
EBENEZER HOWARD'S IDEAS IN RELATION TO THE PLANNING OF KRAKOW: A SHORT HISTORY

Maciej Motak

Cracow University of Technology

In 1912, Krakow received a visit from Ebenezer Howard, whose garden city concept had been familiar to architects and planners in Poland right from its inception in 1898. Here he delivered a lecture in which he declared that “Krakow [was] a garden city from natural growth.” Howard’s garden city concept had a certain impact on Krakow urban development and typical examples of this approach from different periods are discussed in this paper. Relatively small-scale examples of this approach were in fact already in existence prior to his visit, such as the Salwator housing project (1908) and the Kobierzyn psychiatric hospital (1909). Ebenezer Howard’s influence may also be seen in the large-scale Greater Krakow plan for the development of the newly extended city (1909) and in plans for several Officer Neighbourhoods (1924), and even a district planned during the Nazi occupation (1940) reveals a certain indirect influence. The final and largest example is to be found in the planned “Socialist” city of Nowa Huta (1949), which was firmly related to the concept of the neighbourhood unit and thus indirectly to that of the garden city as well. With time, the influence of the garden city approach weakened, and examples both in range and numerically were limited. It should be noted that the popularity of Howard’s concept did not necessarily mean that his original views were shared; and equally, that the notion of the garden city itself also continued to evolve.

Keywords

garden city, garden suburb, Krakow, Ebenezer Howard, planning

How to Cite

Motak, Maciej. “Ebenezer Howard’s Ideas in relation to the Planning of Krakow: a short history”. In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings*, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.02 p.237, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.2.1239>

INTRODUCTION: THE BEGINNING OF THE RELATION BETWEEN EBENEZER HOWARD AND KRAKOW

Ebenezer Howard was neither a professional planner nor an architect. His name, however, is one of the most illustrious in the field of planning and, more generally speaking, in shaping the structure and image of contemporary cities. The garden city notion, as well as related notions such as the garden suburb, have been used, or sometimes misused, in relation to numerous built and unbuilt projects, in countless quotations and references, in advertisements, and in other ways.

Among the journeys Ebenezer Howard undertook, two were especially significant. The first was his long stay in the United States from 1871 to 1875, which included working on a Nebraska farm and living in Olmsted-time Chicago. The second was a short trip made with a large group of people to Letchworth on October 9th, 1903 in order to inaugurate the construction of the first ever garden city. From the Polish perspective, the visit he made to Krakow also merits some attention.

This took place in August 1912, and the main and official reason for his visit was his attendance at the 8th World Esperanto Congress, an annual event, which was being held in Krakow that year. Upon his arrival, he was mentioned and welcomed in the local press¹ – it was not uncommon at the time to announce the names of guests arriving in the city². He was referred to as “the author of the Garden City” and “distinguished English architect” rather than as a “stenographer from Letchworth” as registered in the Congress annals³. He participated actively in this event and on August 14th delivered a lecture in Esperanto, which was simultaneously interpreted into Polish. As an Esperanto enthusiast, Howard was also interested in spreading his garden city idea to a large group of those potentially interested (the congress was attended by ca. 1,000 participants).

His relatively brief visit to the city occurred at a very special time and allowed him to witness events of various kinds, including an Exhibition of Architecture and Interiors within Garden Surroundings, which had opened earlier that year⁴. In 1912 Krakow was also undergoing an eight-fold enlargement, begun in 1909, with a completion date of 1915. The notion of Greater Krakow was then coming into use, and this was later adopted by Greater Warsaw (1916) and Greater Lviv (1920). By going on walks Howard gained some site orientation in Krakow with regards to the topographical context of both the densely built-up city and its almost empty former suburbs, which had recently become incorporated. He also became aware of current planning perspectives by studying the Plan of Greater Krakow, a regulation plan of the extended city.

During the Krakow lecture and following discussion, Howard made some comments on Krakow’s existing plan and its further urban development. Alongside his many accurate remarks, were comments which appear to have contradicted the basic principles of his own theory⁵, but maybe he made these with the intention of complimenting the Congress’s host city. The most characteristic of these dealt with both Krakow and garden city theory, calling Krakow “a garden city from natural growth” or “a garden city naturally developed.” Of course, this was quoted proudly in Poland at the time, as continued to be decades later⁶.

After Howard’s visit to the city, Krakow faced a number of historic events and challenges: the outbreak of World War I and short siege by the Russian army (1914), the end of World War I and the regaining of Poland’s independence (1918), the outbreak of World War II and Nazi occupation (1939), the end of World War II and the introduction of the Communist system in Poland (1945), and finally the restoration of democracy and the launch of the free market (1989). During this period, key urban decisions were taken and new milestones added to Krakow’s thousand-year history, which resulted in the adoption of new urban forms and heritage, including the construction of several garden-city-theory-associated projects in Poland, near Warsaw in particular, as this approach gained worldwide popularity. Some examination of the impact of Howard’s views upon urban development in Krakow thus seems to be justified.

THE EARLY RECEPTION OF HOWARD'S IDEA IN KRAKOW (1898-1918): SALWATOR NEIGHBOURHOOD; GREAT KRAKOW PLAN; KOBIERZYN HOSPITAL

Howard's 1898 publication became known to Polish readers as early as 1899/1900 through early mentions of it, even before he published the final revised version in 1902, which was soon noted in Poland, and further extended summaries in 1903. However, in contrast to early Czech, German and Russian full translations, it was only partial Polish translations that were available. In fact, the first full Polish translation was only published in 2009⁷, attracting attention partly through its historic importance since the main wave of interest in the garden city had come to an end in Poland by the late 1920s. This means that at both its highest and lowest points, Howard's theory was perceived in Poland both partially and selectively, and the notion itself was often used for different reasons. On the other hand, shifting the focus from the garden city to the garden suburb owing to the greater practicability of the latter took place in Poland just as it did in other countries.

After Krakow was made Austria's borderline fortress, three rings of fortifications were built around the city between 1850 and 1914. The first, an inner ring, consisted of ten bastions linked continuously by earthworks. A large, mainly western portion of the inner ring earthwork, upon which a circumferential railway was built in 1888, was also sharply defined by the boundary of the city. Two outer rings consisted of dozens of separate forts and other military works were meticulously scattered around the city. The forts of the outer rings were masked with specially planted greenery and linked one to another by lateral and axial routes. They were accompanied by an infrastructure of army barracks, hospitals, storage facilities, and, from 1912, a military airport, located 3 km east of the city. The construction of buildings on most of the areas surrounding the inner ring was highly restricted as owners applying for a permit first had to sign a declaration that they would demolish their buildings at their own cost upon the request of the military authorities. This was the main reason for Krakow's immediate surroundings being almost free of buildings and looking like a large green belt. Coupled with certain monastery and burgher gardens within the inner ring city, this did indeed provide solid arguments in 1912 for calling Krakow a naturally developed garden city.

The first built project in Krakow linked to Howard's concept was that on the Salwator Hill. This "colony" of 26 detached houses along two curved streets was built according to the competition-winning entry submitted by Roman Bandurski and Szymon Weinberg (1908) on a hill slightly west of Krakow. It was the first area to be exempt from military limitations. These restrictions were later withdrawn across the entire surroundings of central Krakow, thus enabling the planning of Greater Krakow to go ahead in 1909. The Salwator houses, designed individually, were considered to be modest, elegant examples of Historicising and Art Nouveau architecture. Numerous attempts made to link this project with the garden city concept have resulted in the long-term view that this concept idea was at least partly responsible for the project⁸. Despite these assertions, it has never been proved that such a link existed⁹. However, even these unsuccessful and misattributed efforts to establish a link between a successful Krakow project and Howard's theory are indirect proof of the respect paid to garden city theory per se by generations of architects and researchers¹⁰.



FIGURE 1 Great Krakow Regulation Plan, the winning entry of the architectural competition (1909). Competitors were expected to determine the spatial development of the west area of Krakow, although it was soon to be extended almost evenly in all directions.

In 1909-1915, after most of the military restrictions had been shifted from the immediate surroundings of Krakow, the city's area was substantially enlarged from 5.8 km² to 47.4 km². In November 1909, when the suburbs were becoming part of Krakow, an architectural competition for the regulation plan of Greater Krakow was announced. The winning entry (Figure 1) by a team of local architects – Jozef Czajkowski, Wladyslaw Ekielski, Tadeusz Stryjenski, Kazimierz Wyczynski, Ludwik Wojtyczko – became the basis for further development, although more ideologically than legally. Although neither the conditions of the competition nor the principles of the winning entry referred directly to garden city theory, its general indirect impact on the competition entries can safely be assumed. The plan was also shown to Howard during his visit. Three years later, in 1915, the Podgorze city on the southern bank of the River Vistula was also incorporated, which completed the ring of new districts of Greater Krakow.

There is one more built project whose shape is related to the garden city: the carefully composed psychiatric hospital complex in Kobierzyn, located not far from the new southwest edge of Krakow, which later became its catchment area. Its connection with the garden city concept is emphasised by its semi-residential function (patients staying for longer periods) and the generally strong interest expressed at the time by urban planners towards medical and hygiene matters¹¹. Designed by Wladyslaw Klimczak and built in 1909-1917, the Kobierzyn hospital complex consists of 15 pavilions, a theatre, chapel and bakery, together with many auxiliary buildings, all set within greenery (Figure 2).

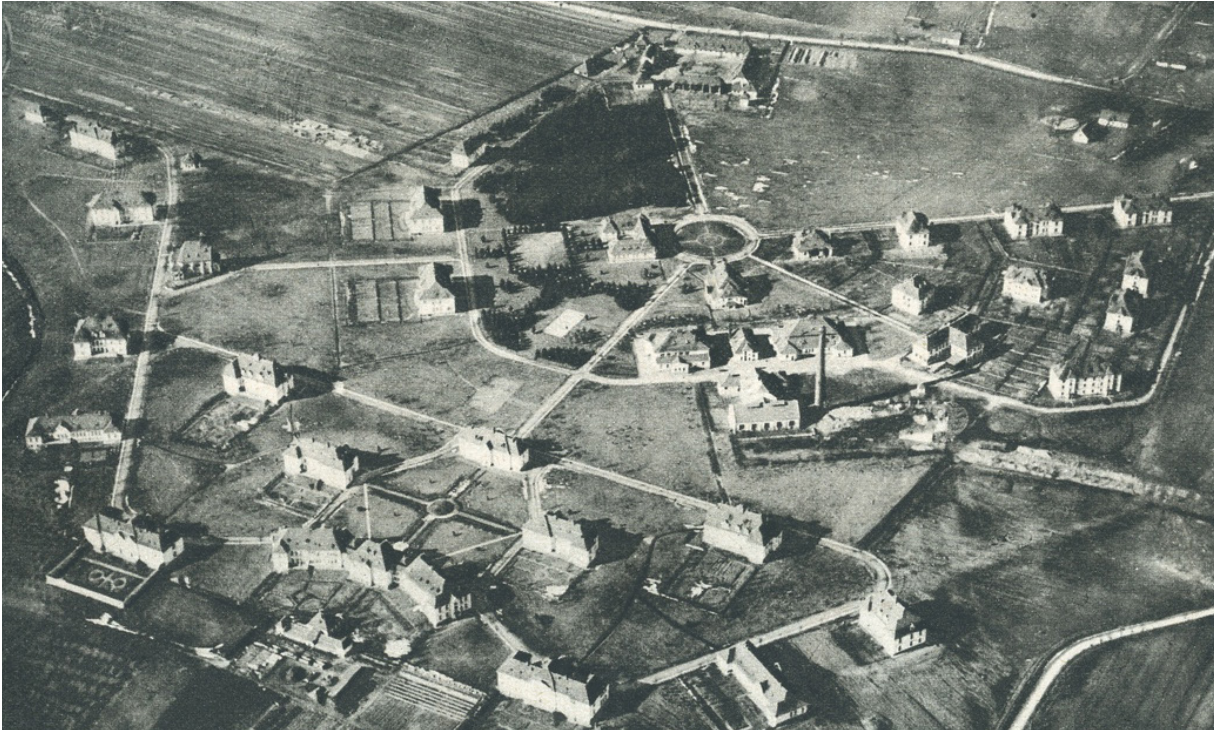


FIGURE 2 Psychiatric Hospital in Kobierzyn, built in 1909-1917. The 1920s air view shows the careful composition of pavilions for the patients as well as public and auxiliary buildings.

KRAKOW IN THE SECOND REPUBLIC OF POLAND (1918-1939). THE GARDEN SUBURB OF OFFICER NEIGHBOURHOODS

Poland regained its independence in November 1918, becoming the Second Republic of Poland. Its borders were finally established in 1922. During the Inter-war Period, Krakow was the fourth or fifth biggest Polish city (inter-changing with Poznan), but both cities way behind the capital, Warsaw, and Lodz, the industrial giant, and Lwow (now Lviv in Ukraine). The number of Krakow residents increased from ca. 180,000 in 1918 to nearly 260,000 in 1939. The area of the city, recently enlarged eight-fold, was only extended slightly. Krakow was the local administration and economic centre, and also an important cultural and academic centre. In 1918, the city ceased to be the powerful fortress it had been since 1850. The creation of “Greater Krakow” provided the city with substantial opportunities for development.

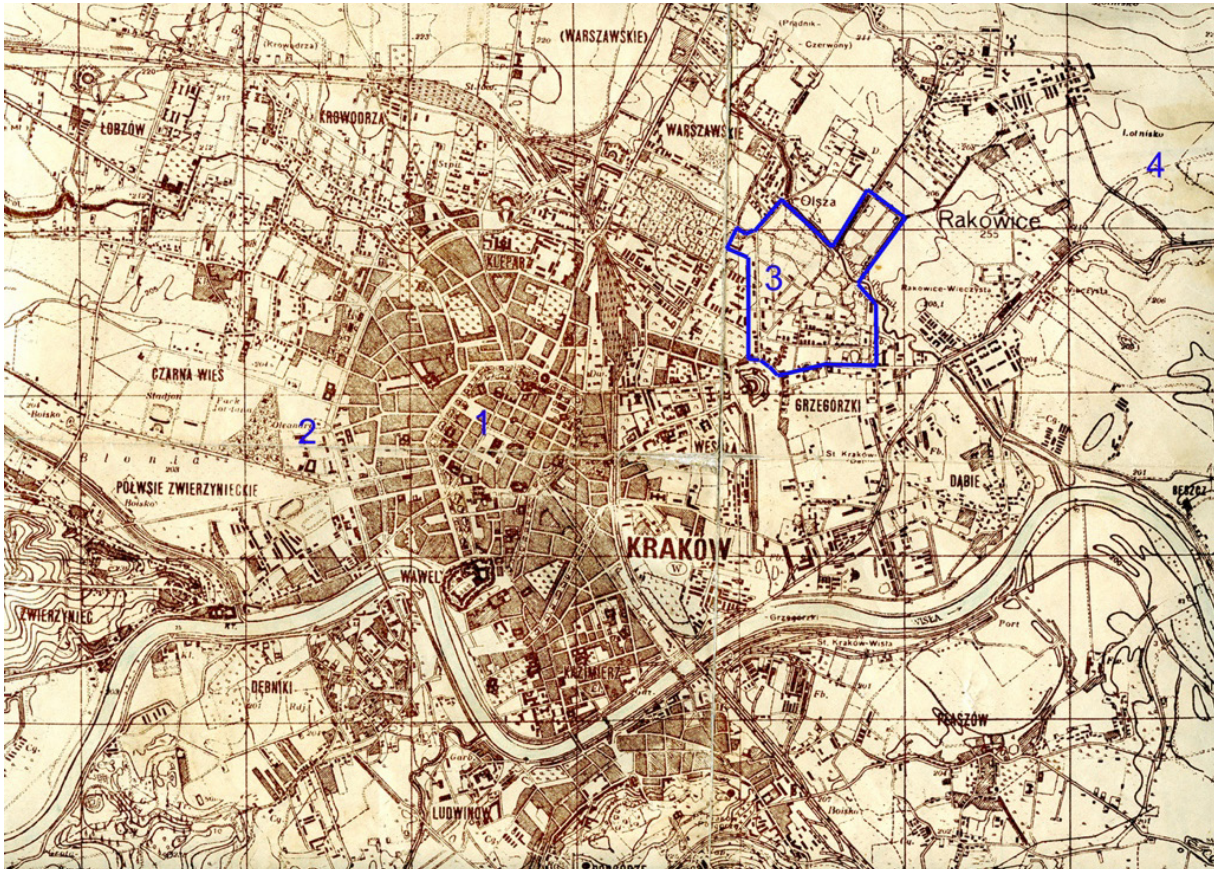


FIGURE 3 Plan of Krakow in the Interwar Period, 1934. 1 - historic centre with the Market Square. 2 - site of the former Exhibition of Architecture and Interiors within Garden Surroundings, which Howard had also visited in 1912. 3 - range of Officer Neighbourhoods complex. 4 - Rakowice airport area (not marked precisely as it was both civilian and military building at the time).

The urban development of Krakow in the Interwar period was relatively slow and harmonious. Regulation plans and subdivision plans were the standard tools of planning. Although, the first master plan of the city had been fully drawn up, its full implementation was soon to be curtailed by the outbreak of World War II in 1939. However, a significant number of new structures had been built by that time. Apart from many public edifices, most of these were residential multi-family buildings which lined both existing and newly laid-out streets with continuous frontage lines. Residential complexes consisting of a number of separate buildings were less common. For our purposes, the biggest and the most interesting project is the case of the Officer Neighbourhoods (Figure 3), this name derived from the fact that majority of its owners and residents were military and veteran families.

The complex of Officer Neighbourhoods was located on post-military use grounds in the northeast part of Krakow, halfway between the city centre and Rakowice airport¹². It was planned by the Municipality of Krakow through a number of regulation and subdivision plans, most of them drawn up by engineer Marian Lenk in 1924-1926. The area was framed by three existing boundaries: the former fortification line in the west, the east-west former military road in the south and the River Bialucha flowing southeastwards. It consisted of several parts (Figure 4): two Officer Neighbourhoods, the Official Neighbourhood, with the triangle-shaped “New Territories” in between, and some smaller adjacent areas. Altogether ca. 600 lots were laid out for 160 detached houses, 170 semi-detached houses (on 340 lots), 60 three-storey row houses along the western edge and six four-storey blocks of flats in the southeast corner. The detached houses were destined for one, two or several families.

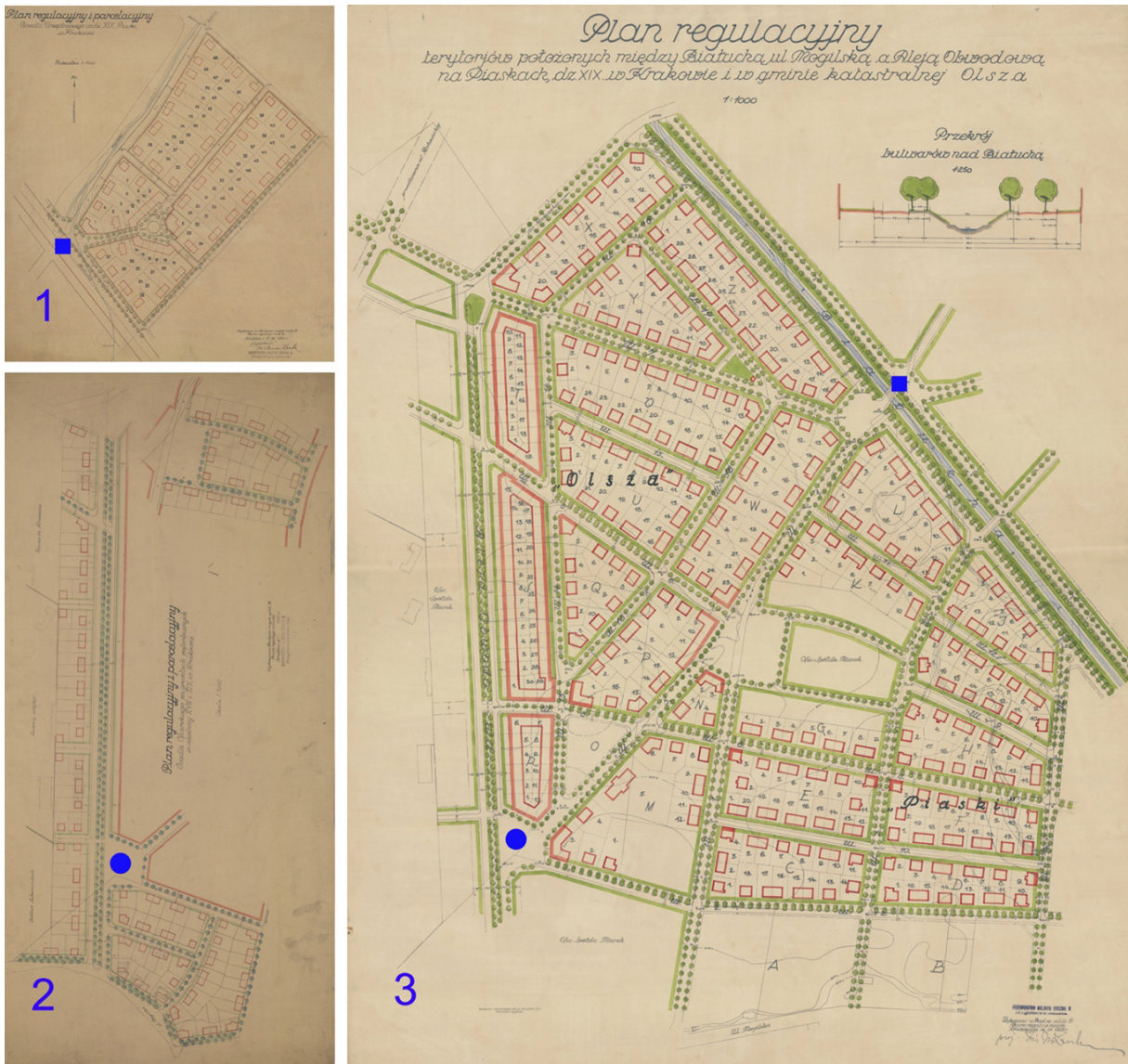


FIGURE 4 Regulation plans of the Officer Neighbourhoods. 1 - Official Neighbourhood (1924). 2 - Officer Neighbourhoods I and II (1925). 3 - "New territories" (1926). The blue, same-shape circles and squares mark the same sites in different projects.

Approximately half of the lots were built-up by 1939, which made the Officer Neighbourhoods the largest Krakow garden suburb of the Inter-war Period. The first houses, dating back to the 1920s, were of modernised classical forms, influenced by the idea of national architecture, referring to traditional old-Polish manor houses with their porches, columns and pitched roofs. The more Modernist 1930s houses featured flatter roofs and reduced decoration.

The neighbourhoods were equipped with seven small squares of various designs. All streets were to be lined with trees, most of them on both sides. Greenery/foliage, technical infrastructure, and roads followed soon after, including the construction of a bridge across the River Białucha in 1934, which helped access the Officials' Neighbourhood to the north.

Part of the Officer Neighbourhoods complex was localised outside the city limits of the time – on the grounds of the adjacent Olsza village. However, it made almost no difference to the way both sub-areas were laid out and built up.

The plans for Officer Neighbourhoods were clear but neither simplified nor random. They were part of a carefully planned project to develop the newly acquired district and to provide residential space and housing of a decent standard. The project was preceded by the establishment of an Association for the Officials' Neighbourhood in 1921, and the Officer Housing Cooperative in 1922, which bought or rented land, respectively. Those cooperative initiatives also bore some resemblance to the basis of Howard's views on the organisation of the garden city, or garden suburb in this case¹³. Remarkably, these neighbourhoods were planned and built in an area which had been found suitable for that purpose by Howard himself in his Krakow presentation in 1912¹⁴.

KRAKOW DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE NAZI OCCUPATION (1939-1945)

The harmonious urban development of Krakow during the Second Republic of Poland was brutally brought to a halt by the outbreak of World War II. From September 1939 to January 1945 the city was occupied by the German Nazi army and civil authorities. Since the headquarters for a quarter of occupied Poland were located there, a large number of German officials and soldiers arrived. Many of them were stationed in flats and houses from which their Polish and Jewish owners were expelled. Apart from this, in 1940-1944 an entire German neighbourhood was built along the major tract in the west of Krakow, and its form bore some resemblance to the garden suburb, which seems to have resulted from a combination of factors. The neighbourhood's southern part was designed by local Krakow architects while the northern side buildings were probably¹⁵ typical projects of multi-family houses common in late-1930s German architecture, which in turn had been indirectly influenced by both German early 20th-century picturesqueness and the Howard concept itself. It might also have been a coincidence¹⁶.

KRAKOW IN THE COMMUNIST POLAND (1945-1989). NEW CITY OF NOWA HUTA

World War II brought about the death of nearly 6 million people in Poland and migrations of many more. The country suffered disastrous material losses, including the destruction of most of its industry and cities. Krakow lost over a quarter of its population, although its building stock was left almost intact.

The Communist political system took over in Poland in 1945 as a result of Soviet Union domination. In 1949, architecture and town-planning were subdued to the doctrine of Socialist Realism, which favoured symmetry and Classical forms and sought national elements in certain Renaissance and vernacular forms. The city's rapid growth began in 1949 after the central state authorities decided to locate a vast industrial complex 10-15 kilometres east of the centre of Krakow (Figure 5). Nowa Huta was established both as a metallurgical plant and an adjacent city. It was a planned "Socialist" city, originally intended for 100,000 residents (the factory for 10,000 workers) and despite its incorporation into Krakow in 1951, it remained for a long time a separate urban unit.

The city of Nowa Huta was placed between three villages and bordered by two local roads (one of them along a steep escarpment over the Vistula Valley) and the River Dlubnia. The land was fertile, harvested, and free of buildings. The owners were expropriated and received little or no compensation. The city and steelworks were built simultaneously. The construction of the steelworks started in April 1950, and the production of steel in July 1954. The steelworks, named after Lenin (until 1990), became the biggest industrial unit in Poland. The construction of the city started in June 1949, even before the master plan was completed in 1951 by a team of architects led by Tadeusz Ptaszycycki. One of them, Stanislaw Juchnowicz, explained the city's shape: "five traffic and compositional arteries radiating out from the Central Square, located next to the edge of the escarpment, connect the most important local centres with the very centre of the town".¹⁷ Three compositional axes, which determined the city space, intersected at one point – in Central Square.

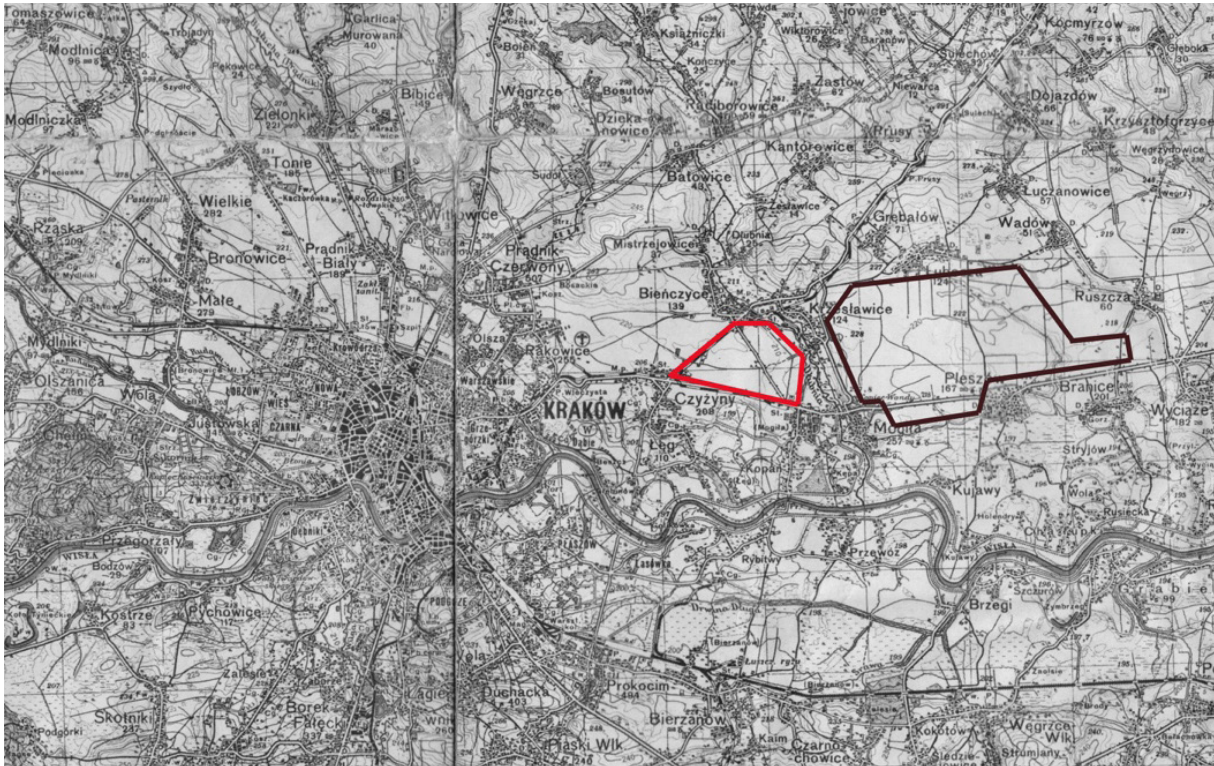


FIGURE 5 Nowa Huta, the scheme of 1949 locations of the city (within the red frame) and the steelworks (within the brown frame) in relation to the centre of Krakow, as shown on the 1934 map.

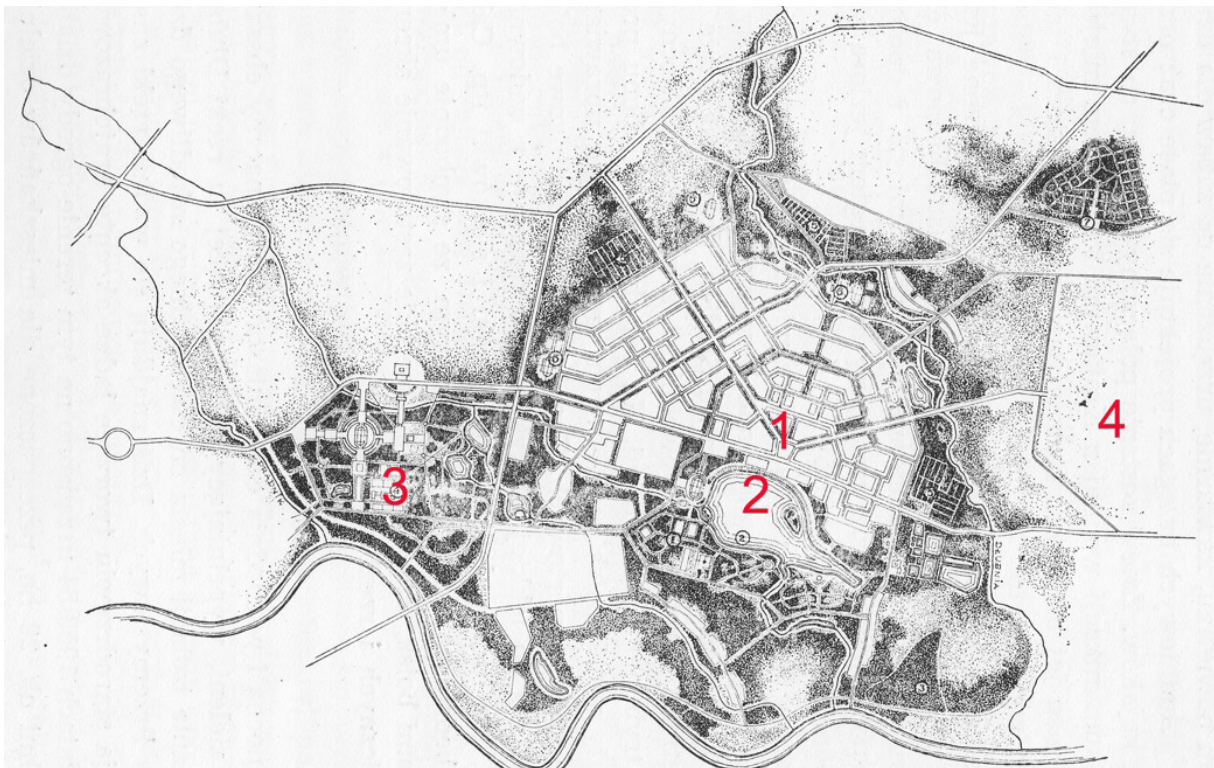


FIGURE 6 Nowa Huta, the plan of the town with surrounding greenery. 1 - Central Square. 2 - artificial lake (never built). 3 - Park of Culture and Leisure. 4 - steelworks. Project by Stanislaw Juchnowicz and Mieczyslaw Barbacki, 1954

Like most Socialist Realism urban design, the idea of the Nowa Huta centre was influenced by Lothar Bolz's urban views of 1951. "The measure of the centre's grandeur is not the passenger rushing through the city in a modern car but rather the pedestrian, the political demonstrator and his marching pace"¹⁸. The historicising neo-Baroque plan of Nowa Huta was combined with neighbourhood units. The neighbourhood unit idea, presented by Clarence Perry and applied by Henry Wright and Clarence Stein in their Radburn project in 1928, had its origins in the garden city idea (which Bolz criticised) and was amended mostly to include car transportation. In Nowa Huta the system of 24 neighbourhood units was designed for approximately 5,000 residents a piece. They were equipped with all the basic amenities: nurseries, kindergartens, playgrounds, schools, shops, services, garages, parking lots. The separation of vehicles and pedestrian routes allowed the residents to walk from any building entry e.g. to a nursery or to a shop without crossing a road.

Except for the first neighbourhoods, in which standard small housing units were built, most of the Nowa Huta neighbourhood units consisted of both free-standing buildings (especially inside their spacious courtyards) and of buildings which continuously lined most of the streets and boulevards. The arched passages across the external buildings ground-floor plans made pedestrian traffic possible between courtyards and avenues. The height of the residential architecture ranged from two to eight floors, depending on the location of buildings within the city. The buildings next to the Central Square were the tallest and most decorative in order to mark the exact centre; the more peripheral the location, the shorter and less decorative the buildings. This deliberate distinction was possibly due to the complex way in which the city was designed and built in the 1950s. By 1960 the original plan of Nowa Huta had already been completed and a target of 100,000 residents attained¹⁹. A number of public buildings were constructed: the theatre and three cinemas in the centre; a large sports stadium and a regional hospital – on the edges. The town-hall and the house of culture were planned but not built.

The amount of greenery in Nowa Huta was significant, both between blocks and along the boulevards. In addition, a large Park of Culture and Leisure was laid out between "Old" Krakow and Nowa Huta, south of the airport before it moved out in 1963. In contrast, the large artificial lake project at the foot of the escarpment was never built (Figure 6). Nowa Huta is one of only four entirely new towns built in Poland during the 20th century, and is the one most related to the garden city idea²⁰. Its response to the post-war housing shortages also reveals some similarity to the New Towns that were planned in the United Kingdom²¹. The foundation of Nowa Huta in 1949 resulted in a spatially well-balanced district but also the beginning of the industrialisation-based process of the rapid development of the entire city of Krakow. The master plans – drawn up for Krakow in 1949, 1953, 1956, 1958, 1966, 1977 – quickly became outdated: either not enforced or soon replaced with newer plans. After 1956, with Socialist Realism no longer obligatory, new numerous housing projects consisted of large, free-standing, typical buildings of most simplified Modernist forms. Despite the fact that these vast neighbourhoods were built by so-called cooperatives, they had little to do with the communities Howard had thought about in relation to the garden city. Due to the growth of Nowa Huta, maintaining a constant population limit, which was one of the key features of Howard's theory, was not possible and the population finally more than doubled.

THE REFLECTION OF HOWARD'S IDEA IN KRAKOW SINCE 1989

In June 1990 local elections in Krakow, as well as over the whole of Poland, were held for the first time since 1938. The last 1988 Krakow master plan, amended in 1994, ceased to be valid in 2003. This means that the Study of Conditions and Directions of Development, passed in 2003 and 2010, remains the city's basic planning document. In accordance with this study, precise Local Development Plans are carried out in Krakow. By 2016 these plans now cover nearly 50% of the city area.

The contemporary Krakow area (327 km²), which was enlarged six-fold in the 1940s and 1950s, and its population (ca. 760,000) have remained unaltered since 1989. Krakow has been modernised with the intention to transform

the city into a metropolitan centre through functional changes and technical improvements. The functional variety and intensification of built-up areas was promoted as opposed to any type of urban sprawl. Large numbers of new residential, public and commercial buildings as well as modernised infrastructure have increased the general standard of living.

Howard's idea has been favourably mentioned in certain books and publications regarding Krakow's urban development, but attempts to put it into practice are no longer being made. In the most recent period, phrases containing "garden" (or "green") words have been most valued by developers, potential clients, patrons and authorities and have been used in information leaflets and advertisements on new projects, which can hardly refer to what Howard actually meant. Very few of the many housing projects built since 1989 in Krakow, regardless of their quality, feature any relation to the garden suburb, let alone the garden city. The biggest residential complex, Ruczaj in southwest Krakow, which consists of many individual housing projects, has become a synonym for uncoordinated development, excessive density and highly limited public space.

One notes that the "garden city" notion has evolved with time. Apart from its traditional Howardian meaning, which to an extent is still maintained within professional circles, it has taken on other popular meanings. There are firms named "garden city" and promotional slogans referring to this type of development. An interesting case is the "City – Garden" annual competition in Krakow²², which was started in 1995 in order to reward the creators of the nicest gardens, flower-laden balconies, and other forms of "small greenery", such as vines planted to cover the walls. Each year a number of prizes are given to those Krakow residents from whose activities the whole society may benefit visually.

CONCLUSIONS

In early 1900s one might have expected that Howard's ideas, like most theories, would soon sink into oblivion, but they didn't and have never entirely been forgotten. The influence of garden city theory was and still is perceptible in Krakow, although unequally, both from a timeline and typological perspective.

The different manifestations of this approach, and the incidence of its exemplifications has been limited. Moreover, references to Howard's concept does not necessarily mean that his original views were shared. The extent of garden city influence weakened over time. However, some of the urban challenges Krakow was faced with were responded to with solutions that had at least some features of the garden city concept.

The ideological disquisition of the three magnets put forward thoroughly by Howard in both editions of his books were found interesting, especially in the first quarter of the 20th century, but later disregarded. There was only limited connection with the economic aspects which Howard was so precise about, such as economic and land-owning systems in Great Britain and Poland differed significantly, especially in the period between 1945 and 1989. There was more influence with regards to spatial matters, although they were partial and the links were not referred to openly as was the case of Nowa Huta. The historic importance of Howard's theory turned out to be the most enduring in textbooks on architecture, planning and related arts since most of them include it. Therefore, one may find a parallel between Garden City theory and Renaissance "Ideal City" theory, which was also hardly put fully into practice²³ but nevertheless helped improve the standard of planning and the quality of urban life over the next centuries.

By the end of the 20th century, certain Polish authors had already noted and considered the relation between Howard's theory and the case of Krakow²⁴. In the 21st century, certain more complex publications on this subject have been released, including two thorough research-based books. The book by Edyta Barucka (2013) provided an overview of the reception of the Howard's theory in European countries (including Poland) in the chronological

and geographical orders till 1930²⁵. An earlier book by Adam Czyzewski (2009) considered Howard's theory in relation to a number of numerous juxtaposed approaches and problems, ranging from planning and utopia to hygiene and eugenics²⁶. Both these authors discussed Polish garden cities, though neither of them paid much attention to Krakow as a part or as a whole. However, they both noticed the rapid reception of the garden city idea by Krakow professional circles. The book by Czyzewski actually contained the first full edition of the original Howard text in Polish, with all the illustrations from both the 1898 and 1902 editions. In 2015, another Polish edition of Howard's book, based on another translation, was published²⁷.

Each of the discussed Krakow projects bears different marks of the impact of Howard's theory. Pioneers like the creators of the Plan of Greater Krakow (1910) enjoyed the chance of connecting the densely built-up city with newly acquired rural and open areas. They also adhered to certain direct remarks made by Howard himself. The 1924-1939 Officer Neighbourhoods were initiated by authentic cooperatives whose careful efforts were intended to create a balanced garden suburb at the edge of the city. The 1940-1944 Nazi district, which was set up by an alien power in Krakow, had a certain limited visual resemblance to proposals for early garden cities. The 1949-1960 Nowa Huta development was located a few kilometres from Krakow as an entirely new town consisting of neighbourhood units of a precisely assumed population (though on the whole bigger than the original number put forward by Howard). However, right from the beginning, it was intentionally created in opposition to any village look and soon became a large district of the city to be further developed by quasi-cooperatives. And none of the post-1960 attempts to apply Howard's theory in Krakow can be taken seriously.

One single 1912 sentence uttered by Howard about Krakow has thus enjoyed an outstanding career! The verbal importance of the term "garden city" has also survived. It no longer means the same as it did a century ago, although it sounds equally or even more attractive, which is not now the case in Krakow and Poland²⁸. Unfortunately, there would be much less justification now for calling Krakow "the garden city from natural growth" than there was in 1912.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

Maciej Motak does research in history of architecture and urban forms, heritage protection, contemporary architecture. He is the author of 3 books including "Architecture of Krakow 1989-2004" and "History of Krakow Urban Design, an Outline", and over 80 research papers. He also edits scientifically and translates books on architecture. He is the author or co-author of over 30 built projects of residential and public buildings, and of 11 competition projects in the fields of architecture and planning (including the awarded project for Principles of Krakow Local Revitalisation Programme in 2006, with the team led by Anna Kantarek).

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Image Sources

- Figure 1: The Historical Museum of the City of Krakow [after:] Wielki Krakow, ed. Marek Maszczak, Magdalena Skrejko. Krakow: Muzeum Historii Fotografii, 2007.
- Figure 2: 10-lecie Polski Odrodzonej, Krakow-Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ilustrowanego Kurjera Codziennego, 1928.
- Figure 3: Author's archive and evaluation.
- Figure 4: The National Archives in Krakow [ABM Regulacje III 326-328].
- Figure 5: Author's archive and evaluation.
- Figure 6: Stanislaw Juchnowicz, *Tereny zielone w projekcie miasta Nowa Huta [in:] Zielen Krakowa*, ed. Jerzy Dobrzycki. Krakow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1954.

Endnotes

- 1 Czas 367, Krakow, 1912.
- 2 For instance, in June 1912, two months before the Howard's visit, the local daily announced, among other guests of a Krakow hotel, the stay of "Włodzimierz Ulianoff from Paris" i.e. Vladimir I. Lenin (not much known then), the future Bolshevik Revolution Leader, who lived in Krakow till May 1913. Czas 281, Krakow, 1912.
- 3 Wacław Ostrowski, *Sir Ebenezer Howard in Poland*, *Town & Country Planning*, vol. 34, no. 11, 1966. 511.
- 4 The exhibition was frequented from June to October 1912. The exhibited buildings were lost in fire in 1915. In 2012 the In-Habitation exhibition, which referred to the 1912 one, was held in the nearby National Museum's main edifice. The 1912 exhibition was the biggest event of that type ever in Krakow.
- 5 Adam Czyzewski, *Trzewia Lewiatana. Miasta ogrody i narodziny przedmiścia kulturalnego* (Warszawa: Państwowe Muzeum Etnograficzne, 2009). 38. It provides the thorough analysis of Howard's theory.

- 6 E.g.: Janusz Bogdanowski, *Warownie i zielen Twierdzy Krakow* (Krakow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1979). 226. E.g. Maciej Motak, *Historia rozwoju urbanistycznego Krakowa w zarysie* (Krakow: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Krakowskiej, 2012). 32.
- 7 Translation by Piotr Borman, Published in a single volume with: Adam Czyzewski, op. cit. (see Endnote 5).
- 8 Katarzyna Brückman De Renstrom, *Salwator*, Krakow, *Europa* (Krakow: Politechnika Krakowska, 2003). 14, 32, 36.
- 9 Katarzyna Brückman de Renstrom, *Salwator a sprawa Howarda, czyli o watpliwosciach co do howardowskiego rodowodu pierwszego willowego osiedla Krakowa* (Krakow: Czasopismo Techniczne vol. 1-A, 1997). 295-318.
- 10 Some recent planning documents still maintain the view of Salwator neighbourhood being established as a garden city, e.g. *Studium uwarunkowan i kierunkow zagospodarowania przestrzennego Miasta Krakowa* [Study of Conditions and Directions of Spatial Development of the City of Krakow], 2010-2014, p. 31.
- 11 For instance, one of the most engaged advocates of Howard's concept was medical doctor Wladyslaw Dobrzynski. See: Wladyslaw Dobrzynski, *Istota i rozwoj idei Howarda. Miasto - ogrod* (Warszawa: Przegląd Techniczny, 1917).
- 12 Originally the military airport, in 1923 it became the Krakow civil airport as well. It was closed in 1963 and the airport moved to Balice beyond the west edge of the city.
- 13 The Officer Housing Cooperative was finally dissolved in 1954, which merely confirmed its forced inactivity. Malgorzata Baczynska, *Osiedle Oficerskie w Krakowie* (Krakow: Rocznik Krakowski, vol. LXXX, 2015). 173.
- 14 Czyzewski, op. cit. 37.
- 15 The authorship of the projects is still discussed. See Kazimierz Butelski, *Architekt Zbigniew Kupiec 1905-1990. Ewolucja tworczości od modernizmu do regionalizmu* (Krakow: Fundacja Pro Architectura, 2012). 154.
- 16 One of the three Polish architects, Tadeusz Futasewicz, was probably a relative of architect Stanislaw Futasewicz who had been strongly involved in the designing of garden suburbs of Warszawa in 1910s.
- 17 Stanislaw Juchnowicz, *Nowa Huta* (Architektura, vol. 1., 1986).
- 18 Andrzej Lorek, *Kompozycja przestrzenna Nowej Huty w kontekście teorii i praktyki urbanistycznej socrealizmu* [in:] *Narodziny Nowej Huty*, ed. Jan Malecki (Krakow, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 1999). 127.
- 19 Both the residential part of Nowa Huta and the steelworks continued to grow beyond the size initially planned and in 1978 they reached 220,000 residents and 38,000 workers, respectively.
- 20 The other three ones are: the port city of Gdynia (1920s), and the worker towns of Stalowa Wola (1930s) and Nowe Tychy (1950s).
- 21 The evolution of garden city in this aspect is discussed by Dennis Hardy: *From Garden Cities to New Towns: Campaigning for Town and Country Planning, 1899-1946*. Idem, *From New Towns to Green Politics: Campaigning for Town and Country Planning, 1899-1946, Studies in History, Planning and the Environment* (New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1991).
- 22 It is organised by the Cyprian Kamil Norwid Cultural Centre in the Nowa Huta district of Krakow.
- 23 One of the few and best built projects of an Ideal City is Zamosc in eastern Poland, built in 1580-1605. The town-hall of Nowa Huta, which was never built, was designed as a Socialist-Realism variation on the late-Renaissance town-hall in Zamosc.
- 24 Bogdanowski, op. cit.; Brückman De Renstrom, *Salwator a sprawa...*, op. cit.; Ostrowski, *Sir Ebenezer Howard...*, op. cit.; Wacław Ostrowski, *Ebenezer Howard – pionier współczesnej urbanistyki*, (Warszawa: Studia i Materiały do Teorii Architektury, vol. 9, 1971).
- 25 Edyta Barucka, *W szkatułach zieleni. Europejski ruch miast ogrodów 1903-1930* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2014).
- 26 Adam Czyzewski, *Trzewia Lewiatana...*, op. cit.
- 27 Howard, Ebenezer, *Miasta-ogrody jutra*, translation by Martyna Trykozko, preface by Dorota Lesniak (Warszawa: Centrum Architektury, 2015).
- 28 In the second edition of the book by Peter Hall and late Colin Ward, the former quoted a recent positive reference made by British Prime Minister David Cameron to the "Garden City solution". Peter Hall and Colin Ward, *Sociable Cities. The 21st-Century Reinvention of the Garden City*, Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2014. Preface 9.