Layered Landscapes: Parks and Gardens in the Metropolis[1]

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In Fritz Lang's famed 1927 film *Metropolis*, in its futuristic skyscraper metropolis and in its underground workers' city, there is one noticeable lack: gardens. There is however a notable exception. Freder, the son of an industrialist whose aim is to reconcile the workers and industrialists, meets Maria, the daughter of a worker, in what is fashioned as a paradisiacal pleasure garden—a green oasis aboveground that belongs to the sophisticated and futuristic metropolis of the directorial class. The film set of the garden includes features typical of Western gardens in the Middle Ages that were also used in many gardens in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, an elevated circular fountain basin forms the garden's centerpiece. Peacocks prance through the garden where men flirt with lightly dressed women. However, the fact that the symbolic use and treatment of the garden in the film exemplifies some characteristics and the conceptualization of gardens and green, open spaces in early twentieth-century metropoles is more important than the individual elements of the set design in the context of this essay. The fact that the film set of the garden partly followed the paradigm of the inward-looking, enclosed courtyard garden parallels what Lars Olof Larsson has shown to have been a common albeit paradoxical notion amongst architects of the time: despite the sprawl that had come to characterize the modern metropoles by the turn of the century, the metropolis was largely

1 Short parts of this article were published previously in "Creating order with nature: transatlantic transfer of ideas in park system planning in twentieth-century Washington D.C., Chicago, Berlin and Rome," *Planning Perspectives* 24, 2 (April 2009), 143-173.

perceived and treated as a compact organic architectural structure "influenced by the image of the walled town of old."[2]

Thus, although the comprehensive framework plans that were drawn up for a number of cities included public gardens and parks and in many cases even entire park systems, these green spaces were still largely perceived of as individual entities or a system in and of itself. Like the paradise garden in the film that is set apart from the skyscrapers towering above and the dark and dirty workers' city below, gardens and parks were seen in contrast to the built urban structure of the city. Like the film set, gardens and parks in early twentieth-century metropoles were thought to provide healthy, lushly vegetated, airy, and sunlit spaces that offered places for respite, relaxation, and rest. They provided a haven in an otherwise hectic world built out of stone and dominated by the rhythm of industrial production. In fact, for the German landscape architect Leberecht Migge, an astute observer of his times and ardent promoter of urban garden culture in the early twentieth century, the metropolis was "a mother of gardens."[3] In 1913, he commented that riding into a metropolis by train, the first thing one perceived were the allotment gardens that formed a "green ribbon of peace" around "the raucous city."[4] Once in the metropolis, a variety of green open spaces, including private house gardens, front yards, public urban parks, cemeteries, and exhibition, botanical, and zoological gardens were available for recreation, relaxation, education, representation, and veneration.

As this essay will show, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, different types of gardens, parks, and open spaces both contributed to the formation of the metropolis and resulted from its creation. Furthermore, these private and public urban green spaces have provided venues for the expression and fostering of a metropolitan spirit in social and materialistic terms. Whereas the first initiatives for the implementation of urban green space and entire open space systems in the nineteenth century went hand in hand with concerns for public hygiene and the physical and mental wellbeing of the urbanite, in the twentieth century, the preoccupation with metropolitan green space became an expression of healthy living and our concern for the environment as a whole. Both in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, green space was used to regulate and order metropolitan growth. As scientific and technological development

2 Lars Olof Larsson, "Metropolis Architecture," in *Metropolis 1890–1940*, ed. Anthony Sutcliffe (Chicago: 1984), 200.

3 Lebercht Migge, *Die Gartenkultur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Jena: 1913), 7.

4 Ibid.

progressed with time, parks and gardens have increasingly been considered essential components of metropolitan ecosystems.

I. PARKS AND GARDENS AS METROPOLITAN SYSTEMS

Toward the end of the twentieth century, the term "landscape urbanism" began to be used by many North American landscape architects and urban designers to describe a specific design approach used in the context of the North American metropolis. "Landscape urbanism," which has since been complemented by another neologism, "ecological urbanism,"[5] is based on the understanding that the "landscape"—which includes plants, animals, parks, gardens, sidewalks, roads, freeways, and the processes that shape it—should be viewed as an agent in urban design.[6] By considering natural factors and features part of the city, the self-proclaimed designers and promoters of landscape urbanism seek to overcome the widespread conceptual opposition between the human-made city and nature. Projects that have been referred to as exemplifying the principles of landscape urbanism include the designs for Paris' Parc de la Villette by the teams led by Bernard Tschumi and Rem Koolhaas in the 1980s, the design for Downsview Park in Toronto by a team led by Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, and the more recent designs for the Fresh Kills landfill on Staten Island and for the Highline in New York City by the landscape architecture practice Field Operations. These designs try to integrate environmental and social processes with engineered infrastructural systems to accommodate a variety of planned and unplanned activities over time.[7] In the wake of the 1997 conference that helped define the ideas associated with landscape urbanism, landscape architectural and urban design practice has increasingly focused on not only harnessing the environmental processes that connect urban core areas with the metropolitan region and life cycles in general, but also on making them visible. For example, storm water management systems have in the past decades frequently been

5 Jan Bunge, "Landschaftsarchitektur als Marke," *Garten und Landschaft* 119, no. 9 (2009): 10–13. Also: Mohsen Mostafavi and Gareth Doherty, eds., *Ecological Urbanism* (Baden: 2010).

6 See, e.g., Charles Waldheim's chapter "Landscape as Urbanism" and Grahame Shane's chapter "The Emergence of Landscape Urbanism" in *The Landscape Urbanism Reader*, ed. Charles Waldheim (New York: 2006).

7 Charles Waldheim, "Landscape as Urbanism," 36–53.

brought into public vision and have influenced the design of streets, parks, gardens, and other public urban spaces.

Although clearly a postmodern brainchild grounded in the belief that "the processes of urbanization—capital accumulation, deregulation, globalization, environmental protection, and so on—are much more significant for the shaping of urban relationships than are the spatial forms of urbanism in and of themselves,"[8] landscape urbanism, as many critics have noted, builds upon nineteenth-century precedents. Of particular importance for the North American context are the first municipal and metropolitan park system plans, which are adaptations of ideas developed during the formation of the first European metropoles.

Indeed, in 1829, years before London established its first Metropolitan Board of Works in 1855, the Scottish architect, gardener, and writer John Claudius Loudon published a farsighted greenbelt plan for metropolitan London entitled "Hints for Breathing Places for the Metropolis." In his diagram, concentric greenbelts that allowed for picturesque landscapes, rural scenery, and geometrical gardens alternated with concentric urban zones. Their number could be increased indefinitely as the city grew. Loudon's plan—a reaction to public health concerns, uncontrolled urban growth, and specifically to the attempted enclosure of Hampstead Heath—provided every Londoner with access to green space within a half-mile from his or her home.[9]

The same idea was the basis of the first park system plans developed by Frederick Law Olmsted and his contemporaries for North American cities who were inspired by the parks and boulevards they had seen on their trips to Europe. Consisting of differently sized parks connected by tree-lined avenues and parkways, park systems perpetuated the social, moral, hygienic, economic, and representational aims that underlay the creation of the first public urban parks on broader municipal and metropolitan scales. American landscape architects and park commissioners began to draw up comprehensive park system plans after Olmsted and Calvert Vaux had devised their first plan for Buffalo, New York, in 1868. By the end of the nineteenth century, park systems had become important tools for the developing field of American city planning. They affected entire cities, changing and determining the distribution of infrastructure and of high- and low-income housing. The idea of parkways linking up all principal parks and

8 James Corner, "Terra Fluxus," in *The Landscape Urbanism Reader*, ed. Charles Waldheim (New York: 2006), 28.

9 Melanie Louise Simo, *Loudon and the Landscape: From Country Seat to Metropolis* (New Haven: 1988), 227–42.

points of interest of a city corresponded to the City Beautiful movement's aim to combine utility and beauty in city development. In maps depicting park systems for cities like Kansas City, Baltimore, and San Francisco, parks, parkways, and reservations appeared as interconnected radial and circulating green streams that flowed through the urban fabric. In fact, if available, natural features such as creeks and streams were used as the basis of the net of parks and tree-lined streets.

Thus, "nature," understood as public parks, open spaces, and tree-lined streets, was used to order and structure the seemingly chaotic industrial cities. City officials and planners believed that by creating a *system* of parks instead of isolated parks, the development of a city's built environment and of society at large could be "controlled." When the 1909 Chicago Plan Commission's managing director Walter D. Moody described the plan's goal as "to make a practical, beautiful piece of finished fabric out of Chicago's crazy quilt," he inadvertently provided a metaphor not only for the changes planned for the built environment, but also for society—especially in reference to those poorer individuals of society who were literally producing quilts in order to survive.[10]

As a concept, park systems resembled a number of other systems that were being planned and implemented in the Progressive Era: systems of transportation, communication, production, and distribution. In fact, park systems were inextricably linked to transportation systems since parkways were part of both. Like these systems that, as Alan Trachtenberg has shown, characterized the "Incorporation of America,"[11] the park system consisted of a number of individual parks with different functions and a hierarchy. On the neighborhood scale, Boston and Chicago pioneered a number of small neighborhood parks and playgrounds that provided recreational facilities and meeting points for citizens living nearby. On a citywide scale, bigger parks with pastoral scenery fulfilled similar purposes. In many cases, as in the first park system plan for Buffalo, landscape architects distinguished between the social functions of these parks. Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. and Calvert Vaux designed a pastoral landscape for passive "receptive" and "neighborly" recreation in Buffalo's *The Park* (Delaware Park) while providing wide, open spaces and terraces for "gregarious" activities in *The Front* (Front Park) and *The Parade* (Martin Luther King, Jr. Park).

10 Walter D. Moody, *Wacker's Manual of the Plan of Chicago: Municipal Economy* (Chicago: 1912), quoted in Robin F. Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago* (Chicago: 2004), 197.

11 Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: 1982).

In Boston in the 1870s, Olmsted's *Emerald Necklace* not only provided ample open space for recreation, but by turning Boston's Fens and Riverway into constructed wetlands, the water was cleansed and the adjacent land protected from flooding. Only a few years later, in 1893, Boston set another example for the structuring of the growing city by means of green open space, this time on the metropolitan level. Under the leadership of the landscape architect Charles Eliot and the journalist Sylvester Baxter, the Metropolitan Park Commission established the first metropolitan park system in the US. By preserving forests, conceptualizing them as parks and open space and making them accessible to the population of the city and neighboring municipalities, Eliot and Baxter wanted to improve public health, manage the rapid urban growth, and create a "framework for a new kind of metropolis."[12] In fact, as Baxter wrote in his report, the metropolis was to become "one vast garden."[13] Thus, in late nineteenth-century Boston, the preservation of parkland and open space became a vehicle for the establishment of an early metropolitan governance body.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, Washington and Chicago had followed Boston's example, drawing up metropolitan park system plans that were widely admired abroad. Observing that German city and provincial governments were far behind their American equivalents in the provision of comprehensive park system plans,[14] the German architect Hugo Koch commented in 1912 that: "The Chicago Plan exemplifies with its system of useful and representational parks and promenades the excellent extent to which garden art can contribute to the construction of the modern metropolis."[15]

II. METROPOLITAN PARKS AND GARDENS FOR MASS PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION

In contrast to the story in Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*, where the pleasure garden was only accessible to the directorial class, many nineteenth and early twentieth-century industrialists understood that gardens and parks should be open to all

12 Steven T. Moga, "Marginal Lands and Suburban Nature: Open Space Planning and the Case of the 1893 Boston Metropolitan Parks Plan," *Journal of Planning History* 8, no. 4 (2009): 317.

13 Ibid., 320. See also Massachusetts. Metropolitan Park Commission, *Report of the Board of Metropolitan Park Commissioners* (Boston: 1893), 72.

14 Hugo Koch, "Neuere Gartenkunst," *Der Städtebau* 9, no. 3 (1912): 31.

15 Hugo Koch, *Gartenkunst im Städtebau* (Berlin: 1921), 242. My translation.

and that they could indirectly increase industrial production and yield. For Frederick W. Taylor's efficiency principles concerning the scientific management of labor productivity and corporate administration to show effect, public places were needed where workers could recuperate in healthy surroundings not too far from their homes. Parks were a means to sustain a healthy and productive work force, and the park system was an efficient way to provide a large section of the population with green open space. Parks and gardens were therefore indirect products of mass production and consumption.

Organized leisure activities led by social reformers provided efficient ways for recreation, so much so that Ohio "play director" John Chase spoke of playgrounds as "play factories" that had to be organized according to tight schedules to provide for the "maximum product of happiness."[16] The *Boston Herald* noted the pecuniary benefit of open space and playgrounds in 1904, as reported by the French landscape architect Jean Charles Nicholas Forestier. On the assumption that "a young intelligent and industrious man is worth at least an average of 50,000 francs for himself and the community," the newspaper speculated that if the positive influence of playgrounds could prevent a thousand children from committing vice and crime, they could generate a productivity gain of about 50,000,000 francs. Considering the costly damage and harm done by criminal youth, the *Herald* concluded that the construction of playgrounds was well worth it.[17]

Parks and gardens not only played an important role in the economy of big cities, the methods used to establish open space and entire park system plans also corresponded with modern scientific studies influenced by the scientific management models introduced by Taylor. In fact, as George F. Ford announced in 1913: "The principles of modern industrial efficiency, of 'Taylorizing,' are now being applied to city planning," of which the provision of different types of gardens and parks was an important part.[18] They represented the "progressive faith in science and efficiency as the basis of moral reform."[19] The normative nature attributed to metropolitan parks and gardens was revealed in maps and planning frameworks. For example, tables in the Chicago Special Park Commission's report on a metropolitan park system showed the relationship between the acre-

16 John Chase, "How a Play Director Feels," *Playground* 3 (1909): 13.

17 Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, *Grandes Villes et Systèmes de Parcs* (Paris: 1906), 14–15.

18 George F. Ford, "Efficiency in City Planning," *The American City* 7 (1913): 139.

19 Robin F. Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago 1890–1919* (Chicago: 2004), 167.

age of parks and the number of inhabitants in Chicago and other cities. Tables and calculations similar to the ones published by American park system planners appeared a few years later in Martin Wagner's dissertation on "The Sanitary Green of Cities" (1915) in Berlin. These quantitative and scientific aspects have played an important role in the open space planning efforts of metropoles ever since.

Gardens, public parks, and park systems were not only a consequence of the industrialized metropolis. They also played an important role in its formation. In Berlin at the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, due to overcrowding in the city's tenement districts, many workers either settled on or cultivated parcels of undeveloped land on the periphery, which they rented from the developers' leaseholders. While the small temporary gardens and huts that working class families constructed on the allotted parcels were essential for their survival, the developers and their leaseholders made a profit before even building on the land. The allotments covered the land between the city core and the surrounding villages that were eventually developed and incorporated as part of Greater Berlin in 1920. Thus, in a multiplicity of ways, the allotments prepared the ground for urban expansion by forming a belt around the city.

Parks and gardens were considered an indirect means to maintaining a high and efficient economy. They were also regarded as a direct means of stimulating certain industries like tourism. They acted as instruments of civic boosterism due to their aesthetic and functional appeal. By the mid-nineteenth century, already the surging metropoles London and Paris had realized the benefit of parks as venues and showcases of the first World's Fairs. Whereas London's Hyde Park provided the setting and frame for the Crystal Palace in 1851, at the 1867 Fair in Paris some of the parks created during the French Second Empire became exhibition objects themselves, showcasing new uses of construction materials like concrete, as well as plantings with non-native species. The 1893 Chicago World's Fair occupied park areas to the south of the city for which Olmsted and Vaux had already provided a plan in 1871. The area of Treptow outside of Berlin increasingly became subject to metropolitan growth after the 1896 Great Industrial Exposition of Berlin had taken place in Treptower Park, a public urban park created in the 1870s to the east of the city core.

The thrust outwards and the use of gardens and parks to stimulate metropolitan growth and development, while at the same time alleviating its negative side effects, continued throughout the twentieth century, particularly in the latter half. Economic changes in many metropoles have now led to abandoned former industrial areas being turned into parks and event landscapes. Many marshalling yards, airfields, and airports that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

contributed to the growth of metropolitan areas in the first place are now also being converted into park landscapes with the aim of connecting them to existing park and greenway systems and catering to new urban and suburban neighborhoods. The same is increasingly occurring with waste landscapes like landfills. Once located outside the cities, many landfills like Fresh Kills on Staten Island have become open park landscapes surrounded by metropolitan agglomerations. Landscape features in these contexts ideally not only provide respite and recreational opportunities for urbanites, but they also can play an important role in the remediation and reclamation of polluted soils and in the rehabilitation of former toxic environments.

Many such park and open space designs for metropolitan areas try to take into account the unpredictability of changes in ecologies, economies, demographics, and labor markets, as was taken to an extreme in 2000 with the winning design for Downsview Park on a former airbase in Toronto's Metro area, northwest of the city center. Rather than offering a design for Downsview Park as an (albeit living) object, the team led by the architect Rem Koolhaas and the graphic designer Bruce Mau provided the idea for a park as an "object-event," (Gilles Deleuze) or as a "performative catalyst subject."[20] The design proposal, entitled "Tree City," proposed loosening the compacted soil of the former airbase and using a crop rotation system during the first two years to remediate and prepare the soil for future plantings. In the second phase, a network of "1000 paths" would be created, and playing fields and gardens established. Finally, woods, wetlands, and open meadows would create a varied landscape enjoyable 24/7 through active and passive recreation. While the vision and the strategy for these design phases were formulated and displayed with the help of Bruce Mau's simple iconic graphic vocabulary, no actual design features were located anywhere on the plan. Instead, the designers' intent was for the social, environmental, and economic processes to determine the ultimate design of the park, an endeavor that has so far largely been unsuccessful.

III. STANDARDIZATION, DIFFERENTIATION, AND CONSERVATION OF THE METROPOLITAN LANDSCAPE

The diversification of society throughout both the nineteenth and twentieth century led to an increasing differentiation of metropolitan garden types, designs,

20 Anna Klingmann, *Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy* (Cambridge, MA: 2007), 114.

and uses. At the same time, however, the ever-growing and ever-faster international exchange of ideas, and an increase in international trade and travel, promoted an increasing standardization. Every metropolis had to boast major garden and park developments in order to compete with its counterparts. And it was not just public urban parks and park systems that became universal phenomena; botanical and zoological gardens were also established in every major urban center throughout the nineteenth century. These facilities collected plant and animal species from far-away parts of the world and thereby exhibited the respective metropolis's scientific prowess. Design ideals were spread, adopted, and adapted in various countries, so that pastoral and picturesque landscapes, or their combination with geometrical features, dominated gardens and public urban parks in the major metropoles by the early twentieth century. By this time, features like sports fields and wading pools also belonged to the standard facilities of public urban parks.

Within these standardized frameworks, however, city governments wished to be competitive and attempted to promote individual identities and preserve local landscape features and characteristics, in particular through the use or conservation of specific materials. In Berlin, as in Chicago, at the beginning of the twentieth century, attempts were made to both preserve outside forest areas and to reconstruct miniature versions of the regional landscape in public parks. Friedrich Bauer's 1908 winning design for Berlin's Schillerpark was developed while discussions about a plan for Greater Berlin were intensifying and extension plans for the growing metropolis were being drawn up. The design incorporated the area's existing sand dunes and proposed the use of predominantly native plant species to recreate a regional landscape within the metropolis.[21] Landscape types and plant communities typical of the region were also used to construct the nature reserve that Garden Director Erwin Barth designed for Berlin's Sachsenplatz (today Brixplatz) in 1912.[22]

In a similar vein, some German landscape architects argued for the creation of nature protection areas within public urban parks. These areas would initially be planted and managed in order to encourage the establishment of a diverse flora and fauna before being left to develop on their own. The landscape architect Heick explained that access to the protected areas would be prohibited.

21 Fr. Saftenberg, "Ein Vorschlag," *Die Gartenwelt* 16, no. 5 (1912): 62. See also Friedrich Bauer, "Gartenbau und Landschaft," *Die Gartenkunst* 8, no. 6 (1906): 109–13.

22 Dietmar Land and Jürgen Wenzel, *Heimat, Natur und Weltstadt. Leben und Werk des Gartenarchitekten Erwin Barth* (Leipzig: 2005), 200–204, 233–240.

Heick stated: "Only the initiated would be allowed to research the sacred peaceful place now and then, and their publications would inform all others about the quiet secrets."[23]

In Chicago already in the late 1880s, the landscape architect Jens Jensen displayed native trees, shrubs, and wildflowers in what he called the "American Garden" in Chicago's Union Park. Despite its name, the American Garden was a first attempt to establish a specifically regional style, later defined as "prairie style" by the landscape architect Wilhelm Miller and employed in private estate gardens and public parks. Commissioned to draw up a plan for a Greater West Park System, Jensen argued for a system of parks that celebrated regional landscape characteristics and native plants. Views onto the "broad and open prairie" were to be preserved and along the river, native species were to produce "the typical Illinois expression that has character all its own."[24] By using native plants and by replicating landscape features typical of the Illinois landscape such as bluffs and cascades in his parks and park system plan, Jensen wanted to recreate, preserve, and restore regional landscape types and promote nature appreciation among Chicago citizens.

While some designers promoted nativist agendas, many gardens and parks also sustained more cosmopolitan identities and ideals. Thus, in California in 1910, the Oakland Park Commission under the direction of landscape architect Oskar Prager strove to accommodate as many different plant species as possible in an attempt to satisfy the cosmopolitan population.[25] In New York City, Central Park, despite its arguably "American" landscapes, provided the fledgling film industry with verisimilar sets for film scenes in France, Japan, and England.[26] This paradox only demonstrates the importance the park had assumed in forging the identity of what had by now developed into an international metropolis.

The preservation of open space, flora, and fauna in the growing metropoles preoccupied various professionals throughout the twentieth century. In the last decades of the twentieth century and at the beginning of the twenty-first, air

23 G. Heick, "Der Naturschutzpark in den Parkanlagen," *Die Gartenkunst* 13, no. 12 (1913): 226. My translation.

24 Jens Jensen, West Chicago Park Commissioners, *A Greater West Park System* (Chicago: 1920), 38–39.

25 Oakland (Calif.) Park Commission and Oakland (Calif.) Playground Commission, *The Park System of Oakland, California* (Oakland: 1910), 69–70.

26 Charles Gatchell, "Movie Pilferers in Parks," *The Park International* 1 (1920): 149–52.

pollution and heat island effects resulting from urban growth have led metropoles like Berlin to draw up open space plans that are geared toward climate improvement. In addition, concerns regarding nature protection and the preservation of rare flora and fauna have influenced the recent designs of Berlin's Naturpark Südgelände, which lies on a former railway marshalling yard in Berlin-Lichtenberg, and of Natur- und Erholungspark Johannisthal, which lies on Germany's first airfield located southeast of today's city center. The development and plant growth in parts of these parks are monitored and protected from human intrusion. Whereas some parts of Naturpark Südgelände only permit access by elevated walkways, the core area of Natur- und Erholungspark Johannisthal may only be enjoyed visually from a surrounding walkway that widens in certain areas to form viewing terraces. Thus, concern for species diversity and environmental functions that can benefit the urban climate have encouraged a specific wilderness aesthetic and have determined the design in parts of these parks.[27]

Biotope connections on a metropolitan and regional scale have also influenced design decisions in the case of the Orange County Great Park that is being developed southwest of Los Angeles on the decommissioned El Toro airbase. The park that has been planned as the heart of an extensive, mixed-use development north of Irvine—in what has been described as a post-suburban landscape that combines urban, suburban, and rural character traits[28]—is currently being promoted as "The First Great Metropolitan Park of the 21st Century."[29] The park design offers a canyon for hiking and biking; a cultural center that includes an amphitheater, a library, and a museum; a veterans' memorial; agricultural lands; and sports grounds. What is more, 178 acres of the parkland will form an ecological corridor that will connect the Cleveland National Forest in the north with the Laguna Coast Wilderness Park in the south. In fact, a variety of ecosystems including grassland, meadows, forests, wetlands, and creeks will make up the park, according to the design by the team around landscape architect Ken Smith, thus making biodiversity one of the determining factors of the park's aesthetic.

27 On the role of biodiversity and urban ecology in German urban planning and open space design see Jens Lachmund, "Mapping Urban Nature: Bio-Ecological Surveys and Urban Planning in Germany, 1975–1998," in *The Expert in Modern Society*, ed. Gerd Gigerenzer and Elke Kurtz (Amsterdam: 2004), 231–48.

28 Rob Kling, Spencer Olin, and Mark Poster, "The Emergence of Postsuburbia: An Introduction," in *Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County since World War II,* ed. Rob Kling, Spencer Olin, and Mark Poster (Berkeley: 1991), 5–11.

29 Orange County Great Park, accessed on May 27, 2010, http://www.ocgp.org/.

IV. METROPOLITAN GARDENS AND PARKS AS CONTESTED SPACE

In the second half of the nineteenth century, urbanizing areas and metropoles attracted an increasing number of people not only from rural areas but also from other countries. This movement has continued ever since, leading to the growth of metropolitan areas and to dynamic demographic shifts throughout these regions. Public gardens and parks have played an important role in accommodating newcomers. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, it was believed that the landscapes of public urban parks were a means to impose moral values, customs, and traditions on members of racial and ethnic minorities and on those from the lower classes. The park landscapes and the uses they allowed and did not allow were believed to forge a common cultural identity and weld a peaceful society.

During the reform park era in the first three decades of the twentieth century, the mixing of ethnicities and classes was one of the declared intentions of the social reformers, philanthropists, park designers, and commissioners who were pursuing the establishment of public urban parks. As laid out by Olmsted on various occasions already in the second half of the nineteenth century in the US, parks were considered a means to educate the lower classes and a space for the mixing of classes.[30] The reality was different, however. Although the working classes were able to use the parks eventually, the long distance between parks and tenements and the cost of public transportation, as well as the specific park designs, in many cases prevented workers and their families from being able to enjoy them. As Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar have shown for New York's Central Park, rules and regulations often limited uses and therefore indirectly determined what the visiting public would look like.[31] The park designers and commissioners intended Central Park to be traversed either on foot on the pathways, on horseback on the bridle paths, or in an even-paced carriage on the driveways. Walking on the grass, fast driving, as well as gambling, gaming, fortunetelling, hawking, and peddling were forbidden. Instead, the visual enjoyment of park scenery was what the park designers and commissioners mainly provided, thus neglecting the working classes, whose interests focused on games

30 Frederick Law Olmsted, *Public Parks and The Enlargement of Towns* (Cambridge, MA: 1870), 18.

31 Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (Ithaca: 1992).

and sports.[32] In the nineteenth century in cities like New York and San Francisco, many workers and their families therefore flocked to the beer gardens on the periphery of the cities and to other venues like New York City's Jones Wood where they were able to celebrate, play games, and drink beer without fear of being persecuted for "unruly behavior."[33]

Although reality in many cases again proved otherwise, parks in the United States were also seen as spaces for the mixing of ethnicities and races, and in particular as a means for the assimilation, integration, and "Americanization" of immigrants. At the beginning of the twentieth century, it was thought that parks were the public space in which the growing immigrant workforce of the metropolis would have opportunities to become accustomed to "American mores." The playgrounds that had been established from the 1870s onwards in urban centers like Boston, Chicago, and New York City, following European models, were considered of particular importance for the assimilation of immigrant children. On playgrounds, as the Chicago professor of sociology, Charles Zueblin, explained, people were to be welded "together as in a great melting pot."[34] After the Playground Association of America (PAA) was founded in 1906, the number of play and sports grounds in metropolitan areas grew as a result of PAA members promoting play requirements and establishing playground standards. Consequently, the small neighborhood parks that were established in cities like Boston and Chicago included sport fields and field houses, features that were also integrated into larger parks that had previously only catered to passive recreation.

Although the use of public open space in early American metropoles and cities was largely divided by race and, as Galen Cranz has shown, parks were "a battleground between the races since the late 1910s,"[35] Ernest T. Attwell insisted in a 1920 article that metropoles like Chicago had "no problem in the commingling of races."[36] This was a gross overstatement. As scholars like Cranz and

32 Rosenzweig and Blackmar, *The Park and the People*, 232–59.

33 For Jones Wood in New York City see, e.g., Rosenzweig and Blackmar, *The Park and the People*, 233–37. For pleasure and beer gardens in San Francisco see Terence Young, *Building San Francisco's Parks 1850–1930* (Baltimore: 2004), 37–44.

34 Charles Zueblin, "The Child at Play," in *The Child in the City*, ed. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge (Chicago: 1912), 449.

35 Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design* (Cambridge, MA: 1982), 201.

36 Ernest T. Attwell, "Playgrounds for Colored America," *The Park International* 1, no. 3 (1920): 223.

Robin F. Bachin have pointed out,[37] racial conflicts and tensions were not only instigated by metropolitan park politics, they also often played out in the parks themselves.[38] In Chicago, at the beginning of the twentieth century, for example, white gangs terrorized African Americans who tried to use the baseball fields in Washington Park.[39] In the sprawling metropolis of Los Angeles, racial tensions led to the segregation of many recreation grounds including swimming pools, beaches, and parks until into the second half of the twentieth century. This occurred even without the Jim Crow laws that officially segregated these facilities in many cities of the American Southeast.[40]

In contrast to the paternalistic, environmentally determinist belief of many early social reformers, and in contrast to the racial and ethnic discrimination that has been played out in many parks and gardens, in the second half of the twentieth century metropoles provided the interstitial spaces and wastelands for grassroots initiatives that deliberately responded to the multiracial and ethnic character of the metropolis. These initiatives have materialized, for example, in the use of specific vernacular design forms in community gardens.

In metropoles like New York City, community gardens in particular have acted as spaces for the empowerment of immigrant and poor communities. Since its beginning in the 1970s, the community gardening movement has led to the establishment of over 600 gardens on vacant lots throughout the city. Although the gardens have turned out to be vehicles for gentrification and many have been bulldozed and built-over since, many others have persisted. New gardens continue to be created and to provide green oases—plots for the cultivation of ornamentals and crops and spaces for community engagement. Malve Von Hassel has shown that the beliefs underlying the community gardening movement include "a vision of community that is self-consciously multiracial and multiethnic, extends across […] class lines, and […] beyond the borders of the local site […] to include the block, the neighborhood and the entire city."[41]

37 Robin F. Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago* (Chicago: 2004).

38 Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design*, 196–202.

39 Bachin, *Building the South Side*, 160–61.

40 Lawrence Culver, "America's Playground: Recreation and Race," in *A Companion to Los Angeles*, ed. William Deverell and Greg Hise (Oxford: 2010), 421–37.

41 Malve von Hassel, "Community Gardens in New York City: Place, Community and Individuality," in *Urban Place: Reconnecting with the Natural World*, ed. Peggy F. Barlett (Cambridge, MA: 2005), 91–116.

Some community gardens have successfully fostered these local identities as well as created homes away from home for immigrant communities. A case in point is what Barbara Deutsch Lynch and Rima Brusi have called the "Latino garden movement" that converged with the community gardening movement in New York City's Hispanic neighborhoods like the South Bronx, Loisaida, and El Barrio (Spanish Harlem).[42] Predominantly built by Puerto Rican and Dominican immigrants the "casita complex" consisting of a hut (*casita*), a swept yard (*batey*), and a garden provides an area for the cultivation of food crops, ornamentals, and for the keeping of small animals like chickens and rabbits. The *casita* and *batey* recall vernacular landscape features and cultural practices in the rural areas of Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. Furthermore, as illustrated by Lynch and Brusi, the "conquest" and reclamation of vacant lots and abandoned city property by New York City's Latino gardeners can be considered an adaptation of ideas inherent in the 1941 Puerto Rican and Dominican Land Law that granted landless rural workers small parcels for house building and gardening.[43]

Not a grassroots initiative but a plan by Berlin's city government to symbolize German-Turkish friendship and provide the Turkish population in Berlin with a symbol of their homeland was the 1998 insertion of the short-lived Pamukkale fountain in the city's Görlitzer Park. Modeled after the world-famous travertine terraces in the Denizli Province in southwestern Turkey, the fountain soon deteriorated due to construction faults, and its ruins were partly covered with turf in 2009.[44] More than the oftentimes simplistic symbolic references and representative features like the Pamukkale fountain, it has been the spontaneous and often temporary use of existing parks that has provided new images and visions for public spaces in contemporary metropoles.

By the end of the twentieth century, members of diverse immigrant communities had appropriated many public parks for their own purposes. While these are informed by their native cultures, traditions, and customs, the idiosyncratic temporary and transitory nature of many of today's metropolitan immigrant communities has also caused new spontaneous uses based on the specific

42 Barbara Deutsch Lynch and Rima Brusi, "Nature, Memory, and Nation: New York's Latino Gardens and Casitas," in *Urban Place,* 191–212.

43 Ibid., 199–200. For Puerto Rican vernacular architecture also see, e.g., Joseph Sciorra, "Return to the Future: Puerto Rican Vernacular Architecture in New York City," in *Re-Presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital and Culture in the 21st-Century Metropolis*, ed. Anthony D. King (New York: 1996), 60–92.

44 See Patricia Hecht, "Jetzt wächst Gras über die Ruine," *Der Tagesspiegel*, July 31, 2009.

necessities of these communities in a foreign city. These new uses have often challenged the parks and garden departments of city governments.

While Columbus Park and Sara Delano Roosevelt Park in Manhattan's Chinatown provide elderly Chinese men with venues to exhibit their songbirds in bird cages, an opportunity for socializing and part of China's early-morning urban park culture,[45] Berlin's Tiergarten has over the past few decades become a favorite place for the city's Turkish population to hold family barbecues in summer. For maintenance reasons and as a result of conflicts between different user groups, the Berlin Senate government has regulated the use of barbecues in its parks and has therefore also zoned certain areas of the Tiergarten for this specific purpose.[46]

In Rome on Sundays, the Parco della Resistenza dell'Otto Settembre near the metro station Piramide and the Cappella dei Padri Basiliani, where the mass is held in Russian, has come to be adopted as a lunch and meeting place by many Ukrainian and Romanian women. These park visitors have, since the late 1990s, sought temporary work as domestics in the city and are now often employed as care workers for the elderly. The park provides the women, who in many cases had professional jobs in their native countries, with a space where they now can participate in the economy by offering haircuts and selling small snacks to their compatriots. Previously, Filipinos occupied the park, and some have since moved to a small garden area in the park's vicinity. Italian residents have com-

45 See "Sara D. Roosevelt Park," City of New York Parks and Recreation, http://www.nycgovparks.org/parks/saradroosevelt. Chinese men have also taken to using the Forsyth St. community garden in New York City for their morning songbird displays. Gardeners from a variety of countries including China, Italy, and the Dominican Republic designed this garden. As soon as they had set aside part of the garden for attracting birds, a group of Chinese men began using the space for their songbird gatherings. As Ashley Graves Lanfer and Madeleine Taylor have shown, small adaptations were undertaken to accommodate the birdcages: to provide opportunities to hang them, poles with hooks were sunk into the ground. See Lanfer and Taylor, *Immigrant Engagement in Public Open Space: Strategies for the New Boston* (Boston: 2005), 11.

46 For a map of barbecue zones and a list of rules and regulations regarding barbecues in Berlin's public urban parks see: "Grillen," Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt, accessed May 24, 2010: http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/umwelt/stadtgruen/gruenanlagen/de/nutzungsmoeglichkeiten/grillen/.

plained about the use of the park by the foreigners, subjecting them to racial and ethnic discrimination.[47]

As these recent examples show, public parks in metropoles continue to be contested spaces that on occasion may become "battlegrounds" rather than peaceful melting pots. A study carried out in four Los Angeles neighborhood parks in the 1990s reported that different social groups tended to coexist rather than mix. The park spaces that came closest to being described as "melting pots" were the children's playgrounds.[48] Thus, the strategy followed in some open space designs in contemporary metropoles has been to provide "hybrid landscapes" that can be used flexibly by different user groups at different times for different purposes. These designs have sought to layer different uses and functions, which is also one of the declared objectives of the aforementioned landscape urbanism.

The redesign of Visserijplein in the 1990s, a square surrounded by slab buildings in the low-income immigrant neighborhood Delfshaven in the Dutch city of Rotterdam, provides an example of this practice that has also been described as "temporary" and "everyday urbanism."[49] Visserijplein is a layered landscape. While it functions as a regular parking lot on most days of the week, basketball courts have been marked on the surface and concrete slab benches have been incorporated into its slope so that it may also be used for games by

47 On the use of Parco della Resistenza by Ukrainians and Romanians also see Romina Peritore, "L'uso plurale dello spazio pubblico: luoghi dell'identificazione collettiva della comunita ucraina," in *La citta eventuale*, ed. Universita degli Studi Roma Tre (Macerata: 2005), 116–29.

48 Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, "Urban Form and Social Context: Cultural Differentiation in the Uses of Urban Parks," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 14 (1995): 99–101.

49 For the temporary use of urban spaces see Florian Haydn and Robert Temel, eds., *Temporary Urban Spaces* (Basel: 2006) and Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung Berlin, ed., *Urban Pioneers: Berlin; Stadtentwicklung Durch Zwischennutzung / Temporary Use and Urban Development in Berlin* (Berlin: 2007). For "everyday urbanism" see John Chase, Margaret Crawford, and John Kalinski, eds., *Everyday Urbanism* (New York: 1999). The practice of "everyday urbanism" focuses on the everyday uses of small, temporary, and often interstitial and unintentionally leftover spaces in the city. Its objectives include the creation of designs that are as inclusive as possible, responding to the needs of different users and to the specific site conditions, and of designs that reinforce the existing qualities and that leave room for spontaneous activities.

resident teenagers. Electrical outlets in the new steel sculptures that have been positioned throughout the square supply market stalls with electricity when they turn the parking lot into a marketplace twice a week.

Despite designs such as this in today's metropoles, the shifts in demographics as a result of in- and outmigration and the effects of an increasingly global labor market have probably shown their effect more explicitly in new uses of existing parks and open spaces rather than in the material form of newly created landscapes.

V. THE METROPOLIS AS PALIMPSEST: PARKS AND GARDENS AS DIDACTIC AND MEMORIAL LANDSCAPES

Although gardens and parks have provided settings for a variety of educational pursuits since ancient times, in the nineteenth and early twentieth-century metropoles a variety of open spaces were especially developed for this purpose or were expressly used as educational facilities in and of themselves. The nineteenth-century botanical and zoological gardens that were established in the big metropoles fulfilled a variety of purposes. While they were used to show off and increase the power, wealth, and cultural and scientific prowess of metropoles and their countries, they were first and foremost developed for the study and acculturation of plant and animal species that were brought to these gardens from different countries and continents, especially the respective country's colonies. In the United States, the first zoological gardens that were established in the 1870s and onwards were also seen as a measure of wildlife preservation and conservation. Although some zoological gardens, like London's 1828 Regent's Park zoo, were only accessible to scholars and members of zoological societies at the beginning, they were soon opened to the public, providing places for public education as well as for entertainment and amusement.

Germany's early kindergartens (where children were led to cultivate garden plots due to founder Friedrich Fröbel's underlying pedagogical ideas) were developed as educational institutions of a different kind. First implemented in German towns, kindergartens were adopted in North American metropoles from the 1870s onwards after the first kindergarten had been set up at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 to educate children, provide healthy play spaces in the fresh air, and provide a means of acculturation for immigrant children.[50]

50 Susan Herrington, "Kindergartens: Shaping Childhood from Bad Blankenburg to Boston," *Die Gartenkunst* 18, no. 1 (2006): 81–95.

Adult education occurred in various forms in public urban parks, like the Retiro Park in Madrid, where visitors could borrow books provided by the Madrilenian municipality. The *Christian Science Monitor* reported on this institution that people were allowed to take a book "to read while in the park, a notice at the stand placing him on his honor, for the common weal, to return it before he leaves."[51] To further enhance park enjoyment, amusement, and the general public's information on local and world affairs, a proposal was set forth in a 1920 issue of the short-lived American journal *The Park International* to provide park visitors with newspapers at no or very low charge.[52]

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, gardens and parks in the growing metropoles were considered ideal settings for heroic portrait statues and monuments that related to national and patriotic narratives. Statues, it was thought, could uphold virtues and moral standards, foster national identities, and forge collective memories. They could also educate citizens about local, regional, national, and international history. They transformed parks into historical spaces.[53] In Berlin's Tiergarten, which was transformed from a royal hunting park into a public urban park on the basis of a design prepared by Peter Joseph Lenné in the 1830s,[54] sculptures began to be erected in the three last decades of the nineteenth century. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the sculptural adornment of the park included sculptures that represented the four rivers—the Rhine, Elbe, Oder, and Weichsel—that delineated the Reich's borders. It also included statues of important German cultural figures like Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Joseph Hayden, and Ludwig van Beethoven. Furthermore, in the 1890s, the German Kaiser Wilhelm II had thirty-two groups of marble statues erected along the park's boulevard Siegesallee. Glorifying the history of Brandenburg and Prussia, the Royal Ministry of Education considered the statues such valu-

51 *Christian Science Monitor* quoted in "Democracy at Madrid," *The Park International* 1, no. 2 (1920): 166.

52 Judith Oliver, "Newspapers Vital to Parks," *The Park International* 1 (1920): 263–65.

53 See Terry Wyke, "Marginal Figures? Public Statues and Public Parks in the Manchester Region, 1840–1914," in *Sculpture and the Garden*, ed. Patrick Eyres and Fiona Russell (Aldershot: 2006), 93.

54 For a history of Berlin's Tiergarten see Folkwin Wendland, Gustav Wörner, and Rose Wörner, "Der Berliner Tiergarten," in *Gartendenkmalpflege*, vol. 3, ed. Der Senator für Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz (Berlin: 1986). Also see Marie-Louise Plessen, ed., *Berlin durch die Blume oder Kraut und Rüben* (Berlin: 1985), 148–55.

able didactic instruments that it sent schoolchildren to the Siegesallee for lessons in German history.[55]

In Rome, a similar development occurred in the Pincio Gardens after the city finally became the Italian capital in 1870. The gardens north of the Piazza del Popolo had already been the focus of improvement in 1849, when, after the proclamation of the Roman Republic, nationalist sentiment led to the proposal to arrange busts of literati and fighters for Italian independence along the Pincio's public walks. Busts of illustrious Italians erected in a public park, it was thought, would create a national consciousness and a shared culture, joining all citizens in their quest for independence and unification. The idea was finally carried out in the 1880s.[56] In New York City's Central Park, the placing of statues also began in the 1870s against the park designers' will. Many citizens' groups representing European immigrants considered the sculptures "an appropriate way to beautify their city and to legitimate their heritage, as well as their newfound status as Americans."[57]

These ideas were still prominent throughout the twentieth century. Most recently in the twenty-first century, however, metropoles have provided the grounds for rethinking how history is remembered. New urban parks, gardens, and open spaces have in these past decades been used in their entirety as mnemonic devices. Thus, memorials have been embedded in and become part of urban landscapes, as exemplified by the 2002 Irish Hunger Memorial in New York City's Hudson River Park. Built to memorialize the events that led to the Irish potato famine of 1845– 52, the death and emigration of circa two million Irish citizens, as well as contemporary issues of world hunger and poverty, the Irish Hunger Memorial appears as half landscape, half sculptural object on a quarter-acre site. It recreates a 1880s fallow Irish potato field replete with a roofless fieldstone cottage, stonewalls, and indigenous wildflowers and grasses im-

55 Christof Mauch, "Capital Gardens: The Mall and the Tiergarten in Comparative Perspective," in *Berlin-Washington, 1800–2000*, ed. Andreas Daum and Christof Mauch (Cambridge: 2005), 210. See also Wendland, Wörner, and Wörner, "Der Berliner Tiergarten," 25.

56 Massimo De Vico Fallani, *Storia dei giardini pubblici di Roma nell'Ottocento: dalle importanti sistemazioni del Pincio, del Parco del Celio e della Passeggiata archeologica al Gianicolo* (Rome: 1992), 88–126. See also Alessandro Cremona, "Il giardino della memoria," in *Il Giardino della Memoria: I busti dei grandi italiani al Pincio,* ed. Alessandro Cremona and Alessandra Ponente (Rome: 1999), 11–26.

57 Michele H. Bogart, *Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City, 1890–1930* (Washington: 1997), 18–19.

ported from Ireland on top of a sloping, cantilevered platform overlooking the Hudson River toward Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty. The surrounding plaza and the base are clad with Kilkenny limestone. Although the Hunger Memorial draws a visual connection to one of the actual sites of the events it refers to, it was not built on the site of any of the events themselves. Instead, some of the materials used to build the memorial were imported from Ireland and derive from the time period of the potato famine.

In turn, entire urban sites and parks have become monuments, memorials, and "memory sites." Sometimes they are located on the sites of the actual events and built structures they are commemorating. Other times they are embedded in the urban fabric of the contemporary metropolis. For example, the History Park of the former Zellengefängnis Moabit Berlin was opened in 2006 on the site of the 1849 Prussian model prison that assumed particular importance for Berlin and German history due to its use by the Nazi regime for the imprisonment and murder of a number of resistance fighters. In addition to Berlin and German history, world history plays an important role in the creation of the Berlin Wall Memorial landscape that is currently under construction along a stretch of the street Bernauer Straße where the Berlin Wall divided West and East Berlin from 1961 to 1989. The design offers a variety of pathways and information points in a complex urban fabric on the original site that features remains of the Berlin Wall beside a new memorial chapel and documentation center.

As combinations of landscape architecture and sculpture that are designed as part of the urban fabric to be moved through, these memorial landscapes render their home metropolis a palimpsest of history and a museum in and of itself. As Andreas Huyssen has shown, these landscapes also reveal how in recent decades, local memory discourses have increasingly been influenced by global conditions and practices.[58] Furthermore, the landscapes briefly described here cater toward visitors that Huyssen has described as "metropolitan marathoner[s],"[59] global-city tourists who consume commodified memory space.

Whereas green open spaces were used as venues and frames for exhibitions of national power in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as for the personal and public presentation and wealth, parks and gardens have become exhibitions in and of themselves in twenty-first-century metropoles. Metropolitan parks and gardens become layered landscapes as palimpsests of history. They have also become layered as, throughout the twentieth century, they have pro-

58 Andreas Huyssen, *Present Past: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: 2003), 96–98.

59 Ibid., 50–51.

vided for a multiplicity of uses by diverse social groups. By the second half of the twentieth century, they were also planned and designed explicitly to increase species diversity and promote a healthy living environment as a whole. The development and design of green open spaces, as this essay has shown, is closely related to the social, economic, cultural, and political life in metropoles. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, parks and gardens have contributed to the creation and definition of the metropolis and, vice versa, the formation of metropolitan areas has influenced the ways in which parks and gardens have been designed, built, and used.