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Planning History

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Notes for Contributors

The prime aim of Planning History is to increase an awareness of developments and ideas in planning history in all parts of the world. In pursuit of this aim, contributions are invited from members and non-members alike for any section of the bulletin. Articles should normally not exceed 2500 words, and may well reflect work in progress. Photographs and other illustrations may be included. Contributions submitted on a disc, with accompanying hard copy, are to be encouraged; please contact the editor for format details.

Contents

Editorial

The editorial for this issue was written on a train, travelling from Glasgow to London, a diagonal route across Britain that takes nearly six hours. It is an evocative journey for a planning historian, offering a cross section through time as well as place. Late-eighteenth century industrial landscapes rest alongside post-modern fantasies, towns change places with country, in a kaleidoscope of changing images.

Glasgow Central is where it all starts, the nineteenth-century structure of the refurbished station veneered with modern heritage architecture. The technology of modern transport is new, of course, and the station works hard to live up to the highly-publicised image of its rejuvenated city. Full of paradoxes but it all seems to work, and as the train crosses the Clyde one is confronted with ample evidence of the rebirth of this former centre of manufacturing. Further out, though, the drab housing estates - a product of earlier ideals of suburban living, thwarted by the reality of mean municipal budgets - serve as a reminder that the rebirth of a city has to extend well beyond its centre.

Vacant industrial sites and the outline of the doomed Ravenscraig steel works spell out the present fate of the industrial towns to the south of Glasgow, once centres of coal-mining, ironworks and engineering. Food for thought here, but the scenery has soon changed to that of the magnificent Southern Uplands, an unbroken race through the hills until the train stops briefly at Lockerbie, a quiet town no longer in the glare of publicity.

Then across the border, and through some delightful stations, their red stone and decorative ironwork set against a backcloth of the Pennines to the east and Lake District to the west. Carlisle, Lancaster and Preston mark out the route, followed by a stop at Wigan, its name immortalised by George Orwell and synonymous with the idea of a northern industrial town. Still one can see a few remaining red-brick mills, their tall chimney stacks no longer smoking; the coal mines have gone, and playing fields have replaced former workings. Wigan Pier (where coal was once tipped into canal barges) is now a heritage centre. Even nearby Crewe boasts a heritage attraction in a converted signal box, strategically placed near one of the great junctions of the railway age.

From Lancashire and Cheshire, the train races south-eastwards, a route that surprises visitors for the sheer extent of open countryside. There are glimpses of motorways and cooling towers, but it is the sight of canals and church towers that sets the scene in this stretch of middle England. Perhaps, though, this is all illusion, for soon one is in Milton Keynes, as symbolic of the new Britain as is Wigan of the old. A city built for the motor age, for the consumer with more time for leisure than for work, with nothing old about it except enduring new town ideals. Low-flung commercial buildings in primary colours, and award-wining housing schemes typify what is on view.

The rest of the journey is brief. The rings which Abercrombie drew in his wartime Greater London Plan still provide a means to find one's way through the landscape of the Home Counties and into the metropolis. Through the neat countryside and prosperous towns of the Outer Country Ring and the Green Belt (the latter too narrow to be meaningful, but still effective in defining the physical edge of the capital as Abercrombie would have wished), across London's suburbs (most of them dating from the 1930s and now in the throes of renewal and intensification), and so to the inner city and Euston Station. London continues to prosper - if measured in terms of central area redevelopment - but some of the high costs of this are immediately apparent; Glasgow, one wonders, might be more effectively pointing the way to the future.

Dennis Hardy

Notices

Articles

SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNA-TIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS, BERKELEY, USA, 4-7 OCTOBER 1990

The second conference of the *International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments* (IASTE) addressing the theme *First World-Third World : Duality and Coincidence in Traditional Dwellings and Settlements* will be held at the University of California, Berkeley, on October 4-7, 1990. The final schedule includes 120 papers by scholars from 34 countries. Keynote speakers include Janet Adu-Lughod, Samir Amin, Hasan-Uddin Khan, Lisa Peattie, John Turner, and Dell Upton. The proceedings will be edited by conference co-director Nezar Al Sayyad and Jean-Paul Bourdier. For registration information, contact : IASTE Conference, Center for Environmental Design Research, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720; telephone (415) 642-2896.

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON CAMILLO SITTE: DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE, INSTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO DI ARCHITETTURA, VENICE, 7-10 NOVEMBER 1990

A three day international symposium has been organised to mark the centenary of the publication of Camillo Sitte's *Der Städtebau nach seines Künstlerischen Grundsätzen*.

The symposium entitled "Sitte e i suoi interpreti" (Sitte and his interpreters) will focus on the influence the work of Sitte had all over Europe and the United States and on its various interpretations.

The aim is to provide a forum for a comparative presentation of the impact of the Sittesque model in Europe and to highlight the discourse on the birth of modern town planning.

Further information from Guido Zucconi, Department of History of Architecture, Instituto Universitario di Architettura, 30124 Venezia, Italy, tel (041-719153-719040), Fax (719044).

Margarethenhöhe Essen: Garden City, Workers' Colony or Satellite Town?

Ursula v. Petz
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Introduction

When in 1906 Margarethe Krupp the widow of one of the greatest industrialists in Germany in this period, signed the deed of foundation for a "workers' colony" on the outskirts of the industrial city of Essen, it was intended to improve the living conditions of the people.

The colony, which according to the intensions of the founder was built under the aesthetic rules of the recently established German Garden City Movement, has become very famous because of the layout of its plan, the picturesque site on the slope of a wooded hill, the smart design of the houses together with its peaceful atmosphere. This "garden city" acted for a long time as a model village also for the construction of colonies all over the Ruhr area.

This paper will only discuss briefly the colony itself. The main emphasis, however, will concentrate on the discussion of how the project was handled by the local planning authority and the local politicians.

The city of Essen at this time was an industrial boom town with a more or less obsolete "medieval" core, surrounded by coal mines and the Krupp steel factories. After 1900 it started to change its image into a modern city. It will be questioned how the entrepreneurial initiative of Mrs Krupp and the "Margarethenhöhe" fits into this philosophy, which was in the first instance represented by a young planner called Robert Schmidt, who later became the most famous "regional planner" of the Ruhr area.

When in 1906 the Margarethe-Krupp foundation was established, the policy for town development and town planning (compared with 19th century planning principles) changed radically. The construction of Margarethenhöhe, which began four years later, illustrates this change.

The case study is the city of Essen in the Ruhr Area. Essen is one of those cities in Germany which experienced in the course of the 19th century a fundamental change from a sleepy agrarian town with an episcopal see and about 5000 inhabitants around 1820, to a coke-town with a population of more than 100,000 people around 1900. Two branches dominated the growth of the city of Essen: north to the "medieval" town coal mining increasingly spread over the area, whereas in the west of the town a cast steel factory started to expand.

Established in 1812, the factory of Friedrich Krupp began to grow on the basis of special production methods in steel casting and the corresponding development of special products, with about 1000 labourers in 1857 (1851 only 250) and about 12,000 in 1873. It particularly profited from the French-German War of 1870/71 and the preceding production boom in the armament sector. In 1873 the growth period everywhere came to an end just as it did for Krupp also and the depression lasted then for twelve years, before growth soared again. From 1885 onwards the Krupp factory prospered anew and this second boom lasted till the First World War. This is the period when the Krupp enterprise definitely becomes an international power on the world market.

Fig 1 The 19th century Krupp coketown Essen, from the north

The city of Essen was widely dominated by the Krupp factories: Krupp *is* Essen and - in the first instance - the city of Essen is synonymous with Krupp. That is certainly true for the 19th century. Towards the turn of the century nevertheless this interdependance between city and Krupp slowly started to change because the city gradually evolved from a purely industrial town, a coke-town, into a modern city and - in my opinion - the

planning and construction of Margarethenhöhe represents one element in this transformation process.

A new policy in city development

Towards the end of the 19th century the role of the municipal administration was clearly shifting from a restrained attitude in more or less controlling public money and property, to a type of public enterprise which has to be based on efficient management. Whereas it still was - up to the mid-80s - the municipal aim to spend as little money as possible, it then became necessary for the city to invest in the construction of infrastructure and to run the relevant enterprise on the city's own behalf.

In 1886 the municipal architect of Essen, Wiebe, writes in a memorandum about "The housing conditions of the poor at Essen" that there would have been no need to promote municipal housing programmes up to that time, "because the housing shortage is only a consequence of the flourishing of the industry and the arrival of the needed labour force, which means that it is the responsibility of the factory owners to provide good accommodation for the bulk of the manpower." (Quoted from Kösters 1981, 64). As such, Wiebe argues that the shortage in houses, the bad living conditions and the high rent prices were caused by the industry which was acting without responsibility, when it only concerned itself for profit and not for the relevant infrastructure, and he blamed the factory owners for leaving the problem to the cities. From Wiebe's point of view it was not so much a pure philanthropic attitude when Alfred Krupp built his own housing estates, the workers' colonies for "his" workers when the enterprise flourishes: between 1863 and 1892, 6800 flats as well as social infrastructure and social welfare.

But it was in the first instance during the long period of economic depression between 1873 and 1885 that a new approach of public intervention in technical, social and economic fields was adopted by German cities and municipalities. This approach was based on the one hand on rapidly developing technical standards in infrastructure and on the other hand on the policy of (the German variant of) "municipal socialism" (Bajohr 1988).

To offer social services and to respond to the supply of public social infrastructure was a way to counter the negative effects of the economic crisis and the consequences of the rapid growth of the towns. At Essen public money was *per capita* invested as follows: 1849 - 3.86 Reichsmarks, in 1913 - 53.50 Reichsmarks (Bajohr 1988, 118).

With expanding administration and services, the municipalities became more and more active players in the formation of the local environment and in the life of the city. This happened certainly at Essen, when a new "Bürgermeister" took office

in 1885. Erich Zweigert followed this policy in the first years after taking up office and promoted the completion of the technical infrastructure such as energy supply, tramwaylines, public services, etc. But around the turn of the century on the basis of a new appreciation of the role of public administration at local level he primarily concentrated on the following crucial subjects:

- Firstly the support of tertiary activities in the industrial town and the conversion of the town centre into a "City". That does not mean only to attract new "headquarters" and institutions to the place and to favour building for public and private administration and commerce; it also means extending the city's cultural attractions. Zweigert did both and it was largely to his merit that the main management of the railway board as well as the central administrative seat of the coal board were to choose Essen for their location. At the same time Zweigert supported very much the building of a museum, an opera house, a public library, etc.

- Secondly, Zweigert focussed on making the municipal bureaucracy professional. Therefore, he engaged several qualified experts for the municipal administration (P. Brandi as legal adviser, O. Wiedfeldt as head of the - reorganised - public record office, R. Schmidt as municipal architect).

- Further, Zweigert supported very much the founding of intercommunal boards within the Ruhr Area to solve on a regional level problems such as fresh water supply and sewage. This resulted in the foundation of two relevant institutions in 1898 and 1904 - both with their administration located at Essen (Ruhrtalsperrenverein and Emschergenossenschaft).

Zweigert also approved the reorganisation of the municipal boundaries. The incorporation of neighbouring communities into Essen meant gaining more space and cheap land in, for example, the borough of Altenessen in 1901, and the borough of Rüttenscheid in 1905.

Finally, he was very much engaged as mediator between employers and employees during the massive struggles after 1900. It can be suggested that he had obviously recognised that violent social conflicts would have, among other things, negative effects on the city's evolution towards a modern "metropolis".

The founding of Margarethenhöhe

Erich Zweigert died in 1906 at the age of 57 - but the new policy which he had consequently pursued since the late 90s was already successful. It fits very well into this context, that in this period Margarethe Krupp, since 1902 widow of the late Friedrich Alfred Krupp, established the Mar-

garethe-Krupp foundation on the occasion of the wedding of her daughter Bertha and Gustav von Bohlen und Halbach. This donation "should serve in the first instance in providing the poor ("minderbemittelten Klassen") with housing... The foundation's capital consists of 1 m. Reichsmark and 50 ha building land... The capital ... is destined ... for the construction of houses." (Essen, 1st December 1906).

The foundation was governed by a board of eleven, five of whom were members of the Krupp company, five of the municipality, and in the chair "Oberbürgermeister" Holle, who succeeded Zweigert. The board had to take the further decisions about the Margarethenhöhe.

The building site, formerly agricultural land, lays across a valley on the top of a hill to the southwest of the city, about 3 km from the main station. The air at the site was clean, and the site safe from land subsidence caused by mining (because there is no coal under the surface). With considerable energy, Bürgermeister Zweigert had already in 1901 attempted to purchase the site. He wanted to acquire the land for the city to incorporate the neighbouring municipality of Rüttenscheid on the one hand, and on the other to plan at the site a communal forest which the town according to Zweigert urgently needed as compensation for the heavily industrialised high density, 19th century quarter in the northern part of the city. But in this case Zweigert had no success. More successful, however, was the financial adviser and property administrator of Mrs Krupp, who was able to buy via middle men in 1903/04 an area of 250 ha of land in this area between Rüttenscheid, Baldeney and Fulerum (50 ha of which were then contributed to the donation). The financial adviser was a member of the Krupp management, but he was also a member of the city council. He certainly had known about Zweigert's intentions concerning the land and his unsuccessful efforts to acquire it.

With the donation of Margarethe Krupp, which seems to be her own decision, the Krupp company adopted a new course in its housing policy. The paternalistic 19th century attitude, which was so popular and so perfectly carried out by the factory owners, had become old fashioned. It now became more socially orientated,

and was no longer only addressed to the company's staff and its families but became also open to the entire population of the city. When the donation document states that the houses should be for "poorer" ("minderbemittelte") classes it is usually argued that at this time not the really poor were meant, but those who within the population were not able to create property by themselves - a convincing argument if one looks at the social status of the later tenants.

Certainly, members of the Krupp staff should be "appropriately taken into consideration", as it is said, for the choice of the tenants for Margarethenhöhe. but by and large the estate should be open to everybody. In any case, it was not a worker's colony in the traditional sense, because it was too far away from the company's premises as well as the mining pits, a fact which made it impossible for the workers or miners to walk to work (a fact which, for example, determined the timing of the lunch hour).

But, more important, is that meanwhile attractive middle class housing was urgently needed with the whole city. The extension of the tertiary sector in the city demanded more, new and better housing stock. But not only within the city area in general had the housing demand of a new new middle class grown; even the company itself had changed its labour force according to new production methods and new forms of communication and management with the result that a new generation of white collar workers ("Beamte") acquired jobs. In 1885 the company had only 1,320 employees (white collar workers); in 1910 this figure was up to 4,039. Therefore, the company needed better middle class housing for the better paid.


Zugang zur Stiftung mit Brücke.

Fig 2 Approach to the garden city (1912)

The list of the first 359 tenants who in 1913 moved in at Margarethenhöhe proves this point: less than half the number of tenants (174) were "Kruppianer", employees of the Krupp company (workers, employees, pensioners); the other (188) were, aside from teachers (13), tradesmen (7) and "others" (39), employees of the municipality (55), the post office (24), the railway (20), the coal board (8 - it goes to Zweigert's credit to have these offices attracted to Essen), the police (11) and the court (11) (Kösters 1981, 110).

Margarethenhöhe - a garden city?

To say it in advance - Margarethenhöhe in Essen is certainly not a "classical" garden city in the sense of Ebenezer Howard, even if it is usually named as such. In the journal of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association the title of an article in 1911 is named "The German Bournville" and this, I think, might fit very well. Peter Hall (1988) calls it a "garden village". The title of a commemorative publication on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the foundation (Steinhauer, 1956) says "Gartenstadt Margarethenhöhe" - "Garden City Margarethenhöhe", but the author characterises the estate as a satellite town, a town to sleep in, a town to live in ("Schlafstadt", "Wohnstadt") but also as garden city. The publication on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the foundation correctly speaks of a "garden suburb" (Kösters 1981).

Fig 4   Margarethenhöhe from a bird's eye view (c1928)
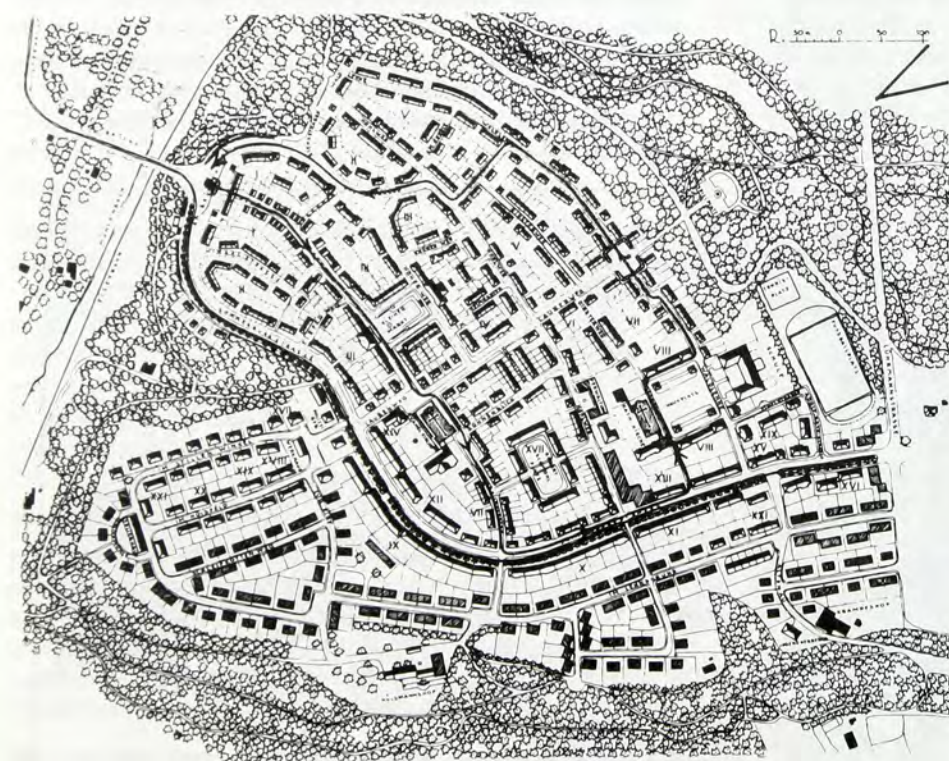
Siedlung Margarethenhöhe.

Fig 3 Plan of the garden city (c1928)

Anyway, the label "garden city" is very popular and Margarethenhöhe also is said to be the first German garden city - or at least one of the first, and it certainly has some features of the German version of the English "model":

- It is rather big, as a separately planned estate, originally for 5000 inhabitants (the Krupp housing programme between 1864 and 1892/1914 totals 6800 units altogether), a figure which after the Second World War was augmented to 8-9000 people.

- The estate has its own infrastructure, supplying the inhabitants with basic needs such as a big store, several shops, a pharmacy, schools, play and sport grounds, and a police station (in the beginning). Two churches were planned but only built after World War II. The central square has an outstanding design as a city-market place - it is not a village design but it does have a village atmosphere. Rows of shops are located on the two long sides of a rectangle, and in between is the big store (Krupp'sche Konsumanstalt) on the top of the hill in a very representative "metropolitan" design, and opposite to it the restaurant and hotel in a somewhat rural style. The design of the place is occasionally mentioned in the same context as the design of Riemerschmids central square for Hellerau near Dresden, the first garden city which was built by the German Garden City As-
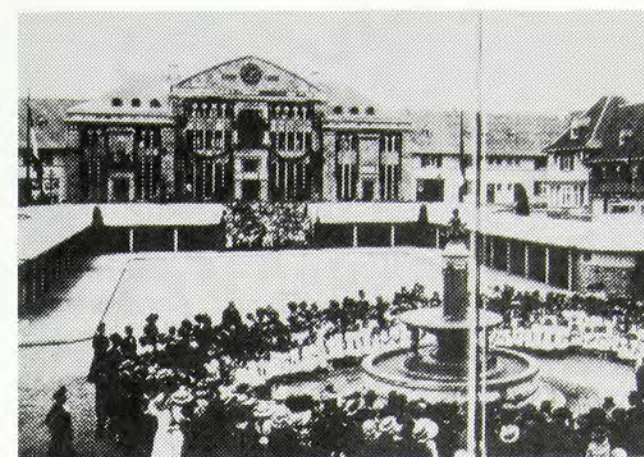
Fig 5 The fountain in the market place is dedicated to Margarethe Krupp; inauguration 1912

sociation from 1907 onwards. The design of these two squares have a strong relationship to each other, but the one at Margarethenhöhe to my mind shows more urban features.

- Margarethenhöhe is, as has been said, a middle class housing area with mainly one and two family houses with gardens (only in the 1920s, after World War II, several blocks have been constructed), surrounded by a green belt, which separates - or shields - Margarethenhöhe from the expanding city. But there are no working places, self sufficiency (as intended in the Howard version) is impossible and there is also no cultural independence.

- The architecture and the image of the estate has been designed - over a period of 25 years, from 1909 till 1934 - by the architect Georg Metzendorf, who originally came from Darmstadt in Hassia. He was a follower of Camillo Sitte's theory of the art of town planning. He entered the field himself by designing a worker's house for an exhibition in Darmstadt in 1908, for which he won a prize. He was a member of the German arts and crafts society since its foundation in 1907. The board members appointed Robert Schmohl, the chief architect of the Krupp company and designer of Altenhof (I and II) estate, to look for a suitable architect for the Margarethenhöhe through the advice of men like Theodor Fischer at Munich (who recommended Bruno Taut(!)), Karl Henrici from Aachen and others. Schmohl introduced Georg Metzendorf to the board. He was recommended by his elder brother Heinrich Metzendorf, professor of architecture at Darmstadt. Georg Metzendorf was engaged by the board on January 1st, 1909.

The principles of the time such as housing reform ideals, the revival of handicraft and aesthetic rules defined the layout of the plan and the design of Metzendorf for any single building and into every detail. The responsibility for the whole plan and

the construction of any single building over a long period is certainly the reason for the outstanding appearance for the uniformity and consistency of the estate. Margarethenhöhe portrays thus an architectural language in its appearance which was very much appreciated at the time of its origins. It was a contrast and a real alternative to the then poorly considered grid road system with its 19th century multi-storey renthouse town extension, which - as it was said - was endlessly extendable, without any aesthetic appeal, the city of exploitation and speculation. (Nevertheless, a design by Bruno Taut would have been different and one can imagine that Hannes Meyer, in the 1930s director of the "Bauhaus", who worked in 1916 under Metzendorf at Margarethenhöhe, did not like the design.)

Fig 6 Exlibris: The vision of the architect

Margarethenhöhe and the local planning authority

If one speaks of professionals in the local bureaucracy after 1900, one has to come back to the engagement of Robert Schmidt as municipal architect at Essen in 1901. Unfortunately, I have not yet found a source which could say how Bürgermeister Zweigert became aware of Schmidt, who was born near Frankfurt, had studied in Hanover and had a job at the hydraulic engineering authority at Ruhrort (today Duisburg) before he came to Essen. But having hardly arrived in the city he attracted attention because of a radical new plan, which he immediately had to draw up. He revised an existing plan which still was based upon the grid system and he redesigned it. Instead of drawing only streets and blocks of houses he put in the middle of a wider block a green park. He widened the layout of the streets and avoided by that a visual endlessness in the street design. He "decorated" streets and squares with trees and did not permit buildings in the courtyards of the newly designed block.

Schmidt also promptly criticised the building regulation of 1895 (published in 1903) with the consequences that a new building order was released in

1907. This new version of the law divides the city area as a whole into seven different building areas with different densities and design of the buildings. In contrast to the first version of the building regulation, higher densities were then permitted in the city centre. Thus the new law referred to the new development to create more office space in the city centre. At the same time its target was to avoid higher densities outside the city centre. Furthermore, it provided for the first time a different treatment between industrial and housing areas and proposed more or less the separation of function. Finally, a hierarchy of streets was introduced. Some years later Schmidt transformed this concept into a scheme which he published in 1913 in his memorandum about a regional plan for the Ruhr Area.

The new building regulation of 1907 might very well be influenced by the new building regulation for Munich which was formulated by Theodor Fischer, when he was head of the new office for town extension at Munich and which was adopted in 1904 ("Staffelbauordnung").

Schmidt obviously was a passionate critic and innovator in the planning field, but this did not hinder the council from electing him as deputy in 1906. This nomination, by the way, took place during the same council session at which the donation of Margarethe Krupp was announced for the first time in public.

Schmidt then became a member of the board - or at least he usually was present at the board's annual meetings. The first meeting took place in July 1907. During this meeting Schmidt presented a first plan for the new estate, which was to be constructed outside the town on the hills. The agenda of the meeting says, under item 4: "Deputy Schmidt makes comments in general on the plan (Benbaungsplan) for the above defined area". The plan contained first data about the type of buildings, the standards of the houses, etc. The board members further discussed the method of approach to the site by a bridge which needed to be built across the valley. Finally, it was discussed how to find a qualified architect (see above). The agenda says, in item 5: "Only an outstanding personality with profound knowledge in
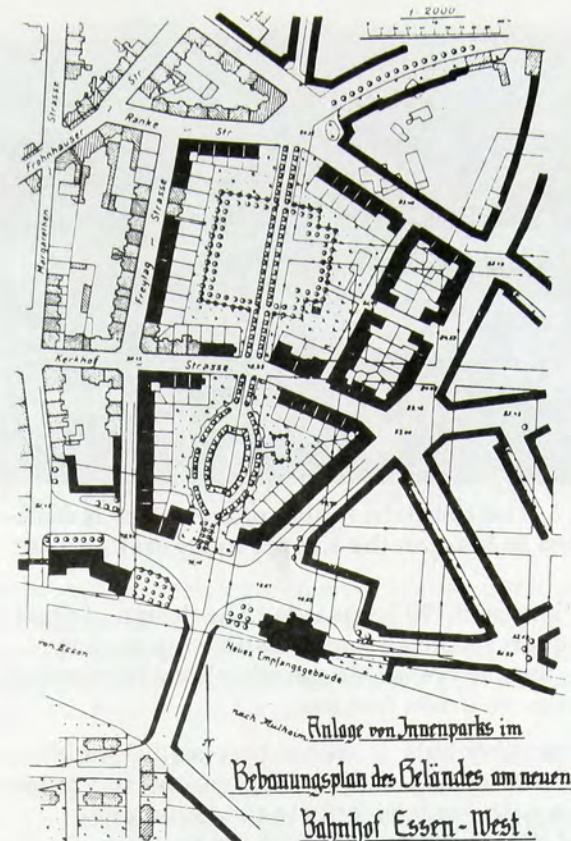

Fig 7 New plan for the site at Essen West by Schmidt (1901)

matters of modern town planning may be considered".

Schmidt is also at the meeting of the board when two years later, in July 1909 Metzendorf presents the definitive plan for Margarethenhöhe (which
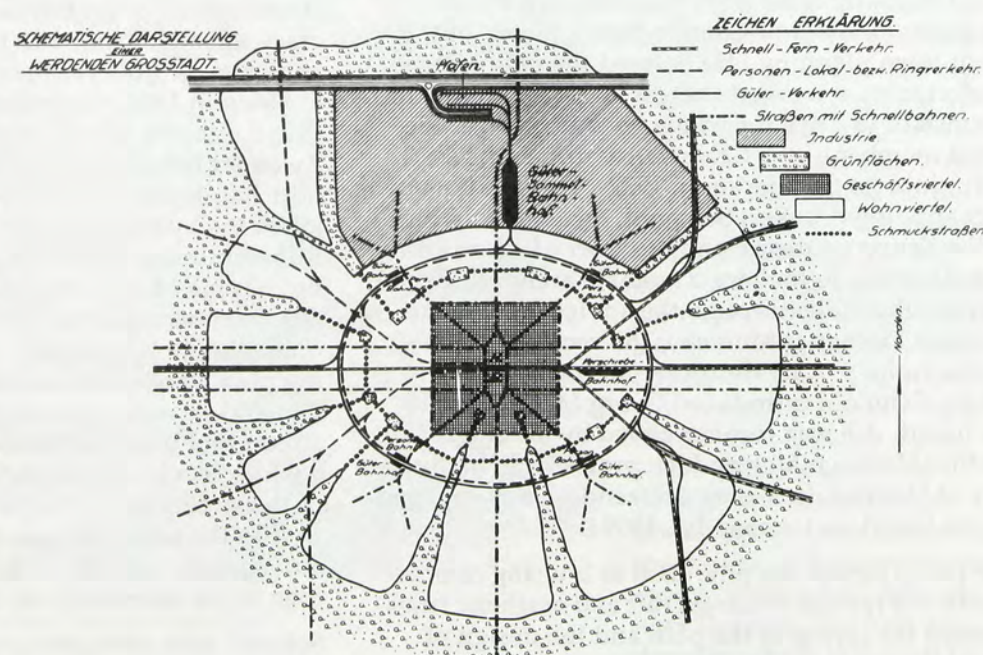

Fig 8 A model of the industrial city by Schmidt (1912)

later will be slightly altered). The plan shows besides the signature of Metzendorf also the signature of Schmidt (as head of the planning department and deputy for buildings matters).

To me there is no doubt, that Robert Schmidt participated in the implementation of an idea and the preparation of the relevant plan (even if he might not have liked so much the architecture itself), which fits into his vision about the development of a modern city in the Ruhr Area - and especially, of course, the city of Essen.

It seems that the garden city Margarethenhöhe represents the ideal example of a housing estates on the periphery of a modern city, surrounded by a green belt. It can be seen now in the context of the booming core of the city, which is going to become dominated by the middle class white collar employee and which banishes more and more the working class into the 19th century parts of the town, next to the mining pits and the steel works.

It is a city model of the new century, in which the new housing estate as garden city, garden suburb or satellite town resulting from the separation of the functions within the city area becomes the place for neat and tidy middle class housing.

In Robert Schmidt's own words: "Essen ... lets emerge a new type of city. As each epoch created its own type, it seems to happen here that two originally very contrary types of town, the industrial town and the town for living have joined together in one. A start has been made. The work has to be continued with the tools of the administration, engineering and economy, with the support of common thinking of private people and the sympathy of the citizens. The city has to become interwoven with the countryside and *vice versa* to let develop a sound and pretty settlement structure, without "Mietskasernen" (blocks of renthouses) - a perfect (einwandfrei) organism of the modern metropolis" (Schmidt 1912, 42).

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Garden Suburb Planners 1900-1914: A New Middle Class Liberalism in Conflict with the Centrally Governed Town Planning Tradition in Finland

Laura Kolbe
University of Helsinki

In the Finnish town planning tradition the role of central government has been dominant. Until 1809 Sweden and Finland formed a single kingdom, for several hundreds of years (from the 13th century). The first stage of the Finnish town system and town planning can be viewed as the so-called "Old Vasa Period" in the middle of the 16th century. At that time towns and cities become important instruments in the policies of the newly established centralised royal power. The first attempts for regularised urban structure were evident when King Gustav Vasa made a determined effort to concentrate all commerce in the towns.

One of the consequences at this time was the establishment of Helsinki (1550) on the south coast of Finland. It was to become the rival of Reval, and would draw to it traders from the other side of the Gulf of Finland. The construction of the town was organised in advance. The renaissance ideal of an orderly laid-out town envisaged an economically significant role for the town. Its plans and architectural appearance would correspond to this status. In fact, Helsinki never became the great trade city; its size and shape remained very modest for a long time.

The 'great-power' period for Sweden-Finland (1617-1721) was a time of formation for the Finnish

urban planning tradition. The development of the nation's urban institutions was affected by political (a non-war time), economic (mercantile), administrative (towns became centers of local administration) and architectonic factors. At this time came the final breakthrough of the Renaissance urban ideal and of the grid pattern. The characteristic features of town planning were now those of rectangular or square town plots drawn up in advance, plans that took very little account of the local topography, and the fact that the town was cut off both functionally and architecturally from the surrounding countryside.

In 1906-1908 a private group of leading bankers, architects, engineers and intellectuals in Helsinki established several garden suburb companies (AB Grankulla, AB Brändö Villastad, AB Boxbacka, AB Parkstad Vanda, AB M.G. Stenius). Almost immediately, these companies purchased cheaper land on a northern or western railway or on the archipelago on the eastern side of the Helsinki city line. The aim of these companies was to create outside the existing capital high-standard residential areas with low-density housing, an intimate and modest scale of planning, and to guarantee to the inhabitants a cheap and modern transport system. A common feature was that the members of these companies belonged to the circle of a new and expansive liberal-minded middle-class.

The suburban planning indicates some novelties in the motives of city planners. This anti-urban planning reflects a new historical situation and new socio-political motives which were foreign to the planners of Helsinki of older times. What was the situation in Finland at the beginning of this century, and how was it to be seen in planning terms? This paper examines how the values of the middle class town planners at the beginning of the 20th century differed from their predecessors.

"Bloody years" of 1905-06 - reactions of the middle class
It is interesting to note that the private garden suburb companies were established at a time when the

urbanisation and industrialisation of Helsinki reached its peak, at the beginning of the 20th century. In comparison with other European countries at that time, the rate of urbanisation was low. In 1900 most Finnish people (73%) earned their living in agriculture. However, Finnish reactions to urbanisation were surprisingly strong at the beginning of the 20th century. The reasons for this are to be found at the political level. There were no real city people's parties in Finland. The Agrarian Union (est. 1906) which concentrated in creating and preserving rural culture brought out the negative effects of urbanisation. The opinion that the rural was the strongest root of life for Finnish society was widely shared.

This was very clearly to be seen during the political crisis in Finland in 1905-06. At this time the sudden and violent increase of working class discontent in Finland resulted in a general strike, many demonstrations and riots. For the first time in Finnish history social tension came to a climax, when the red guard and the white civil guard met in street fightings. Ten people were killed in Helsinki. The emergence of socialism and various forms of "collectivism" were new elements in the public consciousness. The old idea of the "true and loyal Finnish peasants", which was created by the romantic and national poets in the middle of the 19th century, was now shown to have been superceded by urban, independent and revolutionary workers. The division of society into rich and poor, gentlemen and workers, was now a reality in Finland.

In Finland, as well as in other industrialised European countries, political acts of violence produced strong reactions within the upper classes of the society. One of the consequences was the increasing activities of the urban middle class reform movement. It was sustained mainly by a moral impetus and it did not seek a political revolution, but tried to solve the problems of society in an evolutionary process. The main aim was to create individual and social wellbeing and thus to increase national wealth and power. This early-twentieth-century "nationalism" in Finland must also be seen as a political reaction against the efforts of the Russian Czars to unite the Grand Duchy of Finland more effectively with the Russian Empire.

The urban reforming circles in Finland, whose importance in the social debate grew stronger after 1905, belonged to the new liberal middle class. In the general reform debate it was generally believed that evolution, not revolution, would improve the conditions of the new classes in society. In addition to the earlier reform efforts (such as the temperance movement, women's-rights movement and youth movement) the issue of housing and planning was raised as an equally important matter.

Foreign developments were closely followed in Finland at that time. In this matter the few but powerful city Liberals, often Swedish-speaking, supported cosmopolitanism and European contacts; with respect to urbanisation they introduced to Finland many continental ideas of urban culture and value. Liberal-minded city planners, the first generation of architects educated at the Polytechnical Institute in Helsinki, were familiar with the most important foreign tendencies. Among these new tendencies was a reaction against a centrally governed city planning tradition, and an attempt to create a form of planning best-suited to answer the needs of modern life and society. These architects were generally interested in garden suburb companies. Many of them were share owners of these companies and active members of the board of directors.

The garden suburb idea - a Finnish application of the international experience
The garden suburb idea in Finland showed many mixed elements of both international experience and national attitudes. It was not only a program of urban reform but also a manifestation of the new planning ideology of the middle classes. A young and productive Finnish architect and suburban planner, G. Strengell, wrote in 1915 about the two city planning systems, which he called a "geometrical, regular system", versus "irregular picturesque system". Finland, due to her political history, followed the regular and thus "imperial" system. Strengell, as well as other young city planners, wanted to apply in the new historical situation new planning values. Irregular planning and the English "democratic" tradition were considered to be exemplary for the new residential communities - and they corresponded to the middle class ideas regarding good planning and living.

In the planning of residential regions the new "liberal" planners on the whole adopted new views. Planning was now done mainly with a view to demographic units such as "small and large families" and their needs, not for social classes and hierarchical separation of functions as was done earlier. Here lies the main distinction between the planning ideology of "imperial" and "democratic" Helsinki. Imperial 19th century Helsinki was clearly a traditionally planned, beautiful and imposing residential city with administrative institutions for the controlling bureaucracy at its core. The "authoritarian" planners established limits for the city areas by size of the plots and strict building regulations with differentiating effects. They moved low-class housing (in wood), and unhygienic and inflammable workshops to the outskirts of the city. The top residential types of houses with their own gardens were grouped around "squares" in the
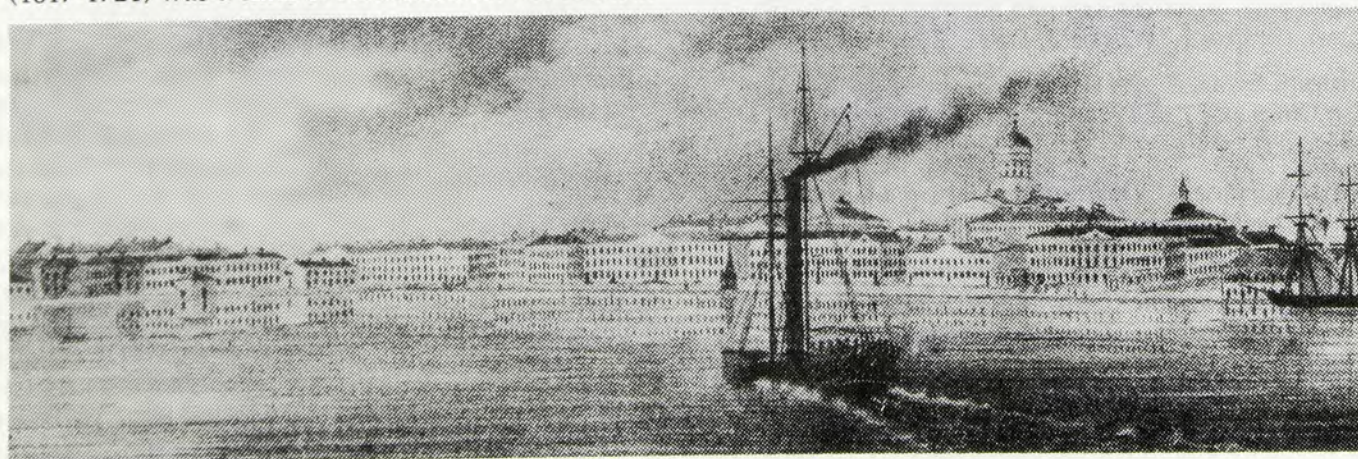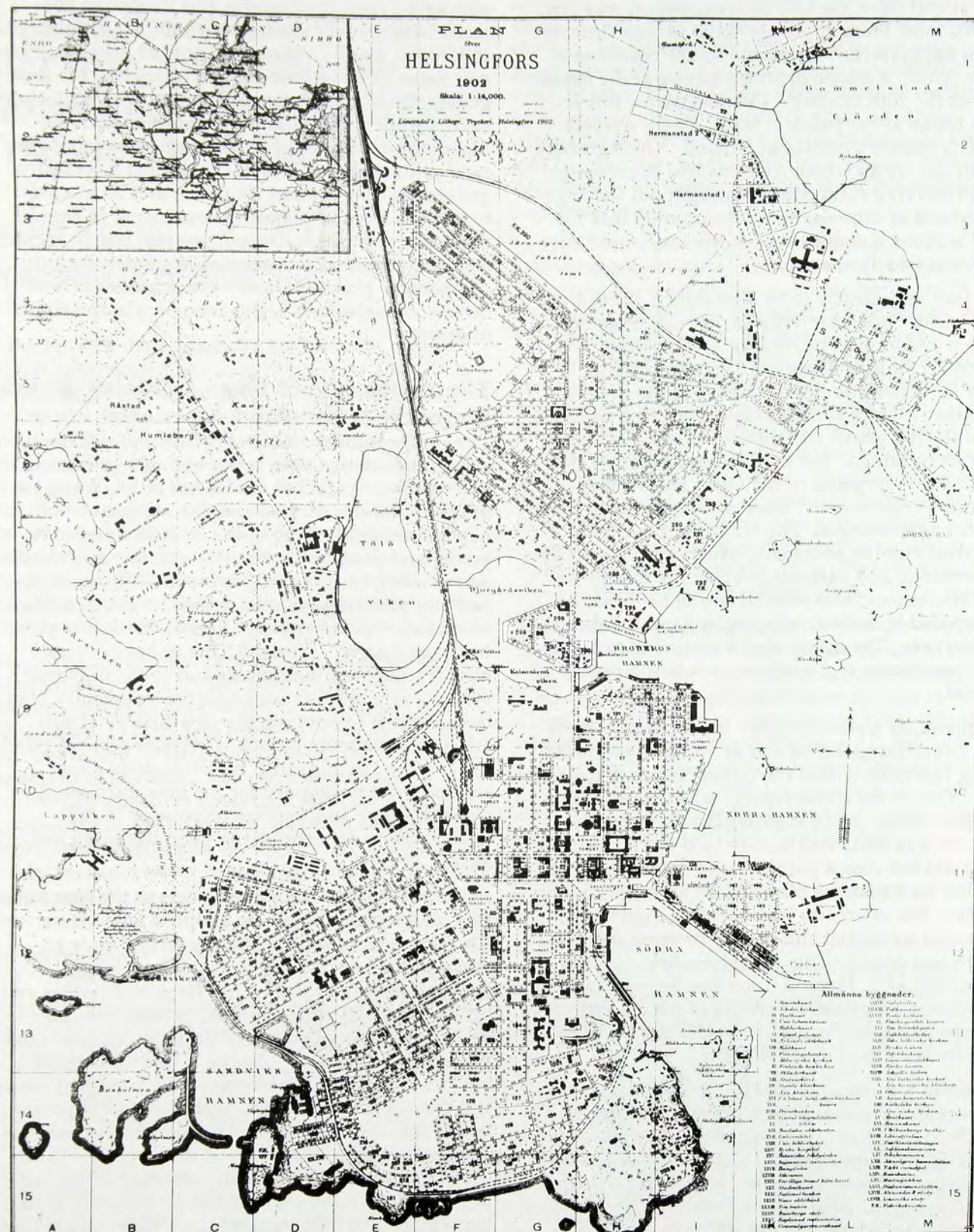
F. Liewendal's Lithogr. Tryckeri, Helsingfors 1902.

BRÄNDÖ VILLASTAD
BRÄNDÖN HUVILAKAUPUNKI
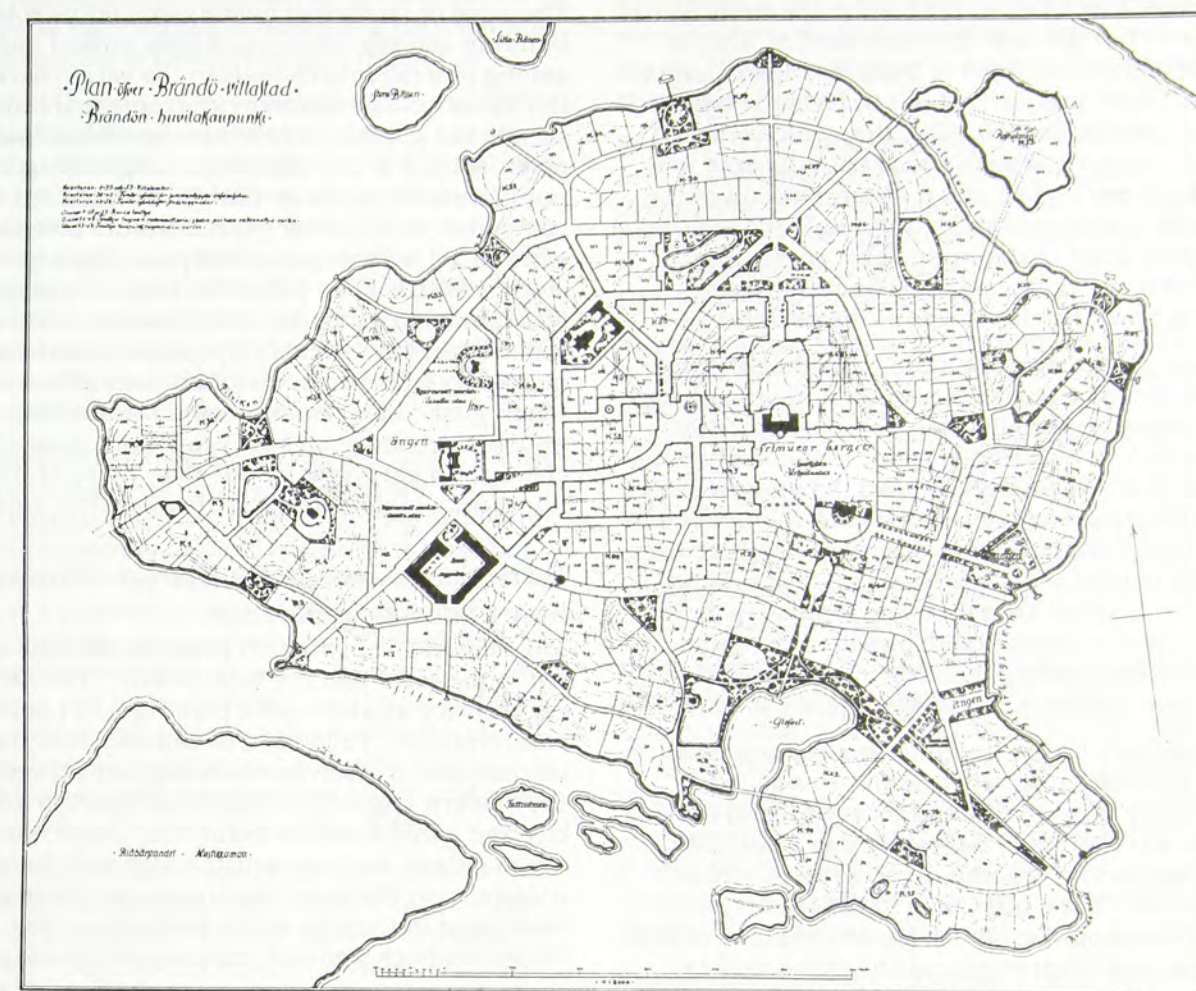
Å Brändö natursköna ö invid Sörnäs udde försäljas' enligt ofvanstående plan tomter för villor och sammanbygda en-familjshus.

Mellan ön och staden ordnas sådana kommunikationer året rundt, att villorna kunna bebos också vintertid. Äfven är det afsikten att förmedels bro förbinda ön med fastalandet, samt att med tiden förse ön med vatten- och kloakledningar, elektrisk belysning m. m.

En färd mellan ön och staden tager i anspråk 10 à 15 minuter.

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Unionsgatan 15   Telefon 20 64

Kontorstid kl. 10—1 och 3—5 e. m.

Brändön luonnonihanalla saarella, Sörnäsin niemen vieressä myydään yllä olevan suunnitelman mukaan tontteja huviloita sekä yhteenrakennettuja yhden-perheenrakennuksia varten.

Kaupungin sekä saaren välillä järjestetään liikeyhteys siten ympäri vuoden että huviloissa voidaan asua myöskin talvella. Sen lisäksi on aikomus sillan avulla yhdistää saari mannermaahan sekä aikaa myöden varustaa saarelle vesi- ja likaviemärijohdot, sähkövalaistus y. m.

Matka saaren ja kaupungin välillä vaatii noin 10 à 15 minuuttia.

Lähempiä tietoja tonttien hinnoista y. m. saadaan

O.-Y. Brändön Huvilakaupungin Konttorista
Unioninkatu 15   Puhell 20 64

Konttoriaika k:lo 10—1 ja 3—5 i. p.

English manner, as the planners explicitly pointed out.

Suburban living at the beginning of the 20th century was positively desired for the opportunities it offered for physical separation from the lower classes and the dirt, noise, disease and crime which accompanied living in town centres. This was a new attitude. The separation of residence and work place was a fact at the turn of the century, which was not the case ten years earlier. One of the first private attempts to build a "villa colony in German style" was carried out in Helsinki by architect K.A. Wrede in 1890. The aim, which was not realised, was to establish a modern villa area in a central city park. The social differentiation of the town was in this case still traditional : the well-to-do citizens lived in the respectable core of the town, while workers had their homes in over-crowded working class areas at the periphery.

However, in the new situation at the beginning of the 20th century, it was the revolution in land communications (especially the electric tram of 1900) and the lack of building-sites for low-density housing, that fundamentally changed the pattern of the geographical prerequisites in regard to planning in Helsinki. By the turn of the century a shift of attention was occurring in reforming planning circles, for the creation of attractive and freely expanding suburbs on peripheral land, outside the capital. *Teknikern*, the leading building journal in Finland, could with enthusiasm express already in 1899:

"The people who are longing for peace and silence, which Helsinki normally cannot provide, who want to live in an individual, beautiful and comfortable environment, have only one possibility. They have to join together in order to purchase - not a house - but a large area in the countryside. There they should establish garden suburbs of various sizes and plant trees and shrubs as well as build an electric tram connection to the capital. It will be easy to find land for the garden suburb. We should develop these important ideas so that they can be fully realised."

When, between 1900 and 1906, the echoes of foreign examples were heard in Finland, the garden city idea became well known among young, leading, liberal minded Finnish architects and builders. In the planning of residential regions the new planners adopted the view that environmental factors could override genetic ones to produce a declining quality of human stock from generation to generation. It no longer seemed enough to reform and rebuild the old town; the population as whole had to be transformed to new areas.

The result of this principle was the movement of better-off residents to the anti-urban periphery of the capital area. By leaving the old city, the new middle class builders manifested a total separation

from the old town and its way of living, its administration and municipal control as well as the building regulations. This created a new opportunity for the suburbanites to participate in the building of their environment. The main aim was to improve the lifestyle of individuals and families by emphasising such factors as non-political community activities and patriotism at the local level.

The issue of municipal ownership and its role in building and planning was a very topical one among Finnish intellectuals in the early years of this century. The different viewpoints are to be seen in the planning of the new garden suburbs. A major subject in this discussion of planning was public versus private initiative. Limited liability companies, such as the garden suburb companies, were based on business principles. The capital stock was shared by private entrepreneurs who also jointly participated in the management of suburban planning. In this respect the suburban middle class builders identified themselves with the English liberal tradition and laissez-faire policies: private enterprises can work more efficiently and get better results than those of the traditional municipal building bureaucracy of Helsinki.

Patriotic and non-authoritarian values of the new planning generation

The new trends in Finnish planning became apparent in the early years of this century. The ideological basis for an alternative paradigm in planning was imported. The vision of compact low-rise townscapes in green surroundings was taken from the modern English, German and Swedish garden city and garden suburb examples. Interest in old urban culture and city construction was therefore lively also in Finland. Inspiration for planning was found in Camillo Sitte's book from 1889, "Der Städtebau nach seinen Künstlerichen Grundsätze".

Sitte had a remarkable influence at the end of the 19th century in all Scandinavian countries. The young Finnish architect, Lars Sonck, introduced Sitte's thoughts in Finland in 1898. Sonck was to become Finland's leading exponent of the new urban planning. Sonck also participated in the planning of the new garden suburbs of Helsinki in 1906-07.

Together with the change in planning attitudes there was an increasing national interest in rural Finland, in its domestic and peasant building tradition and in the whole pre-urban landscape. This was clearly to be seen in Sonck's interests, in his planning ideology and in his garden suburb plans. Sonck insisted that the "mechanical authoritarian town planning of the 19th century had managed to produce only boring city landscapes". Sonck, instead , wanted to draw attention to the old urban, 18th century milieu and to aesthetic values in pre-

urban city planning. Informality, organic growth, picturesque landscapes and poetic, natural urban scenes with public open spaces and social and cultural facilities were most likely to generate the harmonious society of which Sonck dreamed. Old Porvoo, on the south coast of Finland, became at that time the leading residential ideal of the architects. Porvoo was one of the few Finnish medieval towns, with a narrow and curved street network and artistic town scenes, which has grown without the interference of the central government.

In Finland the garden city planners followed British urban traditions, where every family had its own house and garden, as opposed to the continental and traditional Helsinki model where most urban families lived in flats. This British anti-authoritarian pragmatism and bourgeois way of living was supposed to suit better the needs of the new middle class. In this sense, suburban planning had a hidden social message: the peaceful evolution of British society should be preferred to the violent continental - and Helsinki - urban tradition.

Non-political leisure activities in the suburbs with their parks, gardens, tennis and yachting clubs were a natural response to the changing economic structure of society. Equally important was the possibility of every suburban landowner to build a house or a villa to suit different needs and income levels. Individuality, privacy and domesticity were the key words in suburban living. This cult of privacy and intimate family and social life became a middle class phenomenon, which clearly differed from the aristocratic and urban bourgeois way of living, as well as from the traditional urban public world of work and representation.

In suburban planning one of the main aims was to create a democratic and harmonious milieu. The suburban companies themselves did very little building. They made a general plan for the area owned by them, built streets and guaranteed transport services, and constructed sewage systems, etc. The enterprise was financed by selling building sites and by supplying the new land owners with building materials and labour. In this sense, one had to become a landowner if one wanted to build a suburban house; living in the suburbs had strong connections with patriotic and rural and therefore anti-urban values. In Finland, as well as in other Scandinavian countries, there was a lot of uncultivated land even very near the capital. Therefore, building outside Helsinki, by the rough sea or at some other idyllic natural scenery, linked the whole suburban movement to the romantic writers' and artists' patriotic landscape ideal of the 1860s.

The other indicator of patriotism, the flagging, became more general in Finland through villa life. The flag was in Finland and in the Scandinavian

countries a symbol for the regency, the army and in general the authorities. Therefore, flagging and the flag-pole, which became a general phenomenon in suburban living, had an important role in emphasising national identity.

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'Bolt-holes for Week-enders' : The Press and the Cheap Cottages Exhibition, Letchworth Garden City 1905

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The Cheap Cottages Exhibition, held at Letchworth in Hertfordshire, during the summer of 1905 was staged at a crucial phase in the early history of the First Garden City Limited. The Company was formed on 1st September 1903 on the practical philanthropic principles of Ebenezer Howard as set out in his book *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, published in 1898. The Company, having acquired the site at Letchworth, soon encountered practical obstacles to further growth and development. It lacked further capital and publicity if it was to achieve its objectives. The situation appeared to have been rescued by the timely intervention of Thomas Adams, the Company's first Secretary and Manager, who secured the Director's approval to invite J. St. Loe Strachey, Editor of 'The Spectator' and proprietor of 'The County Gentleman', to hold the Cheap Cottages Exhibition at Letchworth in the Summer of 1905. Adams, however, did not escape the criticism of his contemporaries at First Garden City Limited; nor was the Exhibition entirely favourably received in the Press during the years 1905 to 1906. The building and architectural journals were particularly scathing in their criticism of the Exhibition. However, the Exhibition appeared to have received the support and encouragement of Garden City Association members, such as Edward Cadbury, in the same spirit of genuine and practical philanthropy which led to the foundation of the first Garden City at Letchworth[1]. The Exhibition also provided a venue for promoting the Garden City Movement and Letchworth - the first Garden City - in particular.

Adams seized upon the publicity value of the proposed Cheap Cottages Exhibition which seemed to offer a unique opportunity to rescue the First Garden City Limited from the seemingly intractable position which it faced by the Autumn of 1904, just twelve months since the Company was formed to develop the Estate.

One interesting aspect of the Exhibition was the extent to which it attracted both praise and criticism in the Press for entertaining a scenario in which Letchworth might become a haven for second home owners wishing to escape from the pressures of urban living. In an article entitled "Bolt-Holes for Week-enders", 'The Daily Mail' of 12th January 1905 urged upon its readership the advantages of a "Bolt-Hole" in the countryside in positively encouraging terms. It stated:

The agitation, however, in favour of cheaper cottages has secured the powerful advocacy of the medical profession, and under their guidance will acquire a wider scope. Urging the necessity of these retreats, or as he calls them "bolt-holes" a well-known physician said yesterday:

The man who will survive is the man who will learn quickly ... The atmosphere of a London home is so often the centre of bustle and stress that rest is impossible there. Hence the necessity of some 'bolt-hole' in the country where one can fly for rest, and hence, too, the fact that these retreats are started by men much earlier in life than before.

The article quoting the physician continued to describe the kind of cheap, pretty cottage in the countryside and, unashamedly, announced:

Sir William Grantham and others have espoused the cause of cheap workmen's cottages; it is time that the movement be extended to other classes, and no better opportunity could be found than the Cheap Cottages Exhibition to be held from June to September on the Garden City Estate at Letchworth.[2]

These types of home-seekers who were searching for rural retreats at Letchworth, and clearly not agricultural labourers or other categories of manual workers, were attracted in great numbers to the Exhibition. The Cheap Cottages Exhibition - as the press would have it - became a centre for opportunity-seekers anxious to escape to their rural arcadia as the following press reports on the subject of week-enders shows.

A typical account which was critical of the Exhibition appeared in 'The Manchester Evening Chronicle' of 25th July 1905 under the Title : "Dolls-House Cottages". The London correspondent wrote as follows:

...It seemed to me that the samples in this unique Exhibition, real full-sized houses everyone of them, were much more suited for week-enders who wish to live the simple life for a day or two than for the agricultural labourer, or the working man who is alleged to live in slums...

...let us go inside a few of the exhibits and view them as well as the crowd of well-dressed visitors will allow. The first specimen I viewed quite thoroughly, but when I reached the box-office bedroom it took me ten minutes to get out again because a flock of gushing ladies crowded the narrow stairs and purred "oh how sweetly pretty!" "what a darling wee, little place!" and "oh, how too, too, charming!"...

Later I inspected a suite of rooms adorned with an-

tique pictures, clocks, chests and crockery, a delightful haunt for an artist, but hardly the place for a weary mother and six children reared on bread and dripping.[3]

In a critical report of the Exhibition, 'The Epping Gazette' of 16th September 1905 pointed out that the cottages were more suited to week-enders:

> They were delightful little shanties for gentlemen of means, seeking some dainty temporary abode in the country or on the river, but as workmen's dwellings they were - at least more of them were - quite impracticable. Moreover, quite seventy-five per cent of those we examined must have been in direct contravention of the bye-laws of every urban council in the land...
>
> ...We went to praise and remained to criticise. yet it is possible to be deceived by first impressions. We sincerely hope we were, but until it can be proved that cheap workmen's dwellings can be built anywhere, not on philanthropic but on commercial lines, the Garden City must remain a City of Utopia.[4]

'The Reynolds Weekly Newspaper' of 1st October 1905 stated:

> The Exhibitors seem almost all to have had in view an attractive "week-end" cottage, rather than a cheap dwelling for a rural labourer. In nearly every case the designers have assumed that water will be obtained from water works pipes, a state of things which hardly ever exists in the rural districts.[5]

The extracts above clearly show that many observers did not consider that these cottages were suitably designed for agricultural labourers or other manual labourers in terms of their design. It seems apparent that the promoters of the Exhibition did nothing to discourage the affluent sectors of society from seeking homes at Letchworth.

From the evidence presented in a more extensive Study - of which this article is an extract - it is difficult to see that the Cheap Cottages Exhibition achieved its ostensible claim of presenting an object-lesson in providing cheap cottages at economic rents to landlords and at affordable rents to agricultural labourers and other categories of manual workers. The claim that such cottages could be built for £150, even allowing for the fact that architects' fees, builders' profit, and the transportation of building materials and some smaller sundry items were excluded from the exhibitors' costings was far too spurious. On the contrary, rather than producing agricultural labourers' cottages the style and type of dwellings built - which were considered to be like little villas on mainly detached plots - had an appeal to higher social classes as the contemporary evidence of the Press above suggested.

However, on the positive site, the Exhibition provided an impetus to the flagging fortunes of First Garden City Limited at Letchworth, and was immensely successful in advertising the Garden City Ideal at the national level. Of equal importance was the extent to which the Exhibition drew attention to inflexible Building Bye-Laws in rural districts of England and Wales. In conclusion, the Cheap Cottages Exhibition played an important role in launching Letchworth and keeping it afloat during the early phase of the development of the First Garden City at Letchworth in the first decade of this century.

Notes

1. Edward Cadbury wrote to Thomas Adams in a letter dated 11th November 1904 in the most encouraging terms:

> "...I very much appreciate the time and thought you have put into this matter and in fact much appreciate the way in which you are carrying on the affairs of the Company as a whole, and hope you will have the sympathy and support of the Directors. With regard to the Exhibition of Cheap Houses I think this is an excellent idea and an opportunity that must on no account be lost."
> Source: First Garden City Heritage Museum Archives, Letchworth.

2. 'The Daily Mail' 12th January 1905. Garden City Association Press Cuttings Book : Cheap Cottages Exhibition Cutting 1904-05, p.19. Source: First Garden City Heritage Museum Archives, Letchworth.

3. 'The Manchester Evening Chronicle' 25th July 1905. Garden City Association Press Cuttings Book : Cheap Cottages Exhibition Cuttings 1904-05, p.62. Source: First Garden City Heritage Museum Archives, Letchworth.

4. 'The Epping Gazette' 16th September 1905. Garden City Association Press Cuttings Book: Cheap Cottages Exhibition 1904-05, p.171. Source: First Garden City Heritage Museum Archives, Letchworth.

5. 'The Reynolds Weekly Newspaper' 1st October 1905. Garden City Association Press Cuttings Book: Cheap Cottages Exhibition 1904-05, p133. Source: First Garden City Heritage Museum Archives, Letchworth.

Cities of Rubble to Cities in Greenery: Postwar Reconstruction Planning in Germany

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It is widely recognised that the *leitmotif* of German postwar reconstruction planning was "die organisch gegliederte, aufgelockerte Stadt," or "the organically articulated and dispersed city."[1] This meant that the necessary functions of a city - housing, work, commerce, culture, recreation, and so forth - should be physically separated from one another and located in logical, spatial relationships, and that the dense metropolis should be broken up into smaller units where the desired articulated relationships could be maintained without overburdening human, natural, or financial resources. These ideas, of course, were not new to the postwar period: in various ways they had been advocated by planners throughout much of this century, and they are part of the general critique of the overgrown, unplanned industrial metropolis. In any event, in postwar Germany this *leitmotif* is most closely associated with a book published by Johannes Göderitz, Roland Rainer, and Hubert Hoffmann entitled *Die gegliederte und aufgelockerte Stadt*. Published in 1957, it was in fact written during the war, when its authors were employed by the German Academy for City, Reich and Regional Planning in Berlin, an organisation which after the war became the German Academy for City and Regional Planning. The ideas contained in this book, along with related essays by Rainer, are worth close examination because we can see here that the Garden City ideal was not simply a part of the thinking of these men but in fact central to it.

Although Göderitz, Rainer and Hoffmann developed their ideas during the war, I would stress that none of these men, by background or ideology, can be considered real spokesmen for particularly Nazi positions. They felt they were simply architects and planners working to find technical, value-free solutions to obvious, real urban problems of long standing. Göderitz, for example, was unable to work as a planner during the Third Reich because he had earlier been associated with the progressive town planning of Ernst May, and he found unobtrusive employment in the German Academy. After the war, Göderitz first worked for the British occupation forces preparing a draft of a reconstruction and building law (another project begun before the war and continued under the Nazis in the German Academy for City Planning[2]) before becoming the chief planner for Braunschweig. He remained active in the Germany Academy for City Planning and was on the building committee of the Deutscher Städtetag (the German Cities' Association), an indication of his continuing influence in the postwar period. After the war, Hoffmann practiced architecture in Berlin, where he was a spokesman for the revival of modernism in planning and architecture,[3] while Rainer moved to Vienna, where he became a highly influential architect and was for a brief time responsible for designing a new general plan for that city.[4]

The "organically articulated and dispersed city"

The word to be stressed is organically, because it has a dual meaning. On one level it is used as the opposite of artificial. Organic cities would consist of cell-like units that develop in a healthy, natural fashion, and illustrative sketches of such cities rather resemble dividing amoebas.[5] Urban functions are analogous to bodily functions; the transportation system is analogous to the circulation system of the blood. But, beyond this, the organic city is one intrinsically linked to nature, able to "fulfill the biological needs of men."[6] "The view from a balcony or from a roof terrace down to a green area lying far below, one formed and maintained by unknown persons, simply cannot be compared with direct contact with nature, which the ownership of the smallest house garden invites and indeed requires and which awakens the creative forces in people."[7] Green belts or outlying parks are of course better than nothing, but they are artificial (künstlich) and entail high administrative costs and expensive and time-consuming travel to visit them. Göderitz, Rainer and Hoffmann acknowledged that the Garden City Movement earlier in the century offered a solution to this problem, but they believed that in practice the garden settlements fell far short of the idea because they became mere "Schlafstädte," bedroom communities without work places and cultural facilities.[8]

What was needed was to design cities following the logical progression from elementary, biological needs. One should start with families bearing and raising lots of children, which means starting with ideal housing forms and moving from there to other urban functions and structures. In Rainer's view, the healthy development of children was only possible if they grow up with a garden; thus "the question of housing is a question of town planning and biology."[9] Houses with gardens, in other words, constitute the foundation upon which town planning and reconstruction planning should be

based.

But what kind of house with garden? The detached single-family house sited on its own plot was "biologically superior" for the family, but this was impractical.[10] To disperse the bulk of the population of the metropolis into detached single-family homes would require too much land and be too expensive, and the necessary scale would move too many families too far away from the central cultural facilities. However, it could be shown that two-storey, single-family terraced row houses would provide almost as ideal conditions for garden settlements. In a settlement with thirty dwellings per hectare net building land, the gardens attached to or very nearby the homes would range from 218 to 275 square meters. If it proved financially necessary to increase the density of a settlement to 80 dwellings per hectare, one would have to build multifamily row houses up to five stories in height, and this would greatly reduce garden size. A development of this density would mean that, if it consisted of single family terrace houses, the gardens would be only five square meters in size, but five-storey multifamily buildings would still allow for acceptable gardens up to 66 square meters per dwelling because less land would be covered by buildings.[11] Apartment buildings with more than five stories, however, would only bring diminished returns. There would be no gains in free land for gardens, and they would cost more to build. Still greater densities would of course also have equally negative consequences; they would begin to approximate the much-despised "sterile desert or steppe" of the metropolis of stone.[12]

Free-standing single-family houses could, of course, be sited virtually anywhere on the building plot, but this is not the case with attached row or terrace houses, especially when they rose above two stories. If living in nature meant living in gardens, it meant living with maximum exposure to sunlight. It was also necessary to pay close attention to the shadows cast by large buildings, since shadows would be harmful to garden areas. Site planning thus required careful calculations of the angles of sunlight at different times of year, and such calculations, particularly in the work of Rainer, led to the rather schematic, linear layout of proposed garden suburbs.[13] Nevertheless, Göderitz, Rainer, and Hoffmann argued that the garden city settlement demonstrated that such residential areas need not be "monotonous", even when made up of "more or less identical, standardised small houses."[14] Both in a book on housing published by Rainer in 1947 and in the joint publication of 1957, the garden city of Vreewijk was held up as a model. In 1957, they also pointed to the new town of Harlow in England as a successful example.

The entire design of the organically articulated and dispersed city, therefore, was derived from think-ing about housing in gardens. Göderitz, Rainer, and Hoffman calculated that in a neighbourhood of 1000 dwellings (with four persons per dwelling) and a density of from 30 to 80 dwellings per hectare net building land, all residents could reach communal facilities, auxiliary gardens, and the open landscape in ten minutes by foot. Putting four such neighbourhoods together, with a density of 30 dwellings per hectare net building land, would result in a city cell about 2.4 km in circumference and still reachable on foot. Three such cells in an urban district with an average density of 60 dwellings per hectare would be up to 2 km broad and 2.7 km long, but since communal facilities would be in the center, still no public transportation would be needed, though some persons would need to use bicycles. Thus one could have a city of nearly 50,000 inhabitants that would still be biologically sound: "healthy, articulated, and dispersed." The great majority of the houses would be single-family homes with gardens of about 100-150 square meters.[15]

Finally, because all of the dwellings would be connected to greenery, or, in the case of multistorey buildings, surrounded by greenery, the relationship to nature would be organic rather than artificial. In Rainer's words, "greenery would flow into the city, rather than be closed off in individual courtyards or limited to public parks." It would constitute "a coherent, borderless spatial landscape" that would give residents "an entirely new spatial feeling"[16] Flowing greenery and landscape, and not just transportation arteries, would articulate and tie together the neighbourhoods, urban cells, and districts into a larger city, a biologically healthy city but free of the evils of the metropolis of stone.

The ideas expressed by Göderitz, Rainer, and Hoffmann had very wide currency in postwar Germany. This is not to say that planners everywhere derived their ideas from the writings of these three men; similar ideas abound in the architectural and planning journals of the period and were discussed at many professional conferences in Germany and abroad. As an example of the attraction of the garden city model generally and the English variant in particular, we can consider a sampling of proposals from Cologne. The city archives there contain numerous essays by both planning officials and private individuals who submitted their ideas to the city for consideration. Many of these essays were in fact written or begun during the latter years of the war by individuals working in complete isolation.

Gardens in Cologne's Reconstruction Planning

One theme present in a great many of these plan-ning essays was the need to open up the inner city by reducing both population and building density. Karl Band, a local architect, argued that the central city should be reserved for pedestrians. The major cultural monuments in the center should be rebuilt, but he also called for the introduction of new parks along the Rhine, on the Neumarkt, the Griechenmarkt, and around St. Pantaleon. The rail lines through the central area should be removed, and the train station replaced with a botanical garden. New housing should be built around the monuments, but they should generally be small, three-storey single-family houses on comparatively small plots of land. Transportation services as well as larger businesses should be relocated to the Ringstraße or even further outward.[17] The model here is a revised version of the medieval city, with the separation of urban functions and the greening of the central core. The town conservator Hans Vogts advocated many of the same ideas, though he also argued that the interiors of housing blocks be kept open for gardens and parks for the residents.[18]

While rejecting any romantic recreation of a medieval era long past, local critic Hans Schmitt also called for a traffic-free center built on a human scale without monumental buildings, large-scale businesses or government offices, or mass transportation. For the most part the center should be an intimate area of single-family houses on small streets. In addition to parks, greenery should be introduced by constructing new houses in the form of flat-roofed terraces with gardens on the rooves.[19] Theo Nussbaum, a former Stadtbaurat (the official responsible for planning and building), observed that the reduction of population density in the inner city meant relocation of much of the population to new housing in green areas on the outskirts. Extensive parks, however, were needed in the core area, and those houses that were to be built there should stand in their own tree-shaded gardens. The new green areas, whether public parks or private gardens, could be prepared by simply filling in the cellars of bombed buildings with a mixture of rubble, humus, and topsoil.[20] Eugen Blanck, who served briefly as one of the first postwar town planners, stressed that the new residential suburbs must be "genuine cities" (wirkliche Städte) in their own right. They should have some close relationship with the central city, but they should have sufficient independent identity that residents would have "the feeling of a true home (Heimat)." Housing in these suburbs should as much as possible be single-family units situated in gardens. In response to a question asked by a Lt. Colonel White of the British occupation forces, Blanck stated that "the strongest impulses for town planning efforts in Germany were actually stimulated by English models," namely the garden city concepts of Howard.[21]

Proposals like these remained part of the discussions about how to rebuild Cologne, even though in the end most of the suggestions for the central city were not followed. For example, the idea of using roof gardens was criticised by one of the local social housing associations on the grounds that it was precisely such common areas that had been the source of conflict in the progressive social housing projects of the 1920s. The ideal housing form was the small, single-family homes with its own garden, but the Gemeinnützige Aktiengesellschaft für Wohnungsbau Köln cautioned that at best only 40 per cent of the population could eventually be housed in such dwellings. In practical terms, considerable high-rise rental housing was still needed.[22] In spite of such criticism, however, single-family garden houses continued to be the ideal, and the enthusiasm for housing in gardens and for the greening of the inner city is clearly evident in the thinking of Rudolf Schwarz, Cologne's first postwar town planner.

Schwarz's commitment to living in greenery was very deep. During the war, he worked on the reconstruction of small war-damaged towns in Alsace and his designs for Alsace reappeared in his later proposals for Cologne.[23] In the primary published version of his plans for Cologne, Schwarz wrote that as a prisoner of war he found that among the prisoners the desire for a house with its own garden was the "only" thing that penetrated their "suffering and deprivations" and reached "the inner hearts of these disillusioned men." Schwarz also took note of the extraordinary number of truck gardens maintained by Cologne residents, even apart from times of economic necessity: perhaps one fourth of the city's families had such gardens, even though they often had to go a long distance to work in them.[24]

For example, in April 1947, in preparation for the visit of the Lord Mayor of Birmingham, Schwarz indicated his intention to build new suburbs consisting of single-family homes or duplexes with gardens for 2500 inhabitants, all the while admitting that this might seem utopian when only forty new buildings were in fact planned for the city for all of 1947. Nevertheless, Schwarz believed that such garden settlements were essential for the working class so that it could "plant for itself necessary vegetables, fruit, and flowers," so that "in this beautiful, meaningful activity their children could learn and prepare themselves for a life that would have a more valuable content than that of the life of a worker currently living in a great city." Thus Schwarz expected "eventually to transplant the greater part of the working population into such new settlements."[25]

Schwarz's attraction to the garden city model was reinforced by a trip he took in February and March 1949 to Britain. This "study trip" was organised by

H. Hinchcliffe-Davies to acquaint German planners with the latest in British town planning. Schwarz came back disillusioned about what he perceived as a lack in Britain of an "authoritatively directed will to rebuild" (nichts von einem maßgeblichen gelenkte Bauwillen zu spüren ist), but he was highly impressed by the garden city of Bournville, with its small houses situated in ample gardens and with everything on an attractive, human scale.[26]

In his completed proposal for a new, rebuilt Cologne, the influence of the garden city ideal is obvious. Schwarz rejected the historic radial pattern of Cologne in favour of dispersing the city into new residential neighbourhoods set in greenery. The new "urban landscape" (Stadtlandschaft) would be shaped by the natural landscape of the river basin, rather than determined by "heaps of stone" as in the past. The sketch of the new city closely resembles the proposals for "organic" cities produced by Hans Bernhard Reichow; in this case the many garden suburbs were to be roughly oriented around two central areas (the second was to be a counterpoint to the historic core), with the Rhine lending a meandering sense to the whole. Even in the inner cores, families should live in their own homes - not "free-standing villas in large parks, but rather in the form in which our parents had it: three-story row houses with a terrace looking towards the small garden in the rear."[27]

The Postwar Housing Crisis
The abstract planning models proposed by Göderitz, Rainer and Hoffmann and the more particular plans proposed for Cologne are part of a broad consensus that can be found in the cities and Länder in the western occupation zones and subsequently in the Federal Republic. In practice, however, these models proved difficult to realise. On the one hand, neither the citizenry nor the politicians were willing to disperse the historic cities in the way called for by the planners. On the other, the urgency of the housing crisis mean that housing construction could seldom comply with the planning ideals.

It is impossible to overestimate the extent of the housing crisis in Germany at the end of the war. The available figures usually refer to dwelling units, not buildings or individual houses, since most urban dwellings contained multiple housing units. Estimates vary, but Germany in her 1939 borders had about 16 million housing units for a population of about 60 million inhabitants. By the war's end around 2.5 million of these units were classified as heavily damaged, meaning that 50-80% of each dwelling was in ruins, uninhabitable except for perhaps the cellar, and beyond any simple repair. In all, about 25% of the housing stock was totally destroyed or heavily damaged, and in cities with prewar populations greater than

250,000 (excluding West Berlin), an average of 45% of the housing stock was destroyed. The damage was worse in the inner cities, where total destruction ranged from 50 to 90%. In Münster, for instance, only 3.1% of the housing stock had escaped any damage, while 62.7% was uninhabitable. Only 6.4 million dwelling units nationwide - about 40% of Germany's total stock - were undamaged, and many of these were in rural areas.

Moreover, there was an enormous influx of refugees from those eastern parts of Germany now under Soviet or Polish administration, and these population shifts made the housing shortage even worse. Finally, the administrative and military personnel of the occupying armies confiscated housing for their own purposes. In Frankfurt and Mannheim, around 4.5% of the available housing was taken over by the Americans.[29] One authority estimated in 1949 that there was a housing shortfall of 6.5 million dwellings, and he thought it would take over three decades to make up the shortage, even assuming that none of the existing (and often damaged) housing stock was taken out of service.[30]

Where was new housing to be built? Planners and developers had to choose between building on new, sometimes unimproved land on the edges of the cities or on the sites of buildings within the cities demolished in the war. Since unbuilt land did not have to be cleared of rubble, and since patterns of land ownership were often simpler than in the inner cities, it was easier to plan large-scale projects and begin construction in outlying areas, and the very absence of war damage made the locations more aesthetically attractive than the rubble-filled cities. These were ideal sites for the desired garden cities. Moreover, property owners in the inner cities were often impoverished by the destruction and the costs of rubble clearance and were thus unable to start any new construction.[31] Further, some inner-city areas were placed under a construction ban while new planning was carried out.

At the same time, there were also good arguments for rebuilding housing in the inner cities. In spite of the destruction, it was practical. Some of the damaged inner city housing was in fact relatively modern in terms of siting and basic structure. Where the walls and foundations were usable rebuilding could produce rather quickly a large number of housing units at relatively modest expense.[32] Much of the urban utility system and the streets were either undamaged or easily repaired; this was too great an investment for an impoverished country simply to abandon in favour of the construction of wholly new suburbs.

It was also argued that it was both costly and harmful to the cities to begin with housing construction

in the suburbs. It was costly because cities had to pay for roads and other improvements for properties that were tax-exempt if they were social housing. It was harmful because resources were diverted away from reconstruction in the inner city, resulting in abandoned damaged buildings or ugly open spaces were the rubble had been cleared but where no one could afford to build.[33] Furthermore, a study of population trends would show that there was growing demand for small housing units for single persons, and such housing was better located within the cities than the suburbs.[34] Social housing firms, which had long invested in inner city housing, also argued that the inner cities could be made liveable. Indeed even under ideal conditions a majority of the population would rather live in the inner city or close to the inner city, than in distant suburbs.[35] Finally, there were some who argued that inner city housing was necessary to restore the vitality that the city had had in centuries past. Middle class town houses, presumably with middle class residents, would stimulate a rejuvenation of civic spirit.[36]

Over the long term, of course, it was possible to build both new housing settlements in suburbs and new housing in the inner cities. Single-family, two-storey row houses were built on newly-improved land, while mostly multi-story apartment blocks were erected in the cities proper. With the exception of the 15-storey Grindelhochhäuser in Hamburg, begun by the British for their own occupation administration personnel in 1946 and then turned over to the Germans for completion when it became clear that Hamburg was not going to become a major political and administrative center for Germany, the multi-story projects were usually three to six stories.[37] Moreover, until 1954, the majority of the new housing units all over Germany were three room apartments, a reflection of the strong demand from single persons, especially single women.[38] Even the fifteen settlements sponsored by the Marshall Plan, which, with the exception of a project in Bremen, were row houses on the edges of cities, were small dwellings, mostly with 40 to 50 square meters of total floor space.[39]

Living in Greenery: Postwar Building Exhibitions
The questions of the location of housing, ideal form, and means of construction all came together most visibly at the Constructa Building Exhibition in Hannover in 1951, which, like its predecessors in Weimar and under the Nazis, made the planning and construction of housing its central theme. This was not the first postwar building exhibition. In 1946, Hans Scharoun, Berlin's first postwar planner, staged an exhibition of plans for the rebuilding of the capital, and for the exhibition five models of prefabricated, standardised, single-fam-

ily homes were displayed. These small homes were to be surrounded by gardens that would furnish vegetables and fruit.[40] Because of the relative isolation of Berlin, the models did not receive much attention. Moreover, there was scepticism about the value of prefabricated housing.[41] Constructa, however, drew the attention of planners, housing officials, architects, and construction firms from all over the Federal Republic.

Constructa was originally proposed by Hannover's new city planner, Rudolf Hillebrecht, in 1949.[42] It bears the imprint of the group of men involved in wartime reconstruction planning. The exhibition was divided into several sections in the exhibition grounds; there were also demonstration building projects in Hannover. A visitor could study displays on regional and town planning, construction techniques and materials, and housing, but clearly housing was the primary focus. Planning exhibits discussed the location of housing; the technical exhibits presented means of furthering industrialised, standardised construction of housing; model houses and the demonstration projects were to show what could be done.

Konstanty Gutschow, who during the war had been the architect responsible for redesigning Hamburg as a representative Nazi city and had also been the effective leader of the reconstruction planning staff in Albert Speer's ministry after late 1943, designed demonstration housing projects that manifested an openness to different approaches.[43] The most interesting and memorable was an inner city project, the area around the reconstructed Kreuzkirche. Here new three to five-storey apartment blocks surrounded a group of two-storey row houses with small gardens. This was a model of low density, inner-city housing with good light, air, and landscaping, and it is still much admired today. Seven kilometers out, at Am Mittelfelde, there was a small new settlement of two to three-storey row houses. Hillebrecht described the settlement's architectural form in terms of its "harmlessness"; the designers sought a "clean and simple building and had no ambitions for extravagance."[44]

Hillebrecht's choice of words is revealing, because they suggest both the modesty and the conciliatory nature of this most important exhibition since the end of the war. In the introductory statement for the exhibition catalog, Federal President Theodor Heuss indicated that he hoped the exhibition could help overcome "the gulf between the 'technical' [Ingenieurhaften] and the 'artistic' [Künstlerischen]" that had caused so much trouble throughout the century.[45] In fact the exhibition demonstrated that, whatever their political and ideological backgrounds, planners and architects in West Germany could come together in a relatively value-free discussion of solutions to reconstruction and the housing problem.

If the demonstration housing projects at Constructa reflected prewar and wartime thinking about the importance of housing in greenery, a second great building exhibition, the Internationale Bauausstellung Wiederaufbau Hansaviertel in Berlin (the Interbau) of 1957 showed that modernist, high-rise housing should also enjoy a green setting. The Interbau was first proposed in 1951, and several years were devoted to site planning and organisation of the exhibition.[46] In 1953, Berlin Bausenator Karl Mahler declared that the exhibition "should not be a building fair [presumably like Constructa] but rather a clear endorsement of the architecture of the Western world. It should demonstrate what we consider to be modern city planning and proper housing, in contrast to the false ostentation of the Stalinallee [in East Berlin]."[47] The result was nearly fifty buildings, almost all social housing but also mostly from seven to eighteen stories high, built by some of the most important modernist architects from the Western countries. The housing ministry was critical of the size of the buildings, and Theodor Heuss felt there was too much devotion to pure form and the technical mastery of modern materials. Clearly the Interbau was devoted more to architecture than to housing but it is also true that the Hansaviertel was designed as housing in a park-like setting. That this was housing in nature was not so apparent to viewers in the late 1950s, when the landscaping was small and the trees of the Tiergarten not yet recovered from the war, but today the impression of foliage is quite powerful. One should also note that the Interbau included the display of site plans for new suburbs, like the one proposed for Berlin-Moabit by Hubert Hoffmann and the one for Vienna by Roland Rainer, both discussed earlier. These were garden settlements fully in keeping with the wartime thinking about the dispersed, decentralised city.[48]

As we have seen, in the decade or so after the war, the model of the garden city was much more than one alternative among many for the rebuilding of German's cities. Housing in greenery in fact lay at the core of much of the thinking about reconstruction, and this was true whether one was talking about reconstructing the bombed inner cities or constructing new housing settlements. German planners wanted to replace their ruined cities of stone with cities permeated by nature. Living in gardens was to be the basis for a regeneration of Germany.

Notes

1. Johannes Göderitz, Roland Rainer, and Hubert Hoffmann, *Die gegliederte und aufgelockerte Stadt* (Tübingen, 1975), p.23. An example of the scholarly assessment of this is Peter Lammert, "Die gegliederte und aufgelockerte Stadt vor und nach 1945: Eine Skizze zur Planungsgeschichte," in *Die*

alte Stadt 14 (1987).

2. See Jeffry, M. Diefendorf, "Reconstruction law and building law in post-war Germany", in *Planning Perspectives* 1 (1986).

3. For example, Hubert Hoffmann, "Zur Charta von Athen", in *Neue Bauwelt* 4 (1949).

4. See Jeffry, M. Diefendorf, "Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest: Rebuilding Capital Cities", in *Central European Capital Cities: Twentieth-Century Culture and Society in Vienna, Budapest, Prague and Berlin*, ed. John Lampe (Washington, D.C., 1990).

5. Göderitz, Rainer, Hoffmann, p.8. Hans Bernhard Reichow in particular created the model for such illustrations with his *Organische Stadtbaukunst* (Baunschweig, 1948), another work begun during the war. See also Lammert, p.356.

6. Göderitz, Rainer, Hoffmann, p.23.

7. Ibid, p.14.

8. Ibid, p.22.

9. Roland Rainer, *Die zweckmässigste Hausform für Erweiterung, Neugründung und Wiederaufbau von Städten* (Breslau, 1944). Rainer comes close to the racial Blut und Boden ideology of the Nazis in this work when he uses such phrases as "Die volksbiologische Bedeutung der Wohnung" and writes about "bevölkerungspolitische Auswirkungen" of different types of cities and housing (pp.7, 9). Proper housing will lead to greater numbers of healthy children, but Rainer does not suggest that any specific housing system is "Aryan". Göderitz, Rainer, and Hoffmann cite Bavarian statistics of 1939 to argue that families owning land had more children than those not owning land. (p.33).

10. Ibid, p.15.

11. Göderitz, Rainer, Hoffmann, p.56.

12. Ibid, p.25.

13. For example, Rainer's proposal for a Vienna suburb of 10,000 inhabitants in two and three-storey, single-family homes. Göderitz, Rainer, Hoffmann,pp.80-81. This model was prepared for the 1957 International Building Exhibition in Berlin. Rainer's drawings of model housing in his *Die zweckmässigste Hausform* show remarkably uninspired, barracks-like buildings.

14. Göderitz, Rainer, Hoffman, p.86.

15. Ibid, pp.68-72. This book contains a reproduction (pp.78-79) of Hoffmann's plan for a housing project for 10,000 inhabitants for Berlin-Moabit, prepared for the 1957 International Building Exhibition in Berlin, foresaw 6200 residents in single-family homes, 500 in multifamily homes, and 3300 in high-rise apartments of 12-22 storeys. There is no commentary on the high-rises, which contradict

the argument of the book. Presumably these buildings are a response to the general emphasis in the exhibition on the modern high-rises that were built in the Hansaviertel, and they may also perhaps reflect an awareness of the great demand for small apartments for single individuals and older, childless couples.

16. Roland Rainer, *Die Behausungsfrage* (Vienna, Zürich, 1947), p.19.

17. Karl Band, "Gedanken zum Wiederaufbau unserer Stadt", (29 June 1945), ms. in Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (henceforth HASK)/2/1313.

18. Vogts. 7.1.1948 in HASK, Bestand 171, nr.426.

19. Hans Schmitt, *Der Neuaufbau der Stadt Köln* (Cologne, 1946), esp. pp.62-3. This was written in 1944.

20. Die Neugestaltung Kölns", ms. sent by Theo Nussbaum to Oberbürgermeister Pünder, 1 January 1946, in HASK/2/1312.

21. "Ausführungen des Architekten Blanck über die Städtebauliche Planung Kölns am 11.11.1946", dated 12.11.1946, in HASK 2/137.

22. "Grundsätzliche Erwägungen zur Neubau-Planung", signed by Friedrich Schmidt and Ferdinand Schunk, co-chairman of the Gemeinnützige Aktiengesellschaft für Wohnungsbau Köln, submitted to R. Schwarz, 8 March 1947, in HASK/30/66.

23. See Hartmut Frank, "Die Stadtlandschaft Diedenhofen", in Jean-Louis Cohen and Hartmut Frank, eds. *Deutschfranzösische Beziehungen 1940-1950 und ihre Auswirkungen auf Architektur und Stadtgestalt*, forthcoming 1991. My thanks to Hartmut Frank for sharing this essay with me.

24. Rudolf Schwarz, *Das neue Köln - Ein Vorentwurf* (Cologne, 1950), p.8.

25. Rudolf Schwarz, "Die Wiederaufbau von Köln", 18 April 1947, in HASK 30/66.

26. Rudolf Schwarz, "Bericht zu Stadtvertretung u. Stadtverwaltung über eine Studienreise durch England", in HASK 2/1315.

27. Swartz, *Das neue Köln*, pp.18-19, 27.

28. *Dokumente deutscher Kriegsschäden*, Peter Paul Nahm, ed., for the Bundesminster für Vertriebene, Flüchtlinge und Kriegsgeschädigte (Bonn, 1958ff) vol.I: 54, 57, and vol.II, part 2: 13; E. Wagenmann, "Grundlagen zum Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf/NW 177/109/51-65.

29. Joachim Irek, *Mannheim in den Jahren 1945-1949*, *Darstellung* Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Mannheim, vol.9 (Stuttgart, 1983), p.202.

30. Wagenmann, p.735. This estimate is close to that made by Hans Wagner, the Geschäftsführer des Reichskommissars für den sozialen Wohnungsbau, in March 1941, though his estimate was based

on assumed conquests in the East and rapid expansion of the German population. See Tilma Harlander and Gerhard Fehl, eds. *Hitlers Sozialier Wohnungsbau 1940-1945, Wohnungspolitik, Baugestaltung und Siedlungsplanung* (Hamburg, 1986), p.180.

31. Hochbauamt Direktor Tralau, Jan 23 1951, in HASK/171/426/pp.2-3.

32. For example, see *Begründung und Erläuterung der 12 Forderungen des Deutschen Städtetages zum Wohnungsbau*, (Cologne, 1949), p.3.

33. Archiv des Deutschen Städtetags 6/22-15, Band 1, doc. A1012, minutes of DST committee with Baudirektor Dr Döscher in Bundesministerium für Wohnungsbau, 8 July 1950; and A2080, summary of meeting of 19 January 1951, where the representatives of the cities urged the ministry to help concentrate reconstruction on inner city housing, not new suburbs.

34. Hochbaumat Direktor Tralau, Jan. 23, 1951, in HASK/171/426/Section 2.

35. For example, Gemeinnützige Aktiengesellschaft für Wohnungsbau Köln, "Grundsätzliche Erwägungen zur Neubau-Planung", sent to Cologne's planner Rudolf Schwarz, 8 March 1947. HASK/30/66.

36. Carl Oskar Jatho, *Urbanität, Über die Wiederkehr einer Stadt* (Düsseldorf, 1946); Schmitt, *Der Neuaufbau der Stadt Köln*. Jatho's argument, which is directed at the rebuilding of Cologne, presages the arguments of Hans Paul Bahrdt, "Nachbarschaft oder Urbanität", in *Bauwelt* (1960), and Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York, 1961), which helped launch a movement against functional zoning in American and Europe.

37. The British withdrew from the project in April 1948 because the administration of the combined Western zones was to be in Frankfurt. Construction continued until 1956 under a team of Hamburg architects for the city. The project was successful in the end, but the housing was too expensive for workers, and most tenants were white collar employees and bureaucrats. See Sylvaine Hänsel, Michael Scholz and Christoph Bürkle, "Die Grindelhochhäuser als erste Wohnhochhäuser in Deutschland," in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 66 (1980).

38. Elke Pahl-Weber, "Im fliessenden Raum. Wohnungsgrundrisse nach 1945," in Bernhard Schultz, ed. *Grauzonen, Kunst und Zeitbilder, Farbwelten 1945-1955* (Berlin, 1983).

39. U. Höhns, "Neuaufbau' als Hoffnung", in *Grauzonen*, pp.88-91.

40. Hans Scharoun, "Zur Ausstellung 'Berlin Plant'," and Karl Böttcher, "Von der Retorte zum Kunststoff-Montagehaus," both in *Neue Bauwelt* 1 (1946); Scharoun, *Bauten, Entwürfe, Texte*, ed. Peter

Pfankuch, Schriftenreihe der Akademie der Künste, vol.10 (Berlin, 1974). The *Neue Berliner Illustrierte*, Heft 2 (Sept. 1946) carried pictures of the five model houses - an American, Russian, English, French, and Germany type, named for each of the occupation powers. Böttcher, who directed the program, designed the five houses.

41. Karl Böttcher, who developed one of the models, told the author in an interview on October 28, 1981, that even at the time he felt a skilled mason could raise a wall as fast and as economically as it could be done with prefabrication. In Hamburg, one of the firms (Phillipp Holzmann AG) asked by Gutschow to study a housing block for immediate reconstruction also questioned prefabrication. See Hamburger Architekturarchiv/Nachlaß Konstanty Gutschow/A45/E9/Wiederherstellungsgebiete/Jan 30, 1946/Beurteilung der bauwirtschaftlichen Durchführung nach den Vorschlägen der Firmen. A building exhibition was staged in Darmstadt in 1951 to establish continuity with the pioneering Darmstadt exhibition of 1901, but the eleven solicited proposals were all for public buildings like schools, clinics, and theatres, and none were in fact built at the time. See Johannes Cramer and Niels Gutschow, *Bauausstellungen: Eine Architekturgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp.208-212.

42. See Cramer and Gutschow, *Bauausstellungen* pp.213-222; *Amtlicher Katalog der Constructa Bauausstellung 1951* (Hannover, 1951); and "Aus dem Berlicht des Preisgerichts über den Constructa-Wettbewerb Nr. 1," in *Baurundschau* (1950): 357-70.

43. For these projects the most valuable source is Konstanty Gutschow, "Aufbau zerstörter Wohnviertel: Untersuchung an 5 Beispielen in Hannover," 1 July 1951, in Hamburger Architekturarchiv/Nachlaß Konstanty Gutschow/A45.

44. Cramer and Gutschow, *Bauaustellungen*, p.221.

45. Heuss, *Amlicher Katalog*, p.2. In 1948 Gropius made a trip to Germany. He came away with doubts about the value of prefabrication. In particular, he was put off by the fact that Ernst Neufert, his former office employer before leaving for America, continued to be the spokesman for standardisation, even after his years of working for Speer. Gropius, "Reconstruction: Germany," in *Task*, nr. 7-8 (1948).

46. For a discussion of the Interbau, *Die Interbau wird diskutiert: Die ersten Ergebnisse* (Wiesbaden and Berlin, 1960).

47. See Cramer and Gutschow, *Bauausstellungen*, pp.226.

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Research

City Plans and their Implementation in 19th Century Greece

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Why plans were made

The modern city, i.e. the city that emerged after the end of Ottoman rule (c. 1828), can be seen as the result of two generic processes: first, the general process of urbanisation, which was not matched by industrialisation till the early 20th century; and second, the steps that were taken to secure the development of urban centres along desirable lines, while the modern Greek state was forming itself.

The first is related to the establishment of new national frontiers, new economic, political and cultural links with foreign countries, and new patterns of economic activity throughout the country. The long-established local economies had to be abandoned to meet the demands of international trade. So the diversity of the means of production, end-products, and places gradually had to give way to a more homogeneous and advanced market, in order to cope more effectively with competition on an international scale.

The second aspect is related to the emergence of a planning policy, which was intended to diminish the gap between Greek society and the advanced European countries. The need to address the numerous problems the country faced in the aftermath of the War of Independence resulted in an

The towns which were planned from 1828 to 1912

LEGEND

National frontiers
- – – 1832
- ▬▬ 1864
- ▬·▬ 1881

Urban plans
- ▪ Capodistrian period 1828-1831
- △ Othonian period 1833-1862
- ○ King George A' period 1863-1912

authoritative state structure, in which central decision making took the place of the formerly semi-autonomous local administration. Central administration was organised according to the mainstream of European tradition, whereas new legislative initiatives were meant to guide urban development along uniform lines. Soon after the modern Greek state was established, the Greek government had a number of plans drawn up by the allied foreign military missions, and later by Greek technicians trained either at European universities or at newly established academic institutions in Athens.

The towns which were planned

The preparation and approval of plans by the Ministry for the Interior, which was formed in 1833, continued throughout the 19th century, ceasing only in wartime. Urban plans were made for a great many towns, both large and small.

1. All towns of considerable economic importance, including ports, commercial centres for the agricultural hinterland, manufacturing and early industrial towns, important points on the road network, spas, and, finally, the seats of the newly formed municipalities (i.e. the administrative centres). The very first ones were the plans for Nauplia (1828), Patra, Aigio, Argos, Corinth, Methoni, and Tripoli (1829), and Navarino (Pylos) (1830). By 1845 all of the country's important centres had been designed.

2. All major towns, ports etc of the new territories subsequently annexed by the Greek state: the Io-

nian islands in 1864, where plans were made for Lixouri (1867), Korfu and Ithaka (1868), Zante (1871), etc, and Thessaly in 1881, where plans included Kardhitsa (1882), Volos and Larisa (1883), and Arta (1884).

3. Mining and other centres, when no nearby settlement provided housing for workers. Three of these plans facilitated the creation of company towns. The first one was Lavrion (plans drawn up in 1867 and 1897) near the iron mines (the same mines that had operated in ancient Greece). Two others were established near the excavations for the Corinth Canal (1883-93) for the workers who were mainly foreigners, - Italians, Armenians, and Montenegrenins. The arrival of the railway led to the planning of a few small settlements, though it had no particular effect on them.

4. A number of plans were made for towns and villages which were destroyed by earthquakes in various parts of the country in 1858, 1861, 1867, 1870, 1886, 1894, and 1909. In these cases land was given free to the people to move away from the old settlements, and a plan was provided to serve as a framework for the new development. The new "urban" land was subdivided into individual lots and the owners received partial subsidisation to build their houses.

5. Several plans were made to facilitate the formation of new communities by Greeks who wanted to move from still unliberated Greek territory, or by locals who were looking for a better place to live. In some cases the endeavour was also connected with a desire to develop national consciousness
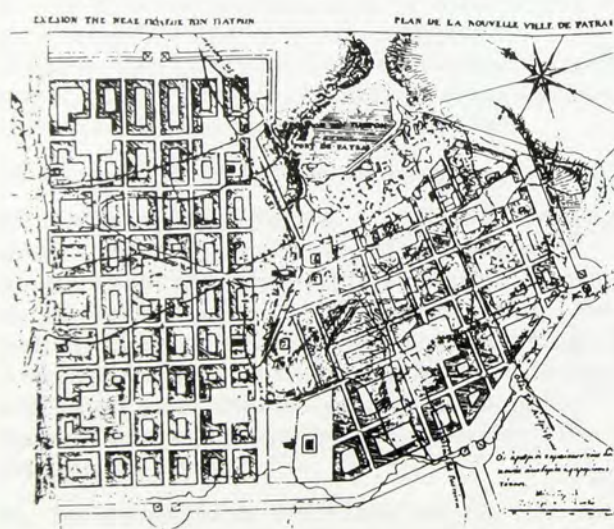
Patra (Peloponese) 1829
One of the first plans made for the cities, which were burnt-out during the liberation war. It was drawn by the town engineer Stamatis Bulgaris, serving in the french military mission. The city was designed on the site of the existing settlement up the hill, also expanding towards the port on the northern coast. The land for the new road network in the old part had to be compulsorily purchased, from the people holding individual properties (usually of small size). To avoid compensation costs, the government introduced a system of "exchanging properties". The property holders of the old town, could get a new plot of land in the expansion area, designated to be subsequently developed.
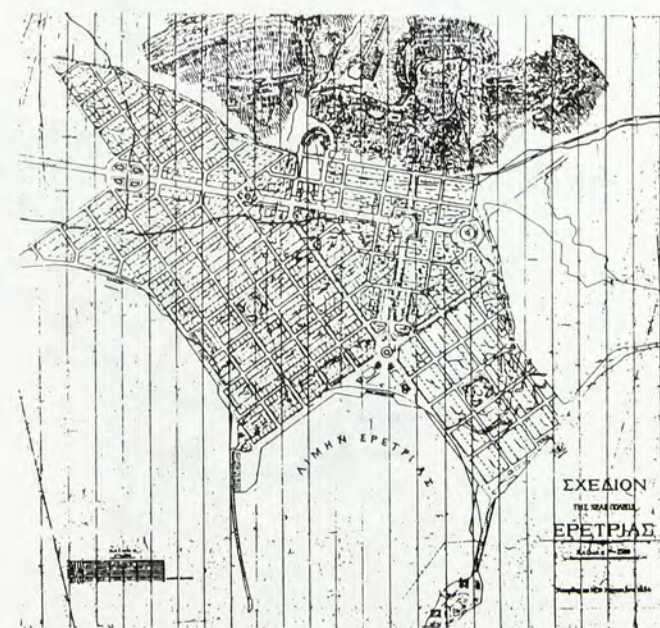
Heretria (Euboea) 1834
Typical example of the first era of greek planning, in terms of the designing style. Heretria was a new town, meant to accomodate the people of Psara island, after its total destruction during the liberation war. Certain incentives were legislated for the colonization of the town, among which free land to the future inhabitants. However, due mainly to the unhealthy site, a viable community failed to be established till the first world war.

and led to the foundation of new towns on the sites of famous towns of antiquity. Krissa (1831), Sparta and Heretria (1834), and, of course, Athens (1835) are typical examples. Foreigners also showed considerable interest in creating colonies in Greece. Their proposals which were usually connected with programmes of industrial development, did not materialise, as neither side was prepared to accept the full implications of the schemes. So the only "colony" known up to now is New Heraklion, established in 1834 to house King Otto's Bavarian soldiers, on the outskirts of Athens. Land was given free to each of the 60 soldiers concerned, as well as materials to build their own houses.

To sum up, from 1828 to the start of the Balkan Wars in 1912, 174 new plans were approved for towns and cities on the mainland. This figure accounts for Greece's only 2 towns with a population of over 20,000 (Athens and Piraeus not included), all 8 towns of 10,000-20,000 inhabitants, all 22 towns of 5,000-10,000 inhabitants, 110 towns and villages of 500-5,000 inhabitants (out of a total of 1094), and, finally, 32 of the numerous villages with fewer than 500 inhabitants (data taken from the population census of 1907).

The aims of the plans

City planning on such a scale put an end to what was regarded as haphazard development and addressed the problem of urban growth in an entirely new manner. Urban space was prepared, either in advance or in retrospect, to receive, facilitate, and sometimes induce the appearance of an urban way of life, which became daily more complex; and also to proclaim the existence of a central state and a society which had to be brought up to date by casting off its "oriental" image. Special legislation introduced the concept of urban reform, based on the principles of sanitation, regularity, geometry, and aesthetics.

The new morphology of the town was based on regularity, repetition, alignment, the accommodation of the traffic in accordance with functional principles to serve the town's sanitation; the basic allocation of urban land uses; the creation of large public spaces, buildings, squares, and communal facilities; and finally the enforcement of building regulations and controls. These models were inspired by the European romantic movement, particularly its neoclassical aspect, and were brought to Greece by the foreign technicians and architects who worked in the country.

In practice these principles varied to a certain extent and in differing degrees, as reflected in the plans drawn up throughout the period. The reasons for this included the highly centralised planning and administrative machinery, the lack of specialised technical personnel, particularly follow-

ing the departure of the foreign engineers and architects in 1842, the lack of lower technical staff at local administration level, the low standard of the majority of Greek technicians, and the military attitude which characterised technical training. The most important reasons, however, seem to have been the economic and social constraints imposed by the scanty financial means available to the state, and the inhabitants' reactions to the way the cost of urbanisation was distributed.

Two points should, perhaps, be emphasised here: first, Greek planning was mainly concerned with physical planning (in fact it continues to be so even now); second, the plans were supposed to be implemented, not by massive public investment, but by small private capital. As contractors' firms did not exist, the urban land was to be developed by the numerous small land buyers building their own houses. The urban land was uniformly divided into small plots in anticipation of subsequent development, which did not have to wait for the necessary infrastructure and communal facilities, as these sometimes took a long time to materialise. It was in this way that all urban design plans, ambitious or not, were carried out.

The planning models tended to be drawn up and elaborated upon in certain distinct periods. In the Capodistrian period (1828-32), the principles of European "art urbain" were introduced and implemented in a spirit of pragmatism, which nonetheless embraced distinct morphological elements of late eighteenth-century classicism. In the early Othonian period (1833-42), the model was legislated for and designed in its most complete and idealised form, culminating in the revival of some of the ancient towns. After 1865, the model was presented rather more realistically, adapted and scaled down to Greek capabilities; while it was the last decade of the century which produced the most elementary and impoverished versions of the original model.

However, in the context of profound and all-embracing change, from 1828 onwards, new settlements were established and old ones restored, redesigned, and extended. From the ambitious early designs to the indifferent late grid-iron plans, one can trace the dedication to a predominant principle, whether explicitly acknowledged or not. In the end, the Greek city acquired its modern urban identity and the planned town replaced the spontaneous historical settlement.

Transformations of Urban and Regional Space in Northern Greece before and after 1912

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The integration of Northern Greece into the Greek State in 1912, after five centuries of Ottoman rule, coincides with a complete and abrupt restructuring of its human potential and its geographical and productive structure. Cities and regions were affected by this process, which was a direct outcome of major geopolitical changes in the Balkan peninsula and planned state intervention. These transformations are of great importance not merely as a case for historical research, but also for their influence on the formation of modern development policies, especially since Greece has been admitted into the EEC and has also renewed its economic, political and cultural relations with the neighbouring Balkan countries.

The turning point for the development of Northern Greece was the ten years between 1912 and 1922, during which Greek sovereignty was solidly rooted and reinforced in the midst of crucial political events, such as the First and Second Balkan Wars, the national schism of 1915-1917, the First World War, the Asia Minor military campaign and disaster. The latter was responsible for the massive migration movement of Greek population formerly established in Asia Minor, who were purposely directed to Northern Greece, to replace the leaving Turks, according to the terms of the Population Exchange Agreement of 1922. Moreover from the turn of the century till 1922, all newly formed Balkan states acquired the approximate boundaries that they have today. And each one, in its own way, undertook projects in a spirit of reform, attempting to promote its social and economic development and reinforce its sovereignty against future claims. Thus the study of the development trends before and after those changes reveals the role, the limitations and the potential which Northern Greece had. At the same time it illustrates how geographical and social changes can be interrelated

while occurring in an extremely condensed historical period.

These major transformations are analysed from two interlinked points of departure: a. **The settlement structure** and its association with regional space, and b. **the internal structure and urban tissue** (fabric) of settlements directly referring to urban space.

a) The settlement structure

The settlement structure of European Turkey up to 1870 was characterised by some large-for-the-time urban centres (20-100,000 people) with important commercial and manufacturing activities, open to international markets (Fig. 1a). Later on, European

Fig 1a. Urban hierarchy in European Turkey, 1876

capital penetration, facilitated by Ottoman modernisation, affected the urban hierarchy: larger settlements, particularly those in the plains or by the coast, were favoured while towns of the interior were condemned to stagnation. Thessaloniki reclaimed itself as the 'gateway of the Balkan peninsula', as one of the most modernised cities of the
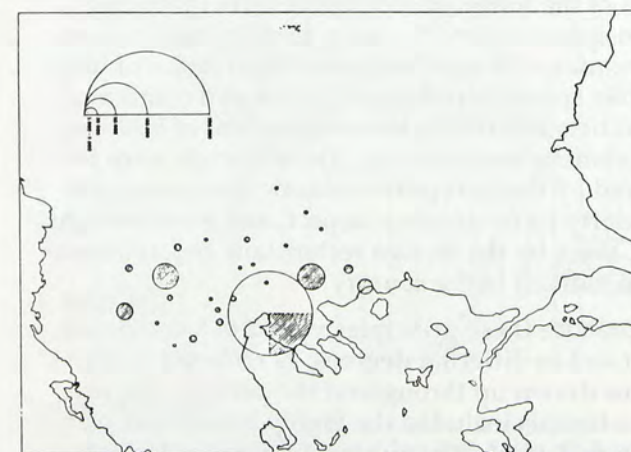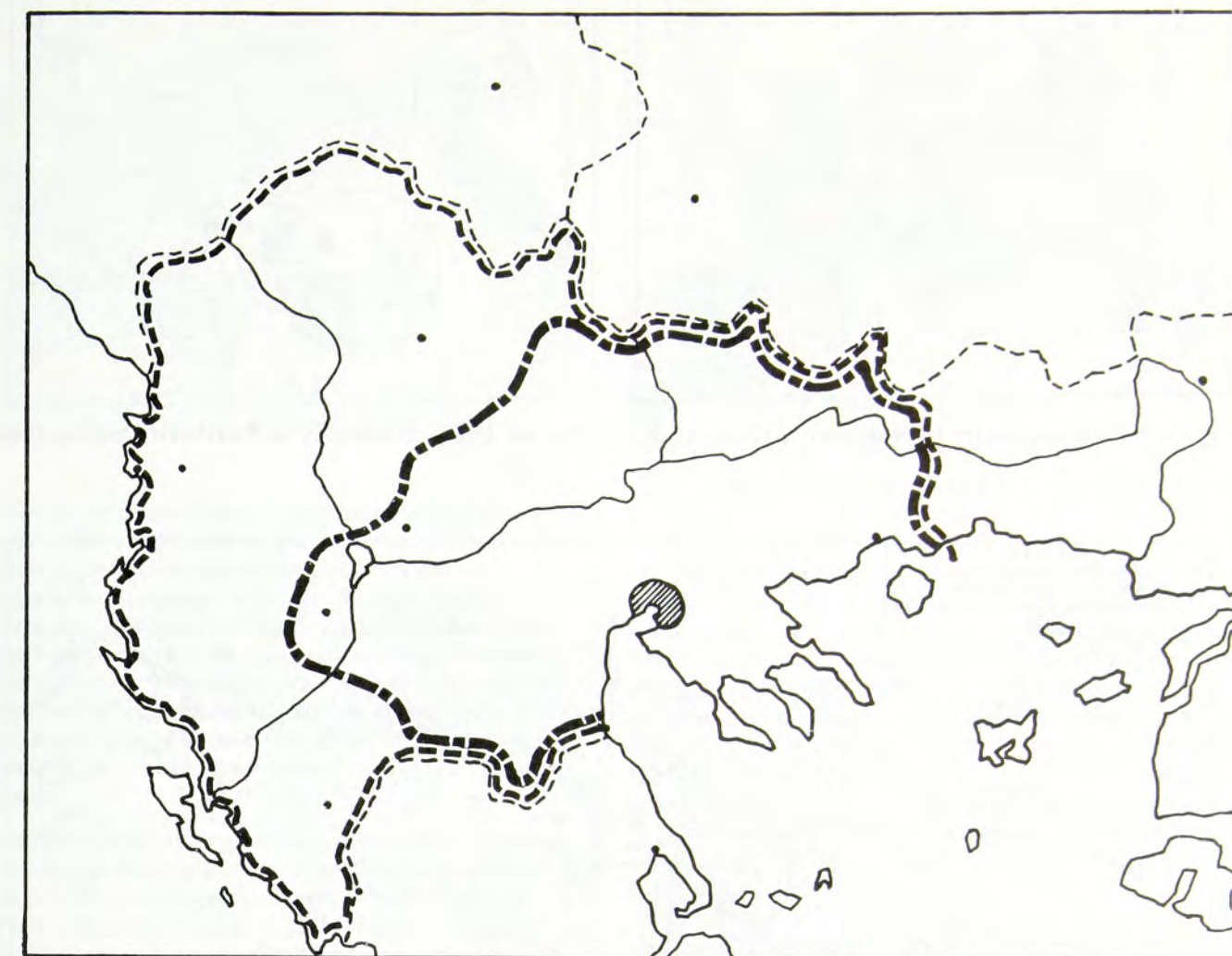

Fig 1b. Urban hierarchy in European Turkey, 1905

- – – – – According to official Greek sources, 1910
- ▬■▬■▬ According to our research for 1910
- – – – Frontierlines 1905
- ········ Frontierlines 1913-1922
- ◉ Independent state of Thessaloniki, as proposed by the Hebraic community in 1912

Fig 2. Changes in the Thessalonika hinterland, 1900-1913

Empire in terms of production of goods, culture and political ideology. Other cities such as Veria, Naoussa, Serres and Cavala showed, to a lesser extent, similar dynamic trends (Fig. 1b).

New national frontiers after 1912 affected greatly spheres of influence and economic relationships among cities (Fig. 2), some changing from intra-regional to international/interstate ones, others breaking down for long periods (important settlements such as Skopia, Monastir, Koritsa, Meleniko remained outside the Greek territory). Furthermore, population exchanges and the influx of refugees invaded the larger cities offering an

over-supply of cheap and skilful labour force and helping industrial and commercial capital with a quick recovery. At the same time, reforming attempts put forth in the previous years materialised, and new development processes were projected and carried out, such as improvement of plans, sanitation campaigns, construction of modern communications and transportation networks, and planning of all cities of over 3000 inhabitants. The planned geographical distribution of population generated conditions of a synchronic urbanisation and ruralisation, a unique phenomenon of the time, which transformed productive activities in rural as well as in urban areas (Fig. 1c, 1d, 3).
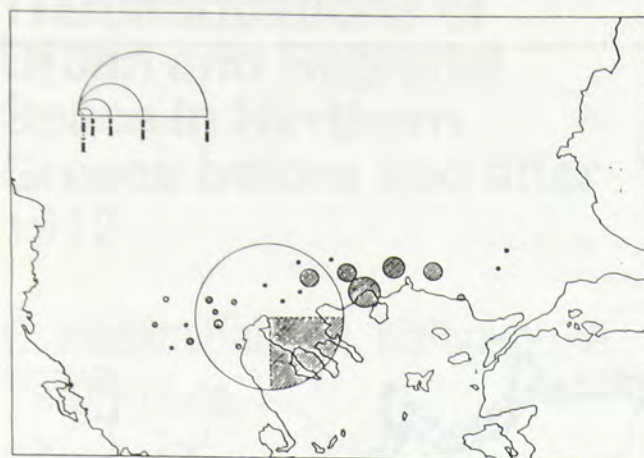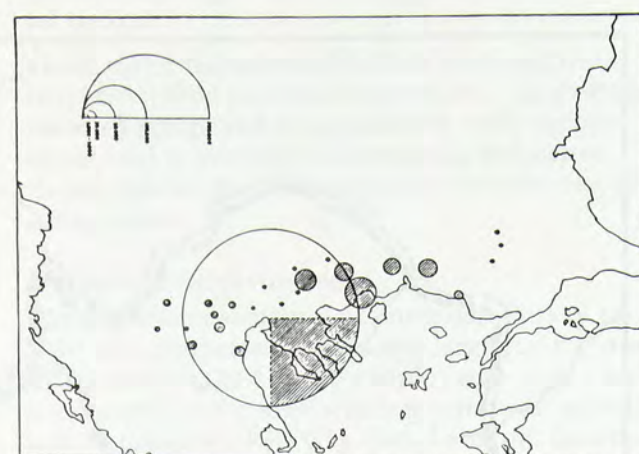
Fig 1c. Urban hierarchy in Northern Greece, 1928   Fig 1d. Urban hierarchy in Northern Greece, 1940

Fig 4. The city of Serres before 1913
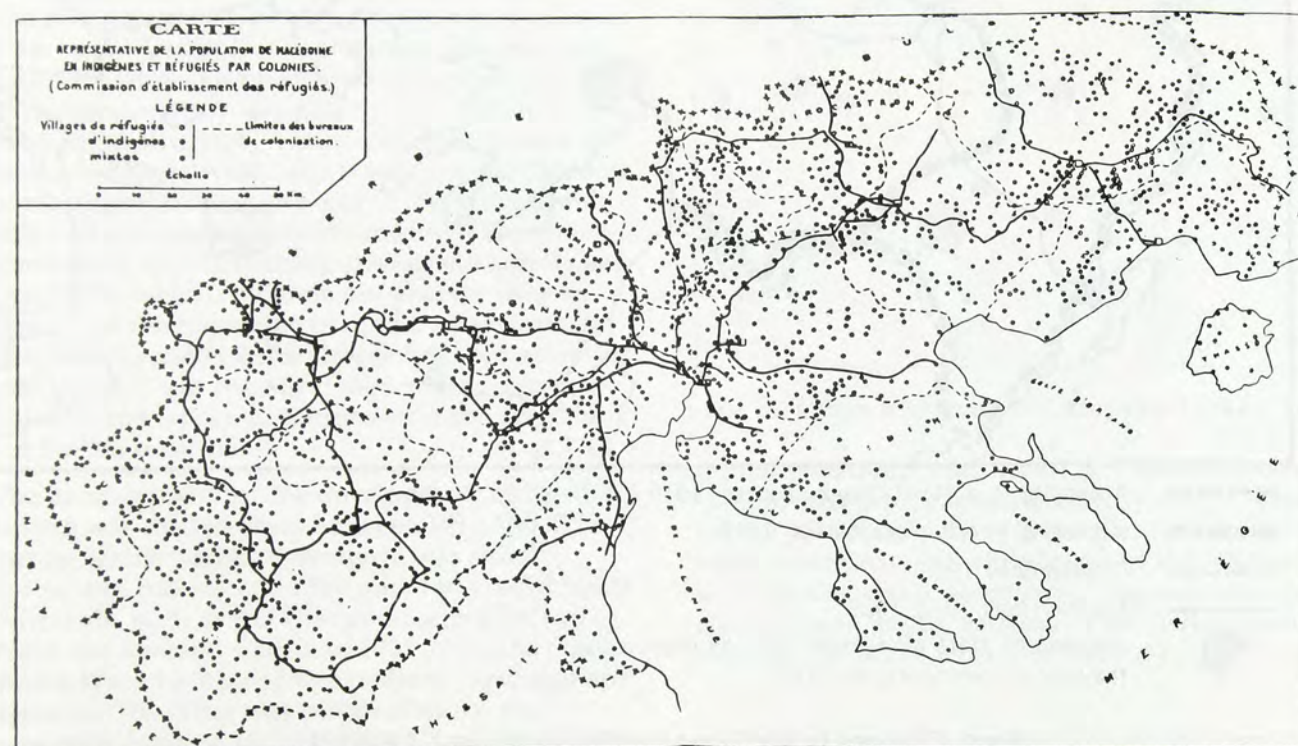

Fig 5. Redesigned Serres 1918-1920

Fig 3. New and existing rural settlements in Macedonia, 1926

This planned ruralisation had immediate positive results in agricultural production and productivity but, in a contradictory way, it eliminated in the long term the industrial dynamism of Northern Greek cities, keeping the necessary labour force in the fields. Only after World War II and the Civil War did internal migration to cities create again an adequate reserve for industrialisation.

The process of national integration and organisation of the national market generated considerable social conflicts, which also acquired territorial dimension: the antithesis between the interests of 'Old Greece' (comprising the Southern provinces and the islands), and of the 'New Lands' soon became a clear political divide between a royalist majority in the south and a democratic one in the north.

b) The internal structure of cities.

Up to the end of the 19th c. Northern Greek settlements had developed as products of the 'longue durée', with an almost self-adjusting internal urban structure, i.e. with limited state or lo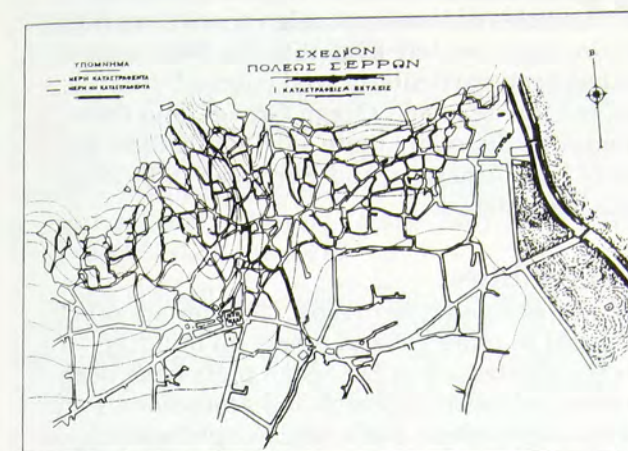cal intervention. The urban fabric illustrated a clear separation of neighbourhoods (the 'mahala'), with distinct cultural and ethnological characteristics. Ottoman modernisation and the 'westernisation' process had introduced some changes, such as new infrastructure, public buildings, factories etc, and had also permitted the implementation of extension schemes. However, planning operations had not affected the medieval city structure, their objective being to adapt new functions in the existing urban fabric rather than to reorganise the city as a whole.

After 1912, the incorporation of the region into Greece and the rapid capitalisation of productive relations transformed substantially the internal urban structure. Greek administration placed a major emphasis on the planning and redesign of cities. With the help of the most up-to-date planning policies and tools imported from abroad, the government aimed at the 'homogenesisation' of the polyethnic city; the urban space was to be arranged in such a way that the existing spatial patterns of ethnic-religious groups would not be allowed to persist. Actually, planning techniques were a means to 'hellenize' the cities. Social and functional zoning was introduced, along with building regulations, while oriental features were eliminated under the pretext of, as well as through the need for, health and fire safety regulations, technological modernisation and the upkeeping of land values. In this way, a new urban morphology was imposed which broke with the variety of local architectural and cultural traditions and adopted a kind of international style, confusedly thought of as 'modern', 'eclectic' or 'neo-hellenic' (Fig. 4, 5).

Planning initiatives were always introduced by the central state while local authorities had limited if any opportunity to express opinions. The inefficiency of the state bureaucracy and the conscious attempt to 'de-orientalise' Northern Greek cities often destroyed their particular character, which consisted of a dense and irregular pedestrian network, of distinctive urban clusters, and introverted socio-spatial organisation of neighbourhoods towards collective spaces and religious buildings. Especially after 1922, under the pressure to accommodate the refugees, new plans took an ad hoc and poorly organised form. Moreover, the difficulties inherent in such a large scale programme, and the concurrence of very unfavourable historical events (continuous political crisis, economic crisis of the 1930s) did not allow the elaboration of more detailed procedures and left no room for variety and special requirements. The implementation of standardised and oversimplified plans appears to be at the origin of serious urban problems identifiable today.

Acknowledgement:

The Seaside Resort as an International Phenomenon: A Bibliographical Note

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The social history and to a lesser extent the architecture and development of the English seaside resort have become subjects of academic study in the late 1970s and 1980s, as part of the rising interest in the history of leisure.[1] Although the English resorts were the precursor of European and American resorts of a similar nature, there has been little British interest in comparative studies of international resort architecture and development, and until recently little foreign interest in studies of foreign resorts. It is possible to cite only two papers on comparative resort development, Lewis's 1980 review article (US/Britain)[2] and Bollerey's 1986 study largely concerned with the North Sea coast.[3] This situation mirrors that to be found in both tourism research and leisure studies generally, as has been pointed out in 1989 articles by Towner in *Planning History* and Bailey in *Leisure Studies*.[4]

As a first step towards the production of a wider view of international resort architecture and development, a literature search was therefore undertaken in order to establish a basis of work on foreign resorts. (This study was funded by a grant from the Twenty-Seven Foundation.) The resulting bibliography can be divided into five main groups: general works covering the history of several resorts, resort histories, resort facilities, resort architecture and specific architects.

General and Specific Resort Histories

A good survey of the international development of resorts is contained in Howell's *The Seaside*, while the English 'invasion' of Europe is dealt with by Pemble (the Mediterranean) and Pakenham (Dieppe).[5] The general history of American and French resort development has been well known for some time, but newer sources include the exhibition 'Histoire d'Eaux' on the Belgium seaside held at Spa.[6] Shanty town or plotland development around some resorts is dealt with in Hardy and Ward's *Arcadia for All*.[7] After a period in which the only works on specific resorts concerned

the largest, such as Atlantic City and Coney Island[8], histories of smaller foreign resorts are now becoming more widely available; the New Jersey coast has been particularly well covered, for example Cape May and Ocean Grove[9], and there are undoubtedly many more small-scale local histories of both American and European individual resorts in existence.

Resort Facilities

Entertainment and other resort facilities are often considered in more general works on building types (eg theatres), but European piers have been the subject of recent research and amusements are a continuing interest, Snow and Wright's article on Coney Island being the most notable example.[10]

Resort Architecture and Architects

American Atlantic coast resorts and the architecture of Florida (Victorian and 1930s) have been the subjects of recent studies, several concerned with the restoration of specific resorts.[11] The work of architects S.F. Pratt and Addison Mizner has also been described in detail.[12] European resorts have not benefited from this type of work; only Stamp's article on Le Coq-sur-Mer and Kain's on Deauville and Trouville can be cited, although much more is available on modern development at European resorts.[13] Santelli has written on the hotels built in North Africa in the 1920s by the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, and Still Bay, a South African resort, was considered in a 1985 article by le Roux.[14]

Conclusion

Although studies of individual and particularly American resorts are becoming more common, almost no consideration has yet been given in anything but general terms to the overall pattern of resort development, the variations and similarities of architectural style within and between resorts, or even the existence of common elements of resort architecture and planning which might give meaning to the umbrella term 'seaside architecture'. It is hoped to continue the study in the near future, and perhaps this note may act as a stimulus to further work in this field.

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3. Franziska Bollerey, 'The urbanisation of the shore, from fishing village to sea-side resort', *Daidalos*, 15 June 1986, No.20, pp.88-97.

4. John Towner, 'Developments in Tourism History', *Planning History*, 1989, Vol.11, No.3, pp.26-7; P. Bailey, 'Leisure, culture and the historian: reviewing the first generation of leisure historiography in Britain', *Leisure Studies*, May 1989, Vol.8, No.2, pp.107-127, see p.119.

5. Sarah Howell, *The Seaside*, Studio Vista, 1974; John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion*, OUP, 1987; Simona Pakenham, *Sixty miles from England: The English in Dieppe 1814-1914*, Macmillan, 1967.

6. For example C. Amory, *The Last Resort*, Harper, 1952; Patrice Boussel, *Histoire des Vacances*, Berger-Levrault, 1961; Guy de Frondeville, *Les Visiteurs de la Mer*, Centurion, 1956. Exhibition on the Belgian seaside mentioned in Gavin Stamp, 'Take the Tram', *Landscape*, April 1988, No.7, pp.86-91.

7. Dennis Hardy and Colin Ward, *Arcadia for All*, Mansell, 1984.

8. Charles F. Funnell, *By the Beautiful Sea*, Knopf, 1975, on Atlantic City; Edo McCullough, *Good old Coney Island*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957.

9. George E. Thomas and Carl Doebly, *Cape May: Queen of the Seaside Resorts*, Art Alliance Press, 1976; Charles A Parker, 'Ocean Grove, NJ', *Nineteenth Century*, Spring 1984, Vol.9, Nos.1-2, pp.19-25. See also *Nineteenth Century*, 1982, Vol.8, Nos.1-2, whole issue on American resorts, and Jeffrey W. Limerick *et al*, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, Pantheon, 1979.

10. European piers: see for example Steve Craig-Smith, 'Piering abroad', *Piers*, December 1988, Vol.1, No.9, pp.5-9, on Scheveningen and Steve Craig-Smith, 'Blankenburg', *Piers*, June 1989, Vol.1, No.11, pp.3-8. Robert E. Snow and David E. Wright, 'Coney Island: A case study in popular culture and technical change', *Journal of Popular Culture*, Spring 1976, Vol.9, pp.960-75.

11. Andrew D. Borja, 'Restoring the resort: Cape May', *Urban Land*, March 1984, Vol.43, No.3, pp.22-25; Russell E. Chappell, 'An exuberant heritage', *Country Life*, 26 April 1979, Vol.165, No.4268, pp.1280-1 on Cape May; Christina Orr-Cahall, 'Palm Beach: The predicament of a resort', *Historic Preservation*, Jan/March 1978, Vol.30, No.1, pp.10-15; Doris Dickson, 'The Tampa Bay Hotel', *Nineteenth Century*, Autumn 1979, Vol.5, No.3, pp.50-53; Arlene Olson, 'Miami Beach: Resort style moderne', *Florida Architect*, Jan/Feb 1977, Vol.21, No.1, pp.19-21.

12. Ellen Weiss, 'Introducing S.F. Pratt', *Nineteenth Century*, Autumn 1978, Vol.4, No.3, pp.89-93; Donald W. Curl, *Mizner's Florida*, MIT, 1984.

13. Stamp, *op cit*; Roger Kain, 'Deauville/Trouville', *Connoisseur*, June 1980, Vol.204, No.820, pp.140-7.

14. Serge Santelli, 'Les hotels de la Transatlantique', *Monuments Historiques*, Dec/Jan 1983/4, No.130, pp.67-70; Schalk le Roux, 'Still Bay: A case for conservation', *Architecture SA*, March/April 1985, No.3/4, pp.35-8.

Landscaping Control

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The objectives of my thesis were fourfold, namely to

a) trace the emergence of planning controls in New South Wales over the design and landscaping of external spaces;

b) assess the relative roles of planners and landscape architects in the development and implementation of these controls;

c) assess the desirability and utility of previous and existing control over landscape design and works; and

d) propose both a schema for the development of townscape strategies and the structure of a 'model' landscape code to help implement the landscape component of those strategies.

In the first two chapters of the thesis I have examined the origins of attempts to improve the design of the urban environment (i.e. external to buildings). In New South Wales the public parks movement in the 1880s reflected the need to provide open spaces for city dwellers living in largely unplanned and congested cities. This was followed by advocates of the 'garden city' and 'city beautiful' modes of urban design, whose principles inspired and were eSpoused by founders of the town planning movement in New South Wales in the second decade of this century. Subsequent approaches to controlling the design of external spaces, precincts and townscapes - such as through zoning, neighbourhood units, the 'Radburn Principle' and the 'city functional' approach were also examined. Earlier research by Dr Robert Freestone, E. Relph, and Paul Ashton and Kate Blackmore was particularly helpful in this regard.

All of these 'movements' or concepts had a seminal influence in shaping the approach to planning and controlling the landscape elements of urban design which began to occur in the late 1970s. Other elements were the emergence of the environment and conservation movements, McHarg's ecological approach to landscape analysis and planning, and the development of landscape architecture and planning a decade earlier.

The thesis also traces the evolution of provisions in New South Wales legislation for controlling landscape matters and in the powers bestowed upon local councils for such purposes. It also describes the role of the State Department of Environment and Planning in fostering landscape planning. In addition, it traces the emergence of the teaching and practicing of the profession of landscape architecture in that State.

The information and assessment gained as a result of the historical research was then applied to an examination of the utility of present controls and recommendations for the design of future controls.

A series of four articles based on these themes will appear in *Landscape Australia*, commencing in August 1990.

Reports

Europa Nostra Awards for 1989

An average of 35 awards are made annually by Europa Nostra for projects which make a distinguished contribution to the conservation and enhancement of Europe's architectural and natural heritage. The awards are commemorated by a wall plaque and a certificate, the Diploma of Merit. The most outstanding entries received the silver Medal of Honour. For last year, Europa Nostra announced the names of 42 diploma-winners, and 8 Medals of Honour.

The Medals of Honour were awarded for the following:

- restoration by the National Trust of a mediaeval packhorse route, Sty Head Footpath, in the Lake District (UK);

- creation of a regional park on the Cantabrian Coast (Spain);

- restoration of the Monastery of Santa Maria la Real de Oseira, in Cea-Orense (Spain);

- conservation of thirteen peasant houses, adjacent to a Greek Orthodox Serbian Curch (Hungary);

- restoration by the Gelderland Castle Trust of six country houses (Netherlands);

- conversion of a former military building at Bilzen, Alden Biesen (Belgium);

- conversion of a 500 year old building in Diedesheim (Federal Republic of Germany).

Of the 42 Diplomas, the highest number Europa Nostra has ever given, no fewer than 19 recognised the large and outstanding UK entry. The recipients included the National Trust for Scotland, for restoration of a country house, The House of Dun, near Montrose. At the other end of the scale of grandeur is the restoration of a little folly, the Chinese Summerhouse at Amesbury, Wiltshire. UK urban conservation was by no means overlooked either. The market place at Bolton, Lancashire, and Whiteleys of Bayswater, London, provide what might be called distinguished historically-associated shopping. The coninuing restoration of the Regency town of Cheltenham also gained the UK a diploma.

Germany's diploma winners included a former judge's house at Solingen and a tithe barn at Weiltingen. To add to the contrast, a third diploma was awarded for canal lock restoration at Klein-Königsförde. Italy won recognition for restoration of the ancient Villa Campolieto at Ercolano, near Naples, and France for the village of Val Richard, Lizio, a former salt store at Avignon, and the Chateau of Bénouville.
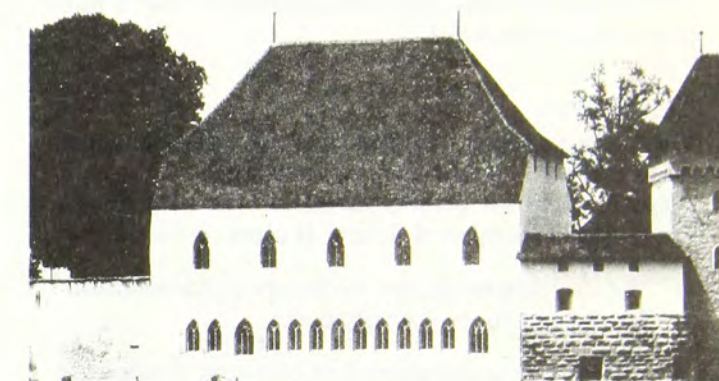
Schloss Lenzburg, Germany

Historic Chester streets now opened up to pedestrians

Networks

Landscape Research Group

Aims and Objectives

Background

The Landscape Research Group is a registered Charity and a Company limited by guarantee. It was founded in 1967 and now has more than 500 members, both individual and corporate, in Britain and throughout the world. When the Group was formed it was ahead of its time in anticipating concern for landscape. Now its interests are seen to be increasingly relevant.

Objectives

The Group's main purpose is to advance education and research, encourage interests, and exchange information for the public benefit on the subject of landscape and related fields. It aims to do this by:

- the development and exchange of ideas about landscape in its widest sense;

- encouraging collaboration between disciplines and between researchers and practitioners;

- facilitating the exchange of information and ideas between those who may be separated by distance or organisation;

- initiating research and seeking out funds for research work;

- organising educational and promotional activities.

Main Activities

Publication of Landscape Research

The journal *Landscape Research* comes out three times a year and is the main means of communication between members of the group. It offers the opportunity for those involved in different fields of interest to publish their works, and reaches the libraries of many Universities, research organisations and public authorities as well as the desks of researchers, professionals and practitioners. Each issue contains a range of papers, correspondence and reviews.

A supplement to *Landscape Research* includes landscape news, a diary of events, conference reports, and sections on recently published articles, journals and books on subjects relating to landscape.

Conferences

LRG now organises two conferences each year; generally, one a single day seminar, the other a two or three day residential event. By means of these conferences LRG has played a leading role in bringing together artists, scientists, academics and practitioners.

The following are some of the conferences that have been held:

Theatre and Landscape 1987

Nature and Landscape: The Great Divide 1987

Australian Landscapes 1987

Nature, Landscape and the Community 1986

Views about Views 1985

Integrated Rural Development 1984

Meanings and Values in Landscape 1984

Landscape and Painting 1983

Upland Landscapes 1983

Politics and Landscape Protection 1982

Inner City Parks 1982

Literature and Landscape 1981

Lowland Small Woods 1981

English Landscape Parks 1980

Countryside Heritage 1980

The Northfield Report 1979

Ecology and Urban Renewal 1979

Landscape Under Pressure 1978

Research Needs and Priorities 1977

Aesthetics of Landscape 1976

Recreation in Scotland 1975

Nature in Cities 1974

Urban Fringe Problems 1973

Unproductive Land 1972

Landscape Quality 1971

National Classification 1970

Promotion of Research

LRG has been involved in the promotion and sponsorship of research in its almost completed Nature-Experience Research Programme. It is also undertaking a review of current research into the relationships between people, nature and landscapes by means of a 'State of the Art' Review, which aims to identify useful areas for future research.

Membership

Any person, group or institution supporting the aims of LRG, may become an individual or corporate member of the Group. All members receive free issues of *Landscape Research* and may be offered reduced rates for attendance at conferences and for purchase of LRG publications.

For further information or membership queries please contact the Secretary at the following address:

Mrs Carys Swanwick, Secretary LRG Ltd., Leuric, North Road, South Kilworth, Nr Lutterworth, Leicestershire LE17 6DU

Publications

Abstracts

Dogan, Mattei, and **Kasarda, John D.** eds., *The Metropolis Era,* Volume 1. *A World of Giant Cities,* Volume 2, *Mega Cities.* Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1987. Volume 1, 594pp, ISBN 0-3039-2602-2, $40 cloth; Volume 2, 322pp, ISBN 0-3039-2603-0, $40 cloth

This two-volume set provides a thought provoking and often disturbing view of the urban state of the world. The books' twenty-five contributors (including sociologists, geographers, planners, political scientists and historians) deal with a series of common issues regarding the economic role of the city, urban pathology, and its remedies. Volume 1 offers a comparative analysis of the world's cities and their numerous problems while Volume 2 contains individual case studies of ten cities, four from developed and six from developing countries.

Proudfoot, Helen, *Gardens in Bloom: Jocelyn Brown and her Sydney Gardens of the '30s and '40s.* Kangaroo Press [PO Box 75, Kenthurst, NSW, 2156], 124pp, $A29.95, ISBN 0-86417-238-9

Jocelyn Brown (1898-1971) married Alfred John Brown (1893-1976) in England in 1920. They lived at Welwyn Garden City for three years when Alfred was an assistant architect to Louis de Soissons. They returned to Sydney in1930. Alfred established his reputation as a leading town planning advocate. Jocelyn, a skilled artist, developed her nascent interest in landscape architecture and became very active as practitioner and writer in the 1930s and 1940s. In 1952 she was elected the first Australian Fellow of the English Institute of Landscape Arhcitects. This well-illustrated book describes her life and gently analyses her articles, gardens, and relationship to her contemporaries.

Zukowsky, John, ed., *Chicago Architecture, 1872-1922: Birth of a Metropolis.* Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1937, 480pp, ISBN 0-7913-0837-8, $60.00 cloth

Published simultaneously in English, French, and German, this volume complements the exhibition of 250 original drawings and artifacts in Chicago, Paris, and Frankfurt. Both the exhibitions and the essays explore the international dimensions of Chi-

cago architecture and especially its connection with Northern Europe. The volume also unravels the myseries of the new metropolitan form which appeared between 1870 and 1920 when American cities underwent extraordinary expansion and reorganisation.

Siman, B.B., *Land Readjustment in Japan: An Historical Analysis,1868-1985.* Research Report No.90-PT-02, Department of Civil Engineering, Kyoto University, Japan.

The Meiji restoration in Japan, in 1867, and the spirit of reform held by the enlightened élite of the time, opened the way to what has come to be known as 'the Modernisation of Japan'. This modernisation engulfed many aspects, ranging from the economy to the military. It is obvious that the greatest impact was created by industrialisation, and subsequent migration movements and demographic shifts in society generally, and in the structure of the labour force and the urban fabric in particular.

This study traces land readjustment, which is often called 'the Mother of Japanese Planning', from the last century, through the shocks of industrialisation, and the turmoils of disasters and wars, until the present period. It encompasses the infrastructural aims of the period of high economic growth and subsequent suburbanisation and concentration processes. The study also attempts to answer questions of transferability of planning tools to host societies, and related problems of legitimacy. The German origins of Japanese land readjustment offered a unique tool to study the requirements of legitimacy in the process of transferring urban planning concepts, tools and techniques, which could serve as an historical lesson for future attempts aiming at such operations. In another sense, this study attempts to trace English translations of titles of Acts and projects through the existing literature, and to present a unified set of those titles.

Siman, B.B., *Comparative Urban Planning Issues Between Japan and Europe.* Research Report No.90-PT-01, Department of Civil Engineering, Kyoto University, Japan.

This volume represents a collection of papers, presented at various conferences, and lectures de-

livered on various occasions. They are chiefly concerned with advancing comparative research studies in the field of urban planning between Japan and Europe, except for the first paper which attempts, very briefly, to introduce the planning system of Japan to readers unfamiliar with it. The last paper is, in effect, the historical backbone for the relationship between European planning systems and that of Japan. It attempts to understand the complex process of tranferring a system of planning, and legitimising it after that operation. The Japanese system was largely based on German planning, and as such it is interesting to trace the elements facilitating such an adoption. The titles of the papers are as follows: Land Use Planning in Japan; Comparative Planning Studies: Japan and Europe; Comparative Land Use Planning: Europe (Britain and Belgium) and Japan; Infrastructure Provision: A Comparative Analysis Between Japan and the United Kingdom; Comparative Overview of Local Land Use Planning: (Japan and Belgium) (Chiku Keikaku Seido and APA and BPA); Japanese New Towns Re-examined: Historical Lessons from Three New Towns - Senri, Senboku and Tama (with a review of the British influence); The Linear Motor and Its Application in Mass Transit Systems in Japan - Shaping the Future of Metropolitan Settlement; Legitimacy and Transferability of Planning Systems in Europe and Japan: A Critical Historical Analysis.

Bibliography

'British Architectural Biography' - Two Years On

The British Architectural Library project to compile a database of Victorian and Edwardian architects, 'British Architectural Biography 1834-1914', is now in its second year and contains over 5000 records.

The project, funded by the Getty Grant Program of the J. Paul Getty Trust, was set up two years ago and is due for completion in September 1991. At the time of writing, records exist for members elected as Fellows or Associates up to 1900, together with brief records for non-RIBA members.

The records created to date are mainly in skeletal form but are continually being expanded as more details are found. The aim is that each will include, as far as possible, details on: addresses, dates, education and training, professional career, bibliographical references and obituaries. The information is gleaned from RIBA Nomination Papers and supplemented by other material, notably 'Builder' and the 'RIBA Journal' as well as existing bibliographical files.

The project is compiled in a standardised format using the BAL's STATUS software and powerful search software enables a variety of complex searches to be performed. Plans are in hand to make the database available outside the BAL through the international database host DIALOG. In the meantime, written or telephone enquiries can be addressed to the Project Editor, Alison Felstead at the BAL, RIBA, 66 Portland Place, London W1N 4AD, England (Tel:071-580-5533, Ext.4320).

Planning History Group

Election of Executive Committee 1990-1992

Notice of the arrangements for the election of the Executive for the two-year period 1990-1992 was given in *Planning History* Vol.12, No.1, (p.35).

There were three retiring UK members: G.E. Cherry, J. Sheail and A. R. Sutcliffe. In the event J. Sheail chose not to stand again; G.E. Cherry and A.R. Sutcliffe offered themselves for reelection; there were no new nominations; and Pat Garside, who as Membership Secretary, has so far been *ex-officio* chose to stand as an elected member. The result is that there are now nine UK members on the Executive (out of 12 possible places).

There were four retiring non-UK members: J.B. Cullingworth, R. Freestone, M. Smets and M. Weiss. J.B. Cullingworth and M. Smets chose not to stand again; R. Freestone and M. Weiss offered themselves for election. There was no need for an election: 12 names fill the 12 places available.

The PHG Executive Committee composition for 1990-92 is therefore:

UK	Non-UK
G.E. Cherry	B.A. Brownell
P. Garside	E.L. Birch
G. Gordon	R. Freestone
D. Hardy	L.C. Gerckens
D.W. Massey	Y. Ishida
H. Meller	R. Montgomery
M.K. Miller	M. van Rooijen
A. R. Sutcliffe	C. Silver
S.V. Ward	S. Watanabe
	M. Weiss
	W.H. Wilson
	T. Zarebska

The officers of the PHG will be elected/confirmed in office by the Executive over the summer months.

G E Cherry, Chairman
24 July 1990

PHG Executive Committee 1990-92

UK

Prof G.E. Cherry, School of Geography, University of Birmingham B15 2TT

Dr P.L. Garside, Department of Environmental Health and Housing, University of Salford, Salford M5 4WT

* Dr G. Gordon, Department of Geography, University of Strathclyde, Livingstone Town, Richmond Street, Glasgow G12 8QQ

* Prof D. Hardy, School of Geography and Planning, Middlesex Polytechnic, Queensway, Enfield, Middx EN3 4SF

Dr D.W. Massey, Department of Civic Design, University of Liverpool, Liverpool L69 3BX

* Dr H. Meller, Department of Social History, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham NG7 2RD

* Dr M.K. Miller, 11, Silver Street, Ashwell, Baldock, Hertfordshire SG7 5QJ

Prof A.R. Sutcliffe, Department of Social and Economic History, University of Leicester, Leicester LE1 7RH

* Dr S.V. Ward, Department of Town Planning, Oxford Polytechnic, Headington, Oxford OX3 OBP

Non-UK

* Prof B.A. Brownell, 4401 Overlook Road S., Birmingham, Alabama 35222, USA

* Prof E.L. Birch, Department of Urban Affairs, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York 10021, USA

Dr R. Freestone, 20 Victoria Street, North Sydney, New South Wales 2060, Australia

* Prof L.C. Gerckens, 3655 Darbyshire Drive, Hilliard, Ohio 43026-2534, USA

* Prof Y. Ishida, Center for Urban Studies, Tokyo Metropolitan University, Yakumo 1-1-1, Meguroku, Tokyo 152, Japan

* Prof R. Montgomery, Department of City and Regional Planning, University of California, Berkeley, Ca 94720, USA

Dr M. van Rooijen, Department of Urban and Industrial Studies, University of Utrecht, P.O. Box 80140, 3508 TC Utrecht, Netherlands

* Dr C. Silver, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, Virginia Commonwealth University, 812-14 West Franklin Street, Richmond, Virginia 23284, USA

* Prof S. Watanabe, Department of Architecture, Faculty of Science and Engineering, Science University of Tokyo, 2641 Yamazaki, Noda-Shi, Chiba-Ken, 278, Tokyo, Japan

Prof M. Weiss, The Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, Columbia University in the City of New York, Avery Hall, New York, NY 10017, USA

Prof W.H. Wilson, Department of History, College of Arts and Sciences, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas 7603-3735, USA

Prof T. Zarebska, Faculty of Architecture, Warsaw Polytechnic, Koszykowa 5500-659, Warsaw, Poland.

* to retire in 1992 (may stand again)

Membership Report August 1990

With this issue of *Planning History* you will have received a copy of the current membership list. It seemed an appropriate moment to take stock and to review the health of the *Planning History Group* as revealed by the membership.

We have a total membership of 318 made up of 130 UK members and 188 overseas members. Of this total, 10% of the UK members and 15% of the overseas members have joined in the last 12 months. I believe that this is the first time that membership of *Planning History Group* has passed the 300 mark. It clearly reflects the continued growth of interest in the aims of the Group.

It is noticeable that membership is boosted by events such as the British Regionalism Conference and the Bournville Conference and this must be encouraging for those who organise such events. More members means a greater spread of interests and more potential links between practitioners and academics interested in the development of planning. It is good to see more international meetings envisaged for the 1990s especially as global concerns with the environment deepen and planning seeks to re-evaluate its role at the continental scale. We will be looking for ways of identifying common interests among members that would provide the basis for future meetings and we would welcome your ideas.

In common with most professional and academic groups, it is reasonable to suppose that the membership is weighted towards the middle age (or even as the market researchers would say 'the young elderly'). As membership secretary, I have been aware of young researchers who join for a few years but then lapse as they are forced to find employment in other spheres because of a lack of academic posts. This situation must be a threat in the long term to the viability of this and other specialised groups. Meanwhile we can be pleased that at least we are increasing our membership in other ways.

Patricia Garside
Membership Secretary

Planning History Group
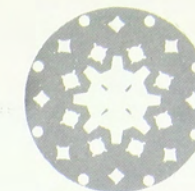
The Planning History Group, inaugurated in 1974, is an international body. Its members, drawn from many disciplines, have a working interest in history, planning and the environment.

Chairman

Professor G.E. Cherry
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University of Birmingham
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Membership

Membership of the group is open to all who have an interest in planning history. The annual subscription is £10 (currency equivalents available on request).

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Professor Gordon Cherry is Joint Editor with Professor Anthony Sutcliffe of an international journal concerned with history, planning and the environment: **Planning Perspectives.** There is a link between **Planning History** and **Planning Perspectives** and members of the Planning History Group are able to subscribe to the latter journal at very favourable discount rates.