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## Modern Planning as Civilizing Agent: Ernst May's Kampala Extension Scheme

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Ernst May (1886-1970), the “heroic” German modernist city planner best known for the vast modern housing construction program he directed in Frankfurt a.M. from 1925-30, spent his life crusading to solve the world’s urban and housing problems through large scale planning.<sup>1</sup> As one recent survey of May’s work phrased it, his was a life continually in search of “the grand cause.”<sup>2</sup> May struggled to find commissions that went beyond the scale and scope of mere architecture. He longed to shape and control entire cities and their environs in order to ensure the greater good of all people in society. Although May’s modernist work in Frankfurt has been studied in-depth, many of May’s and modern architecture’s ideological tenets became more clearly focused as they developed over time and under different social and cultural circumstances.<sup>3</sup> Comprising simultaneously the longest phase of his career—nearly twenty years—, and the least studied, May’s work as a German emigré in Africa from January 1934 to late 1953, provides important clues to ambitions and trends in his career, and modern architecture more generally.<sup>4</sup>

The geographically and historically marginalized context of May’s East African work allows us to distinguish the varying influences of personality, colonial context, and the larger trends of modern architecture much more clearly than through the canonical work in Frankfurt. An expanded look at his projects illuminates the dramatic changes that occurred in high modern architecture across the chasm of World War II. It provides rich evidence for the transference of the centers of modern architecture out of Europe en route to a truly “International Style,” and makes clear the rich diversity that was possible within the modernist idiom when exposed to and interacting with different cultures and climates. By investigating May’s introduction of European modern architecture into the colonial world of East Africa we can more clearly assess the role that modern architecture played in the colonization and modernization of the Third World.

In October 1930, arguably at the height of his career, May resigned his post as powerful *Stadtbaurat* in his native Frankfurt in the face of increasing criticism from the right and departed for new challenges in the Soviet Union.<sup>5</sup> Three years later, after planning giant industrial cities in the still-emergent Soviet Union, the practice of the German architect and planner once again stopped in its tracks. May’s rational, almost mechanistic plans for cities such as Magnitogorsk had been thwarted by depressed economic conditions, the inefficiency of the Soviet construction industry, and by Stalin’s demands for a more home-grown, traditional style of Soviet planning and architecture. As would happen so often in his life, May had been caught between the shifting political, social, and cultural ideologies that shaped the course of modern architecture. The architect’s ideas of universalism constantly confronted critical tendencies towards regionalism, tradition, and the search for distinct national architectures.

Still intent on realizing his grand ideas of solving the world’s urban and housing needs through modern planning, May went in search of other opportunities. Unable to return to his native Germany, now under full control of the Nazis, and unwilling to follow the lead of his C.I.A.M. colleagues in emigrating to bourgeois London or America, May quit his difficult work in the bitter cold of Soviet Russia and emigrated to the much romanticized tropics of Tanzania in equatorial East Africa.<sup>6</sup> He was inspired in part by the fabled adventures of the German World War I flying-ace and folk-hero Ernst Udet that represented Africa as a simple, wide-open territory remote from the problems of the known civilized world, and yet exciting and full of potential for a forty-seven year old still eager to realize his life’s ambitions. In a country where lions attacked flying aces and bushmen approached the steel birds with war paint and spears, life looked like one big safari.<sup>7</sup>

The radical move from his position as one of the predominant city planners of European modernism to that of a farmer and architect in the tropics of Africa was both a rejection of Europe

and an embrace of Africa. The whole continent, particularly British East Africa, was seen as a place of tremendous economic potential. Due to the Arab pirates who had controlled the coast from Zanzibar, and the feared Masai warriors who controlled the dry grasslands of the interior, the first Europeans (German missionaries) crossed Kenya only in the 1850s.<sup>8</sup> Germany's late entry into the colonial struggle and Britain's comparatively *laissez faire* administrative doctrine in Africa had left the territory almost wholly undeveloped. It was only after the discovery of the source of the Nile in Lake Victoria and the construction of the railroad from Mombassa to the Lake by Indian laborers at the turn of the century that Kenya and Tanganyika began to be settled. East Africa, the mid-point of the Cape-to-Cairo road and railroad, soon became a popular destination for emigrés and tourists. The Nazi author Karl Hänel summarized European aspirations in East Africa in 1937:

Africa is the last place (*Raum*) which is still open to Europe. Its economic importance can scarcely be overestimated . . . It is the last economic leveling place . . . that can provide for us the riches for which we have set up our economy and which will not again give up without a fight.<sup>9</sup>

Headlines from English language publications proclaimed similarly that Africa was an "emerging colossus," that it was "the strategic prize of the century," that this was "the century of Africa."<sup>10</sup>

Although May and many of his architect colleagues who emigrated from Germany during this period sought merely to escape, many of their destinations were far from arbitrary: Japan and Turkey had been close allies of Germany in the First World War, and Tanganyika was the former colony of German East Africa (*Deutsch Ostafrika*). The majority of Europeans in the territory were still of German descent, and it had been a popular destination for German emigration throughout the Weimar years.<sup>11</sup> May's neighbors formed a close community and met regularly in the all-white clubs of the nearby town, exchanging news from home, and May's two sons attended the small European school in their African home town. Although May steadfastly identified with his German heritage, this paper will demonstrate how the African context caused him to temper his earlier position that a universal or international architecture was possible. To accommodate the new climate, topography, and culture, as well as the racial, and economic disparities he encountered, May resorted to a balance of modern ideas and older, more traditional paradigms.

After his arrival in the port of Mombassa in 1931, May purchased with the monies he had earned in the Soviet Union a large piece of land in the town of Arusha, in the shadows of Mount Kilimanjaro. For three years he concentrated all his efforts on growing coffee and fruit in the temperate highlands of British East Africa. He worked with great passion and energy to develop a productive farmscape, complete with a small village

for his many native farmhands. May retained fond memories of his first years in Africa as "Architect-Farmer." He wrote later in terms that suggested the traditional, rooted, *völkisch* inheritance he had tried to instill in all Germans through his garden colonies: "For the first time I was able not only to design a small region on paper, but could organically shape everything down to the smallest detail: an achievement that was physically demanding, but satisfied me immensely."<sup>12</sup> This desire for control and the ability to shape an entire environment, including its inhabitants, lies at the center of May's ambitions for modern architecture.

Ever in search of the "grand cause," in 1937 moved to Nairobi, the capital of British East Africa, and opened a small architectural practice. Except for a two-year interment in South Africa as an enemy alien during World War II, May built projects all over East Africa for the next sixteen years.<sup>13</sup> May adapted the International Style aesthetic to the climatic, economic, and construction conditions of Africa. The colonial and war-time context limited him almost completely to locally available building materials and construction technology. The tropical climate forced May to maximize the use of outdoor spaces, to include shade canopies and screens, and to provide natural ventilation for all rooms.

Although May's architecture provides clear examples of the transformation of canonical modernism as it emigrated to the tropics, a richer understanding of this process is possible by investigating May's profession of choice, which was planning, not architecture. As he himself wrote rather modestly in a series of letters from the WWII internment camp in Pretoria to his friend Lewis Mumford, "my architectural work in East Africa was rather of the individual type and not of any social significance." He later added:

[I long to ] carry out town planning work on a large scale and of social importance . . . I am longing for the moment, when, after my quiet period in Africa, I will again have a chance to mount my town-planning horse and ride into battle . . .<sup>14</sup>

May received his chance to do battle when the British colonial government in Entebbe, Uganda, hired him in January of 1945, even before the end of hostilities in Europe, to design an urban extension scheme for nearby Kampala.<sup>15</sup>

Uganda, like the rest of East Africa, had been colonized relatively late, towards the very end of the nineteenth century. Unlike India and North Africa, the cities here were for the most part a new, colonial phenomenon, unnecessary for indigenous tribes who were largely nomadic and built in impermanent materials. Kampala was the largest city in Uganda, but still little more than a frontier trading town when May arrived.<sup>16</sup> The earliest British improvements to the area had been the draining of swamps to rid the area of the tsetse-fly menace. The first and

only planning work before May, was the 1930 master plan for the central Nakasero Hill, by the English colonial planner A.E. Mirams.<sup>17</sup> Like other garden-city inspired colonial urban plans of the day, Mirams had attempted to impose social order by laying out European-style infrastructure which all but ignored the Africans, who were relegated to living at the edge of town or in neighboring Kibuga township.

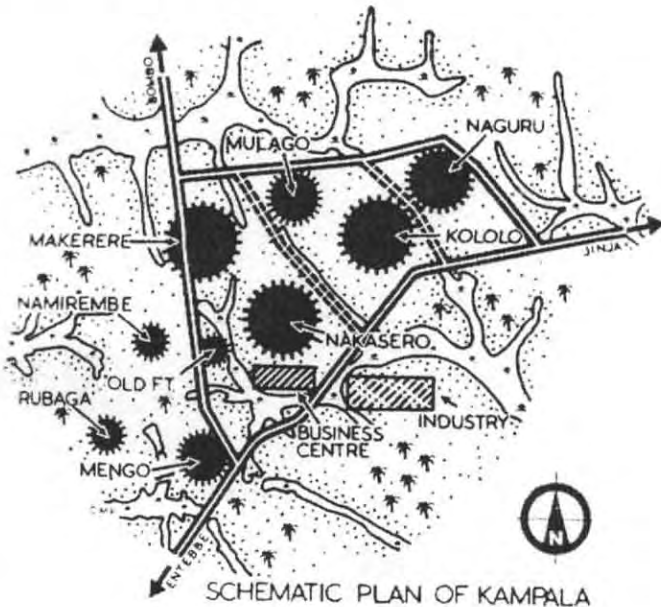


Fig. 1. May's diagrammatic plan of Kampala as a multi-centered *Trabantenstadt*, from May, *Kampala Extension Scheme*, 1947.

May conceptualized Kampala as a grouping of nine inter-related settlements, each on its own hill. In doing so he drew from his early work as an apprentice to the garden city architect and planner Raymond Unwin in England, his first independent planning work in Silesia, the canonical *Siedlungen* in Frankfurt, and even his new towns and urban masterplans in the Soviet Union.<sup>18</sup> In each case May had worked towards a dissolution of the crowded metropolitan center into a looser constellation of satellites cities (or *Trabantenstädte*). His schematic plan for Kampala proposed expanding infrastructure on the Kololo and Naguru Hills, east of the existing downtown, in order to allow for a doubling of the total population, to about 40,000. But May did more than make room for the many new European immigrants who were coming to escape war-torn Europe. His plan stands out as among the first in East Africa to include large settlements for low and middle-income Africans and Asians, especially those who had been displaced in the expansion process and now lived on the periphery – both socially and physically.

The street plans and housing of May's Kampala expansion scheme of 1947 reveal an informal and curvilinear plan with traditional pitched roof houses along winding, tree-lined streets,

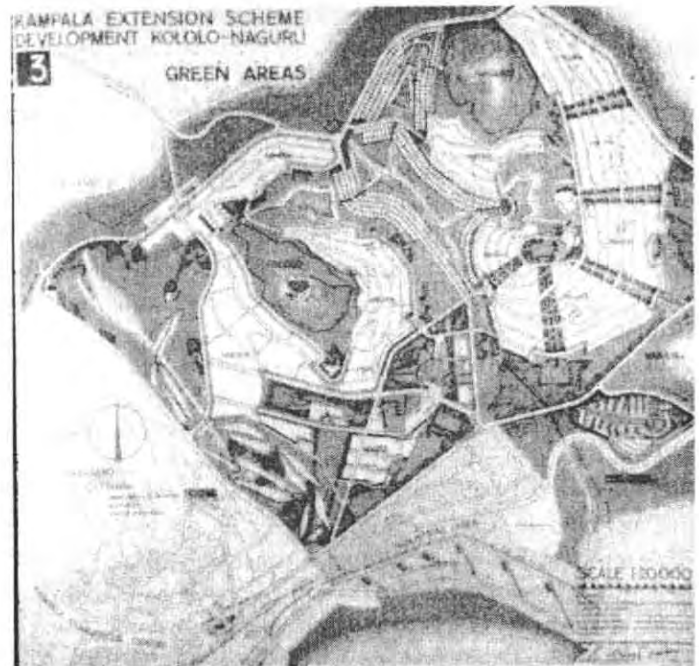


Fig. 2. Plan of Kampala Extension, from May, *Kampala Extension Scheme*, 1947.

surrounded by greenbelts. [Fig.2] The plan is in the best tradition of garden-city and neighborhood planning as it was practiced in the British colonies at the time in places like Nairobi, Jerusalem, Manila and Australia.<sup>19</sup> Although May's schematic plan for the city resembled earlier ideas of his, the Kampala street plan stood in stark contrast to the rigid *Zeilenbau* planning technique that May had employed with increasing frequency in Frankfurt after 1929, such as in the project for the *Siedlung Goldstein* designed for the German Garden City Association in Frankfurt. Although conceived primarily out of concerns for economy, by 1930 May had conceptualized the *Zeilenbau* method of planning as the evolutionary end-stage of modern German city planning. The carefully arranged, parallel rows of low-rise housing optimized cost, density, solar orientation, and circulation. They seemed to offer an ideal means of providing modern housing for the masses.<sup>20</sup> May had continued to use the *Zeilenbau* system of planning in the Soviet Union, as well as in his first larger housing project in Africa, the Delamere Flats apartment complex for middle-income Europeans in Nairobi, designed in 1938, but not built until 1947-51. [Fig.3] Laid out in parallel rows, these nine apartment blocks were built of reinforced concrete, outfitted with a version of the standardized Frankfurt kitchen and the first fully enclosed plumbing in East Africa.<sup>21</sup> The resemblance to May's Frankfurt housing was unmistakable.

Kampala was seemingly another opportunity for May to realize his life-long ambitions of ameliorating the world's urban and housing problems through modern architecture and *Zeilenbau* planning. Why, then, did May abandon his modern planning

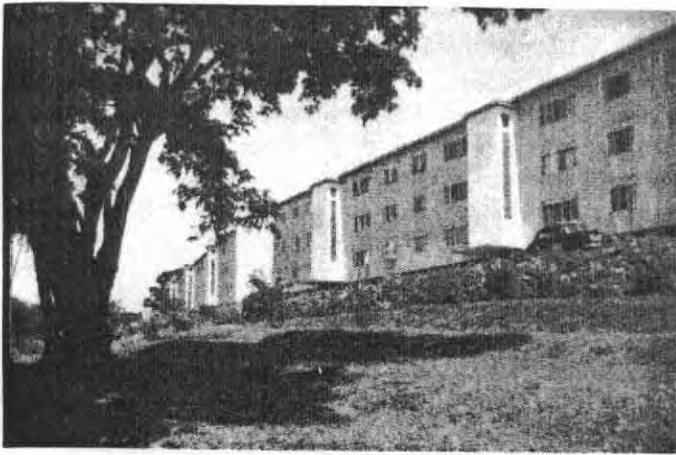


Fig. 3. Delamere Flats Apartment Buildings, Nairobi, designed 1938-39, built 1947-51, from *Architect's Journal* 117:3019 (Jan. 8, 1953).

ideas and revert to earlier, more traditional, curvilinear garden-city and housing ideas in Kampala? The hilly site, his British government clients, the conservative tradition of colonial urbanism, as well as the lack of public financing for most of the housing certainly may have influenced him to turn towards a more flexible, organic plan. But May, in the grand tradition of master-planners, was notoriously stubborn in sticking to his own ideals in the face of criticism and client pressures. I would like to suggest instead that May purposefully reverted to what he considered an older, more traditional method of planning and architecture in order to create a didactic and symbolic landscape that would help level the divisive social conditions he encountered in the British colony.

May's Marxist leanings led him to theorize that modern architecture and planning were the result of a long evolutionary process of planning in Europe. He felt it was inappropriate to impose it too swiftly on a country and people that had few urban traditions to build on. In the Soviet Union, for example, he had encountered what he saw as a profoundly heterogeneous and "primitive" population that was to inhabit his new industrial cities. His urban plans thus prescribed only a gradual transition from more traditional, petit bourgeois concepts of housing towards an increasingly collective and modern concept of architecture and planning. His planning also included extensive educational programs to teach Russians how to live in a "civilized" manner and reap the benefits of close, communal living, and how best to utilize a truly functional architecture.<sup>22</sup>

Based on these experiences, May wrote extensively, if naively, on the problems of the colonial situation in Africa he hoped to solve. Drawing on arguments at least as old as those of Laugier and Rousseau, May hypothesized that Africans, being closer to nature, initially needed a simpler, more natural architecture and planning. This, he hoped, would set in motion a process of acculturation, the familiarization with Western ideas, and eventually the invention of their own form of modern architecture. Contrary to the picturesque safari-like setting he and most

Europeans conjured up about the continent, May found the situation of the indigenous population to be primitive and depressing.<sup>23</sup> The Africa he saw was plagued by vicious tribal warfare, rampant disease, incredible poverty, neglect, and as he saw it, lethargy. May and other planners in East Africa complained that Africans seemed to have little desire to settle permanently.<sup>24</sup> When they did stay in town, they afforded themselves only crude mud huts with metal roofs. May hypothesized that only during the last generation of colonial contact, and only in the cities, was it possible to detect any significant attempts by the Africans to strive for a higher standard of living that accompanied the adoption of Western values and material products.<sup>25</sup> May tried to use planning to encourage more Africans to settle in the towns and thereby stimulate the economy, augment the labor force, and elevate the African to enjoy what he called "a full share in the duties and benefits of modern civilization."<sup>26</sup> The urban expansion that May proposed by providing decent housing at the urban edge paralleled May's earlier policies of urban dissolution and decentralization, but with more complex social structures.

May's Kampala plan worked toward the goal of urbanizing African colonial society by addressing three areas: social planning, physical planning, and architecture. On the first level of social planning, May was convinced that Africans were not yet ready for the anonymity of the large city or *Zeilenbau* developments. Planners first had to adjust their designs to "offer replacements for the lost tribal associations [in order to] enable [Africans] to advance steadily towards higher standards of life."<sup>27</sup> He sought to provide a plan that would allow economic and cultural assimilation of the diverse populations, yet maintain a spatial and social segregation. Calling on his own experiments in creating rural settlements in Silesia, his experience shaping a small environment as an architect-farmer in Tanzania, and the latest theories of Neighborhood Unit planning espoused by Clarence Perry, Lewis Mumford and many English planners, May proposed the creation of smaller social units within the overall city, including family, neighborhood, community and township.<sup>28</sup> Using a "Social and Cultural Structure" chart in his published plan, May broke the city down into a series of nested groups, each group providing different forms of support, educational facilities, and communal government with which people could identify.<sup>29</sup> Given more defined social boundaries, May hoped Africans would be inspired to settle down and take more personal interest in their surrounds, much as they did in their villages.

On the second level of urban planning, May zoned each group into their own distinct built developments with which they could associate. The universal planning system May had developed in Germany and continued to use in the Soviet Union, however, was inappropriate for the social and racial diversity he sought to accommodate in Africa. Although the Soviet Union had featured a wide racial diversity, Soviet politics and ideology mandated collective and homogenized living

environments for all comrades. In the Kampala plan, by contrast, May segregated the housing by race both in districts and site layout. For European families he proposed sites for large, free-standing residences, as well as a series of tall apartment blocks arranged in parallel rows and grids on the northern and western sides of Kololo Hill. Both were close to the commercial downtown and overlooking the whites-only golf club. The modern *Zeilenbau*-like method of housing was reserved only for the highest levels of the colonial society, the Europeans.

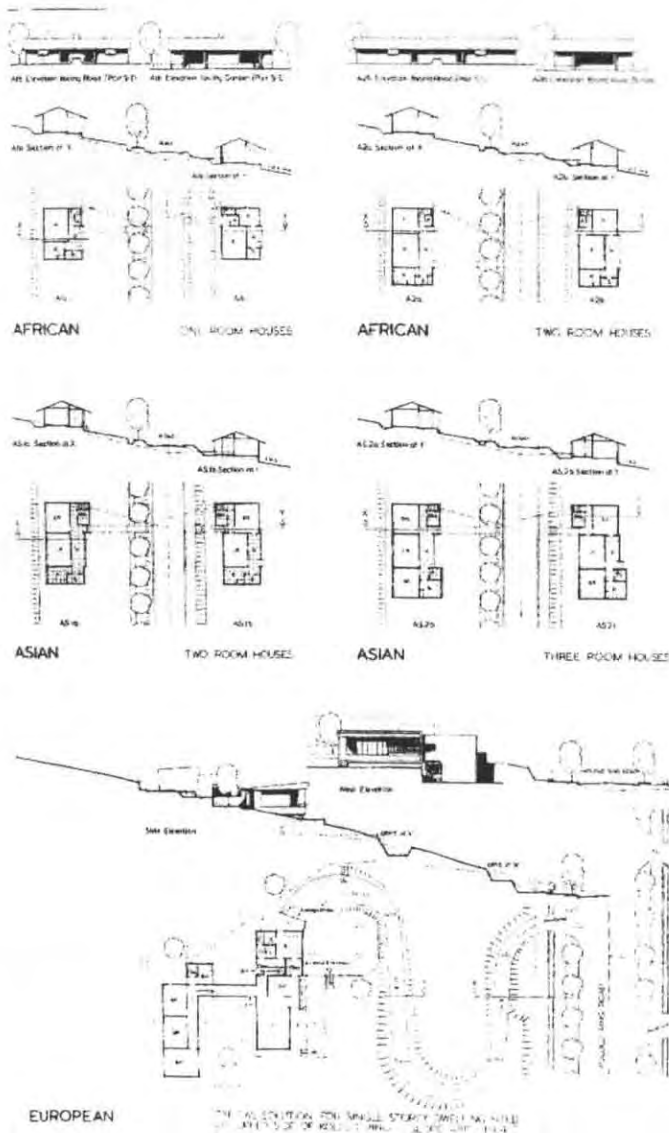


Fig. 1. "Typical Solutions for Design of Dwellings on Steeply Sloping Sites," from May, *Kampala Plan*, 1917.

May set middle and upper-class Asians and Africans on the eastern portion of Kololo and Naguru Hill. He projected a mix of row, semi-detached and detached houses arranged on both sides of the curving, green streets, very much according to

traditional garden-city ideals.<sup>30</sup> The lowest classes of Africans were placed in the "Nakawa Settlement for Itinerant Labor," near the industrial area. For these African laborers May planned rows of small huts around a large open green space. Different house-types were planned for bachelors and for families. Communal kitchens at the end of each row were to provide nourishing meals. Workshops were intended to furnish employment for those not working in the industrial area. Allotment gardens were to keep women productively busy while men were at work elsewhere. According to May, this curious mix of modern amenities and very traditional planning would help Africans undertake their evolution from nomad to productive city dweller. A new central park provided pleasurable amenities which would "make life of the African labourer richer, beyond just working to provide the bare necessities of life. [and thereby prevent the] continuous coming and going of African labour."<sup>31</sup> Cultural and educational institutions such as museums, theaters, cinemas and exhibition buildings within the park were to serve, in May's words, "[as a kind of] propaganda . . . to contribute very essentially to preparing [the] African masses for their future development."<sup>32</sup>

The segregation of different social groups according to their evolutionary state also took place on the third level, that of architecture. In his Kampala plan, May proposed a matrix of architectural guidelines that suggested several different sized houses to accommodate the unique living habits and economic situations of each of the three dominant races in Kampala. [Fig.4] The European houses were by far the largest, containing the functionally specific room types on several levels, with elegantly curving driveways, garages and swimming pools. The Asian or Indian houses were smaller but contained a variety of designated bedrooms, living rooms as well as a kitchen and sanitary facilities. The African houses were the smallest of all and contained only generic, undifferentiated "Rooms," with cooking and eating facilities on the veranda. While the European houses were flat-roofed and very much in the advanced modern style, the Asian and African houses, which would form the overwhelming majority of housing in the new settlements, were traditional, pitched roof houses built using self-help techniques.

Intent on improving the plight of the Africans, May also insisted that his sketches for African dwellings were only preliminary guidelines. Since the future character of the newly developed area would be largely decided by the quality of its architecture, May called on Africans to begin the evolution towards their own "typical African style of [modern] architecture," and to do so on an economic basis, in a manner that they could afford. He worked to reintroduce what he defined as a simple, common-sense functionalism to Africa, similar in spirit to the buildings of the very first European colonists whom he admired, but now with a modern edge. His designs for the native Africans included a framed wood hut with innovative, pre-fabricated clay shingles, and hut made of prefabricated parabolic concrete

arches with a set of standardized panels. [Fig.5] Ironically, while drawing houses nearly identical to those he had designed in Silesia. May wrote, "European or other foreign models should not be copied [in Africa]."<sup>33</sup> The Africans, however, rejected May's designs precisely because they weren't European or modern enough!

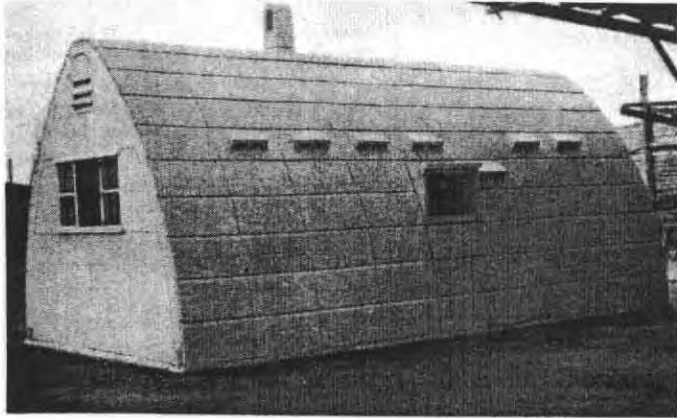


Fig. 5. "Hook-on-Slab" concrete panel huts for Africans, 1945, from Buekschmidt, Ernst May, 1963.

Believing he was sensitively respecting difference among the three races' social and cultural habits, May differentiated between the various groups at all levels of planning rather than resorting to universal standards. In so doing, however, he was also reinforcing a colonial hierarchy of race and economic potential, promoting a paternalistic policy of viewing the lowest classes of African society as needing European acculturation. May's project of social engineering acquiesced to racial and economic segregation. A 1948 master plan for Nairobi expressed what seemed to be the common opinion among planners in East Africa, including May:

Ethic 'nucleation' [is] common in all towns with a mixed population . . . [Indeed] it is unlikely that on the whole, social groups will not try to distinguish themselves from one another by spatial separation.<sup>34</sup>

Although segregation had ceased to be the official policy in Kenya in 1923, "ethnic nucleation" was seen as inevitable and natural. Its practice even amongst the local African tribes reinforced the planners own tendencies.<sup>35</sup>

May reinforced the *existing* unwritten codes of racial, economic and architectural segregation, but he intended his plans to be a mechanism for the gradual integration and even equalization of the groups. His ultimate goal was to assimilate and make the Africans a productive part of a segregated colonial society. As he stated in the opening pages of his published plan, the underlying purpose of his work was to "develop the organized civic life of the African so that he may graduate to full citizenship [among his European peers]."<sup>36</sup> The plan was:

a contribution to the many endeavors being made in our day to awaken the African gradually from his lethargy, and to make him capable of sharing in the responsibilities of directing his own affairs, so that he may become a member with equal rights in the society of nations.<sup>37</sup>

Urban planning, as it had been throughout May's career and in the project of modern architecture more generally, was seen as a political and social tool to benefit all levels of society.

As paternalistic and romantic as May's approach to urban planning was, it was not a new attitude in his work. It had, in fact, been latent in much of modern European architecture, particularly the social housing projects of Weimar Germany. Like so many modern architects who spread the International Style across the world, May struggled to sort out the competing ideologies of universalism and regionalism, modernity and tradition, monumentality and standardization. The radical social divisions and economic disparities that May encountered in the colonial context of East Africa, however, help clarify existing conflicts and sublimated ideologies in his work. As this analysis of the Kampala plan has shown, May did, as with so many modern architects after WWII, temper his universal, modern designs to acknowledge region, race, tradition and culture. Unfortunately May never received another opportunity to plan cities in Africa. When he returned to help rebuild his native Germany in 1953, his housing developments once again reflected the more monolithic, modern European society.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The most comprehensive source on May (1886-1970) is still Justus Buekschmitt's rather uncritical and descriptive official biography, *Ernst May, Bauten und Planungen* vol.1 (Stuttgart: Alexander Koch, 1963). On May's Frankfurt work see especially Christian Mohr and Michael Müller, *Funktionalität und Moderne. Das Neue Frankfurt und seine Bauten, 1925-1933* (Cologne: Rudolf Müller, 1984). See also Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1945* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1985). The *MacMillan Encyclopedia of Architects* is marred by factual and dating errors.

I would like to thank Mary McLeod, Susan Henderson, Diane Shaw and anonymous readers from the ACSA for reading earlier drafts of this paper and offering instructive insights.

<sup>2</sup> "Lebenslang für die 'große Sache': Ernst May," special issue of *Bauwelt* 77:28 (July 25, 1986). The phrase "eine große Sache" are May's own words to describe his aspirations. All translations from the German are my own.

<sup>3</sup> See Susan Rose Henderson, "The Work of Ernst May, 1919-1930," PhD Dissertation (Columbia University, 1990) for an in-depth look at May's housing experiments in Silesia before he came to Frankfurt, and valuable insights into the longevity and changes in May's architectural thinking.

<sup>4</sup> Eckhard Herrel's catalogue *Ernst May, Architekt und Stadtplaner in Afrika 1931-1953* (Frankfurt: Deutsches Architektur Museum & Wasmuth Verlag, 2001) accompanied the first comprehensive exhibit at the D.A.M. on newly discovered and newly acquired drawings, photographs, and personal letters related to May's African period. Although published after the primary research for this study was completed, Herrel's narrowly focused, documentary work does not substantially duplicate results of this study, which looked to a wider range of publications and letters to contextualize May's work more deeply.



<sup>3</sup> On May in the Soviet Union see Buckschmidt, *Ernst May*, 59–77.

<sup>4</sup> May claimed to be unable to return to Germany because his mother was part Jewish, and because Hitler's propaganda machine had already begun to rail against his modern style of architecture. May himself wrote that "I could not return to Prussia for political reasons (my mother being of Jewish origin)." Letter to Lewis Mumford, Sept. 20, 1940, in Mumford Papers, University of Pennsylvania, Folder 3191 (hereafter LMPUP). The *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrants* vol. II:2 (New York: Sauer, 1930–33), 789, questions whether May's mother was Jewish. Buckschmidt and other accounts of May's career never mention his Jewish origin, citing only the Nazi sympathizers that labeled all modern architecture as Jewish or Bolshevik.

<sup>5</sup> Udet, one of the Germany's most decorated WWI fighter-pilots, became a stunt and celebrity adventure pilot after the war. In films and a popular book about his flights across East Africa called *Fremde Vögel über Afrika* (*Strange Birds over Africa*), had portrayed Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Much as Karen Blixen's 1937 novel *Out of Africa*, and Ernest Hemingway's adventure tales about Kilimanjaro from 1933, Udet described a romantic landscape, one not yet defiled by Western industrialization. Udet, *Fremde Vögel über Afrika* (Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1932). On Udet's life see Armand van Ishoven, *Udet Biographie* (Berlin: Neff, 1977). The reference to Udet comes from Buckschmidt, *Ernst May*, 79; and confirmed in Herrel, *Ernst May*, 13.

<sup>6</sup> On the history of East Africa see for example Kenneth Ingham, *A History of East Africa* 2nd ed. (London: Longmans, 1963); W.E.F. Ward and L.W. White, *East Africa: A Century of Change 1870–1970* (New York: Africana, 1972); and the short histories in *The Year Book and Guide to East Africa 1950* ed. A. Gordon-Brown, ed. (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, 1950).

<sup>7</sup> Quoted from Karl Hänel's *Vom Sudan zum Kap* (Leipzig: Goldman, 1939), a piece of Nazi propaganda documenting the history of all the East African colonies, and Germany's superior ability to exploit and take advantage of the potential.

<sup>8</sup> See for example W.D. Hubbard, "Africa Emerging from History," *Current History* 23 (June 1928): 112–115; A. Grabowski, et al. "Continent of Loot," *Living Age* 348 (May 1935): 211–221; H.T. Low, "This is Africa's Century," *Rotarian* 74 (Jan. 1949): 17–21; B. Davidson, "Africa: Emerging Colossus," *Nation* 173 (Sept. 8, 1951): 187–189; G.W. Herald, "Africa, Strategic Prize of Century," *U.S. World* 6 (Feb. 1952): 17–20.

<sup>9</sup> One report claims that in 1939 there were 2,500 Germans out of a total of 9,000 Europeans living in Tanzania, and that even in 1947 they were still treated with suspicion for Nazi sympathies. See Dorothy Buxton, "German Settlers in Tanganyika," *The Contemporary Review* 178 (Dec. 1950): 358–361.

On the colorful, pioneer-like existence of life as an emigre farmer in northern Tanganyika, see the memoirs of Fritz Veit, *Vom Pariser Platz zum Kilimandscharo* (Plattenhofen/Im: Afrika, 1970). Although he does not mention May, Veit arrived in Kenya by steamer from Hamburg only a few months before May on August 24, 1933, and lived for over forty years in Arusha, the same small town in which May lived from 1934–1937.

<sup>10</sup> May quoted in Buckschmidt, *Ernst May*, 81.

<sup>11</sup> May's most well known African projects are described in Herrel's *Ernst May*: in Buckschmidt, *Ernst May*, 79–106; May, "Bauen in Ostafrika," *Bauwelt* 14:6 (Feb. 9, 1953): 101; and Deneb Holder, "Neue Bauten von Ernst May in Ostafrika," *Innendekoration – Architektur und Wohnform* 61:1 (1952/1953): 1–17. May's work also appeared frequently in London periodicals because of Kenya's status as a colony, and in Swiss magazines, because May's son, Klaus May, was an architectural student in Zurich in the 1940s.

<sup>12</sup> Letters to Mumford, Sept. 23, 1940, July 6, 1942, in LMPUP.

<sup>13</sup> Information on the Kampala plan taken from May, *Report on the Kampala Extension Scheme, Kololo Saguru, prepared for the Uganda government by E. May*, . . . Sept. 1947 (Nairobi 1948). This plan was to a large extent summarized in May, "Bauen in Ostafrika," 101–111; May, "Kampala Town Planning," *Architects' Yearbook*, 2 (1947): 59–63; May, "Städtebau in Ostafrika," *Die neue Stadt* 1 (Feb. 1950): 60–61, reprinted in *Plan (Zurich)* 6:5 (Sept.–Oct. 1949): 163–165, though all references herein are to the former. See also Klaus May, "Städteplanung in Uganda (Ost-Afrika)," *Das Werk*, "Werk Chronik" 36:1 (Jan. 1949): 3–9; and the clipping "Kampalacat-the-9-Hills," *Last African Standard* (Nairobi) n.d. in May Nachlaß, Deutsches Architektur Museum, Frankfurt.

The Kampala master plan that followed May's, by the British colonial planner Henry Kendall, makes no mention of May and his plan, claiming that "no qualified town planner had been appointed until 1919 to deal with problems in the protectorate." *Town Planning in Uganda* (Entebbe, 1955) 23. Dr. Daniel Bertrand Monk, who has done work on Kendall's earlier work in Palestine, has suggested to the author that Kendall hated all things German and modern, and systematically tried to erase all record of May's planning work in the colonies. Electronic mail to the author, Jan 26, 1997.

<sup>14</sup> Kampala served primarily as a colonial trading center for the hinterlands, a transfer and processing station for agricultural products bound for Kenyan ports and on to metropolitan England. On the relation of colonial production to the European "metropolitan" economy see Anthony King, *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World Economy* (London: Routledge, 1990). Government and administrative functions for Uganda and Kampala were centered in nearby Entebbe, on the shores of Lake Victoria. On the image of the frontier town see William F. Banyikwa, "Signatures of Four Generations of Urban Planning in Nairobi, Kenya," *Journal of East African Research & Development* 20 (1990): 186–201.

Kampala had been gazetted as a township in 1906, and only achieved the more independent status of municipality in 1948. Prior to that it was administered and financed by the Protectorate government in Entebbe. See Aidan W. Southall & Peter Gutkind, *Townsmen in the Making, Kampala and its Suburbs* East African Studies, no.9 (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1956) 4. Kampala was something of an anomaly as an African city, as it was situated next to the independent African town of Kibuga, capital of the Buganda tribe and seat of H.H. the Kabaka. Although Buganda chiefs had been located on various hills of the area since the 13th century, the Kibuga was established in 1885 as headquarters for this tribe. Over time a dual city evolved, not unlike other French and British colonial cities: Kampala primarily for Europeans and Asians, and Kibuga exclusively for Africans. See Aidan Southall, "Kampala-Mengo," in *The City in Modern Africa*, ed. Horace Miner (New York 1967) 297–332, esp. 302. Southall differentiates Kampala from the typical racial and hygienic separation occurring in other colonial dual-cities such as Morocco, Cairo or Delhi. He claims it was more "political," part of a natural "localization of ethnic interests" common to cities all over world. In the case of Kampala, the balance of power was "more equal" than in most cities, because of the power of the Buganda tribe. Gutkind estimates that the Kibuga had a population of around 32,441 in 1911 and therefore was considerably larger than the European Kampala, though almost completely separate. See Southall & Gutkind, *Townsmen in the Making*, 6; and more recently Donald T. Malinowski, "A historical Evolution of Urbanization and Town Planning in Uganda," MA thesis, Univ. of Manitoba (Winnipeg 1989) 93–4. Of Kampala's 21,203 inhabitants in 1948, Gutkind maintains, 1,297 were Europeans, 10,821 were Asians/Indians, and 11,905 were Africans. The majority of Africans lived in the Kibuga. See Southall & Gutkind, *Townsmen in the Making*, 7–8.

<sup>15</sup> 1930 was rather late when compared to other British colonies and a sign of Uganda's relative backwardness. See Mirams, *Kampala: Report on the Town Planning and Development of . . .* 2 vols. (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1930), and the summary of Mirams in Kendall, *Town Planning in Uganda*. Mirams had spent several decades working as a colonial planner in India, especially in Bombay. Kendall notes that prior to Mirams' plan decisions relating to urban development in Kampala had been rather ad hoc, "rather surprising" he claims, since in Jerusalem, Malaya, and Turkey town plans had been proposed much earlier. 19. Mirams included infrastructure such as running water, electricity, and roads, and proposed building codes and use-based zoning ordinances to prevent disease, to control urban sprawl and to segregate the various populations. Anthony King, *Colonial Urban Development*; and Philip D. Curtin, "Medical Knowledge and Urban Planning in Tropical Africa," *American History Review* 90:3 (June 1989): 591–613.

<sup>16</sup> See Henderson, "The Work of Ernst May, 1919–1930." May worked for Unwin from 1910–12. He assisted with the plans for Hampstead Garden Suburb and, with the help of Lady Unwin, translated Unwin's famous book *Town Planning in Practice* (1907) into German. On May's relation to the Unwins see the obituary May wrote for Unwin, "Unwin as Planner for Social Welfare," *Town and Country Planning* 31:11 (Nov. 1963): 127–128.

<sup>17</sup> See R.K. Home, "Town Planning and Garden Cities in the British Colonial Empire 1910–1940," *Planning Perspectives* 5:1 (1990): 23–37. May's Kampala plan was done before the 1943 British Town Planning Act that centralized

- control over all colonial plans in the Empire. On planning legislation in the colonies see Peter M. Stevens, "Planning Legislation in the Colonies," *Town & Country Planning* (March 1955): 119-123; and Anthony King, "Exporting Planning: the colonial and neo-colonial experience," in *Shaping an Urban World*, ed. G.E. Cherry (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980) 203-226.
- <sup>20</sup> On May's ideas about evolution of modern planning culminating in the *Zeilenbau*, see Gerhard Fehl, "From the Berlin Building Block to the Frankfurt Terrace and Back: a belated effort to trace Ernst May's urban design historiography," *Planning Perspectives* 2:2 (May 1987): 194-210.
- <sup>21</sup> In keeping with this context-specific, economic and egalitarian method of planning, May changed the orientation of the parallel blocks from the vertical North-South used in Europe to the horizontal East-West orientation shown here. With this he minimized the impact of the equatorial sun, took advantage of the dominant wind patterns, maximized the view from the hill, and provided parking spaces under each unit, since cars were far more plentiful in Nairobi than in Berlin or Frankfurt.
- <sup>22</sup> Buckschnitt, *Ernst May*, 65. On the gritty situation in Magnitogorsk, see Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Way of Life* (Berkeley: UC, 1995).
- <sup>23</sup> On the idealized European conception of Africa see Joachim Warmbold, *Germania in Africa: Germany's Colonial Literature* (New York: P. Lang, 1989), but also more generally Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).
- <sup>24</sup> See L.W. Thornton White, et al. *Nairobi. Master Plan for a Colonial Capital* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1948) 48-49. Most Africans wandered into town only long enough to work off their poll tax, and then returned to their villages.
- <sup>25</sup> May, "Bauen in Ostafrika," 104.
- <sup>26</sup> May, *Kampala Extension Scheme*, 6.
- <sup>27</sup> May, "Bauen in Ostafrika," 111.
- <sup>28</sup> On the Neighborhood Unit concept of planning then popular in colonial planning see the nearly contemporaneous plans for Nairobi by White, et al. *Nairobi*; and for Palestine by Kendall, *Jerusalem. The City Plan* (London 1948); and Mumford, "The Neighborhood and the Neighborhood Unit," *Town Planning Review* 24 (Jan. 1954): 256-70, for a history and brief summary of the idea.
- <sup>29</sup> May, *Kampala Extension Scheme*, 21.
- <sup>30</sup> Even within this category, May distinguished between the more spacious Asian (or Indian) sections in Kololo, and the denser African settlements on Nguru.
- <sup>31</sup> May, "Kampala Town Planning," 62.
- <sup>32</sup> May, "Kampala Town Planning," 63.
- <sup>33</sup> May, *Kampala Extension Scheme*, 4, 18.
- <sup>34</sup> White et al. *Nairobi*, 48-49.
- <sup>35</sup> M. Tamarkin has shown that living in towns tended to consolidate the identities of tribal groups and to exacerbate their differences. See "Tribal Associations, Tribal Solidarity, and Tribal Chauvinism in a Kenya Town," *Journal of African History* 14:2 (1973): 257-74. The racial differences were only somewhat ameliorated by the common awareness that all were "penned into the Colonial Framework, citizens of a small country, with the controlling power in the hands of a distant Cabinet, powerful and unknown." White et al. *Nairobi*, 22.
- <sup>36</sup> May, *Kampala Extension Scheme*, 2.
- <sup>37</sup> May, *Kampala Extension Scheme*, 6.