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CHANGING THE CITY : URBAN INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION AND THE LYON MUNICIPALITY 1900-1940 *

This article has been inspired by some readings in the field of urban history. Marjatta Hiettala has demonstrated the important ties between Northern Europe towns, as shown by the trips of Helsinki's municipal servants throughout the region ¹. Her presentation of horizontal relationships between cities complements center-periphery models, as recent studies on municipal social welfare suggested ². On the other hand, with Gilles Montigny ³ and others⁴, I was also wondering about the origins of knowledges and know-how that were built in order to answer to the "urban question" as it was drawn at the turn of the 19th century. Giorgio Piccinato wrote long ago that an "international milieu" of town planning existed by the early 1910's, embodied in congresses, associations, exhibitions and competitions⁵. We know some things about the big moments of this milieu. But can it be seen as an organised, collective entity, with its own rituals, hierarchies, rules, and values ? As Helen Meller has recently pointed out, we still know little about the size

¹ "La diffusion des innovations : Helsinki 1875-1917", *Genèses*, n°10, janvier 1993

² See for example Bruno DUMONS & Gilles POLLET, *L'Etat et les retraites. Genèse d'une politique*, Paris, Belin, 1994 ; Gilles POLLET, " Budgets municipaux et dépenses d'assistance à Lyon (1880-1940) : éclairage sur le modèle républicain de protection sociale ", *Table ronde du centenaire de la loi du 5 juillet 1893 : un siècle d'assistance médicale gratuite*, Grenoble, CERAT/IEP, 14-15 décembre 1993 (to be published) ; " La construction de l'Etat social à la française : entre local et national - XIX°-XX° siècles ", *Lien Social et Politiques*, n°25, 1995

³ MONTIGNY Gilles, *De la ville à l'urbanisation. Essai sur la genèse des études urbaines françaises en géographie, sociologie et statistique sociale*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1992

⁴ About a theme, one can look at the issue of the *Cahiers de la recherche architecturale* devoted to "Architecture et politiques sociales 1900-1940", 1985, No 15-16-17. About an individual, see Marcel SMETS, *Charles Buls et les principes de l'art urbain*, Liège, Mardaga, 1995, especially the chapter 6 "la poussée de l'échange intellectuel"⁴

⁵ PICCINATO Giorgio, *La costruzione dell'urbanistica : Germania 1871-1914*, Roma, Officina Edizioni, 1974. in this book, pp. 543 et 552, can be found a list of congresses and exhibitions between 1870 and 1914. See also Christine BOYER *Dreaming the rational city : the myth of American city planning*, MIT Press, 1983), Stanley SCHULZ *Constructing urban culture : american cities and city planning 1800-1920*, Temple University Press, 1989 ,or Peter HALL, *Cities of tomorrow : an intellectual history of urban planning and design in the twentieth century*, Basil Blackwell, 1988) who all brought informations about the international interindividual links and about the organizations, meetings and events of this milieu.

and structure of these various organizations, or even who did participate.⁶ The networks of information created by mutual acquaintances, trips and readings have their mysteries as well. Work on the "big shots" of town planning have only hinted at the richness of those networks⁷. Christiane Crasemann-Collins' essay on the transatlantic trajectories of Werner Heggemann and Elbert Peets provides a great deal of informations about this international traffic⁸. But what about those that Anthony Sutcliffe called the "*intermediary figures*" ? What about all those who never deserved nor received a chapter in town-planning histories, but who, as teachers, writers, speakers, municipal councillors, practitioners, did contribute to make circulate ideas and informations on a international scale ? How did those latter traveled across the lands and seas? Such transferts are, perforce, also translations and reappropriations, as studies on Latin America or the Middle-East have shown⁹. What does it mean for a "model" to travel anyhow?

Quite often, we talk about models and their direct unmediated effects. The Hausmannian model, the American model, the fonctionnalist model follow one after another in our minds when we try to display the references we think to disclose in our research. But foreign influences, even colonial ones, perform through processes that are not bounded by domination or imitation. Is it enough to evoke influence (usually a "foreign" influence) to explain a similarity ? What is

⁶ Helen MELLER, "Philanthropy and public enterprise : international exhibitions and the modern town planning movement 1889-1913", *Planning perspectives*, n.10, 1995. See also the under-acknowledged book by Donatella CALABI and Mario FOLLIN, *Werner Heggeman. Catalogo delle esposizioni internazionali di urbanistica, Berlin 1910, Düsseldorf 1911-12*, Milano, Saggiatore, 1975.⁶

⁷ See for example MILLER Donald L., *Lewis Mumford : a life*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989 ; HUGHES Agatha and HUGHES Thomas, eds, *Lewis Mumford : public intellectual*, Oxford University Press, 1990 ; and also works around the figure of Charles Robinson (WILSON William H., *The City Beautiful movement*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) and Laurence Veiler for the United Staes of America (SCHULZ, *op.cit.*, LUBOVE Roy, *The progressives and the slums. Tenement house reform in New York City 1890-1917*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962.), around Luigi Luzzatti for Italy (Donatella CALABI (a cura di), *La politica della casa all'inizio del XX secolo*, Venezia, Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1996), Charles Buls FOR belgium (Marcel SMETS, *Charles Buls*, *op.cit.*) or Henri Sellier for France (BURLIN Katherine, *La banlieue-oasis. Henri Sellier et les cités-jardins 1900-1940*, Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 1987).

⁸ Christiane CRASEMANN COLLINS, "Hegemann and Peets : cartographers of an imaginary atlas", in Werner HEGEMANN and Elbert PEETS, *The american Vitruvius. An architect's handbook of Civic art*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1992 (ed.or. 1922)

⁹ Cf. BRUANT Catherine, LEPRUN Sylviane et VOLAIT Mercedes, ed, "Figures de l'orientalisme en architecture", *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, No 73-74, 1995 ; Ravi KALIA, "Bhubaneswar : contrasting visions in traditional indian and modern european architecture", *Journal of Urban History*, vol.23, No.2, january 1997.

influence if not a social process to decipher? We have been reminded that interpretations of "german influence" on american zoning can be seen as an overinterpretation caused by a too formal reading of texts, and suggests it is not satisfactory to deduce influence from synchronicity or precedence of ideas or concepts¹⁰. Peter Hall proposed an escape to this formal deadend by documenting the Anglo-American connection through the Geddes-Mumford exchanges and Roy Lubove brought elements on the relations between the Regional Planning Association of America and British planners¹¹. I believe it will prove fruitful to build on these premises. How did people, ideas, texts, designs, informations and books circulate? How were they transformed in the process? What were the specific means of circulation, their trends, their effects? It has been shown, in reference to the garden-city, that some key-concepts of town-planning were transformed by the many national or professional cultures which sought to apply them in various local settings, depending how the "urban question" was regionally framed¹². The works on "Americanism" led by Jean-Louis Cohen also point to this¹³.

I wish to build on this body of work by asking questions about international circulations. For a first glance, I chose the city where I live and work. Beyond the obvious convenience of this choice, this field brings its share of constraints and benefits. If you believe nothing can be gained from local observation, then choosing this local scale means it is a petty subject. But secondary fields, "intermediary places" can also be seen as revealing different things than national situations, important figures or major events. Moreover, the municipality of Lyon is sometimes presented as a pioneer for French town-planning: it would be the first to undertake an extension plan, leading an infrastructure building policy symbolized by the new slaughter-house where an International Urban Exhibition took place in 1914, and it benefited from the long presence of the Edouard Herriot-Tony Garnier couple, a mayor-architect couple to whom town-planning histories

¹⁰ One should remind here the tribute of Franco Mancuso to this question of the uses of german reference in the USA, in a chapter of *Le vicende dello zoning*, Milano, Saggiatore, 1978.

¹¹ LUBOVE Roy, *Community planning in the 1920's : the contribution of the Regional planning association of America*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963.

¹² MULLER JOHN, "Influence and experience : Albert Thompson and South Africa's garden city", *Planning History*, vol.17 No 3, 1995

¹³ On a different field, Jean-Louis COHEN, in *Scenes of the World to Come: European Architecture and the American Challenge 1893-1960*, Canadian Center for Architecture/Flammarion, 1995) showed both the stakes of the american model in architecture, and how the model was re-interpreted. One can also recall the works on the impact of the french Beaux Arts School in the USA. (BRAIN David, "The Ecole des Beaux Arts and the social production of an American architecture", *Theory and Society*, vol 18/6, november 1986 ; ZUKOWSKY John, *Chicago architecture, 1872-1922 : birth of a metropolis*, Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1987). It is also important to work on other references than the Soviet or american ones. In a recent conference Fabio Mangone showed how the scandinavian model was reinterpreted by the italian avant-garde ("Calore e umanità. Il mito scandinavo nell'italia del secondo dopoguerra", Convegno internazionale di studi "Tra guerra e pace. Società, cultura e architettura nel secondo dopoguerra", Politecnico di Torino, Italia, 5-7 giugno 1997.

attribute some credit. This undoubted presence on the frontline of the urban question has left some vestiges that can be scrutinized to give an idea of the extent of national and international networks of a municipality. I chose to focus on a question that was formulated as a social one, and as an object of knowledge, in the beginning of the 20th century : the management, growth and improvement of cities.

This is not the place to linger on the local genesis of the urban question, nor on the first appearance of its specific questions, structures or agents¹⁴. A full panorama of the genesis of the urban question in Lyon would not help us here. It is enough to say that the urban question was first shaped as a public and social problem in business, professional and political spheres, from the 1890's onwards, but that these aspects were not part of the municipal agenda before 1908-1911¹⁵. Until this moment, questions about the management, growth, and improvement of the city as a whole were not considered possible or legitimate matters for municipal policy, despite a growing social pressure in this direction¹⁶. Indeed, it must be pointed out that the birth, shape and intensity of this municipal concern are closely linked to international matters¹⁷.

¹⁴ For a first glance on these points, see SAUNIER Pierre-Yves, *Lyon au 19^e siècle : les espaces d'une cité*, thèse de doctorat en histoire de l'Université Lumière-Lyon II, 1992, volume 2. These elements will be implemented in a coming publication.

¹⁵ This chronology is slightly different from the parisian one, see Marie CHARVET, "La question des fortifications de paris dans les années 1900. Esthètes, sportifs, réformateurs sociaux, élus locaux", *Genèses*, n°16, juin 1994

¹⁶ A clue, taken from an exhibition of some interest for us : in 1890, the architecture section of the Cercle des Artistes de Turin organized an Italian Exhibition of Architecture. A division was devoted to "building organization", in order to satisfy to answer the following concerns. "*In the second half of the ending 19th century, all the cities form the ancient and new world have felt the need to transform and renew. The first architectural exhibition of Turin would be uncomplete if this had been kept out of sight*". The organizers of the venue write here and there for municipalities to send plans, renewal schemes, extension projects, pictures of characteristically processed buildings or building regulations. the City of Lyon did not join the venue, and nor the Mayor nor the chief architect seem to have understood what it was all about (Municipal Archives of Lyon, 781 WP 5)

¹⁷ an example taken from the international sphere: in 1890, the architectural section of the Artists Circle of Turin organised an italian exhibition of architecture. A special section was devoted to "the organisation of building" in order to meet the following purposes : "*in the second half of the now ending 19th century, all the cities from the old and the new world felt the need to transform and renew. The first exhibition of architecture prepared in Turin would be uncomplete if one had not taken this into account*". The conveners of the exhibition then called for city plans, extension or renewal projects to be sent, for building by-laws and views of buildings constructed according to new buidling methods to ve communicated. The city of Lyon did not participate to the Exhibition, and from the notes of the Mayor or the City architect, it seems that they did not understand what it was really about.

A quest

I don't want to begin this paper by giving the reader the impression that the municipality of Lyon was, by nature, devoted to the search for information on an international scale. This search is not a congenial activity for a municipality. One hint : the first journey to be proposed to the municipal council of Lyon after 1870 is about a deputation to the Libre-Pensée Congress of Rome in 1904¹⁸. Of course, the quest for information could have taken several shapes. I have studied some important dossiers, especially those concerning sewers and the slaughter-house. They seem to confirm the haphazard and fortuitous aspects of the international informations on that made its way to late 19th century Lyon.

An history of the journeys¹⁹ made or planned by municipal representatives or employees can demonstrate that point. The first trip to be recorded was made by the chief engineer of the Municipal board of works in 1873. It was a whole improvised trip. M. Celler left Lyon on December 26 and his letters and telegrams to the Mayor tell us about all the problems he faced. As soon as he arrived in Paris, the sewer-engineers of the French capital city warned him that his inquiry on cesspool cleaning machines was bound to failure, since London had already built a sewer system. The end of Mr Celler's journey was from the same barrel : he had no introduction to the London Board of Works, he did not speak english and he did not have good interpreter ; the machine he was sent to study, seen in an 1853 English leaflet, was no longer in use anywhere in the english capital city, and was said to be inefficient by a London Board of Works engineer. As Celler confessed in his 1 January telegram, the trip was a failure. For us, it is also an occasion to see how Celler's frame of references was out of date²⁰, and also to get at the day-to-day un-organization of his trip.

The long debate about the new Lyon slaughter-house provides another test-point. Between technical comities and municipal council meetings, public inquiries and petitions, the discussion about the localization and organization of the new slaughter-house went on for thirty years, from the 1880's to 1907. International information was on the agenda. The 1893 technical committee, after 7 months of work, envisaged a European tour that would have led its members from Geneva to London through Budapest, Vienna, Munich and five other cities. This plan failed because many members were too busy. In 1897, another committee, with many common members, reformulated the project. The trip took place it is achieved in the Spring of 1898, a 4 person marathon of 17 days, 13 cities and 7 slaughter-houses (6 in Germany plus Prague). But

¹⁸ Procès-verbaux du Conseil Municipal, 1904, 2nd semester, p.53

¹⁹ As for exhibitions, municipal teams don't consider them as occasions for receiving or transmitting information. World Fairs are not visited, except the 1889 Paris one in order to demonstrate republican loyalty. The international and colonial Lyon exhibit from 1894, organized by the municipality and where the Board of Works does present its most prestigious makings, is conceived of as a business fair and nothing more. To understand this, it might be necessary to recall that between 1852-1970 and 1873-1881, there was no mayor and no autonomous municipal council. The municipal organization hence escaped the birth of World Fairs, and the education to this new media of knowledge.

²⁰ Besides his hunt for a 20 years old machine, Celler wishes to encounter Crampton, a locomotive builder, and Fox, the 1851 Crystal Palace masterbuilder.

this deputation did not write any report, it merely brought back documents and travel notes. This first visit established one conclusion, formulated by the Municipal main inspector for meat, Leclerc : the German model was preferable, and a second visit to Germany would be necessary to determine the very organization of Lyon's new slaughter-house ²¹. This shorter tour, that would have taken a deputation to Cologne, Leipzig and Nüremberg, did not encounter new mayor Victor Augagneur's approval ²². Instead, Augagneur asked Leclerc to prepare a questionnaire that would be sent to the German cities. Nevertheless, the bogging down of the project, and the visit of the well-known german architect Uhlman to Lyon ²³, may have convinced the mayor that traveling was not a bad idea. He subsequently charged the lyonese architect Tony Garnier to propose an itinerary "*of the journey that is to be made on this subject in some foreign cities*" ²⁴. But, when the architect presented his program, he did not receive any answer.

So these discussions had an international component : it was recognized in Lyon that slaughter-houses existed outside the French borders. The municipality specialists, such as Director of the public health office, the Municipal inspector for meat, the Chief-engineer, regularly conveyed informations about German and Swiss slaughter-houses. Their readings of their professional press, their links with French specialists, their correspondence with their German counterparts provided them with plans and documents. Attempts to get contextualised information were nevertheless limited : a mail inquiry in 1887 (Budapest, Genève, Strasbourg), the marathon trip of 1898, a new mail inquiry in 1901 were the only officially organized efforts until 1906. To my knowledge, they also were the only measures organized by the municipality of Lyon to collect international informations abroad. The municipality did not seem to have any interest in organizing visits or journeys to foreign countries. When this kind of project did occur, it was almost always both fragmented and unofficial. When the new elected mayor of Lyon Gailleton wanted to create an Hygiene Office, in 1881, he did not ask any municipal employee or elected official to visit similar French or foreign institutions. Rather he asked one of his students at Faculty of Medicine to write a thesis on the subject. This student collected a vast amount of information, especially in Bruxelles where he studied in depth the existing office, and published the results in his thesis entitled *Etude sur la création d'un bureau municipal d'hygiène à Lyon*. It might be said that there was no municipal expert of this growing field of public health ²⁵, or that the moment was a ticklish one, because the mayor of a city that has jus recovered its municipal rights wanted to preserve some secrecy around his projects. But it must be realised that the collection of information, in this place, took place in a quasi private sphere, and was accomplished outside the municipal system, thanks to the personal acquaintances of the mayor.

²¹ Municipal Archives of Lyon , 482 WP 6, 22/01/1901 letter.

²² the mayors of Lyon : Desiré Barodet 1870-1873, Antoine Gailleton 1881-1900, Victor Augagneur 1900-1905, Edouard Herriot 1905-1957.

²³ The French consul in Mannheim tells the mayor that Uhlman has made a "*tour in whole Europe*" to draw his plans for Mannheim slaughter-house, the uppest to date on the continent.

²⁴ Municipal Archives of Lyon, 482 WP 6, letter from Garnier to Edouard Herriot, 25/11/1905.

²⁵ The Inspector for meat or the inspector for schools could nevertheless have been considered as liable authorities, their task being defined in relation to public health

This long lasting unconcern seems to end only in 1906, when two official journeys took place ²⁶. On 15 of March 1906, the new slaughter house committee concluded that "*there would be some interest in designating a delegation to go and visit the german slaughter-houses, that are deemed to be set up in the most perfect conditons of comfort and public health*" ²⁷. The tour took place only a month later, in April. Another very important trip sent a municipal delegation to Manchester, Glasgow and Edinburgh from the 22nd to the 30th of May 1906. It is fair to credit the newly elected mayor Edouard Herriot with this new direction : elected on 3 November 1905, after the resignation of Augagneur, Herriot was the one to finally consider municipal journeys as municipal action. Meanwhile he supported the two trips quoted above; he also sent a municipal delegation to the *Congrès international de l'hygiène alimentaire* (International Congress for Food Health) in Paris (February-March 1906), with the double mission to present Lyon's makings in this matter, and to write a report about the Congress in order to "*deduce the pratical improvements that could be implemented in our municipal services*" ²⁸. Let's accept the fact that he was the one to act on an official municipal concern to raise international information, beginning in 1906. This "Herriot moment" also extended to matters beyon urban reform, with municipal delegations sent to congresses or exhibitions on school or labour matters. The quest for international urban informations was, from its origins, part of in a wider quest for information in all that concerned municipal action.

Here, the point will be to get at how a big French municipality tried to **see**, through the trips of its staff and its elected officials, to **know**, thanks to the gathering of documentation, and also how it wished to **show** its accomplishments abroad, especially through international exhibitions. This last mode of information calls for a remark : as much as other modes, but more clearly, the exhibition is a way to give and to receive information. When he wanted to justify the participation of Lyon to the 1911 International Exhibition of Arts and Work in Torino (italy), mayor Edouard Herriot underlined that the question was "*to provide all the documents that can justify the rank our city has the legitimate pretention to take among the great European cities*", and stressed Lyon's qualifiucations for ranking among the "*modern cities*" ²⁹. We will see that demonstrating the rank and importance of Lyon was of the highest importance.

See, know, show : the municipal quest for information very often took one of these three forms. Of course, I don't pretend that this *ad hoc* typology can exhaust the possibilities. Very frequently, a congress is twinned with an exhibition, as with the World fair of Ghent 1913 and its International congress of cities. I don't pretend either that this paper succeeds in gathering all the proceedings of the Lyon municipality in its quest. For example, no municipal documents attest the presence of a municipal employee at the *Congrès international d'urbanisme et d'hygiène municipale* (International congress for town planning and municipal public health) that the Société Française des Urbanistes organized in Strasbourg in 1923. Neither do any documents mention the participation of the municipality at the exhibition that went along with this congress. Only a careful reading the minutes of municipal council debates reveals that Lyon had a stall at the exhibition. The transactions of the congress makes it clear that several municipal

²⁶ Even if I did not encounter any element in this direction, it should be asked if diplomatic or adminisitrative rules did not clog this kind of proceedings, especially under the quite severe municipal laws that preceded the 1884 one.

²⁷ Procès-verbaux du Conseil Municipal, 03/04/1906, mayor's report.

²⁸ Procès-verbaux du Conseil Municipal, 06/03/1906, mayor's report.

²⁹ Procès-verbaux du Conseil Municipal, 6 mars 1911

employees did participate. Many informational events, mentioned in various sources, were not registered in the municipal papers that deal with delegations, congresses or exhibitions. The information I have collected from these disparate sources make sense nevertheless, and allow to draw an extensive panorama of the information quest, with a "see-know-show" structure.

See : that is the main point. It is necessary to distinguish the official municipal delegation or representation, and the personal journey made by an elected officials or a municipal employee. Even in the latter case, the trip may have involved some official business but was normally paid for by the individuals themselves and therefore can be difficult for the historian to track. In the case of organised trips, there can often exist municipal decisions, or even entire files in the archives. This is not a rule : for example, it is known that a municipal delegation was sent to study incineration mills in the 1920's, but I have not (yet) found any trace of this journey in the municipal records. As for the trips of individuals, traces are spotty. Only the memoirs of the mayor Edouard Herriot tell us he visited the exhibitions of Düsseldorf 1912 and Dresden 1913. More generally, these memoirs provide information about all his trips, should they be for leisure or for diplomacy, as he was several times minister and Prime Minister ³⁰. Similarly, only allusions in his correspondence with the mayor allow us to know that the Chief engineer Camille Chalumeau went to different congresses, and sometimes to represent officially the City of Lyon. This paper will deal mainly with the first kind of journeys, the official trips.

The journey or official delegation is the main means of obtaining information from abroad. It always took place in Europe, with a preference for the Germanic and British regions. The "founding" journeys were made to Germany (the slaughter-house study) and in Great-Britain (the visit to the British municipalities in the same year 1906). The geography of these peregrinations is the geography of the main places of events, action and thinking about the city : Germany, Great-Britain, but also Belgium are regularly visited, with some trips to Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands or Czechoslovakia. The modalities of these journeys vary very much : the delegation could take charge of itself, as with the *voyage initiatique* to the german slaughter-houses, but the journey could also be very carefully prepared. The municipality could ask somebody to organize the itinerary and the visits, as with the hospitals tour of 1909, that was set up by the ambassadors and consuls of France at the request of the Mayor. It can also be organised by an external institution acting as a "tour operator", as in the case of the "town planning tours" of 1912 and 1913 : the Garden-City Association of France in the first case, the British National Council for Housing and Town Planning in the second, proposed that the municipality delegates join a "caravan" of urban pilgrims who would follow a very dense program.

The aims of the delegations were numerous. A delegation can be sent to an exhibition (the International public health exhibition of Dresden in 1911 is the first to be visited), to a congress (the first is the International congress for food health in Paris 1906), or it could make a thematic trip with the slaughter-houses journey as a prototype. According to the information I've collected, the visit to congresses is the most frequent (8 times between 1906 and 1940).

³⁰ Edouard HERRIOT, *Jadis*, Paris, Flammarion, 1948. During the 1920's, for example, Herriot goes to the USSR (1922) and USA (1923). He often brings back technical informations from these trips, as in 1933 when he sends the chief-engineer a note he wrote during a visit of an urban heating mill in Moscow.

Exhibitions as such ³¹ were not visited often on the whole, and the thematic tour was quite popular with 5 occurring between 1906 and 1920, equalling the number of exhibitions for the same time period. If we scrutinize the evolution of these different forms of journeys, we find a difference between 1906-1920 and 1920-1932. The first moment is the glory days of thematic tours (slaughter-houses 1906, hospitals 1909, garden-cities 1912, town planning 1913, sewers 1919). In the second, the delegation to congresses was the dominant form of international journey. It is also the last one to disappear under the budget cuts of the 1930's, with the delegation to the International Union of Cities congress in London 1932.

This first glance can be supplemented with some attention to the form that the municipal delegations took. For our first period, 1906-1920, it is very unusual that the delegation does not include a person who is deeply connected with the subjects that are concerned by the Congress, the exhibition or the tour. These people, who begin to be called "specialists", can be municipal employees (the Town clerk, the Chief-engineer or his assistants, the Director of the public health office, etc.) or people from the "civil society" who are chosen for their skills and/or their concern. When it is time to visit hospitals, physicians join the party, and the Chief engineer goes with the mayor to the Berlin exhibition of 1907 to study the sewer question. This feature tends to disappear in the second period : municipal employees or civic experts are no longer included in the delegations, replaced by the rank-and-file of the elected officials.

This difference is also noticeable for all that made the content of the journeys. The very organized visits thus disappear after 1920. To get a grip on this change, it is necessary to refer to other elements. Let's consider the attitude of the representatives of the City of Lyon to the congresses where they are sent. The contrast is acute between the silence of the Lyon delegation to the International Congress of Cities at Ghent in 1913, and their presence at the podium of the International Town Planning Congresses of Strasbourg (1923) or Nantes (1927). This change also appears in the tone of their 1920's papers, where the desire to speak on behalf of a leading city for all that concerns the urban matters dominates. The first period saw the accumulation of knowledge and was characterised by deference, recognition of foreign experiences and methods and the will to collect information. Then it seems that we encounter a more ostentatious moment, where self-confidence and pride in Lyon's know-how dominates. By turning to another side of this three-folded portrait, I'll try to take further these first impressions.

Know : what is the attitude of the municipal authorities towards the information that can be gathered from outside ? Much was brought back from the journeys that have been mentioned, from conversations to drawings, plans, leaflets. The conversations, when compiled in a final report, give us a "traveling chronicle" that tells a lot about how the journey was conducted and conceived. The report on the hospital tour of 1909 is full of everyone's remarks on the cleanliness and efficiency of the German hospitals ³², and the garden-city report underlines the skill and civility of Nettlefold and Howard, who served as guides to the French caravan led by

³¹ e.g isolated, non twinned with a congress.

³² Edouard HERRIOT, *La désaffectation de l'Hotel-Dieu. Rapport présenté au nom de la commission lyonnaise chargée d'étudier plusieurs hôpitaux modernes de l'Allemagne et du Danemark*, Lyon, 1910. This might also be attributed to the cunning writing of Herriot. The building of a new hospital was a highly contested matter in Lyon, and it was clever to show how every member of the delegation had been impressed by what they saw, and convinced by the necessity to build a new modern hospital for Lyon.

Georges Benoît-Lévy. At the end of those trips, official thanks can be addressed by the municipal council, and the hosts receive very courteous letters from their former visitors³³. The leaflets, once retrieved from the delegates luggage, enriched the municipal council library. The plans then began for another journey, through the municipal services or the network of local voluntary associations.

But it is more important to know how those information were circulated. I mentioned reports, and they are one possible form of circulation. Thanks to Herriot, who set an example with his report on the hospital tour, reports were printed as booklets, distributed to the members of the delegation, published in the official municipal bulletin. Circulation could be even wider. After the great visit to the British municipalities in 1906, the municipal councillor Paul Pic gave a public lecture entitled "Un voyage social en Grande-Bretagne. Régies municipales, informations ouvrières" (A social journey in Great-Britain. Municipal services, working class news"). This lecture took place one month after the delegation had returned, at the Office Social de Lyon. This association for social studies gathered the young Lyon reformers who were close to the left wing of the *radical-socialiste* party, to which Herriot belonged. The mayor presided over the public meeting where the lecture was given, and he had already asked for a report of the visit that had been presented to the municipal council and published in the municipal bulletin. This sort of double circulation was also remarkable in the case of the garden-city tour of 1912. A report was published in the municipal bulletin and printed as a leaflet, and the journal from the Office Social gave both an extract and a paper written by one member of the delegation³⁴. This shows how the informations could be used, especially by left-wing reformers who wanted to promote the role of local authorities and to turn Lyon into a capital of reform.

This will of circulation seems to end in the beginning of the 1920's. Reports become rarer, and are no longer widely circulated or discussed. Their style and content loses its aspect "return from Jerusalem" that they had in the late 1910's. The municipal government is no longer very concerned with collecting information from Germany, Great Britain or other "high places" of the urban question. The aim is now to receive a flow of information, to choose between them and to organize their access in Lyon.

³³ Just after the end of the garden city tour organised by the French Garden-City association, Georges Benoît-Lévy gives the town-clerk Serlin a bunch of advices. He recalls him where X and Y had been encountered, mentions when a simple post card or a letter is necessary, and to whom it might be useful to include a touristic leaflet on Lyon. Benoît-Lévy is in fact very punctilious "*I sum up what you can write to each one, knowing what is the most liable to move each of these persons*". It seems that Georges Cadbury, John Nettlefold, William Lever or Ebenezer Howard did received the letters such dictated by Benoît-Lévy and signed by the mayor of Lyon. For Howard, Benoît-Lévy proposed the following mention "*in english, french or esperanto*), *your congratulations for having been the founder of the first garden-city whose example will inspire the whole world*" (Municipal Archives of Lyon, 955 WP 14, letter from Benoît-Lévy to the town clerk, 29/06/1912)

³⁴ C.GORJUS, "Cités-jardins et balnlieues-jardins en Angleterre", A. CENET, "Cités-jardins et plan d'extension et d'embellissement des villes. Réalisations dans notre pays", *Questions pratiques de législation ouvrière et d'économie sociale*", 1913. As it is the case for almost every papers in this journal, it is quite sure that these two had formerly been given as public lectures at the *Office Social*.

The 1919 creation of the *Office central de l'habitation et de la construction* (Central office for housing and building) illustrates this new cast of mind. The *Office* was a creation of the *Commission permanente des congrès de l'Habitation* (Permanent comity of the housing congresses). I won't linger on the *Commission*, a very interesting structure created on the occasion of the First housing congress in Lyon, October 1919. Inserted in the Lyons Fair organisation³⁵, patronized by the municipality, the building industry and the trade organizations, the Commission was one of the sites of the economic and social reform that tries to make its way at the end of the First World War³⁶. The *Office Central de la Construction et de l'habitation*, as established by a 1919 note, had a clear mission : "*collect all French and foreign documents relating to housing and building*" in a library and hold "*a permanent exhibition of plans, pictures, samples, models, etc.*"³⁷. Its fields of competence were urban management on one hand, with town-planning, garden-cities, cheap housing and urban amenities (from lightning to sewers), and building on the other hand, with a strong interest in standardization, organization of workyards, materials, gear and workers training. According to the report submitted on the occasion of the Second Housing congress, in March 1920, the *Office* was working and its library growing, as well as its permanent exhibition, that the congressmen visited. I must confess I do not know much more about the fate of this *Office*, but one thing seems clear from the transactions of the three Housing congresses that took place in Lyon in 1919, 20 and 21 : the municipality delegated the task of collecting information to an external structure, thus providing another sign of the turn of tide that affects the municipal attitude towards urban informations around 1920.

Let's now shift towards a third category of informations gestures, to test a last time this diagnosis. **Show** : it is time to consider the information that Lyon sent to other cities in other countries, especially by means of the exhibitions in which the city took part, or the ones it organized. Before going in this direction, I would not want to forget other forms. We saw that written correspondence was quite frequent between city officials, and all the historians familiar with French municipal archives know it is not rare to find roneotyped questionnaires that are sent by one city to like-sized towns at the end of the 19th century. But it seems also that this type of written inquiry was mainly used for punctual work on a particular municipal project, as illustrated by the slaughter-house questionnaire. If we take the other end of the pipe, e.g the answers that the municipality of Lyon sent to the letters it received, we can try to get some elements about the information sent through this channel. The answers that the Lyon Board of works made to these many information requests have occasionally been kept. These remnants, however uneven they might be, give us significant information. As for foreign cities, it is remarkable that these letters don't show a network with regular flows of correspondence, answers and questions. For the periods that had been kept (1912-1916 and 1930-1936), Brussels is the only city to appear twice. These letters, asking the municipality of Lyon various questions related to urban matters³⁸, provide two indications. The first is about the geography of the towns that ask Lyon for information. They cover a wide area, from South America to Russia. Kyoto, Saint Petersburg as well as Bogota or Santiago del Chile wrote to the Lyon municipal services. If the European cities

³⁵ Created in 1916 to challenge the german Leipzig Fair.

³⁶ See Yves Cohen et Rémi Baudouin (eds), *Les chantiers de la paix sociale (1900-1940)*, Fontenay-aux-Roses, ENS Editions, 1995

³⁷ Municipal Archives of Lyon, 747 WP 174.

³⁸ The subjects go from water networks to building regulation, through social work. It can also happen that it is a government who asks question, as with the 1925 USA Federal Government questionnaire about cheap housing, urban transportation, water provisionment, etc.

dominate, we find here the reverse of geography of Lyon official journeys: not one German or British town wrote to get informations from Lyon ³⁹. The tone of those letters is also interesting, as the request reflects the growing reputation of Lyon. The chief engineer of the Moroccan government wrote in 1913 that Lyon had a fine reputation in all that concerns municipal government, and a candidate to the Athens town-hall wrote Herriot that he always had been interested in his realisations in Lyon "*this point of the continent where the ideal of european civilization has been put in practice thanks to your care and your cult of the social*".

To grasp completely the mechanisms of this cunning presentation of the urban self, we should follow all the congress-speeches in which the chief-engineer Chalumeau celebrated the glory of his "enlightened" mayor Herriot. We should also follow the steps of delegations that visited Lyon, with their very organized itineraries, as for example with the International Union of Local Authorities conferences of 1925 and 1934. One of the participants, the mayor of the French city of Calais, sent an admiring letter to Herriot, through which we can see the seductive effects of well-organized visits ⁴⁰. The exhibitions were part of a self-promoting apparatus, especially the ones organized in Lyon.

The first urban exhibition followed the 1906 visit to the British municipalities. As soon as the municipal delegation returned, it was decided that Lyon must invite its new friends from Manchester, Glasgow and Edimburgh ⁴¹. To minimize expenditure, the municipal council scheduled a visit from several delegations of British municipalities, a French presidential visit and two urban reformers societies meetings, all at the same time. Three exhibitions were planned to show what Lyon had to offer : an horticultural exhibition, the national cattle show and an urban public health exhibition. This last one was purely national, and gathered local exhibitors and members of the two associations that were holding their congress in Lyon. It was closely connected to the congresses of the *Alliance d'hygiène sociale* (League for social health) and of the *Association générale des architectes, ingénieurs et techniciens municipaux* (General association of municipal architects and engineers ⁴²). The British visit provided the occasion to give this exhibition a greater importance than planned. This first urban local venue must be mentioned owing to its initiator and organizer, the physician Jules Courmont, who held the Public health chair at the Medicine faculty of Lyon. This man belonged to the nucleus of the hygienic movement in Lyon : a specialist in bacteriology and contagious diseases, he pursued a wide range of activities since becoming professor of Public health in 1900. He created an Applied laboratory for bacteriology, a Bacteriological institute, an anti-tuberculous dispensary, he organized the department of the Rhone public health services in 1902, he founded many local associations in the public health sector, fought for this cause in unnumerable conferences or newspapers chronicles and scoured the medical congresses all over Europe. Jules Courmont participated actively in municipal activities. In his inaugural speech for the Public health chair, he declared that the Public health teacher realm should exert his influence beyond the amphitheater walls, and that he should get the attention of businessmen, elected officials and citizens. Courmont became this kind of extra-municipal expert : he chaired the committee against

³⁹ If a more advanced state of the urban question could be invoked for these countries, it should also be thought of a stronger informative network between the cities of these countries, as with the German Staedtetag in the 1920's-1930's..

⁴⁰ Municipal Archives of Lyon, 1112 WP 1, 20/10/1925.

⁴¹ Delegations from Salford, Leith and Huddersfield will join the party later.

⁴² About this organization, see Viviane Claude, "Sanitary engineering as a path to town planning : the singular role of the Association générale des hygiénistes et techniciens municipaux in France and the french-speaking countries 1900-1920", *Planning perspectives*, 4(1989).

unhealthy housing established by Augagneur, took part in the technical committee on slaughterhouses, etc.

It seems that he was responsible for the municipal visit of the Dresden public health international Exhibition during the fall of 1911. Courmont visited the Exhibition in the summer, and urged everyone in Lyon to go for this civic trip⁴³. The mayor, Herriot, who led the delegation, experienced a culture shock in Dresden. After he was back, he became an advocate of an urban reform movement he had previously considered without any special interest. This new dedication is illustrated, among others, by the project of international urban exhibition that he proposed to his municipal council at the end of 1912. An overview of the organization and unfolding of this exhibition devoted to the "*Modern city*" is instructive. The exhibition was presented as the little French cousin of the Düsseldorf and Dresden ones. The Lyon exhibition, as defined by the Mayor and the local newspapers⁴⁴, would circulate some ideas "*badly known among us French people*", such as the town-planning or municipal housing schemes, and spread to France the ideas of scientific and rational organization of the city as they were expounded in Britain and Germany⁴⁵. The foreign reference, especially the German one, was thus very explicit, and this admiration would continue to be expressed in the writings of Herriot and Courmont, named chief-manager of the exhibition, even in 1914, when any demonstration of germanophilia was extremely suspicious. The exhibition was presented as a way to import a new scientific urban culture, the very culture that the mayor and/or municipal delegations went and admired in Germany (exhibitions of Berlin 1907, Dresden 1911, Düsseldorf 1912, Leipzig 1913), in England (delegations of 1906, 1912 and 1913) or Belgium (exhibitions of Ghent and Antwerp in 1913).

However, in addition to the interruption caused by the Great War, there were important limits on the exposure of foreign models at this exhibition. Jules Courmont's international network of hygienists made up the majority of participants in sections devoted to the *économie sociale*⁴⁶, and to education, but several foreign groups were prevented from taking part in the expositions and many others were kept away by the organisers' arrogance and ineptitude. When a certain Joseph Stübgen applied to present his views on town planning, authorities mistakenly sent his file to the sewer section, when it went unanswered. Walter Burley-Griffin wanted to share his plans for Yass-Canberra, he received no special attention. The Bournville village trust was

⁴³ See his paper "L'exposition internationale d'hygiène de Dresde", *Lyon-Médical*, No 31, juillet 1911. He ends this paper by a call to the French government to send students to Dresde, and to municipalities to send delegations. The 31st of July, the municipal council, on the request of Edouard Herriot, a close acquaintance from Courmont, decides to send a delegation to Dresden, in order to visit this so instructive "*leçon de choses*" (lesson), a term that Courmont uses very regularly in his writings.

⁴⁴ The main local journal, *Le Progrès*, holds a public health chronicle since the start of the century. The man in charge of it is Jules Courmont.

⁴⁵ Procès-verbaux du Conseil Municipal, 27/01/1913. The mayor's report on the exhibition project has been proposed the 23/12/1912.

⁴⁶ The French term "*économie sociale*" does not translate directly into English, though "social economy" can be encountered sometimes. It was decided to keep the French expression, that included all that dealt with material and moral condition of the working class. See Laure GODINEAU, "L'économie sociale à l'Exposition Universelle de 1889", *Le Mouvement Social*, n°149, oct-déc. 1989

asked to pay a penalty for having sent their materials too early. The Mayor Herriot rejected Patrick Geddes' proposed exhibition out of hand while the Union of International Associations only received one quarter of the space it requested. quarrel with Georges Benoît-Lévy, the ubiquitous president of the French garden-city association, refused to organize the garden-city section after all his suggestions about foreign exhibitors were either ignored or rejected. In proposing the exhibition, Herriot had said his ambition was to show that Lyon, the city that had had the courage and foresight to reform its slaughter-houses, its schools and its hospitals was also the French leader in developing an urban science⁴⁷. The search for technological and cultural innovations from abroad, apparently so dear to Herriot, was not consistently pursued. The municipality appear to have felt that presenting their exposition was sufficient to join the ranks of "modern cities". The obsession with self-presentation, and the constant care to have consistent business and trade sections appears to have taken precedence over assuring the content of the exposition, as occurred at a number of lesser expositions, including Lyon's annual fair after First World War. This seems also true when one deals with the exhibitions where the municipality took part.

From 1890 to 1939, municipal documents (archives, the minutes of municipal council meetings) mention 27 international exhibitions concerned with urban affairs to which the municipality of Lyon was invited⁴⁸. The city subscribed for 18 of them. This raw figure in itself calls for some remarks. Besides the fact that, different from delegations, exhibits went on through the difficult 1930's, it is remarkable that the larger part of them took place abroad⁴⁹. Here again, their geography takes us through the prime sites of the urban question (Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, Scandinavia), and reaches areas that delegations never touched. Lyon sent exhibits to the International public health exhibition of Buenos-Aires in 1910, to Patrick Geddes' Cities and town planning exhibition in Bombay 1921, to the World Fair of New-York 1939, etc. The chronological distribution of these exhibitions is the opposite of that of the delegations, with a concentration after 1920. Nevertheless, participation at foreign exhibitions was at its strongest before 1920.

Here again, the content of the exhibits and the archive files that record of the decision-making process, can shed some light on these first impressions. During a first period, it is clear that the municipality and the municipal services did not master the theme on which they were requested to exhibit. The reader might remember how the municipal authorities answered the Turin's invitation of 1890 (exhibition on urban transformation schemes) with an expression of non-interest and non-understanding of the concerns of the exhibition. The same lack of interest was met by the invitation to the Town planning conference meeting in London (1910), which included an invitation to exhibit some plans on "*the evolution of the city since the 18th century*"⁵⁰. The city of Lyon did not send delegates at this conference, which launched the international milieu of town-planners. As for the exhibition, the mayor sent the letter to the local architects

⁴⁷ It must be noticed that neither Herriot nor the exhibition documents allude to any french initiatives in this area (the exhibitions of the Modern City in Nancy 1913, the exhibitions of the *Alliance d'hygiène sociale*, the work of the *Musée social*). Same attitude again when the municipality launched its town planning scheme in 1912. An easy way to assert that Lyon pioneers the movement

⁴⁸ Here again, this number probably does not encompass all the events that the mayor or the municipal services were aware of.

⁴⁹ 18 proposals, 12 participations. The refusal rate is almost equal for french or foreign exhibitions.

⁵⁰ Municipal Archives of Lyon, 781 WP 5, 31/08/1910 letter.

organization and to the Municipal architect and Chief-engineer, as his predecessor Gailleton had done in 1890 for Turin. Finally, the municipal Board of works proposed to exhibit four plans of Lyon, none of them being renewal or building lines schemes. After this phase marked by a lack of understanding of how the urban question was formulated abroad, appears a moment of learning, with a turning point in the years 1910-1911. Then the municipal services (Board of works, Architecture, Public health office) learned the rules of the big shows where the urban question was displayed. They learned that they would have to pay to exhibit and that exhibits might contain pictures, statistics, diagrams or graphics, pictures or plans. Above all, they became familiar with the urban problem itself, and above all to its significance. Another 1910 episode is full of lessons about this new phase. Three public health exhibitions were scheduled : Turin, Rome and Dresden. The first invitation to reach Lyon came from Dresden. Despite the unfavourable report by the deputy-mayor in charge of public health, who wrote "*first of all the expense. There are so many public health congresses*", the Public health office director and the mayor decided to accept the invitation⁵¹. The second invitation to be received was from Turin, where a section was to be devoted to the "modern city". The new Chief-engineer Camille Chalumeau wanted the Board of Works to participate, and the mayor agreed, telling the municipal council that this was also a matter of prestige, that participation would place Lyon among the great European cities. The municipal council agreed with the mayor's proposal to have a 90 m² stall. One month later, the Roman invitation was at first rejected. But the municipality of Rome renewed its invitation with an offer to transport from Dresden to Rome the items exhibited in the German town. The mayor and the Public health office Director seem to have been won over, for a while, by this new offer "*owing to the interest there might be to make known abroad the progresses made by the City of Lyon*"⁵². The following exhibitions would confirm this attitude : the most important point was to show off Lyon's accomplishments, not to try to learn from the innovations of other cities. Indeed, the municipality sent only four delegations to the eighteen exhibitions to which it took part. When Lyon decided to say "yes" or "no", the main factor to be considered was the possibilities to promote the image of Modern Lyon. The decision to take part in the International World Fair of Ghent in 1913 is especially interesting. In march 1913, Herriot wrote that it would be "*useless to go to Ghent*". The Public health office Director thought it was best to focus on the organization of the Lyon Exhibition of 1914, even if though he favoured sending a delegation. Nevertheless, Herriot changed his mind in April, when he learned about the gathering of an International congress of cities in Ghent and the venue of a Compared exhibition of cities. Then, he seized the opportunity to make of publicity for the Lyon exhibition, to recruit exhibitors and to expand power of attraction, and then proposed to organize the Second international congress of cities⁵³.

This marketing logic appears to be the one that determined whether or not Lyon would participate in urban exhibitions. It is systematized after the First World War, when the municipality widened the scope of its urban program and launched many great public works. Until 1920, the exhibits of Lyon consisted in tables, texts, diagrams and statements. After 1920, the plans and the photographs tried to show the quality of a work in process. Pictures of

⁵¹ Municipal Archives of Lyon, 781 WP 5, note of the deputy-mayor Roustan on the Public Health Office Director's adress, 06/06/1910.

⁵² Municipal Archives of Lyon, 781 WP 5, april 1911 notes. The final answer is no, as the registration fares were considered to be too high (1000 french francs). The price paid for the participation at the Torino exhibition reached 10 000 francs...

⁵³ Municipal Archives of Lyon, 781 WP 5. Notes by Herriot on the 10/01, 07 and 12/03 march 1913, as well as his report to the municipal council the 14/04/1913.

bridges and streets⁵⁴, plans of the municipal housing estates, drawings of Tony Garnier's hospital, stadium or slaughter-house, graphics of the sewer and water supply system and town planning scheme of Lyon sought to signify throughout the world that Lyon was no longer seeking for a model, but that it had become a model on its own. These same documents, enhanced from time to time by pictures of a recent building, or plans of a new project, toured the world endlessly. Ghent and Bombay in 1921, Marseille in 1922, Strasbourg and Göteborg in 1923, Versailles in 1928 or Barcelona in 1929 welcomed more or less the same documents in their stalls⁵⁵. "*Present the usual documents plus the riverport project*", writes the chief-engineer Chalumeau when he gave his instructions about the exhibits to the Barcelona exhibition in April 1928, albeit the general commissioner of this exhibition has just met him⁵⁶. This routine is another hint of the lack of intellectual concern that is demonstrated in the post-1920 international information exchanges by the municipality of Lyon.

After having covered the modalities of the quest for international information, it is now necessary to cope with what made it possible. By what channel did information reach Lyon ? How do you organize an international exhibition ? How was this or that foreign event or innovation known ? An exhaustive answer to these questions would examine the administrative libraries, their subscription to French and foreign journals, the affiliation of services and individuals to technical and professional associations. By focussing here on the networks involved in municipal information, I voluntarily leave some parts of the answer unresolved. But my priority here is to explain the action of a large French municipality, not to provide an overview of the available means of international urban information. From the case of Lyon, some means were external to the municipal system, some internal, and some were independents even if strongly connected with the municipal system.

The external networks were especially important in regard to exhibitions. If the organizers of an exhibition invited Lyon directly (Rome 1911 for example, organized by the Italian municipality), the invitation was very often mediated through some governmental channels. The French consulates abroad often informed the Mayor (Chicago 1911, Dresden 1931). Most of the time, the link was not that direct. For many great exhibitions, the French government officially participated. The *Commissariat Général du Gouvernement Français* then took charge of the organization of the French section. This institution belongs to the French Ministry of Trade and Industry, which then nominated a *Commissaire du Gouvernement* (governmental deputy, who is generally, if not by law, a civil servant) for each exhibition where it decided to take part officially⁵⁷. This was the case for Buenos-Aires 1910, Dresden and Turin 1911 and many others. In this

⁵⁴ Very often, contemporaneous photographs are twinned with 19th century ones, with a "before-after" presentation that insists on the changes brought in by the municipal program.

⁵⁵ These sendings are so much routine that it is quite surprising to see that in 1939 the Board of works wishes to send a brand new package to the New-York World Fair. New documents for the New World, or the renewal of a tarnished set ?

⁵⁶ Municipal Archives of Lyon, 923 WP 419. I confess I don't know if Lyon really took part to the exhibition, but 21 items were ready to send at the end of the year 1928.

⁵⁷ It is the Minister of Trade and Industry, through the network of embassies and consulates, that examines every informations about a foreign exhibition to decide if there will be a governmental participation, a plain broadcast of the informations, or nothing. In 1912, the Minister had to examine the

case, the municipality had nothing to do but wait for these information from the *Commissariat Général*. But for the news of an exhibition to reach the municipality, many things depend on the attitude of the Trade civil servants, and from the comittment, enthusiasm and position of the people who are designed to serve as *Commissaire du Gouvernement*, or to take charge of the French exhibits in one section of the exhibition (the "presidents" and "secretaries" of sections). In the 1920's for example, the urban sections of many exhibitions were very often managed by members of the *Société française des urbanistes* (French town planners society). Parenty and Redond were in charge in Ghent 1921 or Marseille 1922, Jean Royer for New-York World's Fair, etc. As Edouard Herriot was amongst the patrons of the *SFU* since 1914, and Chalumeau one of their fellows, they rarely omitted to invite the municipality of Lyon to participate in their sections. But the information was in no way a free-flowing commodity.

The role of municipal connections was more substantial. The correspondence that circulated between cities contained an irregular but solid flow of questions, information, invitations, documents. It will be necessary, at some point, to take some time for an in-depth study of the several international associations that cities could join. The attempts to create a permanent International Congress of municipal institutions as in Düsseldorf 1912, the activities of the International federation for housing and town-planning, the Public health congresses deserve our attention. One of these structures will be shortly evoked here, the *Union Internationale des Villes* (International Union of Local Authorities in English), born in Ghent in 1913⁵⁸, in order to clarify Lyon's attitude towards these virtual or existing formal networks of cities.

It is by chance that Lyon municipal's government came into contact with the new Union. As in 1906 when a municipal delegation went to Great Britain to serve the "Hearty Understanding" and discovered the hygienic and social programmes of the British municipalities, it was for "non-urban" reasons that Herriot and Lyon took interest in the Ghent International congress of cities that gave birth to the Union. As said earlier, it is not the international cooperation, reform and pacifist flavours of its organizers that attracted Lyon's officials to Ghent, but the idea of inciting Ghent exhibitors to come to the Lyon exhibition. The Ghent delegation shared the concern that had inspired the sending of a delegation to Antwerp in 1913, the journeys of Herriot to Leipzig and Düsseldorf, or his public public lecture tours in Germany and Great Britain. Again, when Herriot proposed that the Second congress of cities would take place in Lyon in 1914, he may have demonstrated not only good will but also total ignorance, as the decision to create the Union, and so to carry on the task, seems to have been taken only several months later.

Herriot was not present in Ghent, and the Lyon delegation kept mute through the Congress according to the transactions. On the proposal of Dausset, the Parisian delegate⁵⁹, Herriot was nevertheless nominated as a member of the General board of the *Union Internationale des Villes*, as designated the 29 and 30 July 1913. More than his recent plees for

Städte Ausstellung of Düsseldorf. Following the report of the french Consul on location, the minister services concluded that it was a minor regional exhibition, with a quite poor participation and a too strong business-like characteristics. Hence the refusal to make any strain to induce french municipalities or firms to participate. Edouard Herriot, who visited the exhibition, was nevertheless very impressed, as many european reformers.

⁵⁸ See Helen Meller's paper quoted in note 6

⁵⁹ On Dausset, who was becoming the urban specialist of the parisian elected officials, see Marie CHARVET, art. cit.

urban reform, it seems to be his proposal to welcome the second Congress, and above all the fact that he was the mayor of the largest French city (Paris has no mayor), that gave him his place among Louis Bonnier, Patrick Abercrombie, Joseph Stübben, Charles Buls, Alberto MacKenna, Ernest Bruggeman, Emmanuel Vinck or Paul Otlet, without having demonstrated a similar engagement.

The rest of the UIV history witnesses the non-commitment of Lyon in its action. Once recruited to join the Lyon exhibition program, the Union became a minor preoccupation of Herriot and his services. The proposals of the Belgian senator Vinck, the mainspring of the Union, are not followed with enthusiasm by Herriot, and the international section imagined by Paul Otlet for the Lyon exhibition was downsized. Of course, it is true that the outbreak of the War did cancel the Congress that the Union was to organise in september 1914, but it does not seem that the Lyon's concern would have been stronger. When the Union returned to full activity after the war, notably with the foundation of a *Union des villes et des communes de France* (French Cities Union)⁶⁰, the City of Lyon was barely more assiduous. It paid its subscription to the *Union des villes et des communes de France* with bad grace, left it a few months after its creation only to come back later, and again hardly paid its share in the 1930's, although Herriot became its president for a while. As for the International union, Herriot did not answer the invitation made to him to chair the first session of the Paris Congress in 1925, nor did he take part to the following congresses (Sevilla and Barcelona 1929, London 1932) conferences (Düsseldorf 1927, Anvers 1930, etc.) or Board meetings. I could add more examples of the non-interest and non-involvement that the City demonstrated for the Union and its activities (documentation center, congresses, exhibitions, publication of the excellent bibliographical journal *Les Tablettes Municipales*), though all the Union activity is about urban and municipal organization questions. This does not prevent some personal and punctual involvements, as with the deputy-mayor Emmanuel Lévy, a socialist law professor and once member of the *Office Social*, who took part in some congresses of the Union in the 1920's. But the general tone of the relationship between the City and the Union is best shown by an episode of 1934. Senator Vinck, who thought Herriot had given him a formal agreement to organize and subsidize the 1934 Union Congress in Lyon, finally received a refusal of any help by Herriot. The Congress was finally saved by Henri Sellier, the mayor of Suresnes, the most active Frenchman in the international urban networks, and by Prime Minister Barthou, who agreed to subsidize the Congress. This moment in 1934, where bad faith goes along with thoughtlessness in Herriot's attitude, is the last trace of any relation between Lyon and the Union in the municipal papers.

This reserve, nay even this rejection for what was a major attempt to set up an organized institutional network of cities able to get an operative grip on the urban question, is enhanced by the under-exploitation of existing networks. These networks, though outside the municipal system, were very close to the Lyon municipality; they were the networks to which belonged some members of the municipal administration, elected officials or employees. The possible impact of these networks was considerable: information, communication of documents, participation in congresses, etc. Municipal services or employees belonged to some of these networks. The Board of works and its chief-engineer Camille Chalumeau, in charge of all great projects including town planning, will be used here as a short case study. As for the service itself, its correspondence provides evidence of international links, especially requests for technical information, but also exchanges with cities like Turin or Geneva, whose regulations or documents can be found in the service files. But there are no subscriptions to foreign journals,

⁶⁰ This creation was more or less scheduled for september 1914 in Lyon.

nor foreign books, in the service library. Although many journals ⁶¹addressed urban matters, the service showed no official interest in them, whether they were relevant to its mission or not -no trace for example of the publications of the *Association permanente internationale des congrès de la route* (International Congress of Roads). The director, Camille Chalumeau, who ran the service for thirty years, was certainly well connected. Member of the french-speaking *Association générale des techniciens et hygiénistes municipaux*, which he chaired for two years; member of the *Société française des urbanistes*; founder of the *Association des ingénieurs des villes de France* (Association of the Municipal French Engineers); probably affiliated to the *Fédération internationale des cités-jardins et de l'aménagement des villes* (International Federation of garden Cities and Town Planning), Chalumeau might have had a worldly wisdom. He was also a great traveler. He visited the Dresden Exhibition with Herriot in 1911, Bruxelles' World Fair in 1912, was part of the 1919 sewer tour and of the 1931 general food market, and participated in several international congresses. He took part in the SFU congress of 1923 and the *Fédération internationale des cités-jardins et de l'aménagement des villes* congress of 1924 in Amsterdam, delivering on those two occasions a presentation on smoke in the city ⁶². He was able to gather international information, as in the late 1930's when he rose American, English and Dutch material on tunnels to help him imagine the tunnels of Lyon. Thus, the question is not on his participation in networks, but how this participation was used in the municipal context. If Chalumeau seems to have frequently reported to Herriot about what was said in national congresses or associations, there is no trace of such remarks for the "small world" of international associations. And in fact, it can be understood from the content of his national reports : the information that Chalumeau brought to Herriot was about the new norms or rules that were elaborated in the specialist sphere, or about the reception of Lyon's accomplishments by French engineers or mayors. The international level was not yet understood as a possible source of norms and constraints that could be anticipated through information. On the other hand, it may have been that Chalumeau's international activity was limited. For example, if Chalumeau participated at the 1924 International Federation of garden Cities and Town Planning congress, and received documentation about the following venues organized by the Federation, it does not appear that he ever returned to an event organized by the Federation. He was an official member of many things, but finally, it seems that Chalumeau was poorly connected to the human networks that linked the specialists of the urban question. He knew how to use the diplomatic network, as in 1920 when he asked for information about new towns in Australia, but he does not seem to have had strong personal acquaintances, and finally lacked in resources. In 1921 for example, it is quite odd when the Lyonese architects Tony Garnier and Devereaux suggested to collect the building and roads regulations of Vienna (Austria). Camille Chalumeau answered "*That would be interesting. But how could it be done ?*" ⁶³. Any "genuine" member of the international milieu of town-planning, such as the John Nolen papers kept at

⁶¹ Including the *Town Planning Review* for example, who had sent some issues to exhibit at the Lyon exhibition of 1914.

⁶² It is quite impossible to make a sure account of Chalumeau's travels from the Lyon papers : his salary included this kind of professional expenses, so he never had to ask to be reimbursed. The Chalumeau record only mentions allusively the participations to congresses or exhibitions.

⁶³ Municipal Archives of Lyon, 747 WP 174, meeting of the *Commission permanente de l'office central de la construction et de l'habitation*, 10/03/1921.

Cornell University abundantly demonstrate⁶⁴, would have taken his notebook or grasped a list of congressmen, or the catalogue of an exhibition, to find a viennese architect, engineer or municipal employee.

Finally, one must mention the personal networks of the elected officials, or of the people who frequently collaborated with the municipality. In this last case, two local figures will bring different elements for convergent conclusions. The first figure is also the best known, the architect Tony Garnier that modern architectural history has considered "*a pioneer of 20th century town planning*"⁶⁵. The anecdote related in the last paragraph, with other elements, shows how much Garnier lacked international contacts and knowledge about international news concerning the urban question. This is indeed not surprising for a man who wished to stay apart from all intellectual life, national or international, for thirty years⁶⁶. When in the starting 1920's he is involved in the town planning committee of the *Commission permanente de l'office central de la construction et de l'habitation*, the only foreign book he mentions was one written by Puissant, a teacher at the Belgian Académie des Beaux-Arts; in 1918, he had recommended the mayor of Lyon that he read Camillo Sitte, whose french translation had been available since 1902⁶⁷. Garnier was never a source of international information for the city, because he had few to offer. The other figure, less known, is Jules Courmont. Different from Garnier, this great traveler and conference man was always spreading the foreign example, especially the German one, to find remedies to what he saw as the decline of the French race through lowering birth rates, tuberculosis, alcoholism or slums⁶⁸. In this reliance to international information, Courmont was the heir of the Lyon physicians who had reestablished the links broken by the 1870 war. In the early 1880's, the physician Humbert Molliere visited German and Austrian hospitals, soon followed by the tours of lyonese students who accompanied their masters to the medical congresses of 1890's Germany. Courmont might have been one of these students, as his master Arloing was one of these travelling teachers. Through the tuberculosis congresses and the meetings devoted to demography and public health, but also thanks to his personal journeys when he used to fill his little notebooks with notes and drawings, Jules Courmont built a very dense network, especially in Scandinavian and Germanic countries, and recruited through the social reform and scientific research milieu, the very milieux that shaped the urban question at the turn of the century. This network was used by the municipality of Lyon, for example when the time came to visit slaughter-houses or hospitals, but this use was again very limited. The best example of this reduced use took place during the Exhibition of 1914, which Courmont was the great organizer. Colleagues and acquaintances of Courmont, such as the German doctors His and Blumenthal, the Dane Ehlers, or his American relations, were invited in 1913 to constitute organizing committees in their countries, and to invite industrialists and tradesmen to participate. Courmont did the same with his French colleagues from the *Musée social*, the *Alliance*

⁶⁴ John Nolen, 1869-1936 was an important figure of landscape architecture and city-planning in the USA. He lived and worked in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

⁶⁵ Krzysztof PAWLOWSKI, *Tony Garnier pionnier de l'urbanisme du XX^e siècle*, Lyon Editions du Pélican, 1993. This is a reprint of his *Tony Garnier et les débuts de l'urbanisme fonctionnel en France*, Paris, CRU, 1967.

⁶⁶ See *Tony Garnier l'oeuvre complète*, Paris, CCI/Centre Georges Pompidou, 1990, and especially the contribution of Bruno Vayssière.

⁶⁷ Municipal Archives of Lyon, 961 WP 81, letter from Garnier to Herriot, 20/12/1918.

⁶⁸ For a more complete portrait, see *Jules Courmont 1865-1917*, Lyon, 1917 and Jacques THIERRY, *Jules Courmont 1865-1917, sa vie, son oeuvre*, thèse de médecine de l'université de Lyon I, 1979.

d'hygiène sociale and other associations in which he was active. But what was asked of all of them was their personal and social agenda rather than their urban reform competence. It is even clearer after the exhibition, when the networks of Courmont, constituted by people directly involved in public health questions, would not be used any more ⁶⁹.

Another example of under-use of a network must be evoked to conclude. Since 1900 at least, the young turks of the local left, *radicaux* and *socialists*, had established links with their French and European counterparts. Jurists and physicians for the most part, they had met when they were students, around the banner of the *Association des études et activités sociales* (Association for social studies and activities), and had participated in the movement of the *Universités populaires* that was born in the aftermath of the Dreyfus Affair. In 1900, one of their leaders Justin Godart proposed to create an *Office Social de Renseignements et d'Études* (Social Office for Informations and Studies), whose task would merge the work of the Parisian *Musée Social* ⁷⁰ and of the New-York Social economy museum, in order to spread information and to educate the "social engineers" required by the industrial era. Founded in 1901 ⁷¹, the group first created a journal, *Questions pratiques de législation ouvrière et d'économie sociale* (Practical questions in work regulation and social economy), before the *Office social* was put on feet in 1903. The attention to foreign experiments was a main concern of the new organization, as attested by the list of the journal editorial board, the content of the articles and by the books bought through by the library of the *Office*. Deeply rooted in the international socialist network (the journal frequently publishes news of the German or British Labour Party congresses) as well as in reform milieux (the *Office* is a regional section of the Basel based *Association internationale pour la protection légale des travailleurs*), the association had a strong concern for the questions related to the organization of city life. Public health, municipal managed water or other services, slums, workers housing and garden-cities were common topics in its conferences and journal. They were tackled through papers, but also inquiries and reports, especially doctoral theses that our young turks, once they became professors, were able to recommend to their disciples in law or medicine ⁷². The Swiss, German or British efforts were indeed quite well known by such leading figures of the *Office* as Emmanuel Lévy, Justin Godart, Paul Pic or Charles Brouilhet. And, in fact, the *Office* was a sort of think-tank for the socialist and radical municipalities elected in Lyon from 1900 onwards. The mayors Augagneur and Herriot did take part in its activities, gave public lectures, wrote articles. And the men of the *Office* worked with the municipal administration. Justin Godart, Paul Pic, Marius Moutet and Emmanuel Lévy were even municipal councillors, Jules Courmont worked quite often with the mayors, etc.

⁶⁹ It is also remarkable how the networks that the exhibition could have helped to build (through the lists of visitors or exhibitor) were never used as such. For example, Chalumeau and the Board of Works, who are in charge of the extension plan of Lyon from 1912 to 1940, never asked any information to the cities that exhibited their extension plan in Lyon. The urban sections were all chaired by municipal employees from the service, but they do not seem to have used the information possibilities that the exhibition opened.

⁷⁰ On the *Musée Social*, see the works of Janet HORNE, beginning with "Le Musée Social à l'origine : les métamorphoses d'une idée", *Le Mouvement social*, n°171, avril-juin 1995.

⁷¹ Justin GODART, *L'Office social de renseignements et d'études de Lyon*, Lyon, 1900

⁷² For a first glance see Francisque MOYROUD, *Le logement de l'ouvrier et la législation. La question à Lyon*, Paris, Joue, 1910, with its large bibliography alluding to other lyonese doctorates.

But, if the competence and knowledge of these men were used, the international networks that they had built through the *Office* were not. Of course, Paul Pic was in charge of organizing the *économie sociale* section of the 1914 exhibition, Emmanuel Lévy was first deputy-mayor with power on public works, and both participated to the *Office central de la construction et de l'habitation*. But the information gathered by the *Office social* was often kept in a separate sphere. Emmanuel Lévy, who was a member of the municipal commission in charge of elaborating the extension scheme, does not seem to have ever mentioned the foreign contacts he or the *Office Social* had established. Charles Brouilhet, a Law faculty professor specialised in political economy who wrote an important article on "*rational planning of cities*" in *Questions pratiques...*, was not even asked to participate on the commission. It is especially remarkable that the Swiss channel, especially cultivated by the *Office social*, was never used by the municipal services or committees in charge of town-planning, though the Swiss towns were usually examples in the first French town planning textbooks⁷³. It seems obvious that the attitude of Herriot towards the *Office social* changed in the 1910's, when it seems that he tried to assert his political authority and to establish the municipality and himself as the finest sources of expertise.

But this also brings me to a question on the status of international information. Could the "foreign model", so frequently invoked by reformers to flog the "national delay" in urban questions, from public health to planning, be nothing but a rhetorical tool to mobilize patriotic energy in the service of the cause ? Are foreign makings images used to create a need by a sneaky evocation of international competition, or convenient alibis for this competition ? There could indeed be both a cynical and a clinical use of the foreign reference. The culture shock experienced by Herriot during his German or British excursions shows that the consideration of foreign answers to the urban question provoked a municipal interest, and a genuine, sincere and respectful curiosity for the foreign urban experiments, comparable to the curiosity shown elsewhere in France in the reformers rank and file. But, on the other hand, this shock was also reinterpreted through other categories. "If they do it we can do it as well". The attention to foreign accomplishments could also be a kind of patriotic vigil, a kind of technological vigil : it is important to know what the other is doing, not necessarily to think about it or find inspiration, but to run the same race, like in those strange Cold War military competitions. Such an attitude could be more frequent in the neighbourhood of a place of power that embodies, even partly, what is called the national interest. This is precisely the case of a large municipality like Lyon.

One could also mention the use of foreign information as a way to convince or to fight an opponent at home. Let's consider for example the way Herriot invited his municipal council to launch an extension plan. Using the introduction of the Beauquier law proposal that had been made to the *Chambre des Députés* in 1909, Herriot enumerated the existing foreign examples to convince his fellows councillors that it was a French duty to bridge the gap. The invocation of the foreign example then belongs to the realm of rethoric. The use of the foreign example could also be more tactical. Facing the socialist opposition in 1931, Herriot tried to show the socialists' refusal of a study trip to the Italian general food markets to be a contradiction of their internationalist faith⁷⁴. To complete this view about the signification of international information, it is finally necessary to mention the obvious consequences of the international situation : after

⁷³ See for example AGACHE, AUBURTIN, REDONT, *Comment reconstruire nos cités détruites ? Notions d'urbanisme s'appliquant aux villes, bourgs et villages*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1915.

⁷⁴ See Serge BERSTEIN, *Edouard Herriot ou la république en personne*, Paris, Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1985. **NOTE** . The 1931 conflict between Herriot and the socialists is a bitter one, ending with the resignation and reelection of Herriot.

the faith in peaceful international cooperation that set the pace of the years 1905-1912, war, the breaking of relations with Germany and the international tensions of the 1920's and 1930's did not offer the same opportunities to share international information.

Lyon municipality did not build or belong to any organized international network of information concerning around the urban matters. Informal ties existed (correspondence with cities on special questions), punctual proceedings (delegations, tours), but everything that could look like a formalization of those irregular links, e.g the use of existing networks or the attempts to build one, were carefully avoided. Nor did Lyon municipality have a precise policy on information gathering. International contacts were often born from non-urban concerns, as with the Great-Britain 1906 "Hearty Understanding" tour, and were carried on depending on opportunity.

It is nevertheless possible to distinguish several attitudes, with the early 1920's as a turning point. After this moment, one can identify a clearly formalised and instrumentalized conception of international urban information, quite different from the "naive" interest of the 1906-1920 period. The motives of this reversal were indicated in the preceding pages. With the growing familiarity of the Lyon's municipal officials and services with the questions of modern city organization, there also grew a certain self-satisfaction that undervalued foreign informations. The quest for urban information abroad, that had received official sanction by chance, though informal contacts; did not have enough support and autonomy to remain a priority of municipal action. After the 1920's, it belonged to the realm of gimmick and ritual. Enhanced by the effects of the tense economic and diplomatic conditions of the interwar years, the quest for information became a tricky marketing game around the theme of modernity.

Close-reading reveals another explanation. The limits of the quest for information also comes from the attitude of Edouard Herriot (and other French mayors ?) towards the urban question. In France, where the mayor is the core of municipal politics, his personal commitments and conceptions are important. They were especially important in Lyon where Herriot served as mayor from 1905 to 1957. He, and by proxy the whole municipality, seem to have addressed the urban question quite haphazardly. By accident, as shown by the "pentecostal" revelations that marked the two journeys in consecrated ground. The first one, the British municipalities tour of 1906, converted Herriot to preach for municipal action and autonomy, even if he had already begun to explore that field. The second one, around the Dresden exhibition of 1911, was a sharper break that provoked the mayor's interest for the organization of cities. By extension as well, as it seems that the urban question is not an independent variable, and preoccupied Herriot as a simple means to solve political questions, social reform on one hand and decentralization on the other hand. He was thus remarkably absent from parliamentary debates about the first French town planning law. The national profile that Herriot aimed at is also a powerful explanation for those priorities : the urban question was on the public place, but it was not a "big question" that suited a man of State.

Of course, this secondary conception of the urban question would deserve a deeper study, especially to show how the balance shifted between the mayor and the young leftist reformers, or to compare Herriot's urban commitment with the work of an Henri Sellier or the shrewd strategy of a Louis Dausset ⁷⁵. But a certain number of missed occasions underline Lyon's attitude. The oblivions like the one of the Town Planning Conference of 1910, the denials like the ones manifested through the organization of the 1914 Exhibition, the disregards as demonstrated towards the *Union internationale des villes* or the fate of the extension plan of

⁷⁵ On Sellier, see Katherine BURLIN (ed), *La banlieue-oasis. Henri Sellier et les cités-jardins 1900-1940*, Saint-Denis, Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 1987.

Lyon⁷⁶ support this interpretation. More than the centralized structure of France that is ritually invoked to explain the weak state of the urban question, and especially of town-planning, among the French municipalities, it is the conceiving of this question that seems to deserve our attention. The Italian scholarship has shown the vitality of the *municipalisti*, municipal technicians who were finally defeated by the architects in the struggle to establish a definition of Italian town-planning⁷⁷. To understand better the weakness of their French counterparts as an autonomous and organized body of knowledge expertise and power⁷⁸, we have to study their recruitment, actions, knowledges, organizations.

It is not enough to pay attention to the mayors or to great projects. For example, the elements brought to bear on that score tend to moderate the gleaming image of the Herriot-Garnier couple. This does not mean that the point is to "rethink" or "revisit" the history of municipal urban policies, in a vain search for self-proclaimed innovation. The plain attention to the casual work of a municipal service, to some regular events like exhibitions is enough. Stepping out of Herriot-Garnier's positive shadow is enough to invest interest in less well known spheres and individuals, working on a milieu rather than on individuals, paying attention to content rather than to appearances. The point is not to unbolt statues and to build new ones, nor to try to find the "true" leaders of the urban question. If a certain history of town-planning, with its own particular stakes⁷⁹, gave a fine reputation to the Herriot-Garnier couple, it would be ridiculous methodically to destroy its findings and conclusions to build an "anti-history". My purpose is much more simple, and goes beyond a case-study of Lyon. It is to go on with an history that cares more for ordinary urban knowledges, powers and practices than for avant-gardes, schools, movements or great men. There is no need to pretend to originality to do that : many works quoted in the introduction have cleared the way. The partial conclusions on Lyon and the municipal networks hence put me on two trails. The first one consists in deepening our knowledge of the attitude of the Lyonses municipality towards the urban question, especially towards town-planning. The second one is around the international structures that were built to serve the urban question, this small world of exhibitions, congresses, associations⁸⁰. The local and the international : it could be also an antidote to national histories.

⁷⁶ See Pierre-Yves Saunier "Au service du plan. Hommes et structures de l'urbanisme à Lyon au XX^e siècle" in *Forma Urbis. Les plans généraux de Lyon XVI^e-XX^e siècle*, Lyon, Archives Municipales de Lyon, 1997.

⁷⁷ Guido ZUCCONI, *La città contesa. Dagli ingegneri sanitari agli urbanisti 1885-1942*, Milano, Jaca books, 1989

⁷⁸ Hence the necessity, first, to pay attention to their accomplishments, as Jean-Pierre Gaudin pleaded in *La ville en plan*, op.cit.

⁷⁹ At the international scale, the stakes were to glorify the modern architectural style; at the French national scale the aim was to root town planning as a science and discipline ; at the local scale it was the glorification of Lyon's great men.

⁸⁰ The figure of the American architect John Nolen, familiar with trips and involved in several international organizations, has served as the first step for this research, together with a field research around the International Union of Local Authorities and the International Federation for Garden Cities and Town Planning.

* Thanks to Clifford Rosenberg, what I call english has become something readable. I am grateful to him for his generous help in time and energy.