 1937, Pittsburgh Glass Institute sponsored a competition awarding innovation in architectural glazing.⁸ Reynolds award, however, advanced the architecture discipline’s attention significantly because the monetary award was more than twice the \$10,000 award given for Alcoa’s curtain wall competition, and because it was promoted by the American Institute of Architects. The award breached the center of the American architectural profession, bringing attention to Reynolds and bolstering its association with modernism, a rapidly spreading architectural movement.

DEFINING THE PRIZE

The formal, full name of the award was the R.S. Reynolds Memorial Prize, established in memory of Richard Samuel (R.S.) Reynolds, the founder of the US Foil Company, which would later become Reynolds Metals Company. R.S. Reynolds was the nephew of tobacco producer R.J. Reynolds. R.S. Reynolds established a tin foil company to create a liner for the interior of cigarette packages, but soon found that aluminum, not tin, could be widely useful beyond tobacco packaging. After a career of launching the company and fostering its growth, management transferred to his sons and expanded to directors. The directors inaugurated the award in his memory, writing that R.S. Reynolds “made an historic contribution to the creative development of aluminum as a revolutionary new metal in the service of mankind.”⁹

The purpose of the competition was explained in the press in differing ways, depending on the audience. To the broad public, it was to memorialize an American whose company contributed to the effort of American World War II war fighters and spread the “revolutionary” material into American industry and — through accoutrements and aluminum foil — into the kitchen and everyday life of Americans. To architects, it was explained as a means of recognition by the profession. As written in the award brief, it was to confer “annually on an architect who, in the judgement of

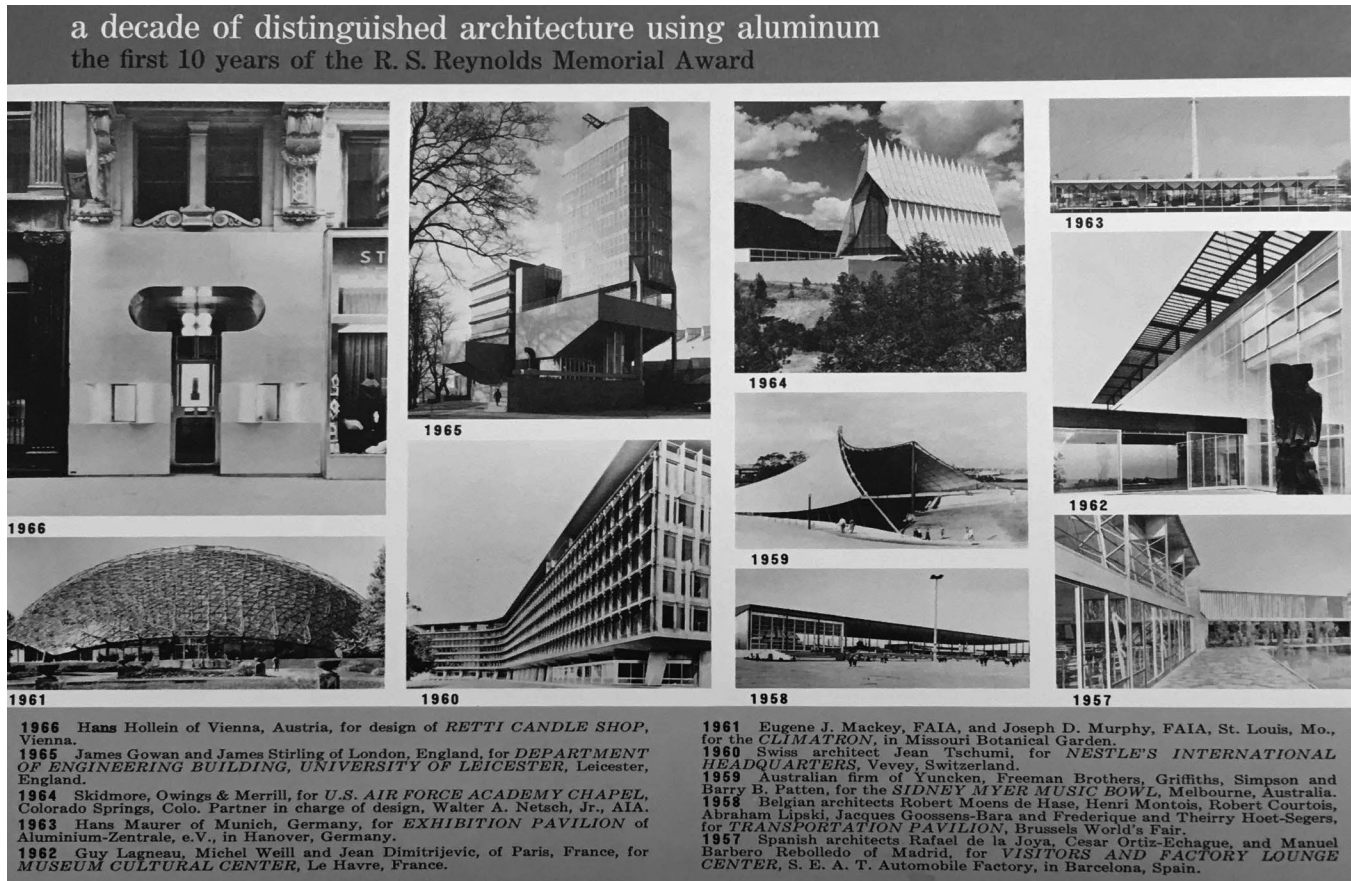


Figure 3. Brochure advertisement for the eleventh annual R.S. Reynolds Memorial Award. Reynolds Metals Company.

his profession, has designed a significant work of architecture, in the creation of which aluminum has been an important contributing factor.”¹⁰ Beyond celebrating architectural authorship of a particular work, Reynolds aimed to promote the influence aluminum architecture could have more broadly on society, writing that “prime consideration” is given to the awardee’s “potential influence on the architecture of our times.”

Reynolds persistently touted the advantages of aluminum in terms of aesthetics and this message was echoed in jury comments. Reynolds believed it was one of the central advantages of the material, and a reason for it to be specified by architects. Marketers with Reynolds claimed aluminum possessed “permanent, natural beauty.”¹¹ The juries for the award echoed the message of aesthetics, wherein “aesthetically or structurally” the jury judged an entrant’s contribution to the building field.¹² For example, the second award, granted in 1958 (Figure 3) was given for such reasons. The jury explained, “We chose the Brussels World Fair Transportation Pavilion...esthetically because of its total conception and structurally because of its total dependence on aluminum as a chief construction material.”¹³

The third award, won in 1959 by Yuncken, Freeman Brothers, Griffiths and Simpson of Melbourne for the Sidney Myer Music Bowl, was similarly noted for its “beauty.” Promoting the

outcome, the AIA wrote, ““The Music Bowl is acoustically perfect and it is beautiful.” Careful to frame any aesthetic quality in terms of function, thus aligning with the popular “form follow function” trope of modernism, the jury noted, “aluminum was not used as an ornament ‘but as an intrinsic element.’”¹⁴ The jury’s assessment of aesthetic quality as intrinsic to the materiality of the architecture served to echo a marketing message for Reynolds.

Evidence is scant that Reynolds directed the juries to convey specific messages. The juries were comprised of eminent architects of the day, some with reputations borne of challenging the status quo. Walter Gropius (Figure 4) led the 1960 jury, after a storied career changing architectural education at the Bauhaus and Harvard and showing architectural tastemakers like Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock an International Style divergent from obsessions with historical styles circulating among American architects of the early-twentieth century.

Juries were tasked with choosing the winners according to two basic criteria. “1. The originality and the significance of the architectural concept. 2. The contribution to the use of aluminum.”¹⁵ Juries often gathered in Washington D.C. at the “Octagon,” the AIA headquarters, to pour over the entries and debate merits.



Figure 4. The jury for the 1960 Prize, from left to right: Dr. Walter Gropius, Philip Will, Arthur Fehr, C.E. Pratt, James H. Hunter. Reynolds Metals Company.

Notable jurists, selected every year by the AIA, included William Caudill, Eero Saarinen, and Carlos Contreras.

SCULPTING AN IMAGE

Reynolds was keen to find ways to accentuate any aesthetic associations with aluminum and beauty. Consequently, Reynolds gave a work of art, in addition to the monetary honorarium, to each winner. Sculptors were commissioned by Reynolds each year to make an original work of sculpture in accordance with the artists' theoretical or practical reflections on the material's qualities. The first work was sculpted by Theodore Roszak (figure 5) who hinted at the advantageous properties of aluminum, saying, "We haven't really tapped the resources of aluminum... the potential of the metal has not yet been realized." This message was aligned by Reynolds with their ambitions for growth in the aluminum market and desire to position aluminum as a material widely useful and able to modernize and bring about a better future. Explaining Roszak's work, Reynolds wrote, "The essence of Roszak's entire body of sculpture is that of transition and change, of metamorphosis as the only enduring reality."¹⁷

The sculptures held a secondary benefit in that, when photographed, their iconic imagery could be reproduced in magazines and advertisements, carrying the Reynolds message of leadership in defining art and architectural aesthetics to wider audiences. The sculptures ranged from organic forms, such as "Hybrid" (1973) by the Black sculptor Richard Hunt, to sleek, minimalist forms such as a chamfered, oblong ring form entitled, "Construction 273" by James Prestini, given to Willi Walter of Zurich, Switzerland for the Swiss exhibition "Radiant Structure," at EXPO '70 in Japan.

ADJUSTING COMPETITION GOALS

The AIA administered the award and consistently held sway over its direction, but never gained full control. Reynolds was the final arbiter of the award's ambitions, but the AIA and Reynolds identified what they believed to be a gathering problem with the award in the first three years of its existence: no Americans were winning. In 1957, Spanish architects won.¹⁸ In 1958, Belgian architects won.¹⁹ In 1959, Australian architects won.²⁰ And in 1960, the Swiss architect Jean Tschumi won, for the Nestlé's International Headquarters Building in Vevey, Switzerland.

Various theories were put forth by jury members to explain the lack of American winners. One theory held that American architects were subject to onerous building codes, precluding exuberant innovation. Another theory saw too much standardization plaguing architectural components in the United States, a belief Reynolds may not have appreciated. Walter Gropius championed these arguments, after which his jury stated, "The Jury assumes that the lack of imaginative use and sensitive detail in some U.S. entries may reflect the ready availability of standard and pre-engineered building components in the United States and the restraints imposed by U.S. building codes and insurance requirements."²¹

As a result, Reynolds sought to expand the pool of entrants to student-designers who were not subject to conditions of standardization or building codes. Their "paper architecture" could flourish creativity in more expressive ways. \$200 was given to a winning student at every school that entered the competition. Next, those winners competed nationally for a \$5000 prize, which was subsequently split between the winning student team and the school. This prize was inaugurated in 1961 as the Reynolds Aluminum Prize for Architectural Students, administered by the AIA.

Perhaps as luck would have it, that same year an American finally won. Eugene Mackey and Joseph Murphy won for their design of the Climatron (Figure 2), a faceted dome of aluminum paneling and exposed aluminum structure housing plants for the Missouri Botanical Garden in St. Louis. Winners in the subsequent years were distributed between Americans, Australians, a Brazilian, Canadians, Europeans, and Japanese architects until its ending in 1993. Projects could be designed by any architect across the globe if it met the criteria, which importantly required the use of aluminum.

Whether the aluminum was sourced from Reynolds' mines in Jamaica, processed by plants in the United States, sourced from Alcoa's vast industrial capacity, or made by foreign suppliers did not matter. Reynolds was eager to showcase any award-winning work of aluminum architecture and associate it with the Reynolds name. The iconic origami-like aluminum cladding on the Air Force Academy Chapel in Colorado Springs, designed by Walter Netsch, Jr, with Skidmore, Owings & Merrill was sourced from Alcoa and championed by the company in their

own publications, but it also garnered attention for Reynolds after winning the 1964 Reynolds Prize, subsequently reproduced in their own marketing materials. From the Bank of China building in Hong Kong by I.M. Pei (1991) to works by Norman Foster, Richard Meier, and Fumihiko Maki, some of the most noteworthy works of twentieth century architecture were associated with Reynolds, juxtaposed with image-worthy works of original sculpture in magazine articles and news releases.

The award might have become the premier architecture award, except that Reynolds was adamant that it remain focused on aluminum. In 1966, an AIA task force proposed to change the objectives of the award. “Simply stated, we would like the Board to consider the Award as one for distinguished architecture without restrictions as to number of buildings or materials.”²² This proposal was not met favorably with the Reynolds Board, yet was also not fully rejected. Widening the scope to focus on other materials, potentially excluding aluminum, was out of the question for the aims of the existing award program. However, the board was open to establishing a second prize. As a result, the AIA and Reynolds developed the “R.S. Reynolds Memorial Award for Community Architecture,” which could include an award for multiple buildings in one project regardless of material. Of note, it also conferred a \$25,000 award, but left the aluminum-focused original “Reynolds Prize” intact. Counterfactual history is by definition an exercise in imagination, but the original prize and its focus on aluminum precluded a wider scope of awardees. In 1979, the Pritzker Prize was established to award excellence in architecture regardless of material and has become the premier design prize in architecture.

DEMISE OF THE PRIZE

The R.S. Reynolds Memorial Prize was discontinued by Reynolds in 1993. Announcing the end, Reynolds stated that the award “has served its purpose well by honoring outstanding architects all over the world who have used aluminum as a significant material in commercial buildings.”²³ Publicly, Reynolds kept the focus on aluminum and design acumen. Privately, however, Reynolds saw it as holding a dual purpose. Like the dagger positioned prominently on Richard S. Reynolds, Jr.’s desk in the Reynolds Headquarters building in Richmond, Virginia, the prize had also been a weapon of competition against Reynolds’ competitors. Marketing was an arsenal of offence between rivals in the aluminum industry, whereby images were made, and perceptions were shaped. The AIA, which administered the prize, was inevitably entangled in Reynolds’ marketing agenda. In 1966, Richard S. Reynolds, Jr., the son of R.S. Reynolds, received a letter from the General Director of Public Relations of Reynolds Metals, who had received “a sneak preview at an article that had been prepared for the A.I.A. Journal...I have promised the author that we will not let the AIA know we have received an advance copy.” This article was written very favorably about the first ten years of the award and included the claim that “the image created by the Program for the Reynolds Organization is truly remarkable. Whenever the name ‘Reynolds’ is heard within the Architectural Profession it



Figure 5. Winners of the first Reynolds Prize, Rafael de la Joya, Cesar Ortiz-Echague and Manuel Babero Rebolledo, with sculpture award entitled “Invocation,” by Theodore Roszak, 1957. Reynolds Metals Company.

immediately indicates two things: First, aluminum. Second, the Reynolds Prize.”²⁴

A COMPETITION FOR COMPETITION BETWEEN RIVALS

The article’s secret, advanced circulation among executives at the highest level at the company reveals their endorsement of the belief that the award program had successfully associated the company’s name with a material that had long been dominated by Alcoa. The Reynolds public relations executive wrote that the quotes about a successful association of company, prize, and material were “particularly good” for Reynolds Metals, emphasizing with marks in the margin that the program had been good for all involved.

Certainly, the Reynolds Prize was good for awardees and sculptors, who received monetary remuneration. Likely, it was good for the AIA, drawing attention to the growing profession, albeit with a more international emphasis that initially sought. With a long tenure, the prize was good for Reynolds Metals, elevating its stature as a champion of modern architecture in a construction market with robust competition for aluminum products and

suppliers. Thus, the prize was a competition on two levels – one for the awardee and one between rival material producers.

COMPETITONS FOR CORPORATE AMBITIONS

Contemporary prizes, such as the ACSA Timber competition (a partnership between trade organizations like the Softwood Lumber Board or the Binational Softwood Lumber Council) can, like the Reynolds Prize, confer advantage to the many parties involved. While students and architects, as winners, garner deserved attention, a second channel of marketing is inherent in the reproduction of architectural imagery. Images of designs or photographs of award-winning built work act as “silent salesmen” for the attendant industries involved.²⁵ Recalling the Reynolds-sponsored book *Aluminum in Modern Architecture '58*, writer Paul Weidlinger recognized the favorable publicity that imagery can give to the parties involved, explaining, “In the American economy a considerable dollar value is assigned to the intangible benefits which arise out of the favorable publicity gained by the pleasing and in a few instances aesthetically highly satisfactory appearance of these new types of construction.”²⁶ Reynolds described the modern design of the company headquarters in Richmond, Virginia (Gordon Bunshaft, 1958) whereby its modern design reproduced in magazines or visited in person, as “an important sales tool.”²⁷ Likewise, competitions today, like competitions of the twentieth century, serve as a sales tool that is less noticed than the fanfare surrounding the award winners, but does much work to launch imagery into media channels.

Aluminum is not inherently modern but was persistently and purposefully promoted as such by Reynolds’ marketers. When photographs and accompanying descriptions of extant projects, “paper architecture,” and accounts of collaborations with famous architects were reproduced, these efforts constituted an image-in-formation that served Reynolds. Competitions, as vectors of imagery and modes of association, serve to advance the marketing project of the sponsor. Beatriz Colomina has explained the role of media in constructing the modern, wherein, “modern architecture only becomes modern with its engagement with media,” showing that modern architecture becomes known and imagined principally through media like photographs.²⁸ Accordingly, architectural competitions sponsored by corporations help not only to celebrate creative acumen, but also to define the labels that categorize associated architectural movements.

ENDNOTES

1. *Alcoa's Competitive Situation*, p. 10, Folder 1, Box 37, Records of the Aluminum Company of America.
2. For R.S. Reynolds's patriotic motivations, see “R. S. Reynolds Stresses America's Danger in Louisville and Richmond Radio Talks,” *Reynolds Review*, January 1960, folder 78, Reynolds Metals Company Collection, series 1.3.
3. For Alcoa's account of the way the Alcoa Building is a “salesman,” see *Aluminum on the Skyline* (Pittsburgh: Aluminum Company of America, 1953).
4. John Peter, *Aluminum in Modern Architecture '58*, (Louisville: Reynolds, 1958), 110.
5. Peter, *Aluminum in Modern Architecture '60*, 73.
6. Peter, *Aluminum in Modern Architecture Volume I*, 236, 237.
7. *Ibid.*, 228.
8. Heather Erin Massler, “The World with the Silver Lining: Architecture, Advertising & Reynolds Metals Company 1935-2000,” (MA Thesis, University of Virginia, 2004), 41.
9. The R.S. Reynolds Memorial Award, folder 25, Reynolds Metals Company Collection, series 1.1.
10. The R.S. Reynolds Memorial Award 1959, folder 25, Reynolds Metals Company Collection, series 1.1.
11. Reynolds Aluminum and the People Who Make It, 2. Reynolds claimed aluminum possessed “permanent natural beauty.”
12. The R.S. Reynolds Memorial Award 1959, folder 25, Reynolds Metals Company Collection, series 1.1.
13. American Institute of Architects, News Release, May 20, 1958, p. 1, Reynolds Metals Company Collection, series 1.1.
14. American Institute of Architects, News Release, May 20, 1958, p. 1, *ibid.*
15. The R.S. Reynolds Memorial Award 1959, folder 25, Reynolds Metals Company Collection, series 1.1.
16. “Noted Sculptor Chosen to Design Award Emblem,” *Reynolds Review*, April 1957, p. 13, folder 75, Reynolds Metals Company Collection, series 1.3.
17. *Ibid.*, 13.
18. Rafael de la Joya, Cesar Ortiz-Echague and Manuel Babero Rebolledo, Visitors and Factory Lounge Center, S.E.A.T. Automobile Factory, Barcelona, Spain, 1957.
19. T. & F. Hoet-Segers, H. Montois, R. Courtois, J. Goossens Bara, R. Moens de Hase, Abraham Lipski, Transportation Pavilion, Brussels, Belgium, 1958.
20. Yuncken, Freeman Brothers, Griffith and Simpson, Sidney Myer Music Bowl, Melbourne, Australia, 1959.
21. First Annual Reynolds Aluminum Prize for Architectural Students 1961 (New York: The American Institute of Architects), p. 3, folder 26, Reynolds Metals Company Collection, series 1.1.
22. The R.S. Reynolds Memorial Award, Reynolds Metals Company Collection, series 4.24.
23. Reynolds Public Relations Staff, *Reynolds Metals to Discontinue Award*, March 19, 1993, Reynolds Metals Company Collection, series 1.1.
24. Donald B. McCammond to R.S. Reynolds, Jr., 3 May, 1966, Reynolds Metals Company Collection.
25. “Silent Salesman” was the term deployed by aluminum manufacturer Kawneer, but has been included by the author herein to summarize the ambitions of marketers' descriptions of works in aluminum. Alcoa and Reynolds referred to their respective aluminum-clad headquarters as a “showcase.” See *Machines for Selling: Modern Store Designs by Kawneer*.
26. Peter, *Aluminum in Modern Architecture '58*, 77.
27. R. S. Reynolds, Jr., “From the President's Desk,” *Reynolds Review*, September 1958, folder 70, Reynolds Metals Company Collection, series 1.3.
28. Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), 14.