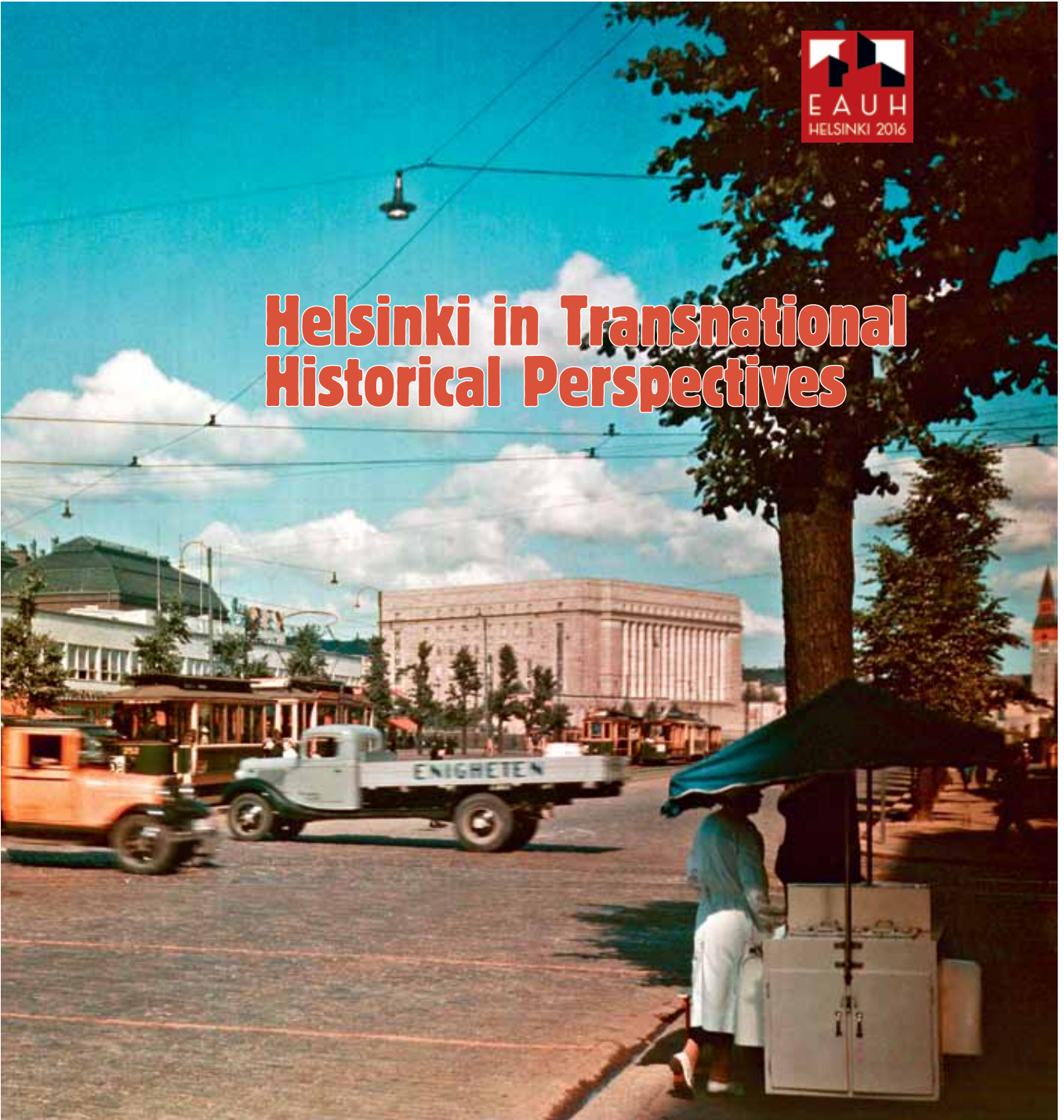


Helsinki 2/2016 Quarterly

CITY OF HELSINKI URBAN FACTS



Helsinki in Transnational Historical Perspectives





www.kvartti.fi/en

- Editor in Chief** ▶ **TIMO CANTELL**
- Guest Editor** ▶ **TANJA VAHTIKARI**
- Associate Editor** ▶ **TEEMU VASS**
- Translations** ▶ **LINGONEER OY** (pages 22–39)
- Graphs** ▶ **LOTTA HAGLUND**
- General Layout** ▶ **PEKKA KAIKKONEN**
- Cover** ▶ **PEKKA KAIKKONEN**
- Liaison with printers** ▶ **TARJA SUNDSTRÖM-ALKU**
- Cover Photo** ▶ **HELSINKI CITY MUSEUM**
- Print** ▶ **LIBRIS, HELSINKI 2016**

Traffic on Mannerheimintie in the late 1930s. On the left, Lasipalatsi, one of the prominent Functionalist buildings in Helsinki, was completed around this period.

Publisher ▶ **CITY OF HELSINKI URBAN FACTS**
P.O.BOX 5500,
FI – 00099 City of Helsinki,
Finland
telephone +358 9 310 1612

Orders by phone, Distribution
telephone +358 9 310 36293
tilaukset.tietokeskus@hel.fi



ISSN 0788-1576 (in print)
ISSN 1796-7279 (online)

CONTENTS

- Editorial: TANJA VAHTIKARI & TIMO CANTELL**
4 ▶ *Helsinki in transnational historical perspectives*
- ANJA KERVANTO NEVANLINNA**
8 ▶ *Ports, industries and economics in the urban history of Helsinki*
- MIKKO HUHTAMIES**
18 ▶ *Help, business or piracy? Shipwrecks and salvage auctions as early modern entrepreneurship in the Gulf of Finland*
- MARTTI HELMINEN**
22 ▶ *Multiculturalism in Helsinki has a long history*
- MARJATTA HIETALA**
40 ▶ *In search of the latest know-how in the development of public infrastructure in Helsinki*
- MARJAANA NIEMI**
48 ▶ *Bridge to a better future. Town planning in Helsinki, Tallinn and Dublin in the 1910s*
- MATTI O. HANNIKAINEN**
58 ▶ *Helsinki – a compact green city*
- LAURA KOLBE**
70 ▶ *Communicating civic or historical pride? The city hall in Scandinavian capital cities*
- SILJA LAINE**
80 ▶ *History and urban prose fiction in Helsinki: case Toivo Tarvas*
- PETER CLARK**
88 ▶ *Early years of the European Association for Urban History*

TANJA VAHTIKARI & TIMO CANTELL

HELSINKI in transnational historical perspectives



Alli Trygg Park, 1952. Photo: Foto Roos / Helsinki City Museum



Bus Station, 1950. Photo: Foto Roos / Helsinki City Museum



Pohjois-Esplanadi, 1900. Photo: Foto Roos / Helsinki City Museum



Comparative research, in its endeavour to explain difference and similarity, to identify patterns across national borders and to create a dialogue between contexts and places, is the very *raison d'être* of the European Association for Urban History (EAUH) as well as for its bi-annual conferences.

The thirteenth International Conference on Urban History “Reinterpreting Cities: Urban Europe in Comparative

Perspective” is taking place in Helsinki from 24–27 August 2016.

Another and related concern for urban historians is a transnational approach: cities are increasingly viewed as locations of networks, transfers and interactions, and relations that, by definition, supersede national sovereignty and boundaries. The present issue of *Helsinki Quarterly* sets out to explore the history of Helsinki – urban actors, events, spaces and processes – from a transnational, comparative perspective. By doing so, it also takes the reader to several urban spaces in Helsinki, which even today display a multilayered, transnational past.

PORTS ARE GLOBAL BY DEFINITION. In her contribution Anja Kervanto Nevanlinna examines the transformation of Helsinki’s port areas during the twentieth century. The previous sites of industrialisation today offer the potential for new forms of urbanism. Kervanto Nevanlinna’s article also points to how ports more recently have become part of a shared European, and even global, heritage. Mikko Huhtamies sheds light on Helsinki’s more distant but equally transnational maritime history by looking at eighteenth-century maritime salvage as an enterprise. Huhtamies argues that the growth of Helsinki’s long-distance shipping benefitted significantly from the reuse of stranded vessels.

HELSINKI TODAY HOSTS A GROWING NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS. The fact that Finland and Helsinki were highly mono-cultural in the post-war period, created the popular myth that the situation had always been the same. (Leitzinger 2010, 15–16). Looking into earlier periods, however, shows a much more diversified picture. As Martti Helminen illustrates in his article, there is little doubt about the multi-cultural character of Helsinki before the Second World War. Another key form of urban transnationalism is the transfer of professional knowledge. As shown by Marjatta Hietala, Helsinki city officials – in their pursuit of new knowledge – made a great number of study tours to other European cities between the late nineteenth century and the 1960s, exploring a variety of recent innovations in public administration and infrastructure. The legitimising role of new scientific knowledge and expertise is discussed by Marjaana Niemi, who explores the town planning of Helsinki in the comparative framework of small European nations during the period around the First World War. Reflecting on more recent debates in Helsinki and London, Matti Hannikainen raises a question concerning the present and future reference group of Helsinki’s planners and politicians with regard to the creation of public green space.

BY FOCUSING ON URBAN TRANSNATIONALISM one should not, however, lose sight of the role of the local, the regional, and the national in shaping urban history. (Diefendorf and Ward 2014, 2). The notion that material and imagined urban spaces emerge at the intersection of the global, national and local is made explicit in Laura Kolbe’s and Silja Laine’s articles. In her contribution Kolbe discusses the planning and realisation of city halls in the five Nordic capital cities, and shows how the building of Nordic city halls was a combination of local, national and supranational aims and meanings. Whilst European capital cities have their own literary traditions, which contribute to their respective urban cultures, these traditions of modern urban literature in Europe are also closely interlinked. To exemplify this point and to shed light on the literary culture connected to Helsinki, Silja Laine presents a case study of the Helsinki-born author Toivo Tarvas (1883–1937).

FINALLY, PETER CLARK’S INVESTIGATION into the early stages of the European Association for Urban History places the 2016 conference in a comparative historical perspective. From Clark’s contribution we receive an image of thorough academic discussions and an invigorating social programme taking place at the earlier conferences.

WE ARE CONFIDENT that the Helsinki conference will carry on this tradition! On behalf of both the Local Organising Committee and the City of Helsinki we wish to extend a hearty welcome to all conference participants. We hope this issue of Helsinki Quarterly will provide plenty of interesting reading to both international and local readership! 🍷

TANJA VAHTIKARI is Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the Finnish Centre of Excellence in Historical Research at the School of Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Tampere, Finland.

TIMO CANTELL is Director of City of Helsinki Urban Facts and Editor-in-Chief of Helsinki Quarterly.



Sources

- Diefendorf, Jeffrey M. & Ward, Janet (eds.) (2014), *Transnationalism and the German City*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Leitzinger, Antero (2010), *Mansikkamaan vartijat. Muistelmia ulkomaalaishallinnosta eri vuosikymmeniltä*. Maahanmuuttovirasto & East-West Books, Espoo / Helsinki.

To access Helsinki Quarterly online,
go to www.kvartti.fi/en

Ports, industries and economics in the urban history of Helsinki

Ports and industries are at the core of the urban history of Helsinki. Industrialization and the construction of the major port at the end of the nineteenth century ensured Helsinki a solid economy for developing a modern and innovative city. The restructuring of industries and the containerization of seaports from the 1970s vacated centrally located areas, opening economic opportunities for generating new forms of urbanism.

Industrial city

From its founding, Helsinki had a fine natural harbor, and a solid military fortress was constructed for its protection. In the 1860s, industrialization gained force with the construction of the railway that connected the city with the inner parts of the country and with Saint Petersburg, the rapidly growing capital of the Russian Empire.

In 1875, the Helsinki City Council had decided to invest in developing the South Harbor, located next to the neoclassical heart of the city, into a major port for ocean-going vessels to secure the economy of the city long into the future. For municipal revenues, port activities were essential. They also increased the possibilities of Helsinki to pursue local interests, independent of those of the state. In planning the port of Helsinki, the engineer Th. Tallqvist studied the ports of Gothenburg, Copenhagen and Hamburg. The modernization of ports was common in many European cities in the late nineteenth century. (Kervanto Nevanlinna 2002, 71–75; Bonillo et

al. 1991, passim.). Industrial production relied on the performance of ports in all phases from the transportation of the raw materials to the export or import of the finalized products. The international character of industrialization permeated the processes and the activities of the professionals, and influenced urban history.

For industrial cities, the planning of housing, industrial areas, and traffic was perceived as particularly urgent. The Greater Berlin competition and city planning exhibition in 1910 was a source of inspiration for many urban planners. One of them was Eliel Saarinen who prepared the Plan for Greater Helsinki (1915, revised in 1918) in cooperation with Bertel Jung, City Planning Architect of Helsinki. (Mikkola 1990, 194–217.) In it, the influence of Saarinen's earlier involvement with the planning of Canberra, Budapest and Tallinn was also clearly identifiable. The planned Helsinki region extended beyond the then existing city boundary. In addition to the South Harbor, the Greater Helsinki Plan included three new major port and industrial areas to be located at the seafront to

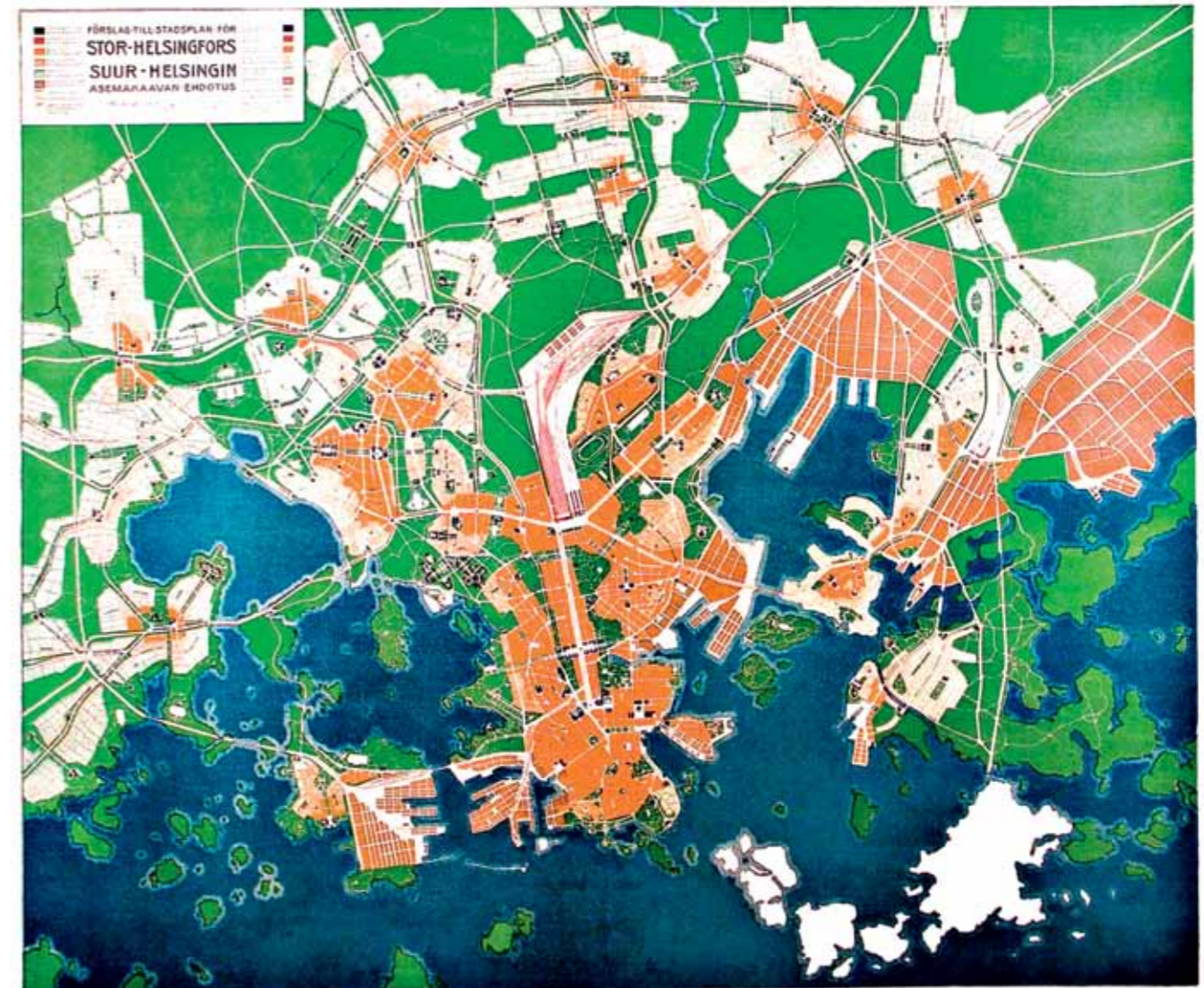


FIGURE 1. Eliel Saarinen's plan for Greater Helsinki, 1918.

the west, northeast and east of the center, to cater for the rapid population growth and expanding industrial production. The plan was not realized because the land outside the city border was outside the jurisdiction of Helsinki. Despite this, it influenced the long-term plans of Helsinki. The annexation of the surrounding municipalities to Helsinki was executed only in 1946.

After the Independence of Finland in 1917, the significance of Helsinki as a major industrial city in Finland increased. Seafront sites were in great demand for industrial production from the 1920s until the 1940s. More land for building was reclaimed at the shoreline. Older workshops, some from the nineteenth century, were enlarged and new industries established. The most prominent

factories included the Sinebrychoff brewery, the Hietalahti shipyard and the Alkoholiliike spirits factory to the west of the city center, the Defence Forces shipyard at Katajanokka at the South Harbor, the Töölö sugar factory at Töölönlahti Bay to the north, the Kone ja Silta engineering workshop and the Elanto cooperative food industries at Sörnäinen northeast of the city center, and the Arabia porcelain factory further north of it. (Hakkarainen & Putkonen 1995, passim.) The factory buildings and smokestacks emphasized the industrial image of Helsinki.

In the twentieth century, Helsinki was by all indicators the leading industrial city of Finland. Its industrialization had been particularly rapid in the interwar years with nearly a third of the work force in industrial work, a level reached by the whole country in the 1950s. After World War II, the process continued, with the number of industrial workers in Helsinki reaching its highest point in the mid-1960s. The major industrial sectors in Helsinki were metal, food and graphic industries, but the variety was large, representing all sectors except the wood processing industry. On imports, the port of Helsinki was the largest in the country still in the 1960s, accounting for nearly half of the price of all imports to Finland. (Hoffman 1997, 273–277, 442.) For postwar Europeans, the need for reconstruction and renewal was connected with both material conditions and cultural values.

In Finland, industrial development was perceived as the key to a new national identity. Industry would secure economic growth and, eventually, produce prosperity for all citizens. Urban planning and architectural design were seen as important elements in producing the new way of life. As part of the renewal of the image of the capital in the face of the Olympic Games organized in Helsinki in 1952, new office buildings and a ship terminal were erected at the seafront of the South Harbor. This presented to the world the optimistic face of Helsinki, in true spirit of modernism.

South Harbor and the Katajanokka area

Helsinki South Harbor was the country's main port for imported goods from the beginning of the twentieth century until the late 1970s. At the Katajanokka pier, the goods were moved from the cargo vessels to the warrant warehouse, the other storage buildings, or to train carriages that took the goods to the Töölö goods station in the city center at the railyard in front of the Parliament Building, to be distributed to trains bound for other parts of Finland. At the South Harbor and the Market Square, the port with its ships, cranes, and trains, offered an exotic urban juxtaposition with the monumentality of the historical heart of Helsinki.

The turning point from the high industrial period to the decline of traditional industries in the center of the city came relatively rapidly. In the mid-1960s, industrial production had reached new record figures, increasing the transportation of goods through South Harbor. The shipyard in the Katajanokka peninsula was already enlarged to its limits, forcing it to start preparations to move out to allow for expansion. Similar processes occurred in many industrial companies in Helsinki. The industrial site of the shipyard comprised almost half of the Katajanokka area, and was owned by the state and the City Council. It had some seventy buildings of which the Naval Barracks designed in the 1820s by C. L. Engel, the architect of the monumental buildings framing the Senate Square, was among the oldest and most valuable in terms of both cultural and architectural history. (Kervanto Nevanlinna 2002, 217–219.) The redevelopment of Katajanokka became one of the most important projects of the City Planning Department during the late 1970s and 1980s.

According to the initial redevelopment plan of Katajanokka in 1971, the cargo port was to continue on its original location. By 1975, however, the transportation of general cargo in Europe and



FIGURE 2. Cranes, goods and trains at the Katajanokka pier in Helsinki South Harbor in 1957, with the iconic neoclassical facade of the city to the sea in the background. Photo: K. Laitila, Helsinki City Museum.

worldwide was changing over to standardized containers which completely transformed ports. The new containers required more ground area for storage, fewer warehouses, and new types of mobile cranes. (Jackson 1983, 153–155.) The

traditional handling of cargo, typical of ports such as Helsinki South Harbor, disappeared. As a result, also the port warehouses, some of them dating from c. 1900 and the most recent ones from the 1960s, lost their original function.



FIGURE 3. Katajanokka in 2000, with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the icebreakers in the front, the new housing area to the left, the Art Nouveau area to the right, and the South Harbor with its passenger ships in the background. Photo: City of Helsinki.

Generating new, economically sound uses for them while preserving their historical value and characteristics opened new aspects for discussion.

In the 1980s, the former shipyard area at Katajanokka was developed into a modern and functionally integrated extension of the older parts of Helsinki. The newly constructed housing blocks resembled the older blocks where the high-rise buildings encircled a central semi-public courtyard. The economic structure of the area was planned so that different income levels of the inhabitants and various forms of tenure were mixed. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs took over the Naval Barracks building which tied it symbolically with the monumental neoclassical Senate Square and its history. The old residential area, built in the first decade of the twentieth century, gained prestige from the redevelopment project and its stimulative effect to Katajanokka, and was renovated and protected in the urban plan. (Kervanto Nevanlinna 2002, 222–233.) It soon became to be valued as one of the finest Art Nouveau areas in northern Europe.

The former major port for imported goods at South Harbor was transformed into a port for passenger ships. By the early 1990s, the former warehouses were renovated. The old port area, described in the early 1960s as a noisy, dirty and dangerous part of the city, best demolished and replaced by white residential towers with excellent views to the sea, blossomed into a different entity. The old red brick warehouses with hotels, restaurants, shops, conference centers, exhibition spaces, offices, and passenger terminals had historical character that attracted visitors and citizens alike. (Kervanto Nevanlinna 2002, 242–257.) The approaches applied in the renewal of the former shipyard at Katajanokka and the port at South Harbor were adopted widely in Helsinki in the urban planning of former industrial and port areas.

Industrial sites as urban growth machines

Throughout the history of Helsinki, ports had been seen as a major source of revenues in the city's economy. The restructuring of the industrial society and the globalization of seafreight did not alter the situation, the economic weight of ports remained strong. In the 1980s, however, the necessity of retaining the ports in or near the center of Helsinki began to be questioned. The prime sites historically occupied by the ports inspired visions for new seafront areas for integrated residential and work areas with equally high income-generating value. Experiences from redeveloping waterfront industrial areas were promising. (Kervanto Nevanlinna 2012, 267, 272–275.) The large Kone ja Silta machine workshop site in Sörnäinen was developed into the Merihaka and Näkinpuisto areas with positive effects to the surroundings. The Opera House was planned on the vacated site of the Töölö sugar factory.

In European cities at the end of the twentieth century, industrial and port areas became important instruments in the generation of new urbanism. These areas, often large, favorably located sites that were owned by the City Council or the state, had been vacated due to the fundamental processes of economic and industrial restructuring. They could be used for urban renewal in ways that not only improved the physical qualities of the city, but also revitalized the urban culture by attracting new kinds of inhabitants and activities.

In Helsinki, the enormous Nokia Cable Factory, built in several phases in the 1940s and 1950s, was threatened by demolition in the 1980s' urban plan for Ruoholahti, an old industrial and storage area. It was saved, partly because of the deep economic recession in the early 1990s in Finland, and is now an active cultural center, financially completely self-supporting, with 800 people working in the building. (Kervanto Nevanlinna 2009, 238–242.) The industrial

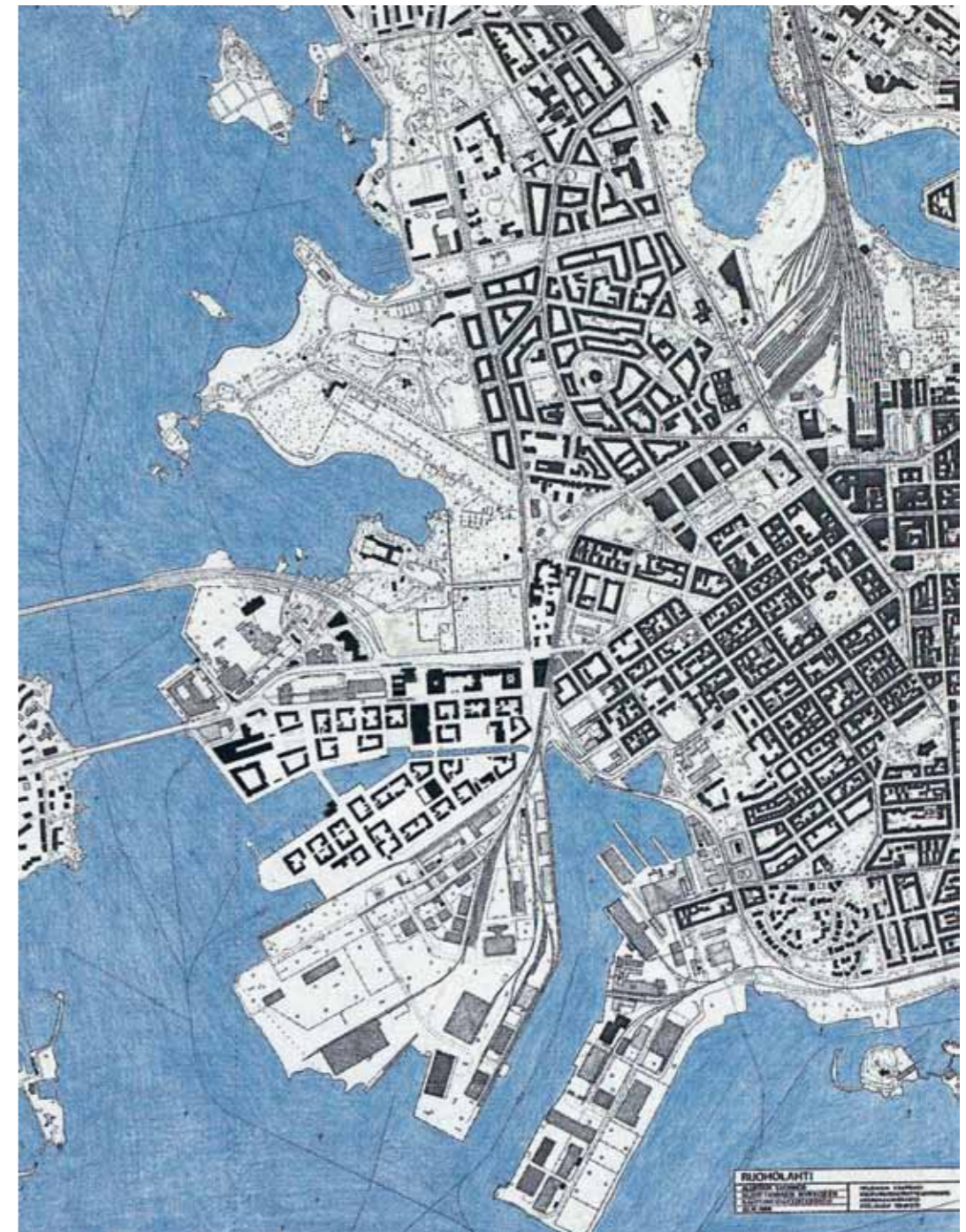


FIGURE 4. The urban structure of the older center of Helsinki is continued in the urban plan of Ruoholahti from c. 1990. The adjacent former port and industrial areas south of Ruoholahti are now under construction as neighborhoods. Source: Helsinki City Planning Department.



FIGURE 5. Waterfront areas in Hernesaari are planned for redevelopment. Photo: Pekka Kaikkonen

building served to establish the special character of the Ruoholahti area, giving it a history and an identity all its own. The Ruoholahti area has been developed, on the model of Katajanokka, as an extension of the old urban structure, with residential and office blocks. (Kervanto Nevanlinna 2012, 269–275, 305–327.) The Alko factory has a new life as the Helsinki Court House. The redevelopment processes begun in Ruoholahti continue in the adjacent areas, Jätkäsaari and Hernesaari, within a short walk from the city center.

Other new areas have been constructed on former industrial sites in different parts of Helsinki. On the northeast, the Kalasatama area (“Fishing port”) is under construction, with skyscraper-like structures soon to rise in the skyline. In addition to residential and office facilities, an extensive shopping center is planned to open in a few years. The gentrification (increase of higher income inhabitants) of the nearby parts of the city has already begun.

Further north, the Arabia area around the old porcelain factory has been completed in the

1990s and 2000s. The original vision involved, in addition to the factory, the University of Industrial Arts, other educational institutions, offices and small-scale industries as well as residents from different income levels. The identity of the Arabianranta area was developed around the idea of the factory and the design university. (Kervanto Nevanlinna 2012, 350–354.) The strength of the original vision will soon be put to test: the university plans to move out. In March 2016, industrial production in the Arabia factory was discontinued after 142 years.

After the restructuring of industrial society at the end of the twentieth century, the former role of industries and ports in the townscape of European cities has been transformed. Factories and cranes that still in the 1950s were perceived as symbols of prosperous, modern and innovative industrial cities, are no longer used in the promotion of the European city. The industrial and port areas, however, have had a major influence for the future of our cities. The vacated sites, sometimes centrally located and with preserved old industrial buildings, have provided inspiring milieus with both historical continuity and room for innovations for the development of new forms of urbanism. 🍷

DR. ANJA KERVANTO NEVANLINNA is Adjunct Professor at the University of Helsinki. She has published widely on urban history and architectural preservation.

Bibliography

- Jean-Lucien Bonillo et al., *Marseille, Ville & Port*. Marseille 1991.
- Helena Hakkarainen & Lauri Putkonen, *Helsingin kantakaupungin teollisuusympäristöt*. (The industrial areas of Helsinki.) Helsinki 1995.
- Kai Hoffman, *Elinkeinot*. (Trade and industries.) Oiva Turpeinen et al., *Väestö, Kaupunkisuunnittelu ja asuminen, Elinkeinot*. Helsingin historia vuodesta 1945 (Population, Urban planning and housing, Trade and industries. History of Helsinki from 1945), vol. 1. Helsinki 1997.
- Gordon Jackson, *The History and Archeology of Ports*. London 1983.
- Anja Kervanto Nevanlinna, *Kadonneen kaupungin jäljillä*. Teollisuusyhteiskunnan muutoksia Helsingin historiallisessa ytimessä. (Tracing the Lost City. Industrial transformations in the historical heart of Helsinki.) Helsinki 2002.
- Anja Kervanto Nevanlinna, *Constructing Identities – The Reconstruction of Urban Spaces in European Cities*. Ralf Roth (Hg.), *Städte in europäischen Raum*. Verkehr, Kommunikation und Urbanität im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Stuttgart 2009.
- Anja Kervanto Nevanlinna, *Voimat jotka rakensivat Helsinkiä 1945–2010*. Helsingin historia vuodesta 1945 (Forces that built Helsinki 1945 – 2010. History of Helsinki from 1945), vol. 4. Helsinki 2012. (Also in Swedish translation: *Krafterna som byggde Helsingfors 1945-2010*, Helsinki 2014.)
- Kirimo Mikkola, Eliel Saarinen and Town Planning. Marika Hausen et al., *Eliel Saarinen, Projects 1896–1923*. Helsinki 1990.



FIGURE 1. A two-masted galliot has stranded in a stormy weather at the outermost skerries of the Gulf of Finland. It was possible to salvage the rigging and at least part of the cargo was possible to salvage. Shipwreck by Hjalmar Münsterhjelm (1881). Source: John Nurminen Collections, Helsinki.

MIKKO HUHTAMIES

HELP, BUSINESS OR PIRACY?

*Shipwrecks and salvage auctions
as early modern entrepreneurship
in the Gulf of Finland*

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MARITIME SALVAGE

as an enterprise opens new perspectives on marine and urban history, as well as on the history of Baltic shipping and the economic culture in the region. The starting point is the simple fact that for an early-modern merchant, a shipwreck was either a disaster or a lucrative business deal. If the ship was his own, the wreck was a serious financial setback, which in the worst case scenario resulted in bankruptcy and economic ruin. If the ship belonged to somebody else, and the merchant got his hands on the wreck, he could make money from the cargo and the valuable ship parts.

The difficult road to St Petersburg

After the founding of St Petersburg (est. 1703) the Gulf of Finland became one of the world's most important maritime crossroads, used by ships heading to the Russian capital (Kaukiainen 1993, 31–38). The Gulf of Finland with hundreds of skerries and narrow passages was, and still is, difficult to navigate, and thus shipwrecks were numerous. There were tens of shipwrecks in the gulf per annum during the eighteenth century – mainly in the stormy late autumn nights. This fact gave birth to a new kind of business opportunity. Quasi-governmental diving companies (in Swedish *dykeri- och bärgningskompanier*), operating from Swedish (and Finnish) coastal towns, were given the monopoly in 1729 to rescue castaway goods and ship parts, which were sold in public auctions. Thousands or even tens of thousands silver and copper dalers transacted in these auctions. For a comparison, the value of a house in the centre of Helsinki was around 2,000–3,000 copper dalers.

Salvage was carried out with rudimentary tools (e.g. hooks and drags) from the surface. Rigging made of larch was a valuable part of the ship and often the main target for the salvors. No actual diving was done. The nearest diving bell was in Stockholm and it was used in the Finnish waters only once in association with the so called

gold galley in the Porvoo archipelago in 1734. The bell was reserved for exceptional naval operations such as salvaging bullion or cannons from men of war. The nation-wide monopoly of the diving companies was an obstacle for the diffusion and development of such innovative underwater technologies like diving tubes which were used in Britain. In Sweden, the bell remained the main tool of the divers until the end of the century (Huhtamies 2014).

The rise of Helsinki's long-distance shipping

One of the earliest and most profitable salvage operations for Helsinki was the wrecking of a three-masted Russian gallion, St Simeon, at the coast of Helsinki in late autumn 1731 (Helsinki City Archives. Magistrate protocol 5.4.–14.5.1731. Ca: 16–17). The cargo consisting of luxury items to the imperial court had a huge value and it was auctioned for more than 128,000 silver dalers. What was even more fortunate, the ship could be repaired and was bought by local burghers. It was renamed as *Die Stadt Helsingfors*. The ship made three passages through the Sound to Amsterdam and imported vitally important salt to the town. *Die Stadt Helsingfors* was the first long-distance ship in Helsinki in the eighteenth century. During her last voyage back home, the ship stranded

“After the founding of St Petersburg (est. 1703) the Gulf of Finland became one of the world’s most important maritime crossroads, used by ships heading to the Russian capital.”

at Östergarn at the eastern coast of Gotland (Börman 1981, 119).

The recycling and reuse of stranded unfortunate foreign vessels had an instrumental role in the boom of Helsinki’s long-distance shipping. During the late eighteenth century, the merchants of Helsinki, who had previously owned no ocean-going vessels, built themselves the fourth largest merchant fleet in the Swedish realm, as the Sound Toll Register clearly indicates. This was possible, partly, because the salvage auctions were centralised to Helsinki, and thus the merchants were provided by constant supply of affordable, high-quality and reusable ship parts. The fact that ships and ship components were fairly standardised in the eighteenth century favored the reuse. Furthermore, the auctions had also regionally wider economic impact, since merchants from other coastal towns and the owners of the iron works in the western Uusimaa region took part in them. Did some of the local merchants become specialised ship-part dealers, who bought these parts from the auctions and sold them onwards, and, furthermore, did these auctions give birth to a new class of merchandisers? Protocols from these kinds of auctions could possibly be used to reconstruct the typical late eighteenth-century merchant ship in great detail. In this way, the study of auctions overlaps marine archaeology and ethnology.

During the eighteenth century there was a large market for maritime equipment (anchors, riggings, ropes, blocks, instruments, tools) and cargoes (mainly bulk like hemp, grain and timber) in the coastal towns of Finland.

According to the auction protocols (Helsinki City Archives, Auction chamber, protocols) the buyers were for the most part local merchants. In the late eighteenth century the Helsinki Diving Company dominated the coastline from Hanko Peninsula to the Russian border, and thus the majority of wrecked ships were auctioned in Helsinki. At the same time, Helsinki experienced a period of rapid economic growth. This growth is traditionally credited to the influence of the Sveaborg fortress (est. 1747), built at the same time, but closer examination would be required to interpret the role the salvage auctions and the diving companies played in the process. In the operations of the companies, the line between official salvage and unofficial wrecking was often a blurred one, and the company was usually headed by one of the leading merchants in the town.

An uncharted area of maritime history

The economic significance of salvage auctions for coastal towns and shipwrecks as a way of profiting has been until now mostly an unexplored area, at least in Scandinavia. The main source materials for the investigation of the Helsinki case are the quarterly reports of the diving companies, held in the Military Archives of Sweden (Krigsarkivet, Dykerihandlingar) and the auction protocols of the city of Helsinki. From them, it is possible to tabulate the cargo goods and ship parts sold in these auctions, the identity of the buyers, and the financial value of the auctions. After this, it is possible to trace the actions of the main buyers using other source material, such as the protocols

and account books of the Helsinki magistrate, the protocols of the local courts of law, the municipal and national taxation protocols, and the archives of Helsinki Seamen’s Society and so on. With the help of statistics of auctions and data of the main buyers, the economic significance of salvage auctions can be estimated for the first time.

On the other hand, salvage is linked to the question of transaction costs (North 2003, 22–40): with the help of diving companies, the merchant house and the customer could receive information on possible wrecks and receive payments from the auctions of the diving companies, which increased the reliability of shipping and lowered the transaction costs (search costs). Furthermore, an important factor is the speed of information flow from diving companies to insurance companies to merchant houses reveals the extent of integration. Did the Baltic form a socioeconomic unity with shared economic culture? And if it did, how was salvage, which sometimes was seen as wrecking and piracy, adapted to this unity? The founding of diving companies can be seen also as an indication of early modern state-building, which in the eighteenth century extended geographically to the archipelago, hitherto a kind of no man’s land out of governmental control. The questions related to state building can be answered with the help of administrative (coastal organisations, e.g. pilotage), judicial (court records on wrecking) and cartographic sources (the coverage of charting and coastal mapping). However, despite the efforts of the state, wrecking was still a phenomenon of the eighteenth century. Old customs were not easy to abolish. Can we even talk about isolated wrecking communities of the Gulf of Finland¹ as rivals of the diving companies?

¹) Wrecking communities, common e.g. in the Eastern Gulf of Finland, were from the mainland isolated islands which were often situated by important passages. In these places salvaging and wrecking gave birth to a vital livelihood.

The hidden treasury of the Baltic

Baltic maritime history has worldwide significance. The Gulf of Finland, or the Northern Baltic, is the best place in the world for marine archaeology for one reason: the wrecks are often in a good shape, because there is no *Teredo navalis* (shipworm) in this sea area. In addition to the wrecks, the archival sources are excellent and well documented in the area. The best way to explore the nature and meaning of salvage is to combine, in a multidisciplinary way, archival research and underwater surveys. This will be done in a research project funded by the Academy of Finland and Kone Foundation, which started in 2015 at the University of Helsinki. The aim of the project is to open new perspectives into Baltic transport history, the salvage business of monopoly diving companies and the role of salvage companies in shipping, economics and urban life during the eighteenth century. The maritime foreland of Helsinki provides a unique setting for multidisciplinary research at the University of Helsinki. ➔

MIKKO HUHTAMIES is Adjunct Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, History, Culture and Art Studies, University of Helsinki.

Bibliography

- Börman, Jan-Erik (1981). Genom Öresund. Öresundstullem – skeppsfarten på Finland 1500–1800. Helsingfors.
- Huhtamies, Mikko (2014). Pohjolan Atlantis. Uskomattomia ideoita Itämerellä. Helsinki: John Nurmisen Säätiö.
- Kaukiainen, Yrjö (1993). History of Finnish Shipping. London and New York: Routledge.
- North, Douglas C. (2003). Institutions, Transaction Costs, and the Rise of Merchant Empires. In James D. Tracy (ed.), The Political Economy of Merchant Empires. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

FIGURE 1. Mrs Berta Fazer, Consul Karl Stockmann and Mrs Ester Stockmann photographed in Helsinki's South Harbour in 1910. The Stockmann family, from Northern Germany, founded in 1862 a trading business which developed into a leading Nordic department store. The Swiss family Fazer opened a patisserie in Helsinki in 1891 and are still a marker leader in the Finnish confectionary business. Photo: Helsinki City Museum



MULTICULTURALISM IN HELSINKI has a long history

WHERE THE VANTAANJOKI RIVER meets the sea a famous stone can be found, set in the foundations of Helsinki's first church. It is a reproduction of the gravestone of Hans van Sanden, a Dutchman who lived in the sixteenth century, discovered in archaeological excavations in the 1930s.



he stone is not famous just because it tells the tale of how a Dutch merchant wandered off to the faraway north. Hans van Sanden was not just any old traveller. He was

the most prominent merchant in Helsinki at the time. However, he was also not the only trader from Continental Europe to settle at the mouth of the Vantaanjoki River after the Swedish King Gustav I had founded Helsinki in 1550. The new city was to compete with Tallinn for eastern trade opportunities, and it attracted entrepreneurs from distant European countries as well as from neighbouring lands around the Baltic Sea.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES have been spoken in the streets and alleys of Helsinki throughout the past 450 years. The first migrants to arrive came mainly from present-day Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. Later, when Tallinn was annexed to the Swedish Empire in 1561, merchants, craftsmen and even hirelings crossed the Gulf of Finland in large numbers.

The more affluent city of Tallinn appealed to Finns in search of learning and employment, but there was also movement in the other direction. One of the most significant Helsinki mayors in the seventeenth century was Kasper Reiher, a trader from Tallinn, who died in Helsinki but lies buried with his wife in the family tomb in the St Nicholas' Church (Estonian: Niguliste kirik) of the former German parish in Tallinn's old quarter.

Apart from Reiher and other Baltic-German merchants, the potentates of Helsinki

in the seventeenth century were traders from Germany. They settled here to trade and to acquire wealth.

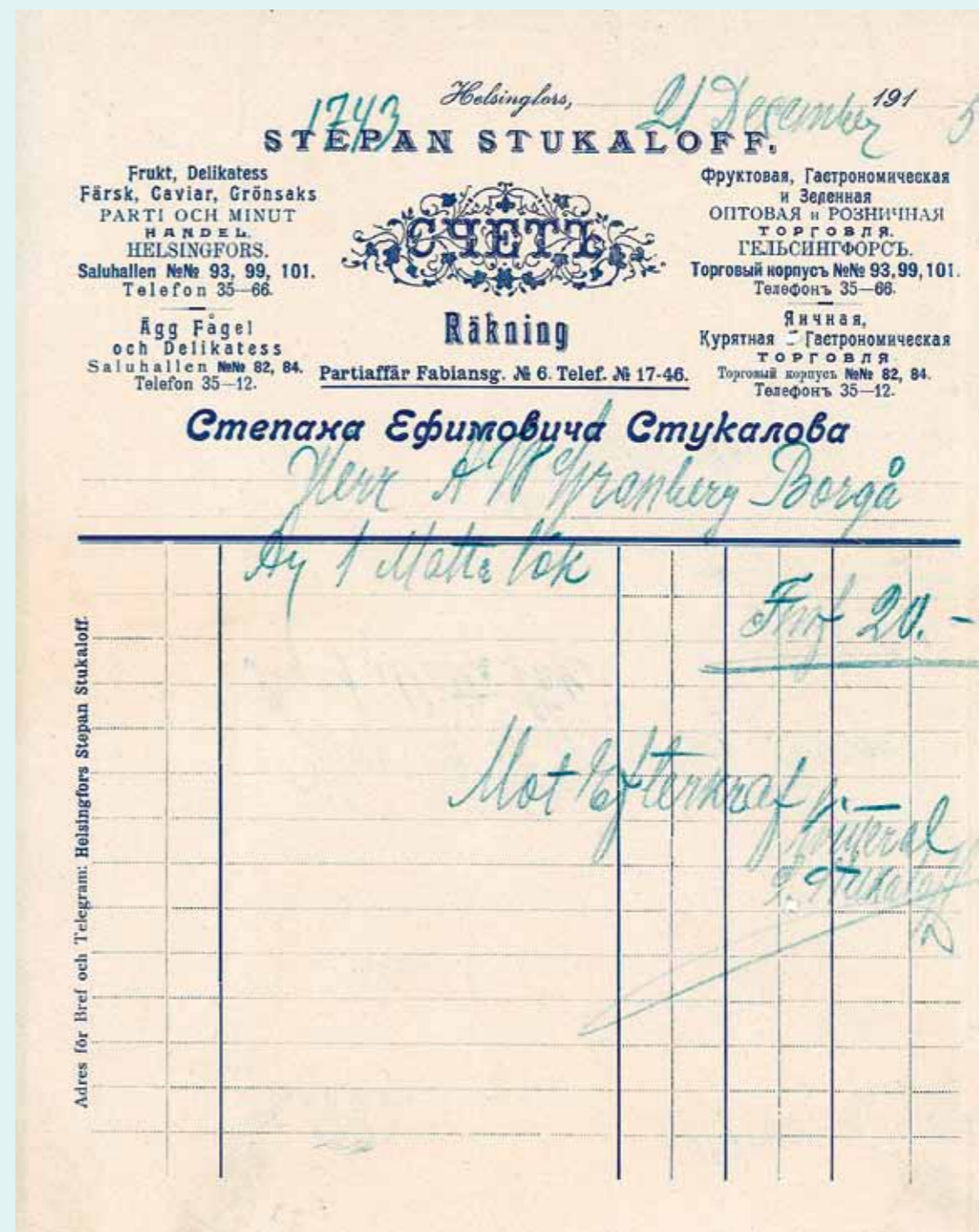
Eighteenth century wars

A century later, people arrived in Helsinki for very different reasons. The year 1700 saw the start of the Great Northern War between Russia and Sweden, which was to last for 21 years and bring a heavy toll on Finland. A wave of refugees from Russian-occupied Livonia (part of what is today the Baltic countries) arrived in Helsinki.

In the wake of their arrival, plague broke out in 1710 in Helsinki, wiping out over half the population of the city. The Old Church Park of Helsinki ('Vanha kirkkopuisto') is even today often called 'Plague Park', in memory of those ghastly times. This was where the refugees and inhabitants of Helsinki who died as a result of the epidemic were buried. Later the city cemetery would be established there.

The city was only just beginning to recover after the horrors of the epidemic when something even worse befell it. In the spring of 1713 Russian troops arrived in Helsinki in ships under the command of Tsar Peter the Great himself. Outnumbered, the men defending the city retreated, setting fire to the buildings of their hometown as they fled. Some of the merchants managed to make their way to Stockholm, but most of the residents remained at the mercy of the enemy.

The occupation ended with the Treaty of Nystad in 1721. Life in Helsinki had to be rebuilt again practically from scratch. Gradually, the inhabitants returned to their scorched city – some from Stockholm, others from the nearby countryside.



Foreign languages have been spoken in the streets and alleys of Helsinki throughout the past 450 years.

The new city plan was to be realised by Berlin architect Carl Ludvig Engel.

TWO DECADES LATER, the Swedish Empire was once again at war with Russia. The so-called War of the Hats, the 'Little Discord', as it is known in Finland, lasted from 1741 to 1743, and once again saw Helsinki occupied by Russians. The city was not destroyed this time, but the war further impoverished a town that was not wealthy to begin with. With the peace settlement reached in Turku in 1743, Sweden's eastern border moved back to Kymijoki River, which meant the loss of the important trading port of Hamina. Many tradesmen and shopkeepers from Hamina moved to Helsinki, including the Clayhill family of merchants, originally from Tallinn, who later rose to prominence in their adopted city.

Viapori and the citizens of Helsinki

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Sweden had lost two wars against Russia and, as a consequence, its status as a superpower in the Baltic Sea region. Helsinki had been twice under occupation. Vyborg, the most important garrison town and commercial centre on the Gulf of Finland was in the hands of the Russians. A few years after the peace treaty was signed in Turku, a decision was taken in Stockholm for a new fortress to be built to protect the Sweden's new eastern border.

The location chosen for the new sea fortress was the 'Wolf Islands' (Finnish: Susisaaret), off the coast of Helsinki. Construction work began in the spring of 1748, with France providing some of the money. The fortress was named in

Swedish Sveaborg, which became Viapori in Finnish. When Finland became independent in 1917, it soon acquired the new official name of Suomenlinna ('Fortress of Finland').

The construction of the fortress in the mid-eighteenth century changed the status of tiny Helsinki completely. Over the course of just a few years an influx of construction workers in their thousands as well as soldiers from home and abroad arrived. A number of brick factories, sawmills, rope makers and other production facilities were set up to serve the needs of the fortress construction site.

Ships brought goods for the Swedish officers from as far away as the Mediterranean. There were also luxury items that had never been seen before in Helsinki. Cultural life thrived. The construction of the fortress brought with it a breath of cosmopolitan air when, alongside the Swedish officers, came musicians and artists from different European countries.

Helsinki becomes the capital of the Grand Duchy of Finland

If the construction of Viapori in the latter half of the eighteenth century had marked a great change for the little town of Helsinki, even more crucial was the surrender of the sea fortress to the Russians during the Finnish War between Sweden and Russia in 1808. Sweden lost that war as well, and Finland was annexed to the Russian Empire under the Treaty of Hamina in 1809.

Finland was made a Grand Duchy by imperial decree, and in 1812 Alexander I declared Helsinki to be the capital of Finland. With its newly acquired status, Helsinki underwent vast construction projects that lasted several decades.

J. A. Ehrenström, a native of Helsinki, drew up a new city plan, which was to be realised by Berlin architect Carl Ludvig Engel. He had been commissioned by the Tsar to design the buildings of the new capital. Helsinki was built in the style of Russia's capital, St Petersburg.

AS THE NEW, STYLISH CITY TOOK SHAPE, Helsinki became a place of interest for entrepreneurs in various industries also outside of Finland. Owners of coffee shops and restaurateurs were among the first to see the potential the new market had to offer. Swedish-born Kaisa Wahllund moved from Turku to Helsinki, where she continued to pursue her successful career as a restaurateur.

She was admired by students in particular, and ran several restaurants and hotels. Her restaurant in the park by the sea was so popular that the parkland surrounding it became known as Kaisaniemi. Still today, the park is an oasis of green in the city centre, and Restaurant Kaisaniemi can still be found where she established it. A few years ago, the new library of the University of Helsinki was built close by and was named Kaisa. This shows how the name of the Swedish restaurateur lives on in the city.

Coffee house owners came to Helsinki from as far away as Switzerland. By the end of the 1820s,

there were several Swiss patisseries in Helsinki. The most famous was the one run by the Catani family. For years the celebrated coffee shop stood in the heart of the capital on Pohjoisesplanadi. It started out in a wooden building in the imperial style, but when the Hotel Kämp was built in 1887, Catani had a splendid Neo-Renaissance style building constructed on a neighbouring plot to house his coffee and pastry business.

BY THE END OF THE CENTURY, another Swiss confectioner opened a shop in Helsinki: his name was Karl Fazer. Helsinki was growing fast at the end of the 1800s, and entrepreneurs who had arrived from abroad – often from Sweden or Germany – dominated the catering trade. Two of the most famous Germans were Louis Kleineh and Karl König. The Hotel Kleineh, by Kauppatori, Helsinki's market square, bore the name of its owner, in the continental manner. German-born Karl König had started out as an actor, but he drifted into the restaurant business and took over the Biertunnel ('beer hall') in the recently opened Hotel Kämp. Soon König opened his own cellar restaurant.

Sausages, wallpaper and beer

The Swiss and the Germans also exerted a major influence in trade and business. Two names stand out from the rest: Stockmann and Paulig. G. F. Stockmann and Gustav Paulig both came from Lübeck, and the businesses they set up expanded



FIGURE 2. Among the entrepreneurs and craftsmen who came to Helsinki from Germany in the 19th century were brewers, sausage-makers, gardeners and musicians. Carl Knief's sausage factory operated in Helsinki for decades and had a shop next to the main railway station. Photo: Helsinki City Museum, Erik Sundström, 1927.

rapidly at the turn of the century, and were to become major companies in the rapidly growing city. Today, the Stockmann department store is a Helsinki city centre landmark and East Helsinki is home to Paulig's coffee roastery.

THE GERMAN COMMUNITY OF HELSINKI founded their own church in 1858. Their place of worship was built at the foot of Tähtitorninmäki ('Observatory Hill') in 1864. The construction of the church was to a great extent due to the influence of then Governor-General of Finland, Baltic German Count Friedrich von Berg. The church was run by families such as the Stockmanns, the Pauligs and the Fazers, as well as the Seecks, who, like many other sausage producers, were of German origin. Brewers were recruited from Bavaria to run Helsinki breweries. Foreigners were depended on for many other occupations requiring specialist knowledge. Georg Rieks, who established a large wallpaper factory, was originally from Hanover. His success eventually led him to move his factory from Helsinki to St Petersburg.

When Finland was ceded to Russia in 1809, it was natural that Helsinki began to witness the arrival of Russian craftsmen and shopkeepers. They moved to the fortress islands of Viapori mainly from the garrison towns of the parts of Finland lost to Russia in the eighteenth century. These areas were known as Old Finland, and included parts of eastern Finland and the city of Vyborg with its surrounding area, which was annexed to Russia already after the Great Northern War in 1721.

Now settled by thousands of military personnel, Helsinki's Viapori sea fortress was an important provider of livelihood for business people. Among them was Russian-born Nikolai Sinebrychoff, who ran a very diverse business operation in Viapori but which mainly focused on beer and spirit production. By 1819 he had been granted sole rights to brew beer throughout Helsinki, and from the 1820s the brewery

buildings at Hietalahti, then on the outskirts of the city, were established.

The monopoly lasted for several decades and made the Sinebrychoff family the wealthiest in Helsinki. They were also in the construction business and owned the Helsinki shipyard and extensive areas of land outside the city. Paul Sinebrychoff Senior was the city's highest taxpayer, and he was also involved in Helsinki city administration, being one of the City Elders and later on as member of the City Council. The family generously supported cultural life in Helsinki.

His wife, Anna, ran the brewery business at the end of the 1800s and gave large sums to charity. The last of the Sinebrychoffs, Paul Junior and his wife Fanny, left their vast collection of art and valuables to the Finnish state in 1921. Now that collection is on display at the former family residence on Bulevardi street. The brewery moved its production facilities outside Helsinki in the 1990s.

IN THE MID-1800S THE RUSSIAN MERCHANT COMMUNITY in Helsinki was at its largest. Of all the city's traders and business people, almost 40 % were Russian-born, as were more than half of those who traded in foodstuffs. Almost all the vegetables and ice cream available in Helsinki were from enterprises run by Russians.

Among the richest business families were, apart from the Sinebrychoffs, the Kiseleffs, who had a sugar factory, and the Uschakoffs, who had a handsome business and residential building at the corner of Pohjoisesplanadi and Unioninkatu. Now the building houses the city tourist office.

Most of the Russian traders moved to Helsinki from Old Finland, the St Petersburg area or the Yaroslavl Governorate. But by the mid-1800s, some of them were already true natives of the city, being the descendants of Russians born there. Marriages with spouses of Lutherans faith and the adoption of the Swedish language also speeded up their integration with the rest of the population.

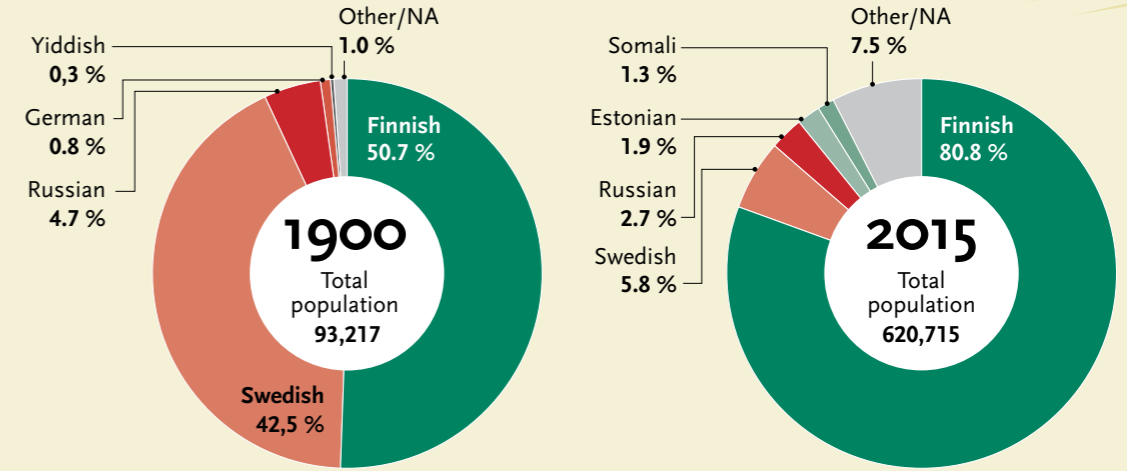


FIGURE 3. Population of Helsinki by mother tongue, 1900 and 2015. Sources: Statistical Yearbook of Helsinki 1909, Helsinki Region Statistical Database.

Ties with Russia remained strong for many, however, because the Orthodox Church was very close to the heart of the Russian business community. Many of the wealthiest merchants contributed to the costs of the construction and interior decoration of the Holy Trinity Church, consecrated in 1827, as well as the Uspenski Cathedral, consecrated some 40 years later, and the church known as Kotikirkko ('home church'), consecrated at the start of the 1900s. The Sinebrychoff brothers donated the beautiful iconostasis to the Holy Trinity Church, and a businessman named Tschernischeff donated to the parish the rectory building he had had built on Liisankatu, in which Kotikirkko is located.

**1900 census:
Finnish speakers become majority**

Helsinki grew fast in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Industrialisation and the extension of the railway network both served

to boost trade and the movement of people in search of work. This growth meant that what was formerly a typical coastal city where Swedish was spoken became a more Finnish city. In the 1900 census, for the first time, there was a majority of Finnish speakers among the inhabitants.

The Russian revolution resulted in a significant influx of refugees into Finland. Finland's eastern border was closed, but many were able to flee in the early part of the 1920s especially from the St Petersburg area, many of whom settled in Helsinki. Most, however, continued their way to the Continent, with Paris becoming a centre for Russian émigrés. Helsinki Orthodox Cemetery is the last resting place for many well-known refugees.

More people from the Russian Empire

Helsinki's Jewish and Tatar business communities also have their roots in the Russian Empire. Men often had to serve as long as 25 years in the



Foto: Signe Brander,
Helsingfors 1907.

FIGURE 4. Russian ice-cream vendors on Helsinki's Market Square in 1907. Many other retail sectors, such as green groceries, were also dominated by Russians before the Revolution. At the right is the Tsarina Alexandra memorial with its imperial double-headed eagle. Photo: Helsinki City Museum, Signe Brander.

In 1990, just 1.3 % spoke a language other than Finnish or Swedish.

Russian army. When that time was over, soldiers had often become so well acclimatised to their surroundings that they and their families stayed there. That was the case for a good number of Jews who had served in the Russian army.

In the Russian Empire, the business practises of Jews were regulated strictly. They were only allowed to deal in certain types of food, handicrafts and mainly second-hand clothes. Early on, the Jews of Helsinki had their very own market, Narinkka, which was mostly a place for selling second-hand clothing. The last site of the market was in Kamppi, near the city centre, where it was until the late 1920s.

WHEN FINLAND BECAME INDEPENDENT in 1917, the Jews were given full citizenship. Many Jews continued as entrepreneurs in the clothing industry, which in the most successful case led to the establishment of a chain of stores in the city. The name Narinkka re-emerged soon after the turn of the millennium, when a new shopping centre was built in the city centre at Kamppi, very close to the square where the Jewish vendors once traded. The same area of the city has been home to the synagogue of the Jewish community in 1906.

Among the so-called traditional ethnic minorities is another, smallish one, whose roots are in the Russian Empire and who also became well-known as merchants: Helsinki's Islamic Tatars. Most of the ancestors of the members of this group arrived in Finland in the early twentieth century and some later after the Russian revolution.

They have their roots mostly in the Muslim villages around Nizhny Novgorod. Helsinki's Charitable Society of Muslims was founded in 1915, and the Finnish Islamic Congregation in 1925. Over decades, the Tatars became known in Helsinki principally as traders in furs and rugs.

After the Second World War

Finland had to hand over more than 10 % of its territory to the Soviet Union after the Second World War. The entire population of Karelia, the biggest of these areas in the east of the country, moved to other parts of Finland. More than 400,000 refugees from Karelia were resettled in this way in the autumn of 1944. One of the most important cities in the area ceded was Vyborg, from which around 30,000 people moved to Helsinki. Vyborg up to the Second World War was Finland's second largest city and the most international in character. Most of its German and Russian speaking inhabitants and Tatars moved to Helsinki. The German parish of Vyborg, for example, was incorporated into the Helsinki parish.

In 1990, just 1.3 % of the inhabitants of Helsinki spoke a language other than the country's official tongues, Finnish and Swedish. At that time, 90.8 % spoke Finnish. The following year saw the break-up of the former superpower that was the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Soviet Union was followed by a considerable influx of migrants to Finland. Finns and Ingrians who had lived mainly in and around St Petersburg since

H. Kelaadd. 9/10 01.

Helsingfors den 31 Mars 1901.

VIN-DELIKATESS & KOLONIALVARU HANDEL
N. PLETSCHIKOFF
 Södra Esplanadgatan N:o 4.

for *H. Hen Ingeniör Donner* *Deb!*

för Gode räkning & räk.

1900						
<i>Ok.</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>1/2 kg. Savian</i>	<i>4 20</i>	<i>5 lb. Ärtor</i>	<i>5 40</i>	<i>9 60</i>
		<i>1 lb. Kvällmön</i>	<i>1 50</i>	<i>1 lb. Snyffel</i>	<i>2 75</i>	<i>4 25</i>
		<i>2 kg. Päron</i>	<i>4 80</i>	<i>2 kg. Drufva</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>8 80</i>
		<i>1 ark bannberd</i>	<i>2 50</i>	<i>1 ark cheks</i>	<i>95</i>	<i>3 45</i>
<i>Nov.</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>1 kg. Drufva</i>	<i>2 -</i>	<i>Päron</i>	<i>3 60</i>	<i>5 60</i>
	<i>9</i>	<i>3 lb. Dadlar</i>	<i>6 75</i>	<i>1/2 kg. Drufva</i>	<i>1 -</i>	<i>7 75</i>
	<i>10</i>	<i>1/2 kg. Drufva</i>	<i>3</i>			<i>3</i>
	<i>26</i>	<i>1 kg. Drufva</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1 lb. Päron</i>	<i>2 40</i>	<i>4 40</i>
		<i>1 lb. Appel</i>	<i>3 -</i>	<i>1 kg. Drufva</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>5</i>
	<i>27</i>	<i>1 lb. s.</i>	<i>2 50</i>	<i>1 lb. Päron</i>	<i>2 40</i>	<i>4 90</i>
<i>Dec.</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1 lb. Appel</i>	<i>2 50</i>	<i>1 kg. Drufva</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>4 50</i>
		<i>1 ark Sardinier</i>	<i>1 40</i>	<i>1 ark Anjois</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2 40</i>
		<i>1 - Yästfuc</i>	<i>1 25</i>			<i>1 25</i>
	<i>8</i>	<i>1 kg. Appel</i>	<i>2 50</i>	<i>1/2 kg. Drufva</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>4 50</i>
		<i>1 ark Sardinier</i>	<i>1 40</i>	<i>1 p. Family puter</i>	<i>75</i>	<i>2 15</i>
	<i>14</i>	<i>1 kg. Päron + äppel</i>	<i>2 40</i>	<i>1 kg. Drufva</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>4 40</i>
		<i>1 ark Sardinier</i>	<i>1 40</i>	<i>1/2 kg. Appel</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4 40</i>
	<i>21</i>	<i>1 kg. Drufva</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2 ark Sardinier</i>	<i>2 80</i>	<i>4 80</i>
		<i>2 ark Anjois</i>	<i>2 -</i>	<i>1 p. Family</i>	<i>75</i>	<i>2 75</i>
	<i>24</i>	<i>1 kg. Appel</i>	<i>3 -</i>	<i>1 kg. Drufva</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>5</i>
						<i>92 90</i>

Juanap Ny.



the old days had been persecuted under Stalin. Estonia was also home to a significant group of Ingrians.

ESTONIA BROKE AWAY from the Soviet Union in 1991 and regained its independence. In Finland, President Mauno Koivisto declared that the Ingrians were Finns and could move to Finland. The large-scale migration that would last for years was soon under way. Most of the Russian speakers among the Ingrian population knew no Finnish, although a large number of those who migrated from Estonia did speak the language. Hardly any Russian was spoken in Finland at the time. The number of 'old immigrants', those who had fled to Finland prior to 1991, was very small.

This meant that the number of speakers of Russian began to increase rapidly. At the same time, in the early of the 1990s, Somali refugees who had resided in the Soviet Union/Russia

moved on from there to Finland. This wave of migration was something Finland had never previously experienced.

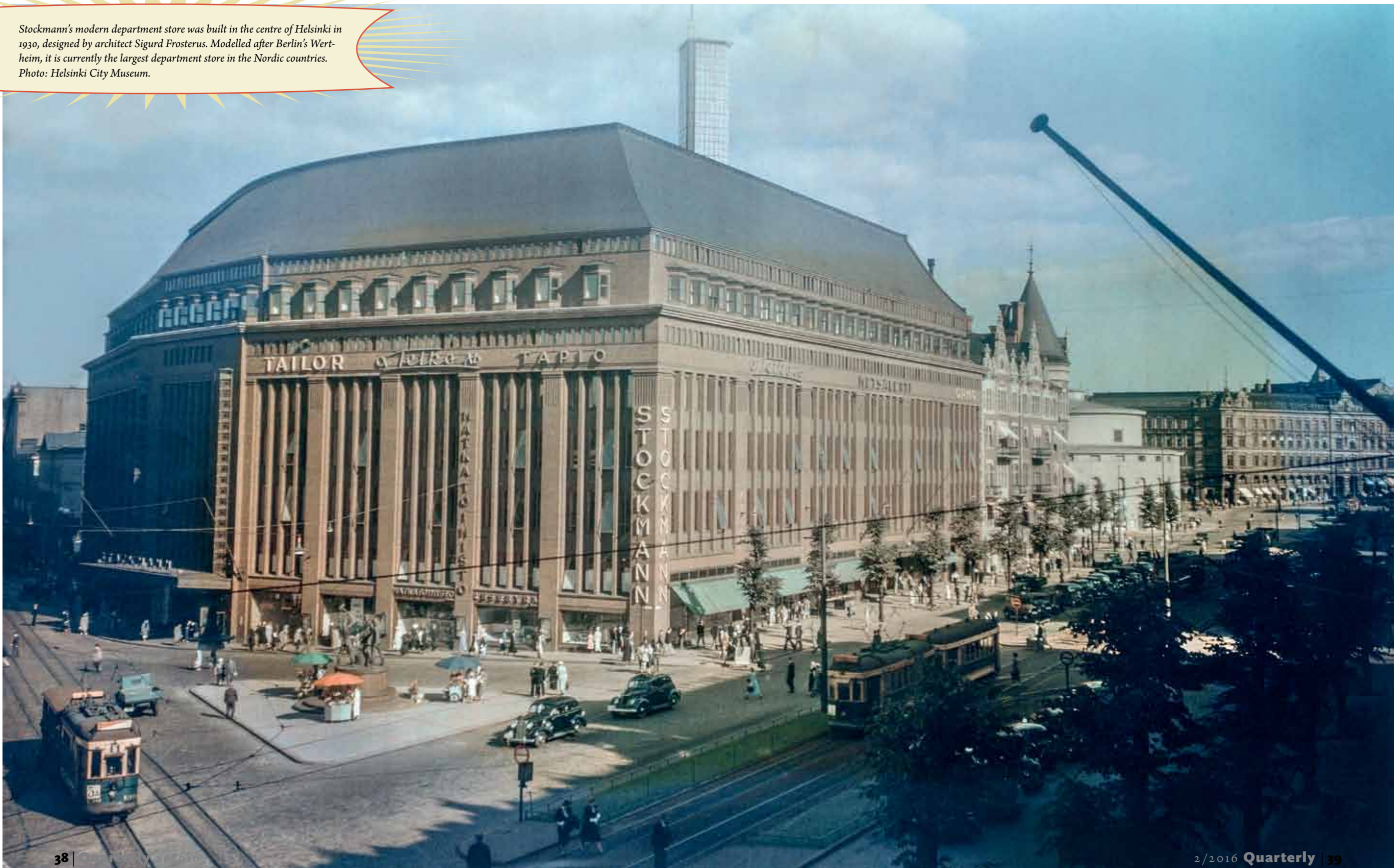
IN EARLY 1995 FINLAND, along with Sweden and Austria, joined the EU. Movement from one country to another was easier in the EU than it had been before EU membership. This is reflected clearly in Helsinki's current population. In the year 2000, 5.3% of the residents of the city spoke a language other than Finnish or Swedish as their mother tongue. In 2010, that figure was 10.2%, and by 2015, 13.5% of the population spoke a foreign language. Russian was spoken by over 16,000 people, Estonian by more than 11,000 people, and Somali by almost 8,000 people. That same year the total population of Helsinki was 620,715. 🇺🇸

MARTTI HELMINEN is Senior Researcher at City of Helsinki Urban Facts.

Literature:

- Alho, Asmo & Rauanheimo, Uljas: Helsinki ennen meitä. Helsinki 1962. 2.p.
- Entisaikain Helsinki VIII (Helsinki-Seura), Helsinki 1970.
- Helsingin kadunnimet 1-3. Helsinki 1970-1999.
- Helsingin kaupungin historia, I-V:3. Helsinki 1950-1967.
- Sentzke, Geert: Deutsche Gemeinde Helsinki-Helsingfors 1858-1971. Geschichte der ev. luth. Gemeinde deutscher Sprache in Finland. Helsinki 1972.
- Soini, Yrjö: Vieraanvaraisuus ammattina. Kulttuurihistoriallinen katsaus Suomen majoitus- ja ravitsemiselinkeinon kehitykseen, osat 1-2. Helsinki 1962-1963.
- Illman, Karl-Johan & Harviainen, Tapani. Juutalaisten historia. Helsinki 1989. 2.p.
- Suomen Islam-seurakunta 1925-1975.
- Schweitzer, Robert: Lübecker in Finnland. Aue Stiftung, Helsinki 1991
- Venäläisyys Helsingissä: 1809-1917. Marja-Liisa Lampinen (ed.) Helsinki 1984.

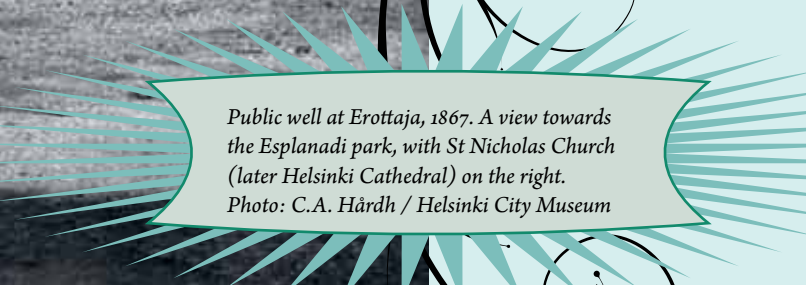
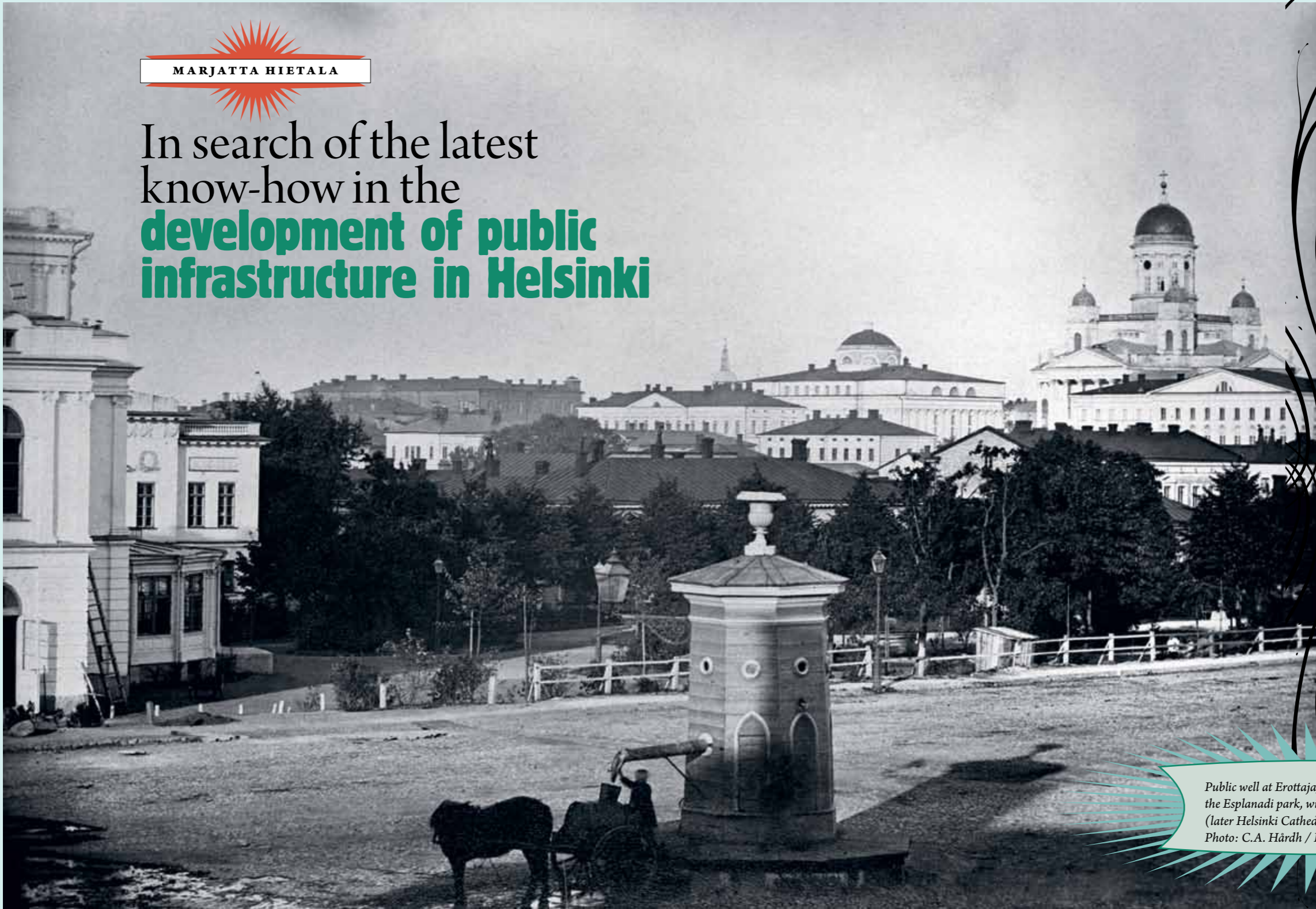
Stockmann's modern department store was built in the centre of Helsinki in 1930, designed by architect Sigurd Frosterus. Modelled after Berlin's Wertheim, it is currently the largest department store in the Nordic countries. Photo: Helsinki City Museum.



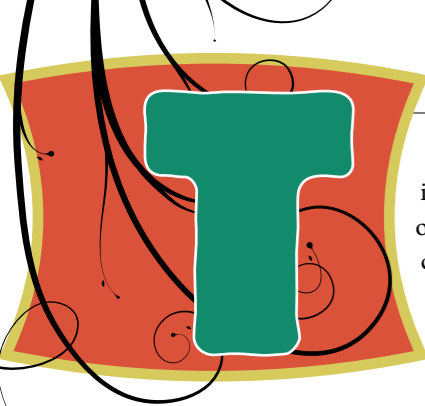


MARJATTA HIETALA

In search of the latest
know-how in the
**development of public
infrastructure in Helsinki**



*Public well at Erottaja, 1867. A view towards
the Esplanadi park, with St Nicholas Church
(later Helsinki Cathedral) on the right.
Photo: C.A. Hårdh / Helsinki City Museum*



he system by which innovations are observed and adopted can be seen as a learning process. City officials and experts employed by Helsinki used

all possible channels in order to keep up with the latest development in public infrastructure. From the end of the nineteenth century to the 1960s it became customary in the planning and constructing of Finnish social institutions that the city representatives familiarised themselves with several international alternatives before any final decision-making took place. The city officials and other experts of Helsinki made hundreds of study tours and visits to a great number of cities on the Continent and in the Nordic countries. After Finland's independence in 1917 these so called

fact-finding tours became a norm in Helsinki. The City of Helsinki reserved annually a certain sum of money for travel grants. It is remarkable, considering the cultural norms of the day, that both male and female officials received grants: doctors of medicine as well as nurses, for instance (Bell & Hietala 2002, 183–189).

WHEN EUROPEAN URBANISATION was at its liveliest at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it became clear that cities should form their own level of co-operation which transcended national frontiers. Co-operation was at first on a regional and then on a national basis, while later it became international. Cities began to deal with common problems in town congresses and meetings. These were the product of a growing self-assurance among municipal officials and a wish to collaborate with their counterparts in other cities. There were

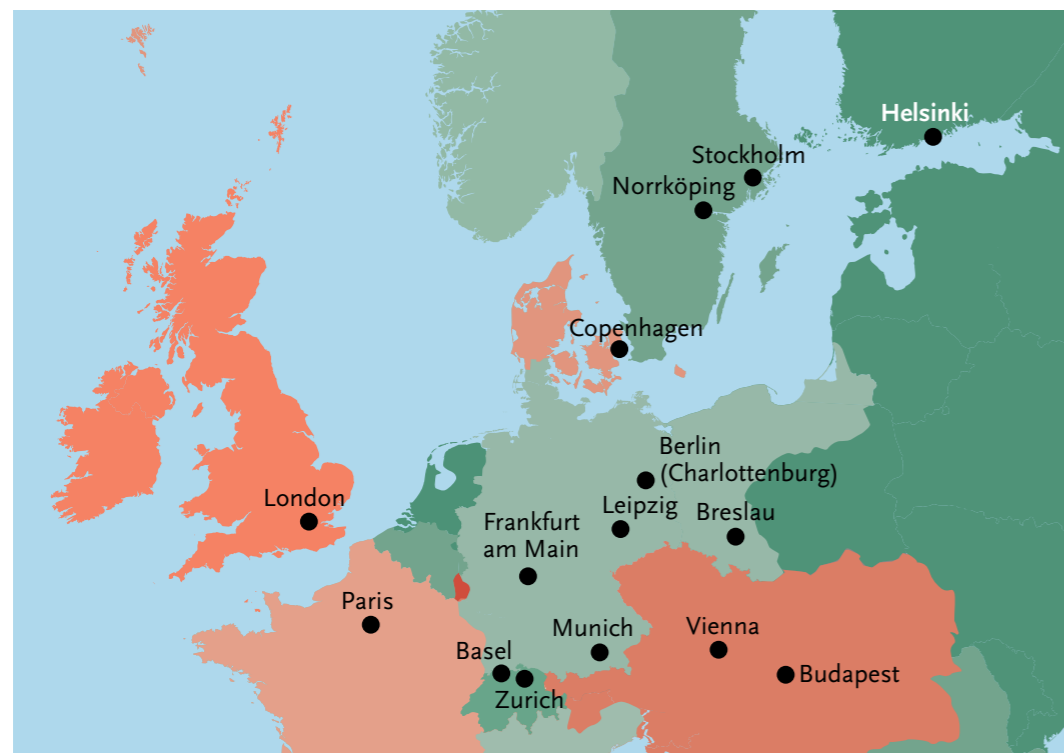
many economic, social and cultural questions to be settled. Anthony Sutcliffe has called this increasing internationalism of the cities and towns “creative internationalism” (Sutcliffe, 1981). Cities competed in demonstrating how progressive they were and how far they had adopted modern technology (Hietala, 1992, 263).

Contributing to this process of mobility were the emergence of ever more specialised groups of experts and professionals, the pressure of keeping up with developments and the improvement of communications. The Baltic steamboats started their regular traffic in the 1880s, and after the introduction of icebreakers in the 1890s Helsinki became linked all year around with the European continent. From 1920s onwards air travel enabled the inhabitants of Helsinki to reach all major cities in Europe within a few hours (Hietala 2014, 333). Under the period of Autonomy (1809-1917), Finnish experts had been in the fortunate position within the Russian Empire that they did not need a special visa for travelling abroad, except during the First World War.

school teachers, librarians, architects, engineers and promoters of adult education and social work – carried out a total of 390 tours abroad in search of expertise and know-how with the support of the municipality (Hietala, 1992, 209, 229–239).

The professional travel and acquiring latest knowledge was funded from several sources: the Senate, and later the Finnish Government, administrative boards of cities and, in the case of Helsinki, also Helsinki University and Polytechnic. A great many of the journeys were initiated and financed by the City of Helsinki itself, and the city expected its employees to take study trips. For example, Miss Thyra Gahmberg was obliged to make a study tour before she could take a job as an inspector of kindergartens. For five months in 1912 she toured and familiarised herself with kindergartens in different countries. In her report she did not only pay attention to teaching methods but also to the teachers' training, salaries and working conditions (Travel report by Miss Thyra Gahmberg, inspector of municipal kindergartens, Helsingin kaupunginvaltuuston painetut asiakirjat 1913, Nr.62).

FIGURE 1. Map of Thyra Gahmberg's study tour, 1912. Source: Bell & Hietala 2002.



Karttapohja: © Free Vector Maps.com

Study tours before the First World War

Before travelling abroad to visit urban water and sewage works, hospitals, schools and kindergartens, the Helsinki city officials and experts first examined carefully the practices and solutions of other cities at home. This was done mainly by studying the official documents and statistics of city councils. When abroad, the officials and experts relied on personal experience and their own observations. The same system continued after Independence. After the study tours, the participants compared what they had observed and learned and made decisions based on the best practices. The direct imitation of the solutions was rare. In general, there was not much time-lag when adopting the latest know-how to different infrastructure services. Between 1874 and 1917 the officials and employees of the City of Helsinki – progressive doctors, chemists, primary

The duration of these travels varied from a week-long journey to a specific congress or exhibition to a year-long study tour. It is evident from the travel reports that the Nordic capitals, Stockholm, Copenhagen and Kristiania (Oslo), as well as other big European cities like London, Paris and Vienna, formed the main reference group for the Helsinki municipal officials. The popularity of Sweden can be explained by the fact that Stockholm was one route to the Continent and that a considerably number of conferences were held in that city (Hietala 1987, 188–226).

Study tours after Independence

When we compare the periods before and after Independence, it is clear that a solid basic infrastructure had already been constructed before the First World War. Education and health

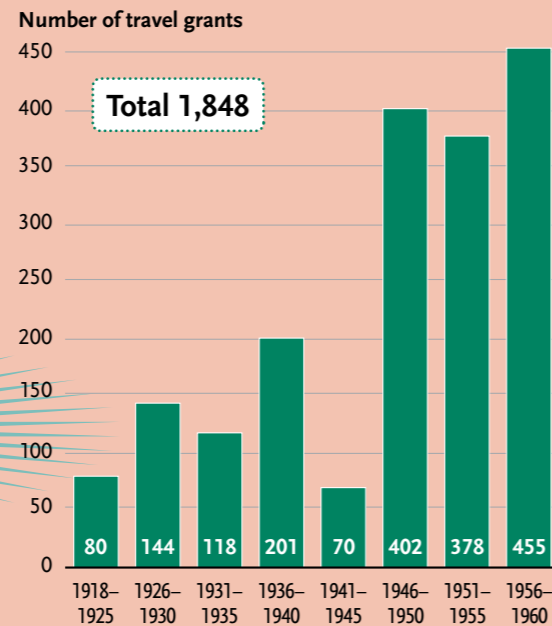


FIGURE 2. The number of travel grants for Helsinki municipal officials 1918-1960*

*These figures do not necessarily indicate the total volume of travel grants as the registration in some years seems to have been somewhat erratic. Source: Annual Reports of the Municipal Administration 1918-1960.

care services had reached international standards and specialisation had progressed. A satisfactory supply of energy and water, a good tramway system and an adequate road network were in place. When investment in the most important part of the infrastructure, the institutions, had been completed, the decision-makers began to pay attention to rationalising the way in which their activities were conducted and how to encourage the best administrative practices. During the period 1918-1960 the city officials of Helsinki made 1,848 study tours with the travel grants of the City of Helsinki (Annual Reports on the Municipal Administration 1918-1960).

While it had been customary since the 1880s to visit several countries and to make a grand tour of different cities, the tours from the 1920s onwards usually involved not more than one or two countries and only a few localities. The Nordic capitals and big cities, like Gothenburg,

were increasingly the reference group for Helsinki. Indeed, the Nordic countries were the only major direction for travel in the immediate post-war period. While Germany retained its position as an important destination until the Second World War, this did not continue after the war (Bell & Hietala 2002, 184).

WHEN ANALYSING the Helsinki City travel grants, the depression years in the early-1930s and the war years obviously mark a distinct break. The impact of an economic boom can be seen towards the end of the 1930s. Two or three officials from each sector of the administration, ranging from primary and vocational school teachers to nurses and librarians, attended vocational or professional meetings in the Nordic countries each year. In the war years 1941-1945 the number of journeys to Sweden was small, taken mostly to study civil and national defence.

Standardisation was one of the key issues in the interwar international municipal discussions, as it was considered a means of reducing construction costs. For example, the Association of Finnish Architects and the Finnish Association of Master Builders established in 1919 a committee for standardisation which published their recommendations for standardised types of windows and doors. The model drawings were then distributed by voluntary civic organisations throughout the country. The idea of standardisation was further developed during the post-war years, as the standardisation of all construction elements became a rule except in the case of a few important public buildings. (Nikula 1990, 87). In the field of city planning, attention was also paid to Stockholm's suburbs and high rise blocks. Cooling technology, the construction of industrial kitchens and the modernisation of refuse disposal by burning were other topical concerns during the interwar period and entire delegations travelled to study the latest technology. (Annual Reports on the Municipal Administration 1923-1939.)

ANOTHER QUESTION in which expertise was sought, as asphalt became common as street surfacing material and motoring increased, was the classification of streets. Initially the idea was backed by Helsinki's City Architect Birger Brunel and, after him, by architect Otto-Iivari Meurman. Streets were classified mainly on the basis of their

capacity to conduct traffic into major routes, thoroughfares and housing areas (Turpeinen 1995, 208-209). According to Meurman, a street was to have either traffic value or housing value. If it had neither, it was a "groundless waste or luxury" to maintain it. (Meurman 1952, 1042, quoted in Turpeinen 1995, 208). Meurman's basic ideas continue to live on in the current discussion of regional main routes and regional main streets.

Conclusion

From the end of the nineteenth century onwards, Finnish officials and professional experts on various fields of infrastructure were driven by the need to remain up to date and to keep pace with other nations. For Helsinki, this meant developing the city in the same direction as other European capitals. The main factors behind the active search for the latest know-how were professional, national and civic pride. Education and good language skills helped communication and networking abroad. 🌐

MARJATTA HIETALA is Professor of General History (emerita) at the University of Tampere. She is a board member of the International Committee of the History of Towns (1992-) and the former president of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (2010-2015).

"Standardisation was considered a means of reducing costs."

Bibliography

- Annual Reports on Helsinki Municipal Administration 1918–1960.
- Bell, Marjatta & Hietala, Marjatta (2002). Helsinki – The Innovative City. Historical Perspectives. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society & City of Helsinki Urban Facts.
- Helsingin kaupunginvaltuuston painetut asiakirjat 1913, Nr. 62.
- Hietala, Marjatta (1992). Innovaatioiden ja kansainvälistymisen vuosikymmenet. Helsinki: City of Helsinki Urban Facts.
- Hietala, Marjatta (1987). Services and Urbanization at the Turn of the Century. The Diffusion of Innovations. Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society.
- Marjatta Hietala (2014). Helsinki, an Innovative Capital. In: The Farsighted Gaze of Capital Cities: Essays in Honour of Francesca Bocchi, eds. by Rosa Smura, Hubert Houben, Manuela Ghizzoni. Roma: Viella.
- Nikula, Riitta (1990). Rakennustaiteen 1920- ja 1930-luku, in: Ars – Suomen taide 5. [Espoo]: Weilin + Göös.
- Sutcliffe, Anthony (1981). Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States, France 1780–1914. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Turpeinen, Oiva (1995). Kunnallistekniikka Suomessa keskiajalta 1990-luvulle. Jyväskylä: Suomen kuntatekniikan yhdistys.

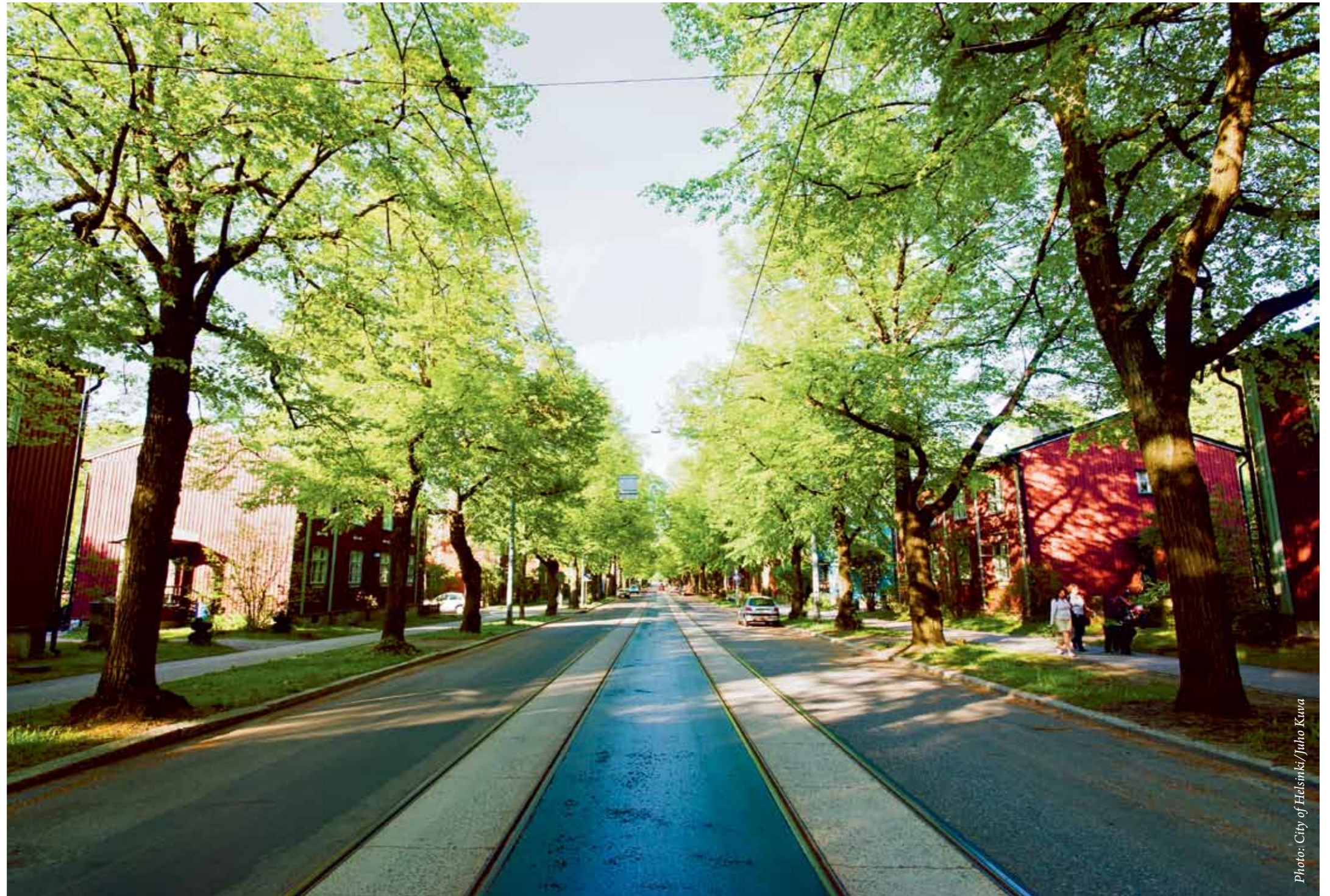


Photo: City of Helsinki / Juho Kuna

Bridge to A BETTER FUTURE

Town planning in **Helsinki**,
Tallinn and **Dublin** in the 1910s

A CENTURY AGO, in the shadow of the First World War, important city plans were drawn up all over Europe. Small nations that were striving for greater freedom were especially active in seizing the opportunities presented by the new discipline of town planning. The plans of Helsinki, Tallinn, Dublin and other similar cities looked far beyond the present and envisioned what the cities could be like when better days came.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE First World War has overshadowed almost everything else that happened in the 1910s. Examination of the decade has often been structured by the war – first the build-up of tensions and outbreak of hostilities, then the war years, and finally the end and aftermath of the conflicts. Yet the decade was not only about tremendous destruction and loss of life; it was also about a search for new beginnings. The discipline of town planning, which lived its formative years in conflict-torn Europe, is one such example.



FIGURE 1. The Helsinki market square in the early twentieth-century. Photo: Gustaf Sandberg.
The Society for Swedish Literature in Finland

While many planners were for years at the front or otherwise employed in war work, others continued throughout the decade to build a sustainable future for cities. They planned urban and suburban communities that would outshine those of the pre-war years, they made renewal plans for cities devastated or damaged in wartime, and they planned capital cities for nations striving for greater autonomy or even independence (Geddes 1917, 457–462; Mikkola 1990). In this paper I will concentrate on the latter category, exploring the ways in which town planning was used in Helsinki and similar capitals to redefine the city and the nation in relation to the rapidly changing world.

In the field of town planning, the 1910s began with two epoch-making events. The Universal Town Planning Exhibition (*Allgemeine Städtebau Ausstellung*) was opened in Berlin in May 1910 and the Town Planning Conference, organised by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), convened in London a few months later, in October 1910. These events attracted a large number of architects, engineers and city officials from far and wide, owing principally to their seminal contribution to the field. The events were organised not only to provide the participants with the opportunity to share and exchange ideas but also to further the planning profession (Freestone and Amati 2015, 1–8).

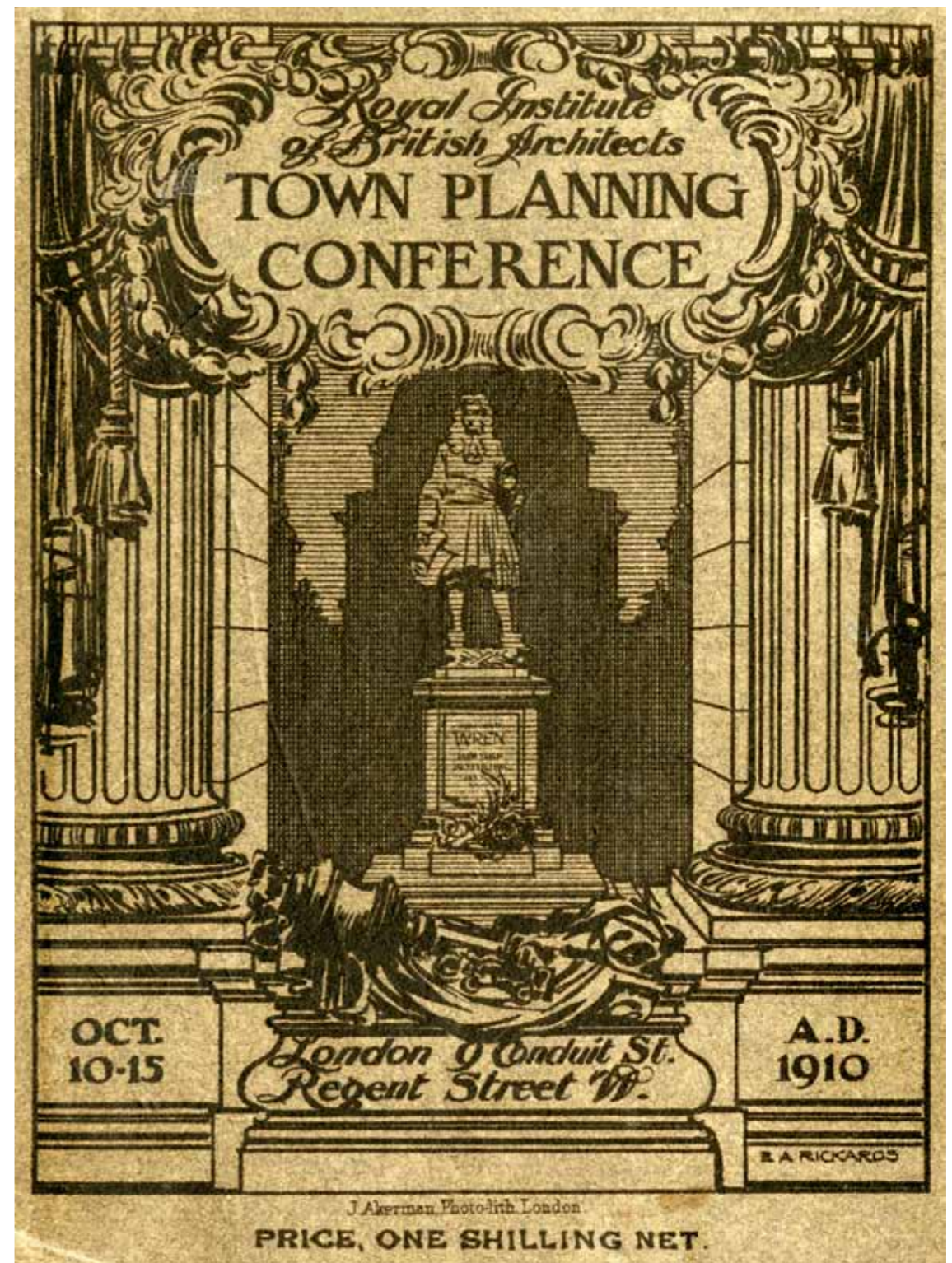
WITH THE EXHIBITIONS, lectures, meetings and publications, the Berlin and London events set the stage for establishing town planning as a transnational, indeed a global, concern with national and regional specificities. The events also contributed to creating a common history for the

profession: an imagined linear history – from the pyramids of Egypt to the garden cities of England and the town extensions of Germany – that became a cornerstone of the profession (Hebbert and Sonne 2006; Crasemann Collins 2015).

Yet another important cornerstone established by these events was the conception of town planning as an art and a science. Design was emphasised as central to planning, but at the same time both individual town plans and the discipline of town planning as a whole were increasingly legitimised by reference to new scientific knowledge, techniques and expertise (Taylor 1998, 3–6; on the legitimising authority of science, see Niemi 2007). The secretary-general to the Town Planning Conference, John W. Simpson, stressed in his opening speech that town planning involved multiple spheres of expertise and therefore was more appropriately carried out by architects who were experts in both science and art.

As is the case with all conventional phrases, “town planning” has different meanings in different mouths. To the medical officer of health it means sanitation and healthy houses; to the engineer, trams and bridges and straight roads, with houses drilled to toe a line like soldiers. To some it means open spaces; to the policeman regulation and traffic; to others a garden plot to every house, and so on. To the architect it means all these things, collected, considered, and welded into a beautiful whole. It is his work, the work of the trained planner, to satisfy all the requirements of a town plan, and to create in doing so a work of art (Transactions 1911, iv).

FIGURE 2. The Handbook of the 1910 Town Planning Conference underlined the leading role of the architecture profession in town planning. The cover of the book was dominated by the figure of Sir Christopher Wren (1623–1723), one of Britain’s most distinguished architects. Source: Royal Institute of British Architects.



Similar steps were taken in Helsinki and Tallinn.

Town planning and national aspirations

The events in Berlin and London gave important impetus to town planning initiatives throughout Europe and beyond. What enhanced the impact was the fact that planning ideas discussed in the international conference settings were – or could have been made – compatible with a variety of national and local aims. For example, many small European nations striving for self-determination saw town planning as a means of enhancing the quality of life of city residents but also of building a national identity and redefining the nation's place in the world. In cities like Helsinki, Tallinn and Dublin the opportunities offered by town planning did not go unnoticed.

AN INTERNATIONAL TOWN planning competition was organised in Dublin in 1914 at the instigation of the pioneering Scottish town planner Patrick Geddes, who was a frequent visitor to the city. The official aim of the competition was to “elicit Plans and Reports of a preliminary and suggestive character, and thus obtain contributions and alternatives which may be of value towards the guidance of the future development of the City in its various directions.” In more practical terms, it was hoped that the planning competition would bring new insights into the debates as to how to alleviate the housing crisis and how to bring new life to the city which had lost much of its earlier prestige in the course of the nineteenth century. In 1916, the submission by Patrick Abercrombie and his colleagues, “Dublin of the Future”, was awarded the prize. Their plan suggested that Dublin should be ‘haussmannised’ – which entailed demolishing the dilapidated

areas and rebuilding them with more ambitious architecture and convenient traffic networks (Abercrombie, Kelly and Kelly 1922; Bannon 1999, 145–151). The plan was never realised, but the Dublin competition reflected and reinforced the new thinking about the role of the transnational planning community and planning competitions in transforming cities and enhancing their images and identities.

SIMILAR STEPS WERE TAKEN IN HELSINKI and Tallinn, located on the western edge of the Russian Empire: Helsinki was the capital of the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland, and Tallinn was the most important city in the Governorate of Estonia. The population of Helsinki had exceeded 100,000 in 1907 and Tallinn surpassed this four years later, in 1911, so both cities were now categorised as large according to European practice and Russian statistics. The time seemed propitious to utilise modern town planning to enhance the profile of the cities and also that of the nations. In November 1911, the City of Tallinn took a decision to organise an international town planning competition, one aim of which was to lay solid foundations for the future of Tallinn as a city of trade and industry. The competition was won by the Finnish architect Eliel Saarinen. His plan was never officially accepted but the planning of Tallinn followed his ideas in many respects (Hallas-Murula 2005). While Saarinen was working on Tallinn, he was also preparing plans for Helsinki and the surrounding areas. Two important Helsinki plans, published respectively in 1915 and 1918, will be discussed in more detail in the last part of this paper.

Helsinki plans in the 1910s

As the secretary-general to the Town Planning Conference, John W. Simpson, had hoped and anticipated, architects took the lead in the town planning movement. In Helsinki, the most prominent figures in the field were the first town planning architect for the City of Helsinki, Bertel Jung, and the architect Eliel Saarinen. Before moving into town planning around 1910, Saarinen had already made an important contribution to the cityscape of Helsinki as an architect. With his colleagues he had designed a number of impressive buildings in the National Romantic style: the National Museum, Pohjola Insurance Company building and a few residential buildings. He had also designed one of the most important landmarks of Helsinki, the railway station, which was constructed between 1905 and 1919. As a planner, he crossed national borders: in addition to working on Helsinki and Tallinn, he participated in the planning process of Budapest in the years 1911–1912 and was the second prize winner in the 1912 international competition for the design of Canberra (Mikkola 1990; Byard 1996).

IN THE 1910S, town planning offered new interesting opportunities for Saarinen, Jung and their colleagues in Helsinki. The population of the city was increasing rapidly, and many architects, municipal officials and businessmen felt that it was high time to analyse and plan the Helsinki region as an entity. The new Helsinki these architects created on their drawing boards was a metropolis which was to stand proudly alongside with the other great national capitals. Having a monumental and modern capital city – or even a plan to build such a city – was clearly seen as one way of gaining credibility in the international arena (Mikkola 1990; Niemi 2016).

SAARINEN, TOGETHER WITH a number of colleagues, started the planning project by publishing the Munkkiniemi–Haaga plan (Saarinen 1915). This plan focused on two suburbs outside the official boundaries of Helsinki but also offered more general suggestions for the expansion of the city. The work was commissioned by a private company, M. G. Stenius, which possessed extensive landholdings in the Munkkiniemi and Haaga areas just outside the municipal boundary, with Saarinen both a shareholder and board member. In order to raise the interest of policymakers and the general public in town planning, the models and illustrations of the magnificent Munkkiniemi–Haaga plan were presented in an architecture exhibition in Helsinki. It was evident from the attention and acclaim that the exhibition received, that the ideas of Saarinen and his colleagues were welcomed by many (Mikkola 1990, Nikula 2006; Niemi 2016).

IN 1916, Eliel Saarinen and Bertel Jung began to develop a master plan for Greater Helsinki, at the request and with the support of the businessman Julius Tallberg. Concerned that there was not enough space in the core of the city for the expanding commercial centre, Tallberg suggested that the Helsinki railway station be moved three kilometres northwards to create space for a new ‘City’. Following his idea, Saarinen and Jung planned an entirely new city centre northwest of the old neo-classical centre. Like Patrick Abercrombie in Dublin, Saarinen and Jung looked, for example, to Haussmannian Paris as a model. In designing the centre, they made use of the axial organisation favoured by Haussmann – drawing long straight streets lined with uniform building facades (Jung 1918; Mikkola 1990; Bannon 1999, 151).

They looked to Haussmannian Paris as a model.



FIGURE 3. Eliel Saarinen's Munkkiniemi-Haaga town plan. Aerial view from the north.

THE FOCUS OF THE NEW CENTRE was to be King's Avenue, a three-kilometre-long boulevard cutting across the new centre from south to north. The crossing where the south-north axis met the east-west axis was reserved for public buildings, but otherwise the avenue was to be lined with commercial premises and office blocks. The planning project was started before Finnish independence, but it took on a new urgency in December 1917, when Helsinki transformed, as Jung phrased it, from 'a residence of Russian provincial satraps' to the capital of independent Finland. The proposal for a master plan was published under the title *Pro-Helsingfors* in 1918 (Jung 1918).

THE DEBATES AND EXHIBITIONS held in Berlin and London in 1910 had clearly forged the directions in which the discipline of town planning was developing. Saarinen, Jung and their colleagues – as Abercrombie in Dublin – strenuously promoted their plans as works of both art and science. The beautiful, inspiring models and illustrations were an integral part of the planning process, but new plans were also legitimised

by anchoring them on scientific and statistical knowledge. In the beginning of the 1910s, Finland was still an overwhelmingly agrarian country on the edge of the Russian Empire. Saarinen and Jung planned a monumental new city fit to be a centre of a wealthy, modern, industrialised country – and legitimised their plan by referring to systematic investigations, statistical analysis and demographic forecasts (Saarinen 1915; Jung 1918).

THE APPROACH TO the new centre of Helsinki was also closely connected to the (imagined) history of the city and the history of town planning. In the Munkkiniemi-Haaga publication, the architects used a large number of pages for reiterating again the common history of the Western planning tradition from the times of the pharaohs to Haussmannian Paris and Ebenezer Howard's garden cities. The planning of Helsinki was presented as a link in this long chain of the Western planning tradition, and Helsinki as a city that belongs within the Western European cultural sphere (Saarinen 1915; Jung 1918).

OF THE LARGE-SCALE Helsinki plans, only a fraction was realised. This setback, which disappointed Saarinen, did not discourage younger architects. The idea of the new city centre remained alive in Helsinki – and the new generations of architects and town planners seized the challenge again and again until the twenty-first century. And that was exactly what they were expected to do. As Eliel Saarinen wrote in the 1940s, "[urban] planning is more than dreaming. Planning is that conceiving faculty which must recommend ways and means of transmuting the possibilities or impossibilities of today into the realities of tomorrow." (Saarinen 1943, 241–242). ©

MARJAANA NIEMI is Professor of International History at the University of Tampere and President of the European Association for Urban History (EAUH).

Sources

- Abercrombie Patrick, Kelly Sydney and Kelly Arthur, *Dublin of the Future: The New Town Plan*. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1922.
- Bannon, Michael J., 'Dublin town planning competition: Ashbee and Chettle's "New Dublin – A Study in Civics"', *Planning Perspectives* 14 (1999), 145–162.
- Byard Sheila, 'Supposing it was Saarinen's Canberra', *Planning History* 18 (1996), 9–14.
- Crasemann Collins Christiane, 'Latin American reverberations from the Universal City Planning Exhibitions of 1910', in Freestone Robert and Amati Marco (Eds), *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture*. Ashgate, Farnham 2015, 49–63.
- Freestone Robert and Amati Marco, 'Town planning exhibitions', in Freestone Robert and Amati Marco (Eds), *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture*. Ashgate, Farnham 2015, 1–8.
- Geddes Patrick, 'The Paris Exhibition of the Re-Constituted City (1916)', *National Municipal Review* (1917), 457–462.

- Hallas-Murula Karin, *Greater Tallinn: Eliel Saarinen's Greater-Tallinn 1913*. Tallinn: Museum of Estonian Architecture 2005.
- Jung Bertel, *Pro-Helsingfors: Ett förslag till stadsplan för Stor-Helsingfors*. Helsinki, 1918.
- Hebbert Michael and Sonne Wolfgang, 'History builds the town: On the uses of history in twentieth-century city planning', in Javier Monclús and Manuel Guàrdia (Eds.) *Culture, Urbanism and Planning*. Aldershot, Ashgate 2006, 3–20.
- Mikkola Kirmo, 'Eliel Saarinen and town planning', in Marika Hausen, Kirmo Mikkola, Anna-Liisa Arnberg and Tytti Valtio, *Eliel Saarinen: Projects 1896–1923*. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press 1990, 187–220.
- Niemi Marjaana, *Public Health and Municipal Policy Making: Britain and Sweden 1900 – 1940*. Aldershot, Ashgate 2007.
- Niemi Marjaana, 'Kaupunkisuunnittelijat ilman rajoja. Eliel Saarinen luomassa kansallisia, kansainvälisiä kaupunkeja', in Irma Sulkunen, Marjaana Niemi, Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Eds), *Usko, tiede ja historiankirjoitus – suomalaisia maailmankuvia keskiajalta 1900-luvulle*. Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2016, 237–266.
- Nikula Riitta, 'Bertel Jung: the pioneer of modern town planning in Helsinki', in *Focus on Finnish 20th Century Architecture and Town Planning*. Collected Papers by Riitta Nikula. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press 2006, 41–66.
- Saarinen Eliel, *Munkkiniemi-Haaga ja Suur-Helsinki*. Helsinki, 1915.
- Saarinen Eliel, *The City: Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future*. New York, Reinhold Publishing, 1943.
- Taylor Nigel, *Urban Planning Theory since 1945*. London, Sage Publications 1998.
- The Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects Town Planning Conference 10–15 October 1910. London, Royal Institute of British Architects 1911.



**Green spaces cover over 40 %
of Helsinki's land area.**

HELSINKI – a compact green city



Photos: Pekka Kaikkonen



HELSINKI IS ONE OF THE GREENEST CAPITAL CITIES IN EUROPE with greenery covering well over 40 % of the city's land surface (216.5 km²). Together with blue space such as the sea, rivers, lakes and streams it forms a continuum of recreational space in the city (Helsinki 2015c, 13; Vierikko et al. 2014, 5). (Figure 1). In comparison, public greenery covers some 33 % out of Greater London's area (1,572 km²) (Greenspace 2015). Despite these impressive percentages of greenery, there are crucial differences between these cities over town planning policies that reflect different perceptions about the role of green space. Like most large cities in the UK, London is considered to lack greenery. London's municipal authorities aim therefore to preserve their existing green space and, as a planning objective, to create more wherever possible and attempt to develop a more sustainable urban structure. In contrast, the city of Helsinki arguably has very large reserves of green space. In addition, the population of the city is expected to grow by 240,000 people, which is why the city opts to develop more compact and denser structure with less greenery (Helsinki 2015b, 10; Helsinki 2013a, 54). This article analyses and explains how the creation and role of public green space in Helsinki has evolved since the 1990s and contrasts this development with that of London.

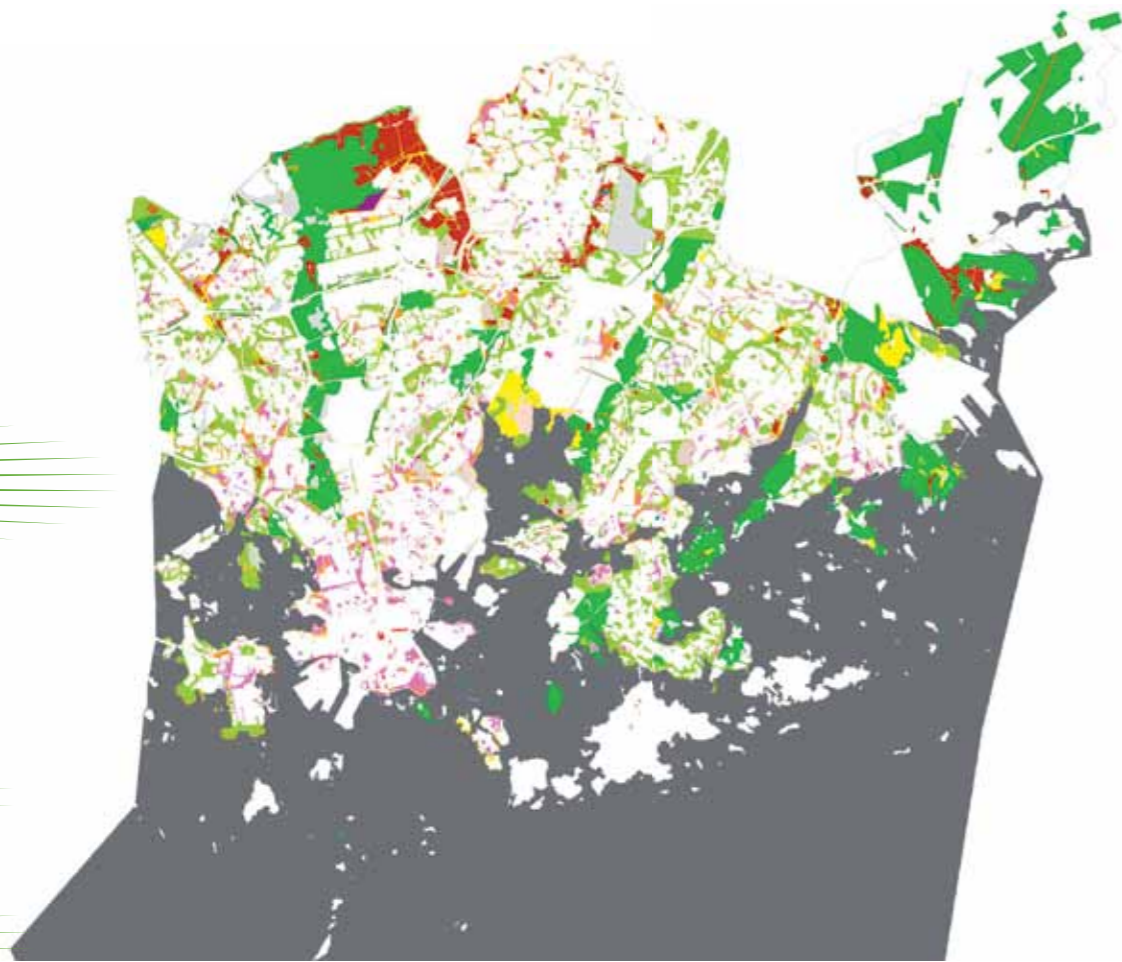


FIGURE 1. Green Spaces in Helsinki in 2012. Source: Helsinki 2013c, 22–23.

► **IN FINLAND, THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES HAVE ALMOST COMPLETE CONTROL OVER TOWN PLANNING.** In Helsinki, the City Planning Department is responsible for the master plan and local plans. Moreover, the fact that the City of Helsinki owns almost all green space within its boundaries allows it to dictate its development. In its planning policy, the city has balanced between redevelopment and preservation of green space with densification of built-up areas as the main planning objective since the 1960s (Kolbe 2002, 181–182). Accordingly, the successive master plans published in 1992 and 2002 have promoted the infill building of semi-detached housing areas and the relocation of old harbour and industrial areas like Jätkäsaari and Sompasaari (Helsinki 2002a; Helsinki 1992). The main reason has been the population growth of the city which accelerated in the 1990s after a period of decrease and stagnation due to suburbanisation from the mid-1970s until the late 1980s. Between 1991 and 2015, the population of Helsinki grew from 492,000 to over 620,000 (Helsinki 2015c, 27). The growth continues and the population is estimated to reach 860,000 by 2050 (Helsinki 2013a, 9–10). In other European cities population is growing, too. In London, for instance, after decades of decline due to suburbanisation, the population began to grow from some 6.7 million in the late 1980s reaching nearly 8.2 million in

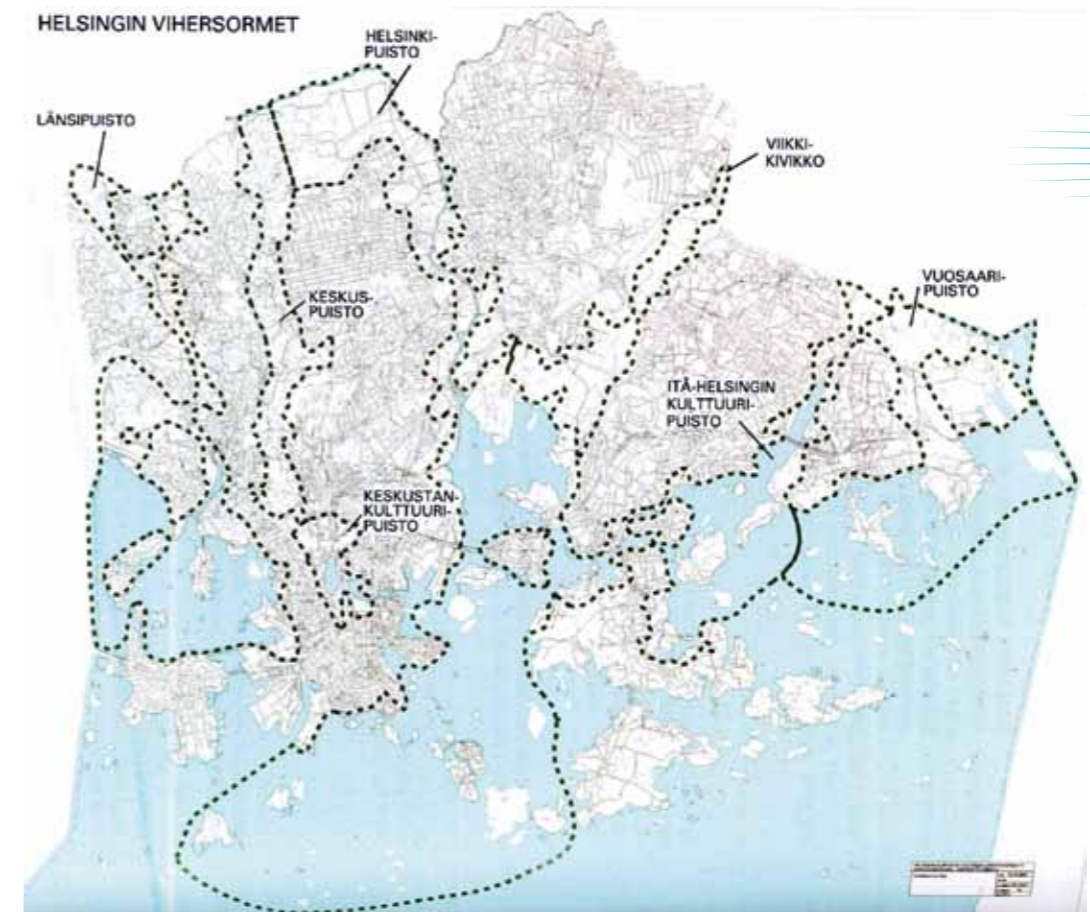


FIGURE 2. Green Fingers in Helsinki. Source: Helsinki 2002a, 154.

2011. London's population growth is estimated to surpass 10 million by 2036. (GLA 2015, 22–27). Unsurprisingly, in both Helsinki and London, the growing population increases the pressure to densify and infill urban structure (Beatley 2012, 7). Yet there is a marked difference between the town planning policies concerning the role of greenery in these cities.

IN HELSINKI, TOWN PLANNING HAS TRADITIONALLY AIMED TO PRESERVE EXISTING GREEN SPACE, which forms the areas locally termed 'green fingers' (Schulman 2000, 57; Helsinki 1992, 26–30). (Figure 2) These green wedges that comprise mostly recreational forests extend to the centre of Helsinki forming a 'network of recreation areas' (Vilkuna 1992, 33). Moreover, since the 1950s, the policy of the city has been to create new green space for each new housing area (Lento 2006, Herranen 1997). The design of these areas has changed, however, from the forest suburbs such as Maunula and Myllypuro developed in the 1950s and 1960s to the new residential areas like Pikku-Huopalahti, Herttoniemi and Vuosaari constructed after the 1980s. In the more recent neighbourhoods, the greenery tends to consist of small-scale parks instead of forests (Niemi 2006, 210–214; Helsinki 1989, 130). Admittedly, some greenery has been lost to development in

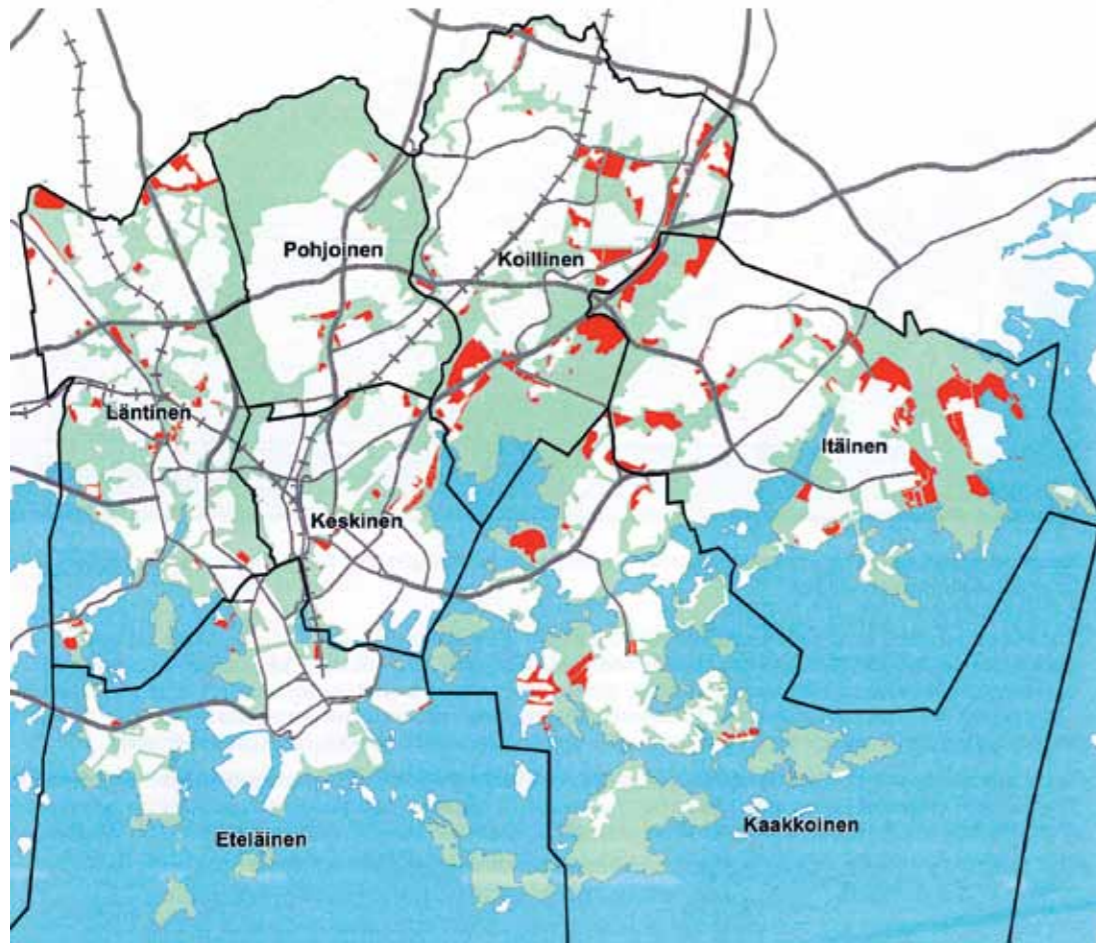


FIGURE 3. Development Areas including Green Spaces in the Master Plan 2002. Source: Helsinki 2002b, 29.

Helsinki, not to mention the loss of private green spaces, mostly private gardens, across the city, without an accurate record so far. Likewise, in London, public green space has not remained sacrosanct from development in the 20th century. Parts of major parks including Hyde Park have been allocated for road widening schemes in particular (Hannikainen 2016, 125). Yet the loss of green space has concentrated mostly on private land (Hannikainen 2016, 193–195). However, most of London’s municipal authorities especially in Inner London attempt to protect their existing public green space from development by denying planning applications that threaten designated public greenery (GLA 2015, 46, 94–98; Southwark 2015, 81–82).

In Helsinki, the need for new housing posed a crucial problem in the late 1990s, because the city was reaching its limits. In fact, the Master Plan of 2002 suggested that 3 % out of existing public green space (nearly 164 hectares) could be developed (Helsinki 2002a, 98; Helsinki 2001, 13). (Figure 3) The city council also lobbied the state for the annexation of Östersundom district in Sipoo to Helsinki. Despite Sipoo’s opposition, the Government transferred Östersundom

to Helsinki in 2007, and the area was officially annexed in 2009 (Helsinki 2011a, 6). (Figure 1) However, the housing programme had to be limited because large areas in Östersundom were nature reserves, in addition to which a new Sipoonkorpi national park was established in 2011 (Helsinki 2011a, 64). However, the city has been able to accommodate most of the new housing on vacated harbour and industrial areas and brownfield sites. (Jaakkola 2012, 111) As a result, the city could postpone its policy to allocate its public green space for new housing. Moreover, the annexation of Östersundom increased the actual acreage of public greenery in Helsinki by over 25 per cent (Table 1).

TABLE 1. Acreage of green space in Helsinki, 2000–2015. Source: Helsinki 2015, 15; Helsinki 2011, 15; Helsinki 2006, 14; Helsinki 2001, 13.

TYPE/ACREAGE IN KM ²	2000	2005	2010	2015	CHANGE (%)
Parks	11.00	9.87	9.00	8.98	-18.36
Forests	40.11	38.05	36.72	45.62	+13.74
Fields & meadows	6.63	7.99	9.4	10.14	+52.94
Nature reserves	–	3.76	4.99	5.99	+59.31
Other	–	1.52	2.2	1.92	+44.74
Total	57.74	61.19	62.31	72.65	+25.82

THE PREVAILING TOWN PLANNING POLICY OVER HELSINKI stresses the need to accommodate the projected population growth partially by allocating public greenery for new housing (Helsinki 2013a, 9–10). In the draft of the new master plan, the extent of the remaining green space is presented obscurely: the future boundaries as well as the lost areas of public green spaces are not clearly depicted (Helsinki 2016a; Helsinki 2016b; Helsinki 2015b, 12, 48–49). As a positive exception, the development of Keskuspuisto (Central Park) is presented unambiguously in a detailed plan (Helsinki 2015a, 15). In the previous master plan, as mentioned above, the proposed loss of greenery was clearly shown presenting the public the aim and the extent of the plan. (Figure 3) Apparently, the idea of the new plan is to preserve the core areas of the existing public green space thus providing a loose framework for future development. A similar policy characterised town planning over London from the late 1980s until the early 2010s. The Unitary Development Plans (UDPs) were created to allocate room for commercial development instead of municipal projects like the provision of new parks (Hannikainen 2016, 174–175).

A CRUCIAL DIFFERENCE IS THAT THE CITY OF HELSINKI owns nearly 65 % of its land area, a reserve it has acquired to secure continued supply of land mainly for new housing (Yrjänä 2013). In London, the municipal authorities own much less land and private developers are the main providers of new housing. Compared to Helsinki, London’s municipal authorities can concentrate on preserving their greenery by simply refusing to designate public green spaces for private development. The City of Helsinki faces a more difficult situation: it is the principal land owner aiming to provide more sites for housing, but at the same time attempting to preserve its

green structure. As the establishment of Burgess Park (Southwark, London) and Finlandia Park (Helsinki) suggest, the creation of a new green space in a modern metropolis can be a long, expensive and complex process (Hannikainen 2016; HS 2014; Helsingin Uutiset 2014). Helsinki is likely to appear less green in the future because its planners and politicians seem to prefer housing over greenery (Helsinki 2013a, 11, 18).

IN FINLAND AND THE UK, green space has not become a key concept in town planning, although it has been employed in official planning documents since the early 1990s. In Helsinki, it has been employed as a general definition in master plans in contrast to more precise zoning like recreation areas, allotments and parks used in the local plans. Likewise, in London, the use of “green space” covering all parks, commons and other “open spaces” begun in the early 1990s (Hannikainen 2016, 173–174). “Green” is becoming a more diverse concept with the introduction of green roofs and vertical greens which, however, imply the increasing influence of ecology in town planning. This comes on top of a growing interest in open spaces like plazas and squares in almost every city including Helsinki and London (GLA 2015, 96; Helsinki 2015b, 8; Helsinki 2013b, 12–15; Helsinki 2013c, 49). More importantly, the reason why there is green space in cities has more and more to do with ecology and sustainability. Instead of recreation and leisure that have so far been the main roles of greenery in Helsinki and London, biodiversity and ecological value are now emphasised in defining the importance of green space in Helsinki (Vierikko et al. 2014; Helsinki 2013b, 8–11; Helsinki 2013c, 49; Helsinki 2002a, 52).

UNSURPRISINGLY, THE ACREAGE OF ECOLOGICALLY rich and important green spaces (fields and meadows and nature reserves) has grown drastically in Helsinki compared to the decreasing acreage of parks. (Table 1) The new classification of green spaces according to their biodiversity as a scientifically measured factor – instead of understanding their different roles – can risk many smaller recreational areas, notably parks (Jaakkola 2012, 119–120). There are now over 50 nature reserves in the city, and as their number is likely to grow, the pressure to develop other green spaces increases (Helsinki 2015b, 51–52, 160). In comparison, Greater London has some 187 statutory protected areas such as nature reserves, in addition to some 1,400 sites of importance for nature conservation (Greenspace 2015; Greater London National Park 2015). In fact, ‘Sites of Importance for Nature Conservation (SINCs)’ cover over 30.8 km² (or over 19 %) out of Greater London’s area. This is more than the acreage of public open space (28.52 km²) although these overlap partially (Greenspace 2015). Notwithstanding the proliferation of nature reserves, ecological parks and allotment gardens during the recent decades, London’s municipal authorities recognise diversity of public greenery. They promote a policy in which different green spaces have different functions including supporting physical and mental well-being, improving air quality, reducing noise and enhancing biodiversity in the city (GLA 2015; Southwark 2015; 18–19).



Photos: Pekka Kaikkonen

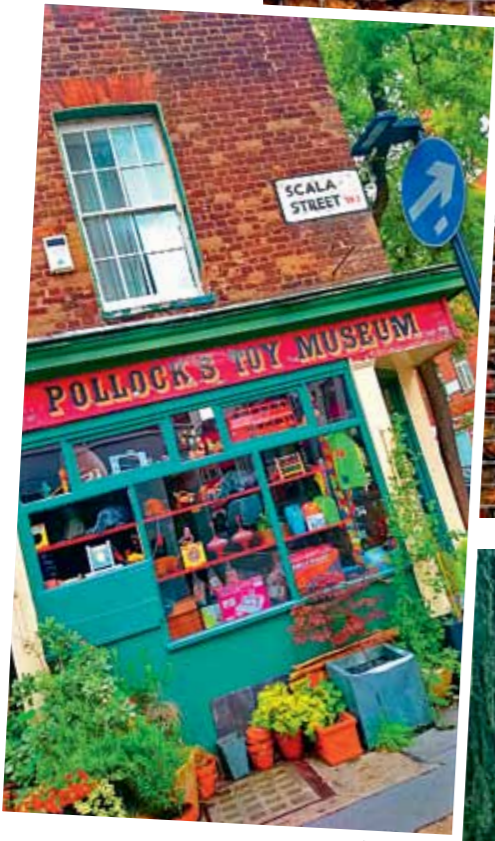


COMPARED TO LONDON AND OTHER EUROPEAN CITIES, there has been surprisingly little public discussion about the loss of greenery in Helsinki. While many local associations have been active, and relatively successful, in preserving their local green spaces, the fact that the planning remains the realm of the City Planning Department may partially explain the weak interest (Niemi 2006, 226–227). Moreover, Finnish urban culture in which most residents of large cities, including Helsinki, spend much of their leisure time in the countryside closer to “proper nature” contributes to the meagre interest in greenery in cities (Tyrväinen et al. 2007, Clark and Hietala 2006, 187). More importantly, the leading political parties in Helsinki support

development and mainly disagree about which green space can be developed and which should be preserved – a point exemplified in the preservation of the recreational area of Kivinokka in 2014 (Helsingin Uutiset 2014). (Figure 2) It appears as if the politicians, the planners and even many residents feel that there is too much green space within Helsinki for the city to be (come) urban and that the surplus greenery can be developed as long as the core areas of the present “green fingers” remain unbuilt.

TO CONCLUDE, THE EVOLUTION OF GREEN SPACE IN HELSINKI continues to balance between the aims of creating a compact city and that of preserving green space. So far, the city has managed to preserve major green spaces that form the green network in Helsinki, largely resulting from the use of old industrial areas for housing and from the fortunate annexation of Östersundom. As major cities like Helsinki and London continue to grow, they encounter a difficult choice given the limited amount of land available for new development. Considering the prevailing town planning policy, Helsinki is likely to appear less green with less green space reserved for recreation for its 850,000 residents to enjoy in 2050. Public participation in town planning and the campaigning for the preservation of greenery are therefore likely to increase. The need to reintroduce greenery in metropolises like London provides an important reminder for planners and politicians in Helsinki about the importance of preserving public green space. Despite becoming more compact, Helsinki will remain a green city possessing an ample amount of green space. But the question remains: how to develop a compact and sustainable city without losing too much of its green structure? 🤔

MATTI O. HANNIKAINEN has worked extensively on the history of public green space in London. He received his PhD at the University of Helsinki in 2014. This article has been written as part of the research project “Nature in Arts, Culture, and History” (278008) funded by the Academy of Finland.



Public greenery covers some 33 % out of Greater London's area.

Photos: Pekka Kaikkonen

Sources

- Beatley, Timothy 2012: Introduction: Why Study European Cities? in Beatley, Timothy (ed.), *Green Cities of Europe – Global Lessons on Green Urbanism*. Island Press, Washington and London, 1–28.
- Clark, Peter and Hietala, Marjatta 2009: Helsinki and Green Space, 1850–2000: An Introduction in Clark, Peter (ed.) *The European City and Green Space – London, Stockholm, Helsinki, and St Petersburg, 1850–2000*, Ahsgate, 175–187.
- Greater London Authority (GLA) 2015: *The London Plan – The Spatial Development Strategy for London Consolidated with Alterations since 2011*. Published March 2015. https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/gla_migrate_files_destination/London%20Plan%20March%202015%20%28FALP%29.pdf (accessed on 4th May 2016)
- Hannikainen, Matti O. (2014): *The Greening of London – The Development of Public Green Spaces in Camden and Southwark from the mid-1920s to the late 1990s*. Unigrafia.
- Helsingin Uutiset 2015: <http://www.helsinginuutiset.fi/artikkeli/292405-suunnitelmat-uusiksi-kivinokkaan-tulee-luonnonsuojelualue>. Accessed 12th March 2016.
- Helsinki 2015a: Helsinki yleiskaava selostus – Helsinki uusi yleiskaava, Helsinki kaupunkisuunnitteluviraston selvityksiä 2015:7.
- Helsinki 2015b: Helsinki tilastollinen vuosikirja 2015. Otavan kirjapaino Oy, Keuruu 2015.
- Helsinki 2013a: Helsinki yleiskaava Visio 2050 – Kaupunkikaava – Helsinki uusi yleiskaava. Helsinki kaupunkisuunnitteluviraston yleissuunnitteluosaston selvityksiä 2013:23.
- Helsinki 2013b: Vihreä ja merellinen Helsinki 2050 – VISTRA osa 1: lähtökohdat ja visio. Helsinki kaupunkisuunnitteluviraston asemakaavaosaston selvityksiä 2013:4.
- Helsinki 2012: Helsinki puisto – yleissuunnitelma. Helsinki kaupunkisuunnitteluviraston julkaisuja 2012:2.
- Helsinki 2011a: Östersundomin yleiskaava-alueen selostus. Helsinki kaupunkisuunnitteluviraston yleissuunnitteluosaston selvityksiä 2011:17.
- Helsinki 2011b: Helsinki tilastollinen vuosikirja 2011. Helsinki kaupungin tietokeskus. WS Bookwell Oy, Porvoo, 2011.
- Helsinki 2006: Helsinki tilastollinen vuosikirja 2006. Helsinki kaupungin tietokeskus 2006.
- Helsinki 2002a: Helsinki yleiskaava 2002, ehdotus: Selostus. Helsinki kaupunkisuunnitteluviraston julkaisuja 2012:17.
- Helsinki 2002b: Helsinki yleiskaava 2002, ehdotus: Yleiskaavan vaikutukset alue- ja yhdyskuntarakenteeseen sekä virkistysalueverkostoon. Helsinki kaupunkisuunnitteluviraston yleissuunnitteluosaston julkaisuja 2002:6.
- Helsinki 2001: Helsinki tilastollinen vuosikirja 2001. Helsinki kaupungin tietokeskus 2001.
- Helsinki 1992: Helsinki yleiskaava 1992, luonnos: lähtökohdat: virkistys- ja viheralueet, luonnonsuojelu. Helsinki kaupunkisuunnitteluviraston julkaisuja 1990:15.
- Helsinki 1989: Kulttuuri ja vapaa-aika Helsingissä. Helsinki kaupungin tilastokeskuksen tilastoja E, 1989:1.
- Helsinki 1983: Esikaupunkien yleiskaavan seuranta. Seurantaraportti 1. Helsinki kaupungin kaupunkisuunnitteluviraston yleiskaavaosaston julkaisu YA, 8/83.
- Herranen, Timo 1997: Kaupunkisuunnittelu ja asuminen in Turpeinen, Oiva, Herranen, Timo and Hoffman, Kai, *Helsinki historia vuodesta 1945*, osa 1. Helsinki,
- Helsingin Sanomat (HS) 2016: Helsinki yleiskaavaehdotus uhkaa viherverkkoa. Maunu Häyrynen, Maisematutkimuksen professori, Turun yliopisto, Helsingin Sanomat, MieliPide 24.1.2016, <http://www.hs.fi/mielpide/a1453518645713> (accessed on 12th March 2016).
- Jaakkola, Maria 2012: Helsinki, Finland: Greenness and Urban Form in Beatley, Timothy (ed.), *Green Cities of Europe – Global Lessons on Green Urbanism*. Island Press, Washington and London, 109–128.
- Kolbe, Laura 2002: Helsinki kasvaa suurkaupungiksi. in Helin, Heikki and Kolbe, Laura, *Helsinki historia vuodesta 1945*, osa 3. Helsinki, 13–51.
- Lento, Katri 2006: The Role of Nature in the City: Green Space in Helsinki 1917–1960 in Clark, Peter (ed.) *The European City and Green Space – London, Stockholm, Helsinki, and St Petersburg, 1850–2000*, Ahsgate, 188–206.
- Niemi, Marjaana 2006: Conflicts over Green Space in Helsinki, c. 1950–2000 in Clark, Peter (ed.) *The European City and Green Space – London, Stockholm, Helsinki, and St Petersburg, 1850–2000*, Ahsgate, 207–228.
- Schulman, Harry 2000: Helsinki suunnittelu ja rakentaminen. in Schulman, Harry, Pulma, Panu and Aalto, Seppo (eds.) *Helsinki historia vuodesta 1945*, osa 2. Helsinki, 13–108.
- Southwark 2015: *New Southwark Plan Preferred Option (Consultation version web)*, October 2015. http://www.southwark.gov.uk/downloads/download/4346/new_southwark_plan_preferred_option (accessed on 4th May 2016)
- Vierikko Kati, Salminen Jere, Niemelä Jari, Jalkanen Joel ja Tamminen Niina 2014: Helsinki kestävä viherrakenne – Miten turvata kestävä viherrakenne ja kaupunkiluonnon monimuotoisuus tiivistyvässä kaupunkirakenteessa. Kaupunkiekologinen tutkimusraportti. Helsinki kaupunkisuunnitteluviraston yleissuunnitteluosaston selvityksiä 2014:27.
- Vilkuna, Johanna 1992: Viheralueiden kestävä käytön mahdollisuudet tiivistyvässä kaupunkirakenteessa – Helsinki yleiskaava 1992:n arviointi. Helsinki kaupunginkanslian julkaisusarja A 20/1992.



Communicating civic or historical pride?

LAURA KOLBE

THE CITY HALL

in Scandinavian capital cities

THE DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN 1880 AND 1950 CHANGED THE USE OF URBAN AREAS IN EUROPEAN METROPOLISES. Urban form and political interpretation marched hand in hand. Monumental new city halls were central elements in Scandinavian capital cities. The planning of the city halls was by no means understood as a purely technical, functional or formal issue. The city halls were expressions of political, social and cultural conditions, and changes in these conditions. City hall communicated with, and even manipulated, citizens, based on their central or visible location. History helped the architects to interpret the nature of municipal pride, and urban historians were needed to make this story a visible tool of communication. City hall architecture must in this sense be seen as a narrative element in the townscape, constructing both national and local aspirations.

According to the conventional 'tourist performance', when entering to a new city or town, one habitually heads towards the market place. Every city has its own key monument or urban symbol as well as a story, where this landmark has an essential role. Fortresses, palaces, churches, boulevards and monuments act as urban symbols. The design and architecture, traffic arrangements, people's behaviour and urban bustle are generally present in city's central open and public spaces,

indicating something essential of the ethos of a city. (Bell & Avner-de Shalit, 2–3). In the continental European tradition, one building dominates the central market square: town hall. It communicates a clear idea of the city as being locally governed, by the proud members of the community, according to the local civic tradition and national legal practises. In this sense, the city halls of Scandinavian capital cities, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Oslo, Helsinki and Reykjavik show themselves as highly interesting examples.

FIGURE 1. The City Hall of Helsinki is at the Market Place, and the main façade opens towards the open sea.



Photo: Helsinki City museum

The city hall as Gesamtkunstwerk

Between the period 1880–1950 the municipal authorities of all Scandinavian capital cities explored the possibility of building a monumental city hall, studied locations and invited proposals for its design, but only three were realised, namely in Copenhagen in 1905 by architect M. Nyrop, in Stockholm in 1923 by architect R. Östberg and in Oslo in 1950 by architects A. Arneberg & M. Paulsson. The city hall in Copenhagen was a great source of inspiration to Stockholm, whilst Oslo looked to both Copenhagen and Stockholm. (For Copenhagen: Beckett, 1908; Haugsted & Lund, 1996; Stockholm: Roosval 1923; Oslo: *The Oslo City Hall* 1953; Lending 2001). In Helsinki the city authorities bought in 1901 an old hotel by the Market Square and planned to build a city hall on that site. An architectural competition in 1914 revealed ambitions to monumentalise the plan, but due to the economic circumstances it was not implemented. Instead, the city authorities rebuilt the old hotel and its surroundings into a city hall precinct in phases, starting from the 1920s. (Kolbe 2008, 50–55). In Reykjavik, the idea of a city hall was as old as in the other four cities, dating back to 1918. However, it took over seven decades to plan the edifice and the new city hall was inaugurated in spring 1992. (Armannsson 2004, 1–2).

The planning of city halls in Nordic capital cities was related to the European process of patriotic and bourgeois nation building during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This was manifested in cities like Vienna, Paris, Prague, Hamburg, Berlin and Munich. The members of the bourgeois class, whether educated or “self-made”, were usually engaged within the new industrial and professional occupations, especially banking, insurance, services, commerce, and

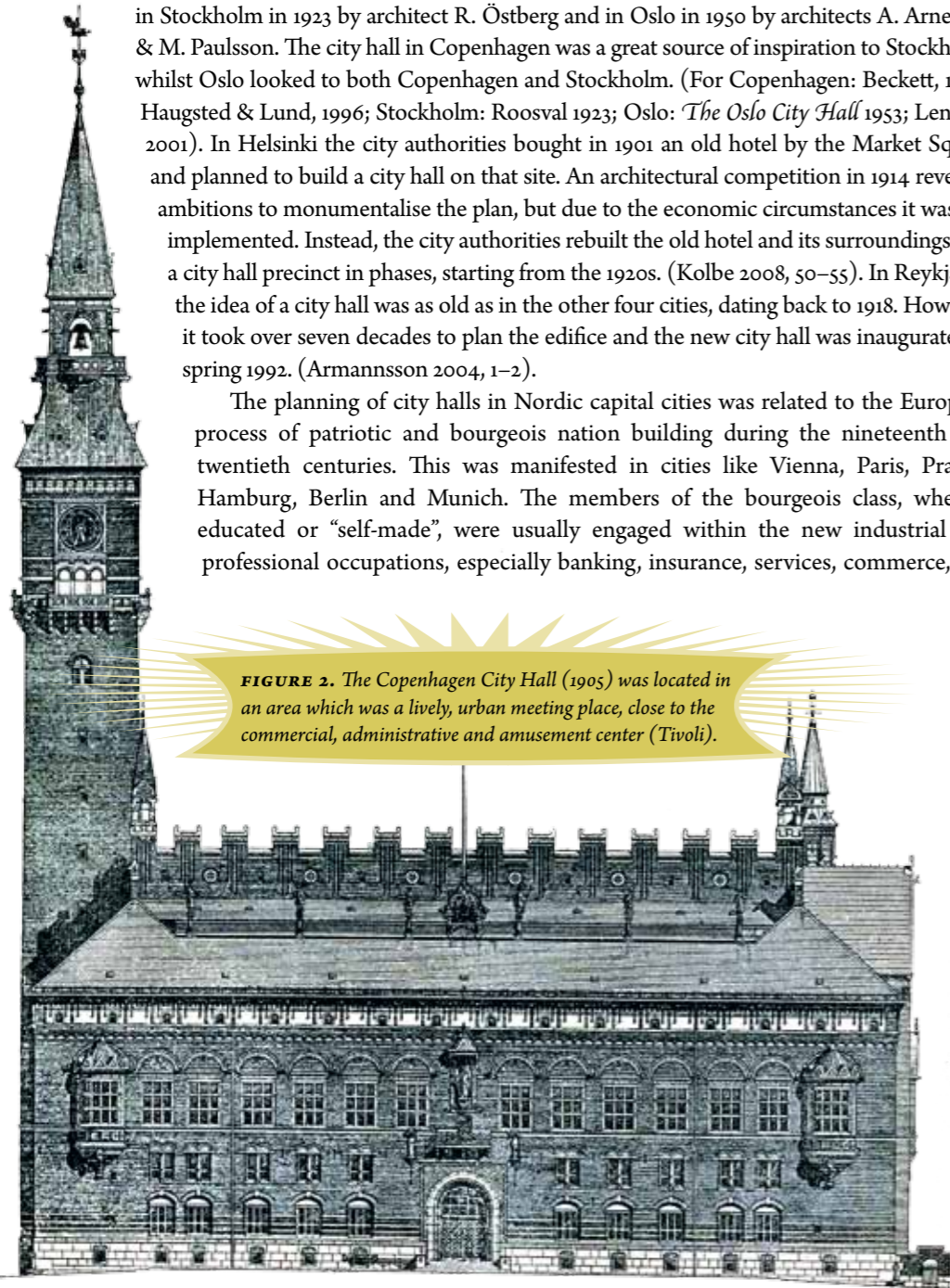


FIGURE 2. The Copenhagen City Hall (1905) was located in an area which was a lively, urban meeting place, close to the commercial, administrative and amusement center (Tivoli).

the public sector. In all cases, the particular site, in the heart of the old or growing city centre, had been pointed out as a prime place for a city hall. The location had a communicative message: the building was placed either at a point of historical interest or it marked a geopolitical dimension in the city’s urban development. In Copenhagen, the site selected for the proposed city hall was situated in the area vacated by the demolition of the city walls, immediately south of the Western Gate. The gate had been demolished in 1859 and made over to the city in 1870. The city hall building was erected on the spot where the so-called Gyldenlöve’s Bastion had previously stood. Earlier, the sea margin had extended to this point. (Beckett 1908, 20–25).

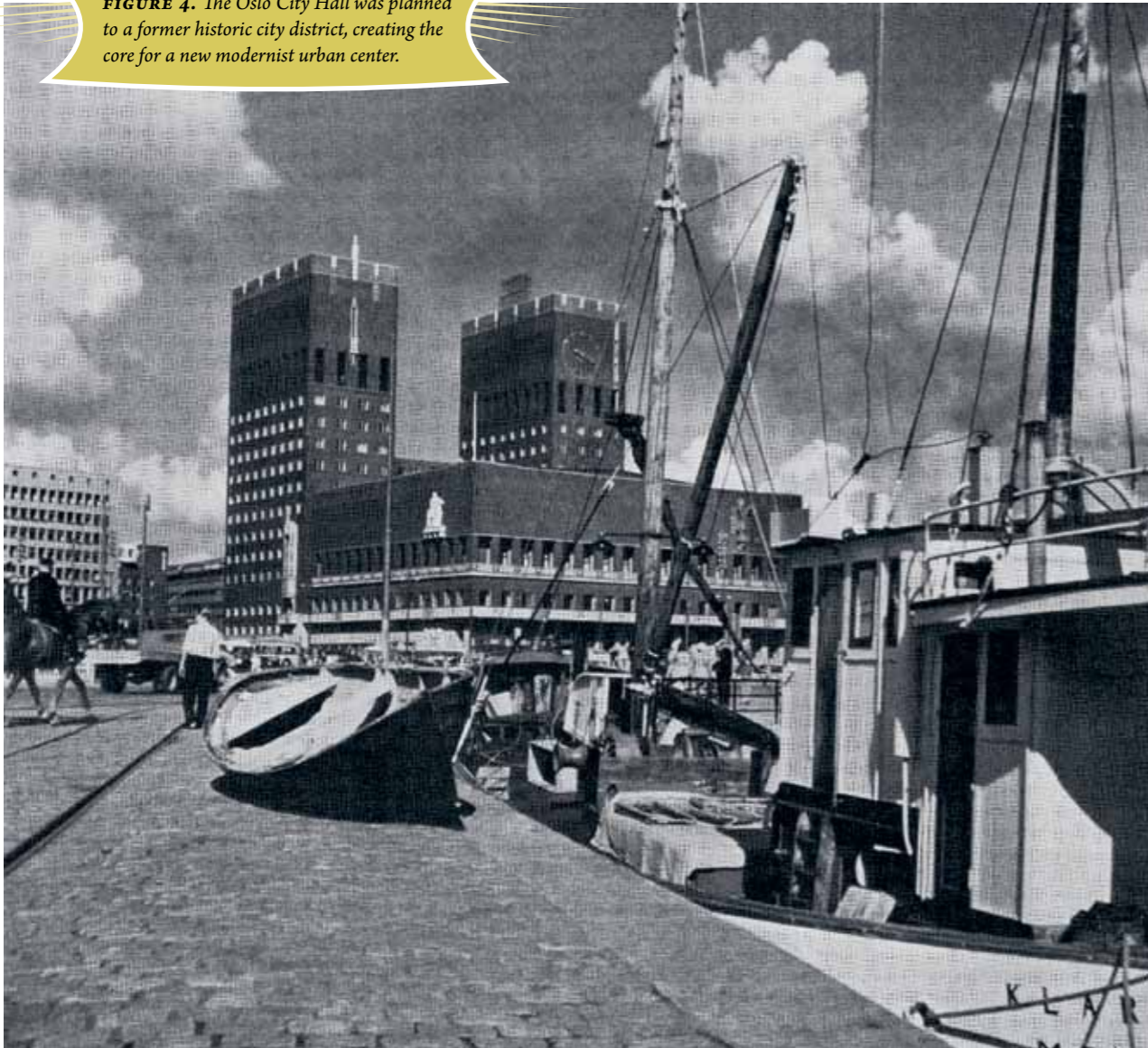
In Stockholm, Oslo, Helsinki and Reykjavik the water element was central. In Stockholm the city hall is located at the inland waterway at Lake Mälaren. In Oslo the city hall is facing the old harbour and in Helsinki the old harbour and market place. In Reykjavik the beautiful urban environment of Lake Tjornin was considered a worthy setting for a building intended to

symbolise the city’s status as the capital of Iceland. The central location reflected the juridical and ‘constitutional’ development of local self-government. It was parallel in all Scandinavian countries, due to their common historical roots. Municipal government was one of the key factors in stabilising societies as lay and ecclesiastical communes were separated between 1840 and 1875. The city councils became the cities’ supreme decision-making bodies and municipalities were given the authority to undertake activities which aimed to satisfy the common needs of their inhabitants. (See *Kommunalförvaltningen i Norden* 2000; Kanstrup & S. Ousager 1990; Hammarskjöld 1888). The growth in commerce and industry meant that Scandinavian capital cities became by far the largest cities in their countries, and also ‘true national capitals’ in the commercial and cultural sense. (Nilsson 2002, 198–206; Myhre 2007, 285–9; Rasmussen 1969, 10–20; Veinan Hellerud & Messel 2000, 14–16; Klinge & Kolbe 2007, 5–20 analyse the central elements of urban wealth in Scandinavian capital cities.). In 1910–1920 the “one-man-one-



FIGURE 3. In Stockholm, due to artistic reasons, the City Hall was located close to the crossroads of the sea and Lake Mälaren.

FIGURE 4. The Oslo City Hall was planned to a former historic city district, creating the core for a new modernist urban center.



vote” principle opened the municipal bodies to socialist and social democrat parties. (Sutcliffe 1981, 162-5; Rietbergen, 1998, 352-5; Kocka, 1987, 38-41; Morton & de Vries & Morris 2006, 2-13).

Civic pride and democracy

In Scandinavian urban histories the independent self-government has been presented as part of an

ancient democratic heritage. This legacy was – and still is – praised in local political discourse. Communal reforms are often seen as an invention of the (liberal) state. (Aronsson 1997, 174-181; Bloxham Zettersten 2000, 52-54; Kolbe 2014, 56-60). In Scandinavia, the German influence remained strong. Since medieval times the town hall was known as *rådhuset* or *raadhus* or *rathus*. Council buildings developed along continental

lines, to house local and central administration and representations. They also functioned as courts of law. When the modern city hall of the nineteenth century was developed, the old name continued mainly to be used. (Wickman, 2003, 22-3; Bloxham Zettersten 2000, 54-5.) *Rådhuset* was the seat of civic management and local politics and in all cities a series of architectural competitions took place. In Copenhagen an open free competition was announced for the summer 1888, with two stages, following the European examples. In Stockholm the competition was held in 1902, in Helsinki 1914/1958, in Oslo in 1917-1918 and in Reykjavik as late as in 1986. The winning architects were Martin Nyrop in Copenhagen, Ragnar Östberg in Stockholm, and Arnstein Magnusson and Magnus Paulsson in Oslo. In Helsinki the jury was not satisfied with the first competition, and the first price was not awarded. Later, the work was given to architect Aarno Ruusuvuori. In Reykjavik the winners were architects Margret Hardardottir and Steve Christer. The competition entries in all cities were rather monumental, spanning the full breadth of historical styles, and drawing inspiration from monumental buildings like French castles, Flemish warehouses and Gothic churches – or in the case of Reykjavik, from modern architecture and materials. (Beckett 1908, 221-222; Roosvaal 1923, 334-338; The Oslo City Hall, 5-6; Kolbe 2008, 65-71; Armannsson, 2-3).

CITY HALLS in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Oslo and later in Helsinki and Reykjavik were planned in close interaction with state administration

and governmental buildings. The planning of the city halls was a long-term municipal project. In Copenhagen it took a mere thirteen years, but Stockholm some twenty years. In Helsinki and in Oslo it took over forty years and in Reykjavik 70 years. As a political process they fitted well into the municipal decision-making tradition in Scandinavia: important projects must be communicative, open and have the support of the political majority. In all cities, the work was locally controlled by a special building committee. The studios and workshops used for sculpture, painting, iron forging, woodcarving and textiles were located close to the building site or in the building area. Different kinds of specialists and professionals worked with the project, sharing a common goal and developing a strong sense of devotion. The finished products became the sum of each worker’s contribution – and above all stood the heroic figure of the architect. In all cases, the city halls immortalised their architects.

During their construction, all city halls grew to become major national projects. Inauguration ceremonies, the press publicity surrounding them and their coverage in architectural publications show the kind of reactions these buildings provoked in public opinion and indicating their high reputation. The motivation was clear: town halls were built to symbolise the role of the capital city in a national context. The combination of local and national themes worked in harmony with ‘European’ elements, including the variety of ways in which the vocabulary of traditional European city hall architecture was transferred to Scandinavia to express the individual personality of

Local and national themes worked in harmony with ‘European’ elements.



FIGURE 5. In Reykjavik, the modern City Hall communicates with the urban water element, and they form a crucial part of the city's central walking route.

these cities. The early twentieth century architects were familiar with the historical role of great town halls such as the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, the city hall of Siena, Lübeck's Das rote Rathaus, the Hotel de Ville in Paris and Amsterdam's Stadhuis. (Beckett 2008, 56–67; *Rådhuset i Oslo*, 48–68; Östberg 1929, 99–111). Germany gave to Scandinavian city halls picturesque details, the festive hall, a tavern and courtyards. France and Belgium gave balconies and weathercocks. Italian architecture inspired the bell tower or *campanile* in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Oslo. (Roosvaal 1923; Reinle 1976, 61–8).

THE FACADE and its material played an important role in communication. Brick, considered to be an honest European material, was used in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Oslo, concrete in Reykjavik. Both materials give a feeling of unity. Brick architecture, strong in the Netherlands, Denmark, England, and Northern Germany, had a long tradition as a building material in countries with mercantile middle-class, bourgeois values. (See Ringbom 1987). Politically, brick was alien to the tradition of imperial classicism, used in Helsinki. Classicism is considered to be a supranational style with strong roots in imperial and aristocratic architecture. Concrete in Reykjavik

became a symbol of modern, industrial and urban building during the latter part of twentieth century. The chosen material, together with aluminium and glass, was clearly linked to modern cultural message, opposing the more traditional local materials turf, wood and Icelandic rock. The characteristics of light, water and vegetation are as important as the solid building material itself in creating the city hall's external and internal aspect. (Armannsson 2004, 7).

Conclusion

In northern Europe, the main aim of the modern city hall was to create a public space, a political forum, a ceremonial core and a symbolic centre for the capital city – and indeed for the state, the nation and civil society at large. The city hall was planned to be a central showcase and permanent exhibition space for national design, applied arts, and handicraft. During its usually very long period of construction, the city hall even became a major national symbol, and one of the principal works of the respective country's architecture and culture. This message was communicated for citizens and outsiders alike, making the Scandinavian city hall a stimulating, multi-layered symbol of the capital city urbanity. 🌀

In northern Europe the main aim of the modern city hall was to be a public space.

LAURA KOLBE is Professor of European History at the University of Helsinki. She was the President of the International Planning History Society (IPHS) in 2006–2010. Her present research deals with the development of capital cities, city halls, grand hotels, and students' radical movements in different times and areas.

Bibliography

- Armannsson, P., *The City Hall of Reykjavik*, (Reykjavikurborg, 2004).
- Aronsson 1997, "Local Politics – The Invisible Political Culture", in *The Cultural Construction of Norden*. Ed. By Oysten Sorensen & Bo Stråth (Oslo, 1997).
- Bell, D. A. & de-Shalit, A., *The Spirit of Cities. Why Identity of a City Matters in a Global Age* (Oxford: Princeton, 2011).
- Bloxham Zettersten, G., *Nordisk perspektiv på arkitektur. Kritisk regionalisering i nordiska stadshus 1900–1950* (Göteborg, 2000).
- Hammarskjöld, C.G., *Bidrag till tolkning af K. Förordningarne den 21 mars 1862 om kommunalstyrelse på landet och i stad samt om kyrkostämman med ledning af prejudikat* (Stockholm, 1888).
- Kommunalförvaltningen i Norden 2000. *En rapport om kommunalförvaltning i olika nordiska länder*. Finlands Kommunförbund (Helsingfors, 2000).
- Kanstrup, J. & Ousager, S., *Kommunal opgaveløsning 1842–1970* (Odense, 1990).
- Kocka, J. (ed.), *Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1987).
- Klinge, M. & Kolbe, L., *Helsinki – the Daughter of the Baltic Sea*, (Helsinki, 2007).
- Kolbe, L., "The Society House and the Question of a City Hall – Dreams and reality", in *Helsinki City Hall. History and Fine Food*, ed. by Laura Kolbe & Pekka Puhakka (Helsinki, 2008).
- Kolbe, L., "Civic or National Pride?: The City Hall as Communal "Hotel" in the Scandinavian Capital Cities", in *City Halls and Civic Materialism Towards a Global History of Urban Public Space*, ed. by Swati Chattopadhyay & Jeremy White, with foreword by Laura Kolbe (London and New York, 2014).
- Morton, G. & de Vries, B. & Morris, R.J., *Civil Society, Associations and Urban Places. Class, Nation and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 2006).
- Myhre, J., *Oslo bys historie. Hovedstaden Christiania*, Bd. 3 (Oslo, 2007).
- Nilsson, L., (ed.), *Staden på vattnet. Del 1–2* (Stockholm, 2002).
- Rasmussen, S., *Köpenhavn. Et bysamfunds saerpraeg og udvikling gennem tiderne* (Copenhagen, 1969).
- Reinle, A., *Zeichensprache der Architektur. Symbolen, Darstellung und Brauch in der Baukunst des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Zürich, 1976).
- Rietbergen, P., *Europe. A Cultural History* (London, 1998).
- Ringbom, S., *Stone, Style and Truth. The Vogue for Natural Stone in Nordic Architecture 1880–1910* (Vammala, 1987).
- Roosvaal, J., (red.), *Stockholms Stadshus vid dess invigning Midsommaraften 1923* (Stockholm, 1923).
- Sutcliffe, A., *Towards the Planned City, Germany, Britain, the United States and France, 1780–1914* (Oxford, 1981).
- Veinan Hellerud, S. & Messel, J., *Oslo. A Thousand Year-History* (Oslo 2000).
- Wickman, M., *The Stockholm City Hall* (Stockholm, 2003).
- Östberg, R., *The Stockholm Town Hall* (Stockholm, 1929), 11–12.

SILJA LAINE

History and urban prose fiction in Helsinki:

CASE TOIVO TARVAS

URBAN PROSE FICTION has in recent years found its way in academic studies in Finland. Urban literature dealing with urban topics has been a growing area in literary studies, but it has also started to be of interest for historians, geographers, planners and others who are interested in the various themes that urban literature embraces, such as narrative forms, literary and cultural mapping, urban imagination, or urban emotions and experiences. Interdisciplinary urban literary studies bring together interpretations and understandings of the complexity of the urban milieu and the rich variety of urban writing. Urban literature appeals to those interested in urban imagination and urban future, as well as urban history.

Modern urban literature has a strong tradition in European cities. European capital cities each have their own literary traditions contributing to the particular urban cultures in each respective city, but the traditions are also connected to each other. Thus, the idea developed by Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850) in his *La Comédie Humaine*, that capitalism destroyed the old aristocracy, and the transition from agrarian to an urban world created new social forces and, as a result, new human types (Lehan 1998, 57) that literature should explore, has had different literary consequences in different urban milieus. Urban literature is always connected to the physical, material cities, although the connection is not a straightforward one.

SOME OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED contemporary Finnish writers, for example Kjell Westö, who writes in Swedish, are urban writers. Nevertheless, the tradition and history of Finnish urban literature has received notably little attention, although recent studies show that Helsinki has a flourishing tradition of urban literature (Ameel, 2013). Some of the urban writers in that tradition are household names, such as Mika Waltari or Maila Talvio, but a lot of urban literature has simply been forgotten by academics and the reading public alike. Urban Helsinki is depicted in many genres of literature that are also common in European literature more generally. A persisting and a well-known genre has been the young-man-from-the-provinces novel. Juhani Aho's *Helsinkiin* (To Helsinki, 1889) is an early example of this.

ONE OF THE UNDESERVEDLY FORGOTTEN authors of Helsinki is **Toivo Tarvas** (1883–1937), who wrote several novels and collections of short stories about people and life in Helsinki. In the first decades of the twentieth century Tarvas was one of the very few Helsinki-born writers. Of the urban writers of the time he was the one who in his writings presented the most socially – and geographically – varied palette of people from all walks of life. Compared to many other urban Finnish writers Tarvas was at ease in all parts of

the city. His characters move from the city centre to the working class neighborhoods across the Long Bridge that separated these two areas.

ALSO THE CHARACTERS in his novels are mostly Helsinki born urban dwellers that do not enjoy forests or staying in the countryside. In this they are probably an exception in the Finnish literary history. For example, in a short story called “Lumottu” (Enchanted), the main character tries to escape his personal problems in the forest. But nature does not bring him relief from the troubles created in the society. His condition becomes worse as he travels north, and in the end he commits suicide. This is a rare solution in Finnish literature, where the forest is usually a place for freedom and safety.

TARVAS' COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES *Häviävää Helsinkiä* (Disappearing Helsinki 1917) and *Helsinkiiläisiä. Pürroksia pääkaupunkilaisten elämästä* (Helsinkians 1919) comprise stories of ordinary people and everyday life in the capital city around the time of Finnish Independence. The works of Tarvas are especially interesting for urban historians, because they offer observations of a city undergoing changes that affect both people and the urban milieu. Tarvas has a sensible eye for subtle changes in the urban environment, which he often depicts as perceived with multiple

In Finnish literature
the forest is a place
of freedom and safety.



The Pitkäsilta bridge ('Long Bridge') separated the city centre and the working class neighborhoods. Photo: Helsinki City Museum, Signe Brander, 1907.

Photo: Signe Brander
Helsingfors, 1907.



senses. In a story called “Antti Pelttari”, a blind old soldier spends his days selling tobacco at the southern end of the Long Bridge and can only hear the sound of the changes in the city around him; the soundscape of modern traffic and the steel structures of the new bridge that had replaced the former wood-built one, but also the speed of modern life.

SOME OF THE SHORT STORIES have a warm and reassuring atmosphere, but the most prevailing feeling in Tarvas’ literary works is nostalgia mixed with melancholy, which is a common topic in urban European literature. Continuous destruction, construction and reconstruction have marked European cities during the last century, and art and literature has often been the place where the meanings of the urban changes have been interpreted.

CLIMBING UP THE SOCIAL LADDER might be a welcomed change, especially if it means escaping poverty, but it does not necessarily lead to happiness. In many novels of Toivo Tarvas the characters have succeeded in life financially and socially, but they seem to have a special sensitivity over the changes in the urban milieu. Most of his novels are quite melancholic and the feeling of loss is tangible, as in the short story “Kahviputka”

(“The Coffee Shed”) about a man who knows all the old places for drinking, but when he comes to the city after being away for a while, they have all vanished with the introduction of Prohibition in 1919.

THERE IS NO SINGLE WAY to use urban literary fiction as a source for research in history. Literature’s referentiality to the historical world can be a complex one, but to historians urban literature can provide a way to explore urban experience and urban change in a subtle, if not an exact, way. This can be compared to Franco Moretti who, writing about Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, sees the novel being about a man who lives on an island and is disembedded from mankind, but who gradually starts to see a pattern in his existence and finally finds the right words to express it (Moretti 2014, 13).

A CITY DOES NOT PROVIDE A PLACE for a similar isolation as in *Crusoe*, but urban literature is also often about loneliness, unsure identities, or people who are trying to fit in the city, to quite literally find their place in the city, socially, culturally and geographically. This is indeed the case of Toivo Tarvas, whose characters are often working-class people struggling to survive the harsh conditions of urban existence, or trying to alter

the conditions of their living. Many of his novels deal with the Finnish Civil War that disintegrated not only the society but even families. In the novel *Velisurmaajat. Vallankumousromaani* (Fratricides. A novel about the revolution 1917) two brothers are politically on opposing sides and end up fighting against each other during the war. In the novel the civil war is essentially urban. The friction between the brothers derives from their different living conditions, which are minutely described both inside and outside. The street addresses are important – the wealthy, educated brother lives on the bourgeois Pietarinkatu street and the Marxist brother, an unemployed filer, on the working-class Agricolankatu. The street addresses in the novel function not only as indicators of place, but more of social status and opportunities, or the lack of them. Thus, Tarvas writes about the civil war as a quintessentially urban question.

ONE OF THE FASCINATIONS OF READING historical urban literature resides in how it lets us wander in familiar places that have forever changed. Through this quality, it expands our spatial imagination. This might explain why urban literature appeals to architects, planners and other people whose work deals with the spatiality of cities. It has also been argued that reading urban literature is similar to ‘reading cities’. Both types of reading are based on culturally specific ways of interpretations that are not inborn skills. Literary techniques that point to the historical layers of a city can make us understand how urban spaces are also lived spaces that shape collective imaginaries. (Huyssen 2003, 7). Urban literature can be a rich source for historians, but joining the

literary scholars for a deeper understanding of how literary narratives work can be a fruitful way to practice interdisciplinarity.

IN FINLAND A MULTIDISCIPLINARY GROUP of literary scholars, historians, and planners has been convening for a few years now. The Association for Literary Urban Studies is an open forum for everyone interested in urban literature. The aim of the association is to enhance interest in literature written in all languages and encompassing all historical periods. <http://blogs.helsinki.fi/hlc-n/>

SILJA LAINE has PhD in cultural history. She is currently working at the University of Turku.

Literature:

Alexander, Neal 2015: On Literary Geographies. Vol 1, No 1 (2015) *Literary Geographies*. http://www.literarygeographies.net/index.php/LitGeogs/article/view/1-2/pdf_8

Ameel, Lieven 2013: *Moved by the City : Experiences of Helsinki in Finnish Prose Fiction 1889-1941*. <https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/39407>

Huyssen, Andreas 2003: *Urban palimpsests and the politics of memory*. *Cultural memory in the present*. Stanford.

Lehan, Richard 1998: *The City in Literature*. An Intellectual and Cultural history. University of California Press.

Moretti, Franco(2013) 2014: *The Bourgeois between History and literature*. Verso.

Tarvas, Toivo 1917: *Häviävää Helsinkiä*. *Novelleja*. Helsinki: Otava.

Tarvas, Toivo 1919: *Helsinkiiläisiä*. *Piirroksia pääkaupungin elämästä*. Helsinki: Ahjo.

Tarvas writes about the civil war as a quintessentially urban question.

Reading
urban literature
is similar to
'reading cities'.



Photo: Visa Helsingki/Jussi Helsten

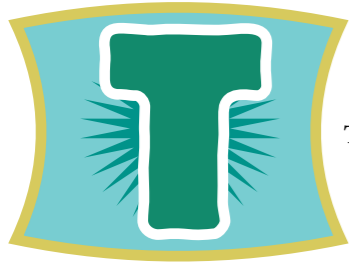
PETER CLARK

Early Years of the European Association for Urban History

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION FOR URBAN HISTORY (EAUH) which holds its thirteenth biennial conference in Helsinki in August 2016, owes a great deal to two men: Herman Diederiks (1937–95), the first Secretary (1989–95), and Bernard Lepetit (1948–96), the first President (1989–92): both were my close friends.

Diederiks was Reader in Social History at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands. He was a warm, dynamic, multi-lingual man, a highly effective academic innovator and entrepreneur with many interests (he loved parachuting and swimming, and he also founded the International Association for the History of Crime). His great gift was in networking and interacting with younger scholars, listening, encouraging and stimulating. Lepetit was director of studies at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes des Sciences Sociales at Paris and co-director there of the Centre de Recherches Historiques; from 1986 to 1992 he was editorial secretary of *Annales E-S-C*. Although he had a glittering conceptual and analytical intellect in the French style, it was tempered by great personal modesty, a strong interest in empirical research, and a wonderful sense of humour. At conferences listening to papers, Lepetit displayed an impassive face framed by his drooping moustache, but his eyes sparkled with mischievous, ironic laughter and a sharp appreciation of the ridiculous and banal.

Photos: Pekka Kaikkonen



he establishment of the EAUH in 1989 built on two previous initiatives in urban history. The first was the creation in 1978 of a European Commission-funded ERASMUS and later TEMPUS exchange and teaching programme led by Leicester and Leiden universities. From the mid-1980s this organized annual international postgraduate workshops on European urban history, involving nine major universities across Europe and with the participation of leading professors

like Herman van der Wee, Walter Prevenier, Heinz Schilling and Vera Bacscai. Some of the workshop alumni are now well known professors of urban history and prominent figures in EAUH.

THE SECOND INITIATIVE ALSO DATES back to the late 1970s with the creation of the Groupe International d'Histoire Urbaine by Maurice Aymard, after Fernand Braudel administrator of the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (MSH) in Paris, to give new momentum to international urban history studies. (Since 1956 the Commission International pour l'Histoire des Villes, one of many post-war scientific commissions established to promote dialogue with the Soviet Bloc countries, had held annual meetings, but these had a closed, rather 'clubbish' format). With the development of European momentum in the 1970s, Aymard's initiative was well timed. A first international colloquium was held in Paris in June 1977, the second in London (organized by Anthony Sutcliffe) in 1979; a third meeting on immigration and urban society at Göttingen 1982. The colloquia of the Groupe International stimulated, as Aymard had hoped, a wave of international cooperation. By the time of the meeting at Lille in 1987 – on the theme of European Small Towns – I had been co-opted with Herman Diederiks into a small circle helping to advise on running the the Groupe International, along with Lepetit, by then Aymard's right-hand man.

BY THE LATE 1980S THERE WAS growing collaboration between Diederiks, Lepetit and myself, after 1985 director of the Centre for Urban History (CUH) at Leicester. It was recognized that urban history in Europe was at a cross roads. There was a growing volume of research in different countries, but there was too little connectivity or comparative analysis; research was constrained and distorted by national agendas. The later 1980s was a fertile and optimistic time for closer European cooperation on the scientific level. The new momentum of the European Commission (EC) under Jacques Delors, the Single European Act in 1986, and the negotiations for a European Union and single currency leading eventually to the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, generated a growing public enthusiasm for a European vision that had strong support in the universities. In Britain, for example, it was believed that the depressing university cut-backs under the Thatcher government, could be offset and redressed through increased cooperation at the European level.



Herman Diederiks

ABOUT 1988 THE EC LAUNCHED a new programme to encourage the formation of pan-European organisations for scientific cooperation. After discussions with colleagues at Leicester (David Reeder, Richard Rodger), Diederiks and I approached Aymard and Lepetit for their support for the idea of a new European Association for Urban History. I was concerned that they would see this as threatening the MSH's own Groupe International. But both men gave their warm blessing, reflecting recognition of the need for a wider international organization in the field. In the event, MSH became one of the co-sponsors of the new Association, along with the Leicester CUH, thus preserving continuity with international networking in the field since the late 1970s.

THE NEW EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION for Urban History (EAUH) was granted EU funding in 1989. A meeting at Leicester of Clark, Diederiks and Lepetit agreed that Lepetit would become the first President, Diederiks Secretary, and Clark Treasurer. An international committee meeting was held in Paris at MSH and a Register of European Research in the field organised. Covering several hundred researchers, this work was subsequently published and distributed free of charge to contributors. With the collapse of the Soviet Union the EC extended its scientific programmes to Central and Eastern Europe. A further grant to the Association enabled a committee meeting in Budapest in 1991 and the publication of a second Register including scholars in Eastern Europe. But then the EAUH ran out of steam. EU funding ceased and it proved difficult to raise alternative finance. Without EU funding for attending meetings most of the first EAUH international committee decamped!

IN LATE 1991 CLARK AND DIEDERIKS discussed the future of the EAUH at Frankfurt airport on the way back from an EU funded meeting in Poland. It was decided that the EAUH needed to be put on a new footing with open conferences on the model



Bernard Lepetit

of the Social Science History conferences in the USA (the European variant had yet to be founded). At Frankfurt we agreed the meeting would be held in late summer 1992 at Amsterdam. Clark and Diederiks drew up a list of topics and would-be session organisers and wrote to them asking them to organise sessions. Most accepted. 140 participants came to the first EAUH conference at the International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam – the biggest gathering of European urban historians to take place up to that time. Those attending included young people from Bulgaria, Hungary and other former Communist bloc countries, free to come after the collapse of the Soviet Union. It was an exciting occasion – friendly, lively, highly sociable and unforgettable for many of us there! Lepetit organised one of the main sessions and Maurice Aymard gave the opening lecture – clever and good humoured. The EAUH constitution was approved and Lynn Hollen Lees from Philadelphia presented an impressive, wide-ranging concluding lecture. Diederiks and his wife Hester threw a big party for session organisers at their home. At its end, Jean Luc Pinol, the organiser with Denis Menjot of the next planned conference in Strasbourg in 1994, was elected the new President. At Strasbourg in 1994 a new international committee gathered for the first time, just the officers with a few other members. Lepetit gave the keynote address to the 350 or so participants and Michael Conzen from Chicago the concluding lecture. Again it was a considerable success. Alas, during the next two years both Diederiks and Lepetit died suddenly from tragic accidents.

DURING THE EARLY YEARS the EAUH was on life support – without the backing of the MSH which paid for Paris meetings of the International Committee and the Leicester CUH (and its wonderful secretary Kate Crispin, who did a lot of EAUH administrative work) it could not have survived. In 1996 Vera Bacskai, the new President, organized the conference in Budapest – a great adventure because of the absence of a modern banking system in Hungary at that time! But highly memorable because it was the first time the new enlarged international committee gathered, with its new highly effective secretary Pim Kooij from Groningen; because of the balmy boat trip on the Danube; and because of a stunning concluding lecture by Penelope Corfield, who sang urban songs to the 270 or more audience.

THE CONFERENCE IN VENICE in 1998 was a turning point. Organized by the next President Donatella Calabi it was an enormous scientific and sociable success. The 300 or more participants, including a number from Japan and the Americas, attended a large number of sessions, and enjoyed a beautiful reception on a terrace overlooking the Grand Canal, as well as a visit at night-time to St Marc's cathedral. But it was also the last conference organized by post (not email and the web) and the first to make a profit for the EAUH and to put it on the path to solvency. The EAUH had come of age.

SINCE 1998 THE BIENNIAL EAUH CONFERENCES, planned systematically in different regions of Europe by rotation, have steadily grown in scale and organization but retained their reputation for interdisciplinarity (almost all the human and social sciences participate), openness, serious scientific debate (on a kaleidocope of themes reflecting new trends in the field), and sociability. The vital presence of a large number of younger scholars – the future of the field – has been helped by the competitive bursary scheme (since 1996). The work of the officers and steadily enlarged international committee, operating in tandem with local committees in the host countries, has inevitably grown. A brief tour d' horizon might include, among more recent conference events, the award to Maurice Aymard of an EAUH medal at Berlin (2000); the bagpiper playing mournfully at the conference reception at Edinburgh Castle (2002); a brilliant illustrated final lecture by Jean Luc Pinol at Athens (2004); the vivid post-conference excursion to the abbey of Cluny and a Burgundian vineyard led by the Lyon organiser, Denis Menjot (2008). At Stockholm (2006) it was proposed to reform the international committee, terminating the old membership and introducing eight year mandates for new members, so that by 2010 (Ghent) a largely new committee and set of officers, younger and more gender balanced, had taken over the EAUH leadership. The conferences at Prague in 2012 and Lisbon 2014 brought together record numbers of urban historians from across the world – over 600 on both occasions. The EAUH was starting to acquire a global reputation, at a time when the field of urban history was taking a Global Turn. Another necessary development is also in process. The early constitution of the EAUH, largely that approved at Amsterdam in 1992, has served it well, but the new scale of operation has created an imperative for a more formally constituted and legally regulated organization. The EAUH is now registered under Finnish law and its new constitutional life will start at the Helsinki conference in August 2016. No doubt EAUH Helsinki, led by its president Marjaana Niemi, will be an exciting, challenging conference in many other ways too! 🍷

PETER CLARK is Emeritus Professor of European Urban History at the University of Helsinki. He was EAUH Treasurer in 1989–2010.

2/2016
Helsinki
Quarterly
www.kvartti.fi/en

NEIGHBOURHOODS

YOUTH

URBAN HISTORY

POPULATION

WELFARE

MUNICIPAL ECONOMY

EDUCATION

PARTICIPATION

IMMIGRATION

URBAN CULTURE

ELDERLY

REGIONAL ECONOMY

Follow Helsinki Quarterly
also online

CONSTRUCTION

You can now access **Helsinki Quarterly** and its Finnish- and Swedish-language sister publication **Kvartti** on a new website. The articles of the journal are easily browsable also on mobile devices. You can filter the content by topic, date and author, which helps you to quickly find the article you are looking for.

HOUSING

DEMOCRACY

LABOUR MARKET

ENVIRONMENT

Follow www.kvartti.fi/en to stay up to date on the latest in urban research, city comparisons and statistics concerning Helsinki and the Helsinki Region.

► **Published by** City of Helsinki Urban Facts, **KVARTTI** is a quarterly journal providing current research findings and statistics about Helsinki and the Helsinki Region. The purpose of the journal is both to support decision-making and planning in Helsinki as well as to serve anyone interested in urban phenomena. Kvartti is a bilingual (Finnish and Swedish) publication with an annual special issue in English – **HELSINKI QUARTERLY**.

EDITOR IN CHIEF:
Timo Cantell
Tel. +358 9 310 73362
timo.cantell@hel.fi

EDITOR:
Teemu Vass
Tel. +358 9 310 64806
teemu.vass@hel.fi

POSTAL ADDRESS:
City of Helsinki Urban Facts,
P.O. BOX 5500,
FI-00099 City of Helsinki

STREET ADDRESS:
Siltasaarekatu 18–20 A,
00530 Helsinki

INTERNET:
<http://www.hel.fi/www/tieke/en>

kvartti online journal
www.kvartti.fi/en



Helsinki Quarterly

2/2016

| CONTENTS |

TANJA VAHTIKARI & TIMO CANTELL

► *Helsinki in transnational historical perspectives*

ANJA KERVANTO NEVANLINNA

► *Ports, industries and economics
in the urban history of Helsinki*

MIKKO HUHTAMIES

► *Help, business or piracy?
Shipwrecks and salvage auctions as early modern
entrepreneurship in the Gulf of Finland*

MARTTI HELMINEN

► *Multiculturalism in Helsinki has a long history*

MARJATTA HIETALA

► *In search of the latest know-how in the development
of public infrastructure in Helsinki*

MARJAANA NIEMI

► *Bridge to a better future.
Town planning in Helsinki,
Tallinn and Dublin in the 1910s*

MATTI O. HANNIKAINEN

► *Helsinki – a compact green city*

LAURA KOLBE

► *Communicating civic or historical pride?
The city hall in Scandinavian capital cities*

SILJA LAINE

► *History and urban prose fiction in Helsinki:
case Toivo Tarvas*

PETER CLARK

► *Early years of the European Association
for Urban History*

