



HAL
open science

Atlantic Crosser. John Nolen and the Urban Internationale

Pierre-Yves Saunier

► **To cite this version:**

Pierre-Yves Saunier. Atlantic Crosser. John Nolen and the Urban Internationale. *Planning History*, 1998, n°1, p.23-31. halshs-00002858

HAL Id: halshs-00002858

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00002858>

Submitted on 16 Sep 2004

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

-"Atlantic crosser. John Nolen and the Urban Internationale", *Planning History*, Vol.21, No1, 1999, p.23-31

"ATLANTIC CROSSER" :

JOHN NOLEN AND THE URBAN INTERNATIONALE * *

"John Nolen, born Philadelphia 1869, graduated University of Pennsylvania 1893 ; post graduate work, University of Munich 1900; A.M Harvard 1905...". This vita, published in the volume John Nolen edited in 1916 for the National Municipal League series, is familiar to many American scholars of city planning historyⁱ. Nolen is a major figure in this history, and has received a wide attention since the days when John Hancock brought him the tribute of his *alma mater* through a PhD from University of Pennsylvaniaⁱⁱ. Nolen, on the same footing as Geo B Ford or Frederick Law Olmsted, is one of those that Mel Scott depicted as "*founding fathers*" in his history of American city planningⁱⁱⁱ, and Donald Krueckeberger coined him as the "*most productive city planner of his time*"^{iv}. More severe judgements have also been pronounced, such as those by Marie Christine Boyer or Margaret Crawford^v, who stressed the business side of Nolen instead of his progressive commitments. I am not here to carve another bust of Nolen as an American planner, but rather to use John Nolen as a window on the outside world.

All those who wrote on Nolen mentioned his wide participation in the international milieu of town planning. Indeed, this was the cause of the interest I paid to the man of Cambridge, Massachusetts. The Italian historian Giorgio Piccinato was among the first historians of town planning to insist on the existence of a "town planning international society" in the years before World War 1^{vi}. This society was embodied in overlapping international congresses, exhibitions, networks of correspondences, translations of major books and friendships. Anthony Sutcliffe^{vii} provided a first portrait of the town planning movement in four countries, showing how foreign "influence" and international exchanges

were important at the very time the drums of war were beating. We also know about a number of personal links, general meetings, major international events and organisations ^{viii}. Nevertheless, the world of international organisations, exhibitions and congresses is still to explore in relation to their nature, size, involvement ^{ix}. The information networks constructed through personal links, journeys, readings are also hard to track. This is where I want to contribute here, by using John Nolen as a window opened on this milieu^x, to suggest what was forming this milieu and what happened there. This is a first step in my research on the "Urban Internationale", a research that wishes to show how much the international scale is a level that shapes the views, tools and policies of the city, as much as an arena where national definitions of these views, tools and policies compete. The main poles of this Urban Internationale are embodied by collective structures such as the US philanthropic Foundations, international organizations such as the League of Nations, The International Labour Office, the UN and the UNESCO, and voluntary associations as the International Union of Local Authorities or the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning. But, even if I suspect the relationship between those three poles are essential for our understanding of the Urban Internationale, we all know that relationships between structures are made by and through individuals who allow themselves enough space for agency and personal action. Paying attention to individual actions is therefore a necessary element of the historical inquiry. By pointing here the searchlight on Nolen, I want to briefly suggest what did it mean for someone to be involved in the Urban Internationale. Of course, I don't pretend to give here a full acknowledgement of the consequences of such an involvement in Nolen's works or ideas, neither to give a view of the ideas the international networks did propagate or considered. Rather, I want to emphasise the nature of the relationship between Nolen and his foreign counterparts, and the possible uses of these international links.

Is Nolen a good tool for a quick glance at this milieu ? First of all, I must stress how much the Nolen Papers offer a wonderful opportunity. As other Papers kept at the Kroch library (such as the Russell Van Nest Black) for example, the Nolen Papers allow to

reconstruct almost any aspect of the man's professional career. The plans that the Nolen firm produced for cities such as Akron, San Diego or Kingsport are fully documented from their preliminaries, including their economic aspects. But the Papers also include all that concern the wide activity of Nolen as a public lecturer, document his participation to a wide array of civic improvement societies and gather his correspondence with many US and foreign counterparts. Those records allow to consider Nolen as a major figure in this Internationale.

In the 1920s, John Nolen was a member of at least 12 societies from the urban and civic reform sphere ^{xi}. Three of them were foreign societies : the Town Planning Institute from Canada, to which Nolen belonged since at least 1924, the Town Planning Institute of England of which he had been elected as a member in December 1920, and the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Federation ^{xii} that he joined in 1923. This membership was not ritual : John Nolen did give Papers in London at the British TPI and was present at several meetings, and he participated in some of the yearly meetings organised by the Canadian TPI ; he was a member of the Council and the Executive Board of the International Federation, before becoming its President from 1931 to 1936. Indeed he was very active in this major structure of the Urban Internationale, participating in person and by mail to many commissions on specific subjects such as the glossary committee, the technical committee or the committee that was in charge of settling the conflict with the International Housing Association of Frankfurt. The conferences organised by the International Federation were amongst the main objects of the 14 journeys John Nolen made to Europe (he also went to Canada and to Mexico). But Nolen's journeys were never limited to the conferences of the International Federation. He toured Europe well before becoming a member; his first trip dating back to 1895 for an Oxford University summer course. Nolen also spent a full year in Europe in 1901-1902, when he studied at the University of Munich, and his trips from 1895 to 1935 frequently brought him in England and Germany, but also to other parts of Europe from Netherlands to the U.S.S.R . Spain, Portugal and the Balkans were the only regions he ignored. Last but not least, John Nolen was also an avid reader of international journals in his field. In the 1920s, his firm was receiving 8 foreign planning and architectural journals ^{xiii},

including the major reviews of German and British town planning. John Nolen was not only a subscriber to these journals, but he also contributed to them and his books were reviewed by them^{xiv}. I suspect a detailed analysis of his personal library, now kept at the University of Pennsylvania, would have added the interest for foreign books to that picture, were the books bought or received as presents as attested by the correspondence. Moreover, Nolen's huge collection of lantern slides^{xv}, as well as his many writings or conferences, all kept in his Papers at the Kroch Library, include a huge quantity of foreign references, especially European. Reading and speaking German and French surely helped Nolen to be that much ubiquitous. To complete this portrait, it needs to be said that Nolen had had contacts to perform his planning skills abroad, in Mexico and in Czechoslovakia. This last point is an ultimate hint: Edward Filene, the Boston department store magnate that was in close relation with Nolen since the 1900's, had recommended Nolen to the industrial shoemaker Bata, who was looking for the "*best US planner*" to make a plan for the Czech city of Zlin that welcomed his shoe factories^{xvi}. According to Filene, Nolen was on his way to discuss the contract when Bata died in a plane crash. Though he entered none of the great planning competitions that landmarked the field (Barcelona, Anvers, Guyaquil, Yass-Canberra amongst others), John Nolen then seems to have strongly committed himself to the international scale. This great traveler, who spent half of the year out of his firm, was not only a man of American networks^{xvii}, but an Atlantic crosser^{xviii}. He indeed was a member of the Urban Internationale that met in conferences, exhibited at planning exhibits^{xix} and shared flows of information through letters and visits. I will try here to suggest what meant being part of such a network could be, and also how this belonging could be used.

Nolen was already an Atlantic crosser well before being a landscape architect and contributing to the building of city-planning. His first trip in Europe took place in 1895, as he was executive secretary of the Society for the Extension of University at Pennsylvania. When he became a landscape architect, this interest for the Old Continent did not vanish, as

manifested by the lantern slides and notes he used for the conferences he gave all around the country ^{xx}. At the first National Conference on city planning and the problems of congestion in 1909, John Nolen, as Frederick Olmsted, develops his argument on the base of european examples. He is then but one amongst the many american urban and municipal reformers that, in the end of the 19th century, turned towards England or Germany to suggest remedies for the big american city. Nevertheless, this interest for european plans, events and litterature does not seem to have been paralleled with interindividual exchanges until 1911. In March this year, John Nolen was appointed as a member of the Boston Metropolitan Planning commission, with the architect J.Randolph Coolidge Jr and Edward Filene, who had launched the "Boston 1915" movement in 1909. I suspect there is a connection between this project and the trip organized in Europe by the Boston Chamber of Commerce in the summer of 1911, but it seems no accident that Nolen is a member of the delegation. They tour Europe, landing in Liverpool at the end of june to visit Port Sunlight, and making their way to France, Germany and other countries. It appears that this was the moment when Nolen began to build a first network of people he was able to get in touch with for information and discussion. Raymond Unwin, Patrick Geddes, Thomas Adams who he had met before, Joseph Stübben, the French Georges Benoît-Lévy and the Swiss Berlepsch-Valenda were amongst these, and Nolen quickly used their expertise in sending them a questionnaire of the Boston Metropolitan Planning Commission in october 1911. An correspondence had then began between Nolen and Adams, as might have been expected between those two great travelers. As stated by Adams, they had "*many ways to give mutual service by exchanging informations on the planning movement*" in their countries. In the beginning of 1912, Nolen wrote to Adams "*I want to follow as carefully as I can the developement of the English movement because I realise how significant it is*" ^{xxi}. The two men also met at some US National Conferences on City Planning, Adams being a regular attendant since he arrived in Canada in 1914 to work as Advisor on Town Planning for the Conservation Commission ^{xxii}. Nolen also began a regular correspondence with Patrick Geddes when they both became members of the Jury for the Dublin Plan Competition

launched by Lady Aberdeen, and exchanged letters with Raymond Unwin, even during the war in order to get information on British war housing^{xxiii}. He also was invited as a lecturer to the summer school of town planning that the University of London organised at Hampstead in August 1912 and where Unwin was the leading figure.

But was all this forming a network, e.g. an organized, permanent, maintained and purposively used web of correspondents and colleagues? I am inclined to say no, as it is only with Unwin and Adams that Nolen has a dense correspondence, sending his reports, pamphlets and plans, receiving Unwin's and exchanging information. It might also be that the Nolen papers lead to some fallacy, as they include few pre-1914 correspondence. It is not known whether this is due to the lack of correspondence, or to a lack of archival work in the agency. The minutia of Nolen nevertheless tends to indicate the first explanation as the most possible. The first post-war years will be devoted to nurturing these links, in an explicit action by Nolen to increase his knowledge of European and British experiences.

As soon as the war was over, Nolen turned his eyes towards Europe again. First, he tries to raise as much information as he can, through reading but also through other's eyes. When the young engineer Jacob Crane asks him some tips to visit Europe in 1921, Nolen opens wide his address book, asking the young technician to send him information on city-planning in Europe. Crane visits France, Germany, Swiss, Italy and meets Georges Benoît-Lévy, Jacques Greber, , Patrick Geddes, the editor of *Die Städtebau* and many others Nolen had given the addresses of, and sends several letters to Nolen to inform him about the state of the art. But Nolen above all tries hard to go back to the Old Continent. After the failure of some organized journeys which programs he proposed to US civic associations (such as the "Civic tour" of the summer 1921, that Nolen proposed to the American Planning and Civic Association and to the National Municipal League), he finally makes it to Götterborg, in Sweden, for the conference of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Federation taking place in the summer of 1923. Though Nolen was certainly aware of the existence of

the Federation since its creation in Paris in 1913 and its first congress in London in 1914^{xxiv}, he had not made a move in its direction since those days.

Raymond Unwin seems to be the touchstone of this new endeavour. He and Nolen have more than planning concerns in common, and this is why their relation develops. They both share an interest for what happens out of their country, pay interest to the Irish problem, discover one another as being "progressive minded", and are also strong supporters of the new League of Nations. Moreover, Unwin's daughter gets married to an American citizen and lives in Chicago, making very plausible a visit of Unwin in the USA. There was born a friendship that led to visits, sending the children to each other's home and common European study trips in the 1920s and 1930s. Very quickly, Nolen has had the project to have Unwin invited for a series of conferences, and mentions him this idea in the middle of 1920. Unwin will eventually visit the USA in September 1922 and Nolen seems to have organized the planning part of it. He suggested Charles Norton to invite Unwin as a consultant for the new Regional Plan Committee set up by the Russell Sage Foundation. He organized conferences at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, at Harvard University, even giving indications to Unwin and his son-in-law the fees they should ask. He also wrote to local journalists to offer them interviews with Unwin. While in Boston, Unwin of course spent some time at the Nolen's home, but also visited Edward Filene, gave a talk to the Boston Society of Landscape Architects and interviews here and there. He spoke about city-planning, but together with peace, international cooperation and the League of Nations. In his conference at the Boston Society of Landscape Architects, Unwin rose enough enthusiasm to make vote a motion for the decentralisation of cities along the lines of the garden-city, and it is decided to form a new American association of garden-cities under the presidency of James Pray from Harvard University. Unwin and Nolen hoped this would be affiliated to the International Federation, thus promoting the internationalisation of this too European organisation. Unfortunately, the Bostonian committee did nothing to promote such a structure, and Unwin conceived another plan to widen the International Federation membership, whose he was

then the treasurer. As he wrote to Nolen, "*if the time does not seem right for creating such a society <a US garden-city association>, it might be useful to enlist a number of individuals all over the States who could individually join the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association*"^{xxv}. Nolen would spend part of his lifetime to raise interest for international planning and for the IF in the rank and file of the US planners and their organisations.

The decision of Nolen to join the Götteborg conference grows from this context of friendship with Unwin, long time interest for European planning and devotion to the idea of international cooperation. Together with people like Lawrence Veiller, another major Atlantic crosser, he will make it across the Baltic sea up to Sweden, for the trip that really founded his network. Indeed, the "Foreign correspondence" folder of the Nolen papers begins in 1923. The letters it includes reveal that in Götteborg Nolen has asked many people to send him city planning informations about their country, and that he does not hesitate to write them to ask for details, or to order specific items such as photographs to turn them into lantern slides. The German Gustav Langen, the Swede Lilienberg, the Dane Hendriksen are amongst his many new acquaintances. With these Götteborg friends, met during the conference but also during the social events that went with it (professional and touristic visits), Nolen inaugurates some "network founding" routines that will last until his death. One of his favourite techniques is to send his publications to his international peers and new friends as quick as possible. When he has met someone in an IF conference, he is efficient enough to telegraph quickly his orders to his secretary in Cambridge, so his new friends will find his latest pamphlets or his most recent plan at home when just turning back from the conference venue. For a book, the process is more sophisticated, with a special list of international people he wants the book to be sent to. To foster what can be now called a network, Christmas cards are sent each year, and their return undelivered is recorded on the back of the cards from the special international adress file created in the 1920s, so that the knowledge of who is where is always available.

This network kept on growing, thanks to the visits Nolen makes to the International Federation Conferences (1926, 1928, 1931, 1935), his other journeys through Europe

(especially in 1931 when he extensively tours Germany thanks to an Oberlaender Trust grant, and goes to Moscow for three weeks), and also through the visits and letters he received and sent. If one believes the address files kept in the Nolen papers, hence two separate files dating from the 1920's, John Nolen had been in touch, though with very unequal intensity, with some 180 foreign individuals, associations and organizations during the 1920's and 1930's. Their major batallions were from England and Germany, with noticeable presence from Canada, Sweden, Japan, Australia and the Netherlands. The rest of the world is scarcely represented, but the map of these files would locate at least once 22 countries as far as Brasil, Kenya or France. One can imagine that this correspondence, and the journeys of Nolen, were a heavy financial and material burden for Nolen's office. What then was the network for ?

It seems to me that it is a wrong question to decide between the cynicism of a Nolen who would have fancied international contacts to promote his career, and the ingenuousness of a Nolen who would have sacrificed to international understanding and the ritual of friendly conferences. Both facets, as one shall expect, are true to life. See for example when Nolen, as it is very common in the USA, carefully selects a sentence from a letter that Ebenezer Howard had sent to him to acknowledge the receipt of his *New towns for old*, in order to have it printed in journals such as *American city magazine* ^{xxvi}. But consider as well the way in which Nolen heartily writes to the excentric Hendrik Christian Andersen and offers his support for the project of World Capital City that the Danish sculptor has been carrying since years ^{xxvii}.. It is true about Nolen, as about many of his foreign correspondents who seek his approval, support ^{xxviii} or help, that he tries to promote himself as a planner by using foreign references, by getting information on planning abroad, by disseminating this information or by giving lists of "things and people to see" to people going abroad. Moreover, controlling international fluxes of information may not only give access to symbolic profits, such as fame and reputation. First because fame can easily be turned into contracts and deals on the US market, but also because having a wide international network can also provide some

occasions of business. Carlos Contreras, the Mexican architect who Nolen had met in Europe for an International Federation Conference, and who later will have governmental responsibilities, did propose Nolen to be his associate in the town planning of Vera Cruz, and asked him to act as an intermediary between him and the American public works firms. But in a time when promoting oneself as a city planner also meant to participate to the invention of a new profession, Nolen's roots in the international sphere were more than an acute sense of business. "Proving" to the United States that planning was something trustable and efficient in England, in Canada or in Germany was a device used by numerous municipal and housing reformers in late 19th century America, and widely used in the planning field (just remind here Frederick Howe, Charles M. Robinson or Benjamin Marsh). Nolen, influential in so many US civic and technical organizations, was committed to this same task of promoting the planning ideals, but also to another dimension, stressed by Margaret Crawford : inventing the planning professional. The international dimension was crucial for that, as it allowed to create a sense of professional community beyond the borders, to circulate experience, to try to invent a common language and to build a network of advisers and supporters that could be used when necessary. This was a new form of the attitudes towards the management of the city, marked by the rise of permanent organisations based on the new professions of planning and by the definition of the urban question as a universal problem. The voluntary associations such as the International Federation^{xxix}, are important elements in this conjunction between the rise of professional expertise and the definition of the urban question as an international one. This is why Nolen devoted time and energy to the International Federation, being instrumental in bringing its conference in New York City in 1924, accepting its presidency in a time of internal turmoil and trying to bring the conference again to the States in the early 1930's. Nolen was there, and similarly payed service or interest to the National Conference on City Planning, the American Society of Landscape architects, the American Planning and Civic Association, the American Society of Planning Officials, the American City Planning Institute, the American Planning Foundation,

the International Union of Local Authorities and many other organizations dealing with the urban question.

This moment that we could call the "voluntary professional" moment, is different in its forms, stakes and consequences of the figure of amateur elite philanthropy that saw people like Thomas Coglan Horsfall touring end of nineteenth century Germany on his own to bring back remedies to his beloved city of Manchester ^{xxx}. It is also different from the type of international experts linked to international bodies such as the UN, that develops from the 1930's and reaches full power in the 1950s. I suspect these differences have consequences on the way urban problems are considered, on urban policies at the national and international scales, on the self perception and organization of planning professionals around the world, and also on the orientation of the fluxes of international information ^{xxxi}. This is why I pay interest to the Urban Internationale, in this period 1910-1950 that offers consideration of these various configurations. John Nolen, man of good will and professional, is a first key. There are many others. The door they can open, as far as planning history is concerned, is the one that leads to consider what town planning owed to the international scale as such. Comparative approach between national histories of town planning is one thing, and still has a lot to offer. But, as Daniel Rodgers pointed out, it is finally the connections between national expressions of a similar contingency that makes interesting and significant the national outcomes and their comparison. "*There are gains to be made by starting with connections*", Rodgers wrote ^{xxxii}. Let's take the bet.

* The material for this paper has been collected thanks to a Fulbright grant, the help from the John Nolen Fund and the generous welcome of John Reys at Cornell University Planning department. They all made possible the stay at the Kroch Library from Cornell, where the John Nolen Papers are in deposit. Herbert Finch, Lorna Knight and all the staff from the rare and manuscript collections there were crucial to assist a French on tour in US archives

ⁱⁱ *City planning. a series of papers presenting the essential elements of a city plan*, New York and London, D.Appleton and Company, 1916, pviii.

ⁱⁱ John L., Hancock, *John Nolen and the American city planing movement : a history of culture change and community response*, Ph D dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1964

ⁱⁱⁱ Mel Scott, *American city planning since 1890. A history commemorating the 50th anniversary of the American Institute of Planners*, Berkeley : University of California Press, 1971.

^{iv} Donald A., Krueckeberger (ed.), *The American planner : biographies and recollections*, New York : Donald Krueckeberger/Center for urban policy research, 1994, p.15 (first edition New York: Methuen, 1983).

^v M.Christine Boyer, *Dreaming the rational city : the myth of American city planning*, Cambridge : MIT Press, 1983, Margaret Crawford, *Building the workingman's paradise. The design of company towns*, London/New-York : Verso, 1995 (chapter 8 " Professional solutions : John Nolen and the standardisation of company town planning")

^{vi} Giorgio Piccinato, *La costruzione dell'urbanistica : Germania 1871-1914*, Roma,:Officina Edizioni, 1974, p.543 et 552

^{vii} Anthony Sutcliffe, *Towards the planned city. Germany, Britain, the United States and France 1780-1914*, London : Basil Blackwell, 1981

^{viii} Besides the book from Piccinato quoted above, that gives a basic chronology of exhibitions and congresses, I want to remind here the underacknowledged work by Donatella Calabi and Mario Folin (eds), *Werner Heggeman. Catalogo delle esposizioni internazionali di urbanistica,Berlin 1910 Düsseldorf 1911-12*, Milano : Saggiatore, 1975.

^{ix} Helen Meller, "Philanthropy and public enterprise : international exhibitions and the modern town planning movement 1889-1913", *Planning perspectives*, n.10, 1995.

^x This research on John Nolen is part of my ongoing research on the "Urban Internationale 1910-1950" that deals with international associations such as the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning, the International Union of Local Authorities, the International Housing Association, the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, international bodies such as the League of Nations, International Labour Office , United Nations or UNESCO, and the big American philanthropic Foundations. Planning is part of the urban question they all contributed to shape, but other important aspects were municipal government or housing.

^{xi} Cornell University, Kroch Library, John Nolen papers, Private papers # 2903 (then JN Papers), box 7 folder 1.

^{xii} Before International Garden Cities and Town planning Association, later International Federation for Town and Country Planning and Garden Cities, then International Federation for Housing and Town Planning. Hereafter called International Federation for a better understanding.

^{xiii} *Planning* (London), *Town planning review* (Liverpool), *Journal of the Town planning Institute* (London), *Town planning* (Ottawa), *Gartenstadt* (Germany), *Garden city and Town Planning* (Londond), *Bulletin of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning* (London), *Baukunst und Städtebau* (Berlin).

^{xiv} For a complete bibliography of Nolen's works, see John Hancock, *John Nolen : bibliographic record of achievement*, Cornell University, program in urban studies, 1976. Nolen published in the *Town planning review*, in *Städtebau*, his books were reviewed at least since 1916 in *Garden cities and town planning magazine*, etc.

^{xv} 237 wooden boxes enclose the slides collection. The boxes I looked at contained some 30-40 slides. Therefore it is a huge collection, that could surely be used by anybody interested in the circulation of references in early city planning. I seize this occasion to remember how much the use of lantern slides was an essential element of city planning propaganda in the US, the UK or France. In each of those countries, individuals were touring the territory with their illustrated conferences, organizations were lending slides or organizing programs of such lectures. It looks like an important factor in the communication engineering that put urban planning on the forefront of the public scene.

^{xvi} JN Papers, box 7, folder 1 "Nolen political endorsements", endorsement letter from Edward Filene

^{xvii} See M.Crawford, op.cit,

^{xviii} Of course, this expression is borrowed from Daniel Rodgers, *Atlantic crossings. Social politics in a progressive age*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998. Nolen is one of the figures that illustrate

Rodger's demonstration about the way US social politics were reappropriated importations from Germany or United Kingdom.

^{xix} Nolen himself exhibited at the International Federation exhibitions during conferences, such as in Berlin where he sent 16 items including the plan for Roanoke (Virginia), but also for smaller shows such as exhibitions at the Letchworth grammar school or at the German Society for housing reform in 1933.

^{xx} See especially the files gathered in JN papers, box 40.

^{xxi} JN papers, box 71, letter 26 January 1912

^{xxii} See. Alan F. J. Artibise & Gilbert A. Stelter "Conservation planning and urban planning : the Canadian Commission of Conservation in historical perspective", in Roger Kain (ed), *Planning for conservation*, London: Mansell, 1981.

^{xxiii} Christian Topalov, *naissance de l'urbanisme moderne et réforme de l'habitat populaire aux Etats Unis 1900-1940*, Centre de Sociologie Urbaine, 1988, p.95, note 82

^{xxiv} For the creation of the International federation, see Dennis Hardy, *From garden cities to new towns. Campaigning for town and country planning 1899-1946*, London : E & FN Spon, 1991.

^{xxv} JN papers, Box 8, folder "2 Unwin", undated.

^{xxvi} JN papers, box 1, black folder

^{xxvii} JN Papers, box 69, folder "2.Foreign correspondence", letter 28/12/1931

^{xxviii} See for example Gustav Langen letter, *ibid*, 12/4/1929, where the German author asks Nolen if he "could agree upon this work <a book he has just sent him> in an American journal"

^{xxix} Joël Outtes, at Oxford, is also working on the International Federation, as well as Panos Mantzarias, Veronique Faucheur and Hartmut Frank in Hambourg. Renaud Payre, at the Institut d'etudes Politiques in Grenoble, is devoting time to the International Union of Local Authorities. I would welcome any information about ongoing works in this field.

^{xxx} Michael Harrison, "Thomas Cogan Horsfall and the 'example of Germany'", *Planning perspectives*, 6, 1991, p.297-314.

^{xxxi} The flow that carries american urban reformers in Europe began to reverse in the 1920's-1930's, and is definitely oriented the other way round after the Second World War. The role of the big American philanthropic Foundations in this change is especially important. See Pierre-Yves Saunier "Sketches from the Urban International 1910-1950. Voluntary associations, international organisations and the US philanthropy", forthcoming.

^{xxxii} *Atlantic crossings*, p.5.