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Public Buildings and Urban Planning in Gdańsk/Danzig from 1933–1945

Few studies have discussed the Nazi influence on architecture and urban planning in Gdańsk/Danzig.¹ Numerous Polish and German publications on the city's history, monument preservation, or joint publications on architecture under Nazi rule offer only general remarks on local architects and investments carried out after 1933. Major contributions on the topic include: a monograph by Katja Bernhardt on architects from the Technische Hochschule Danzig from 1904–1945,² Birte Pusback's account of the restoration of historic houses in the city from 1933–1939,³ a preliminary study by Wiesław Gruszkowski on unrealized urban planning projects from the time of World War II,⁴ which was later developed by Piotr Lorens,⁵ an extensive preliminary study and monograph by Jan Daniluk, who offers an insight into construction investments by the Nazi Party and the Wehrmacht.⁶ Individual papers are also available: by Anna Perz on the architecture of the youth hostel at Biskupia Górka [*Bischofsberg*],⁷ by Jagoda Załęska-Kaczko on the seaside bathing beach,⁸ and by Jacek Friedrich, who offers interpretations of selected construction projects.⁹

Until 1930, the Nazi Party was on the fringes of political life in the Free City of Danzig [*Freie Stadt Danzig*].¹⁰ In the autumn of 1930, in the days preceding the parliament [*Volkstag*] election, Adolf Hitler appointed Albert Forster the Gauleiter of the Free City of Danzig.¹¹ A man still under thirty and the Reichstag Member from Bavaria spearheaded the unification of feuding factions, which secured an electoral success (support going up from 1% to 16%). Three years later, the Nazi Party, at loggerheads with the minority Senate (a local executive body with additional powers as a municipal office), instigated a snap election, which they won after a powerful campaign with 51% of the vote (28th May 1933). As a result, the Nazi Party won the *Volkstag* majority, which also led to the

formation of a Nazi-dominated Senate that carried out orders from Berlin. The Free City of Danzig was formally under the League of Nations and unable to run an independent foreign policy, which was entrusted to the Republic of Poland. However, its newly elected government had revisionist tendencies and implemented a “back home to the Reich” agenda [*Heim ins Reich*]. With utter disregard for the rule of law, the new authorities banned opposition and free press, sought to alter the constitution, marginalized the *Volkstag*, and curtailed the liberties of Polish and Jewish citizens, the ultimate goal being their social and economic exclusion. In so doing, the Free City of Danzig sought to become one with the Reich.

With successful efforts for the consolidation of Nazi structures and a growing number of members, a large number of party offices were launched across the Free City of Danzig. Initially, however, probably due to financial reasons, architecture ranked low on the Nazi agenda. Party gatherings were held in cafés, canteens, and sports arenas. Temporary offices were established in rented flats, which in turn were decorated with placards, banners, and the images of the Führer.¹² At the same time, particular weight was given to the visual side of party rallies, speeches, and parades.

Gdańsk/Danzig from 1933–1939

The Nazi Party's rise to power in the city paved the way for major initiatives that were funded by Germany.¹³ Gauleiter Albert Forster acted as the party's superior to the President of the Senate (Hermann Rauschnig, replaced by Arthur Greiser in 1934), all Nazi organizations, and Nazi-controlled directors at public institutions; he also used his informal connections to push forward architectural investment projects. Investment plans for the city of Gdańsk/Danzig were designed to address real and enduring needs

such as the availability of land for development and a growing demand for residential housing or better public transport.¹⁴ That said, they also reinforced the position of the party and the Gauleiter in the years following their rise to power. According to official propaganda, a number of new investments after 1933 were brought to the city not so much by Forster, by the Führer himself, which was the best evidence to prove the uninterrupted unity of German Danzig with the Reich and a particular concern the Nazi party had for their “fellow countrymen” [*Volksgenossen*]. Local press frequently quoted Gauleiter Forster, who promised the development of new buildings: an opera house and a theatre, an indoor swimming pool, a rally arena, party buildings, workers’ housing estates, and a motorway. The reports also placed special emphasis on the fight against unemployment.¹⁵

In early 1934, a job creation programme (worth 6 million Danzig gulden) was launched, which led to the development of a new theatre building in Targ Węglowy [*Kohlenmarkt*].¹⁶ One of the largest investments in Nazi-ruled Danzig, the building was developed to ramp up support from local elites and gain the Führer’s approval. The concept of the building’s exterior came from Professor Otto Kloeppel,¹⁷ while the interior was designed by local architects Otto Frick and Heinrich Pries.¹⁸ Deemed obsolete and unserviceable, the old Neoclassical building was demolished. In 1935, a building of similar elevation and geometry was completed. That said, it was nearly twice as large and with a different floor plan and different frame (timber framing was supplanted with a metal frame filled with bricks). The front elevation was extended in width and thrust forward; the avant-corps followed the Doric order; the oblate semi-circular dome was replaced with an ellipsoidal one. The interior was provided with a spacious vestibule, the auditorium was extended in width and depth, and a new backstage and trapdoor system was mounted, as well as new lighting and heating systems. The auditorium walls were lined with blue satin, the seats were provided with cobalt blue upholstery, and the balustrade was decorated with a meander ornament. Silk plush curtains and a crystal bronze chandelier (300 kg in weight) were also mounted. The richly decorated lobby was provided with marble pilasters and the

Führer’s bust, the plafond featuring swastika-emblazoned mouldings. Sculpted elements were provided by Franz Lehmann-Siegmundsborg, who delivered a number of commissions to Danzig-based Nazi structures.¹⁹ As pointed out by Krause in his dissertation on the makeover of the theatre in 1936, the new building was to express “the Nazi movement’s intentions to foster cultural life in Danzig.” Gauleiter Forster rendered a considerable service to the city in this respect.²⁰

Albert Forster was a self-professed devotee “to the mission of monument preservation,” which led to the redevelopment of historic houses in the Main City. Dubbed as “restoration”, the process had begun well before the Nazi Party rose to power in the city.²¹ In his introduction to the album summarizing restoration activities from 1933–1939, Forster asserted that “from our rise to power, the Nazi movement has put a tremendous effort and care into fostering the cultural revival and restoration of Danzig, once fashioned in stone and a former Hanseatic city.” For decades, the city had seen misconceptions, dilapidation, and defacement of uniform patrician façades with nondescript extensions and makeovers.²² Barring conservation officers and their inventory activities,²³ local architects and lecturers of the Technische Hochschule Danzig, too, launched powerful initiatives to alter several dozen façades and, partially, also interiors of private houses in major streets in the city, including ulica Długa [*Langgasse*], Długi Targ [*Langer Markt*], Ogarna [*Hundegasse*], Chlebnicka [*Brotbänkengasse*], Mariacka [*Frauengasse*], Św. Ducha [*Heilige-Geist-Gasse*], and Długie Pobrzeże [*Lange Brücke*].²⁴ A number of elevations saw their portals shifted. Their windows, too, were altered in size and composition, gables reshaped, plasters patched or stripped off, stoops restored, and signboards and eclectic fin-de-siècle ornaments cleared away. Old and damaged architectural elements were often replaced with simpler and more austere details. Intended as a throwback to the heyday of the city during the Hanseatic period, some of them nonetheless lacked support in historic iconography. Despite their self-proclaimed “restoration” [*Wiederherstellung*], local architects followed their notions of history rather than the actual architecture from the era, or they did so to some extent at least.

As part of the restoration process, a small building at ulica Piwna 11 [*Jopengasse*] was made over in spring 1939. Occupied by the Gauleiter, the house was used for the Nazi Party purposes. The design for the new elevation and interiors was provided by Otto Frick.²⁵ Representative of the Main City and its historic architecture, this narrow building served as a impressive venue and office space; in the annexe, it also offered residential units and a garage. The façade was decorated with spandrel sgraffito friezes featuring a swastika-emblazoned meander ornament. The portal was topped with a two-metre low-relief eagle with a swastika by Franz Lehmann-Siegmundsburg.²⁶

The largest investment for the growing Nazi administrative apparatus was secured by a public building in ulica Okopowa [*Wiebenwall*], along the line extending from the north-south axis which led from the Main Railway Station to the Royal Route.²⁷ The north wing was extended when taken over by the Danzig Labour Front [*Danziger Arbeitsfront*] in 1933.²⁸ The four-storey brick façade was topped with a sloping roof. In order to avoid monotony, it was provided with a sandstone avant-corps featuring a niche with a portal crowned by a narrow balcony. The design followed that of Weimar's Gauforum, which was a model design in this respect. The building housed the German Labour Front [*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*, hereinafter: DAF], Danzig Labour Front [*Danziger Arbeitsfront*], the Strength through Joy organization [*Kraft durch Freude*, hereinafter: KdF], which promoted collective tourism, and the National Socialist Factory Cell Organization [*Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation*]. From 1938–1940, the building's elevation, which was already 100 metres in width, was extended by additional 80 metres to the south in order to provide a venue to the National Socialist People's Welfare [*Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt*].²⁹ In June 1937, the extension design was discussed with Albert Speer, who suggested that "more monumental means" should be used. He also pointed out Weimar's Gauforum as a major inspiration. Speer also said that the Führer would have a final say on when to announce the competition and the winning design.³⁰ Ultimately, the design was provided by Bruno Marg and Wilhelm Otto. Both parts of the complex were connected with a three-axis passageway, which also

offered access to the courtyard. The brick extension was accentuated by a pillared portico on the axis of the building. Above the portico and illuminated with five elongated windows, an impressive venue called the Hall of Honour [*Ehrenhalle*] was located. The corners of the elevation were accentuated with bossages, and the windows with stone frames. The building was provided with a hip roof, its ridge topped with a square platform in the centre. The design also provided for a transverse wing with an arena (never to be completed) near today's ulica Rzeźnicka [*Fleischergasse*].³¹

On 26th July 1938, which marked Gauleiter Forster's 36th birthday, two construction projects were commenced: a new *Der Danziger Vorposten* building (the official Nazi Party journal in Danzig) and a youth hostel building at today's Biskupia Górka [*Bischofsberg*]. The *Der Danziger Vorposten* building was completed two years later in ulica Elżbietańska [*Elisabethkirchengasse* 11–12], that is, 100 metres away from the Main Railway Station. The designers Viktor Zirkwitz and Henry Brettschneider envisioned a large two-wing brick structure that was in keeping with the set back of the building line; they also provided for four storeys and a sloping roof, as well as a mezzanine loft with dorm windows. The building was ornamented with brick pilasters and arcades in the north wing. An impressive plaza was provided in front of the building, which housed editorial offices (in the south wing) and technical facilities. Neighbouring with churches and monasteries, the building was yet to be completed when already hailed as "an ideal combination of the modern will to construction with urban planning conservation masterclass."³²

Designed by Hans Riechert³³ and completed in 1940, the youth hostel at Biskupia Górka [*Bischofsberg*] was pictured by the Nazi propaganda as the largest project of this kind globally.³⁴ Perched on Biskupia Górka's hillside, this three-wing structure with a sloping hip roof, spacious inner yard, terrace extension, and twenty-metre-high tower built on a rectangular plan is still soaring above the historic quarter of the city from the south (Fig. 1, 2).³⁵ The building comprised more than two hundred rooms, including dorms for 650 guests, an auditorium (500 people), and a canteen (3,000 people). Variegated to



Fig. 1 Model of Paul-Beneke-youth hostel at Biskupia Górka [Bischofsberg] ca. 1938



Fig. 2 Paul-Beneke-youth hostel at Biskupia Górka [Bischofsberg] - east side of the building, ca. 1940

the east with a timber-framed bay window, the north wing was to serve training purposes. The hostel was adorned with a large number of elements (preserved only in part), including stained glass, fabrics, wooden furniture, tile stoves with painted decorations, and the city's panorama. The most prominent role, however, was given to the monumental painting by Fritz August Pfuhe from the Technische Hochschule Danzig. Displayed in the auditorium, the painting represented Paul Beneke and his comrades against the backdrop

of the city.³⁶ In summer 1940, the tower was provided with a clock mechanism and a carillon that were connected by several moving mock-up ships in battle.³⁷ The north-west corner of the hostel in turn featured an earthenware figure of Neptune, which was designed by Wilhelm Hausmann and made in Kadyny [Cadinen].³⁸ Not only the name of the building: *Paul-Beneke-Jugendherberge*, which was a tribute to the famous privateer, but also the materials and interior decorations were used as a vehicle for symbolic content that extolled gallantry and fortitude, the maritime power of Danzig, and its intimate relationship with the Reich.³⁹

A large number of other intriguing investments from 1933–1939 include: a beach hall at Wisłoujście [Weichselmünde] and a residential estate at Królewska Dolina [Königsta], to the east side of the Wrzeszcz area. Designed by Otto Frick, the beach hall for KdF tourists was completed by the Danzig-based *Kraft durch Freude* in June 1938 at Wisłoujście, near today's ulica Kontenerowa.⁴⁰ The spacious clear-span building was supported by wainscoted timber framing, pierced with a row of windows facing the bay, and covered with a thatched gable roof. Gable elevations featured a cog to the east and a KdF logo to the west. The hall's interior (able to hold 1,200 people) was provided with a band stand and two matronea. The designer argued that the form and material gave the hall a semblance of traditional local architecture.⁴¹ The declaration of autumn 1938 envisaged the development of a large bathing beach for KdF purposes in the immediate vicinity. Designed by Otto Frick, too, the scheme provided for three buildings (able to accommodate 500 guests) around the hall, a marina, and a semi-circular band stand.⁴² Rober Ley may have promised to develop five colossal bathing beaches (Prora aside, also in Kiel, Kolberg [today's Kołobrzeg], Gdańsk/Danzig, and Königsberg [today's Kaliningrad]).⁴³ However, not even the first project was to be completed (designed by Frick). The bathing hall, which was to be transferred to Gdynia's city centre, was dismantled at the turn of 1941 and 1942.⁴⁴

The final initiative in this section is that of the Albert Forster Estate [Albert-Forster-Siedlung]. This model design was carried out by the Danzig Labour Front from 1936–1938 in today's ulica Wileńska [Robert-



Fig. 3 Albert Forster housing-estate - Wileńska street [Robert-Ley-Straße], ca. 1938

Ley-Straße] and Grodzieńska [*Dietrich-Eckart-Weg*] in Gdańsk/Danzig (Fig. 3).⁴⁵ The general plan arranged the buildings around two streets creating semi-oval lines that followed the natural gradient of the terrain. According to the press, the plan was created by Master Builder Gerhard Plagens and approved by the Führer.⁴⁶ Detailed building designs were provided by Otto Schröder.⁴⁷ The estate comprised 33 modest and cost-effective semi-detached houses that were made of bricks coated with plaster and covered with gable roofs. The area also offered the “community house” [*Gemeinschaftshaus*], which resembled other buildings and catered to the loyal Nazi Party members from the clerical and working class.⁴⁸ As the foundation stone was laid, a capsule with the foundation act, the plan of the estate, and a copy of *Mein Kampf* was inserted into the wall.⁴⁹ Given its timely completion, orderly plan, and scenic qualities, many people held the estate as a model for other investments of this kind.⁵⁰

On the eve of World War II, a project was launched to redevelop Targ Rakowy [*Krebsmarkt*], which is located on the line extending from the Royal Route. Some of the buildings were demolished for a new administrative facility to emerge. In spring 1939, at the northern elevation of the office building at Targ Rakowy 7/8, which then housed a Raiffeisen bank office, the construction began of an administrative building for the *Danziger Nährstand*, an institution re-

sponsible for agriculture and politics and the local equivalent of the *Reichsnährstand*.⁵¹ Designed by Viktor Zirkwitz, this five-storey building with a sloping gable roof was completed only in part. The scheme provided for a two-wing building comprising ca. 130 rooms; however, only the north wing was fully executed.⁵² The south wing was to house a modern, metropolitan, and impressive hotel holding 120 rooms, its design very much like that of Weimar’s Hotel Elefant or Nuremberg’s Deutscher Hof.⁵³ From ca. 1939/1940, the hotel’s design (referred to as the Ostdeutscher Hof in official documents) was developed by Professor Woldemar Brinkmann, one of Hitler’s trusted architects.⁵⁴ Initially, the design was approved by the Führer in October 1940; however, the scheme was never to be completed.⁵⁵

Some of the prewar projects that never got beyond the design stage include: a new opera house and a Nazi Party building [*Gauhaus*], which were initially to be placed in aleja Zwycięstwa [*Hindenburg Aleje*]. The opera house was to be developed in a newly designed expansive square in the vicinity of Brama Oliwska [*Olivaer Tor*]. Announced in spring 1939, the competition was won by Otto Frick, the second and third prizes going to Hans Riechert and Albert Krüger, respectively.⁵⁶ The construction process never started, however (*cf.* some of the remarks below). The Nazi Party building was in turn to be developed a kilometre away, closer to Wrzeszcz, in the vicinity of what

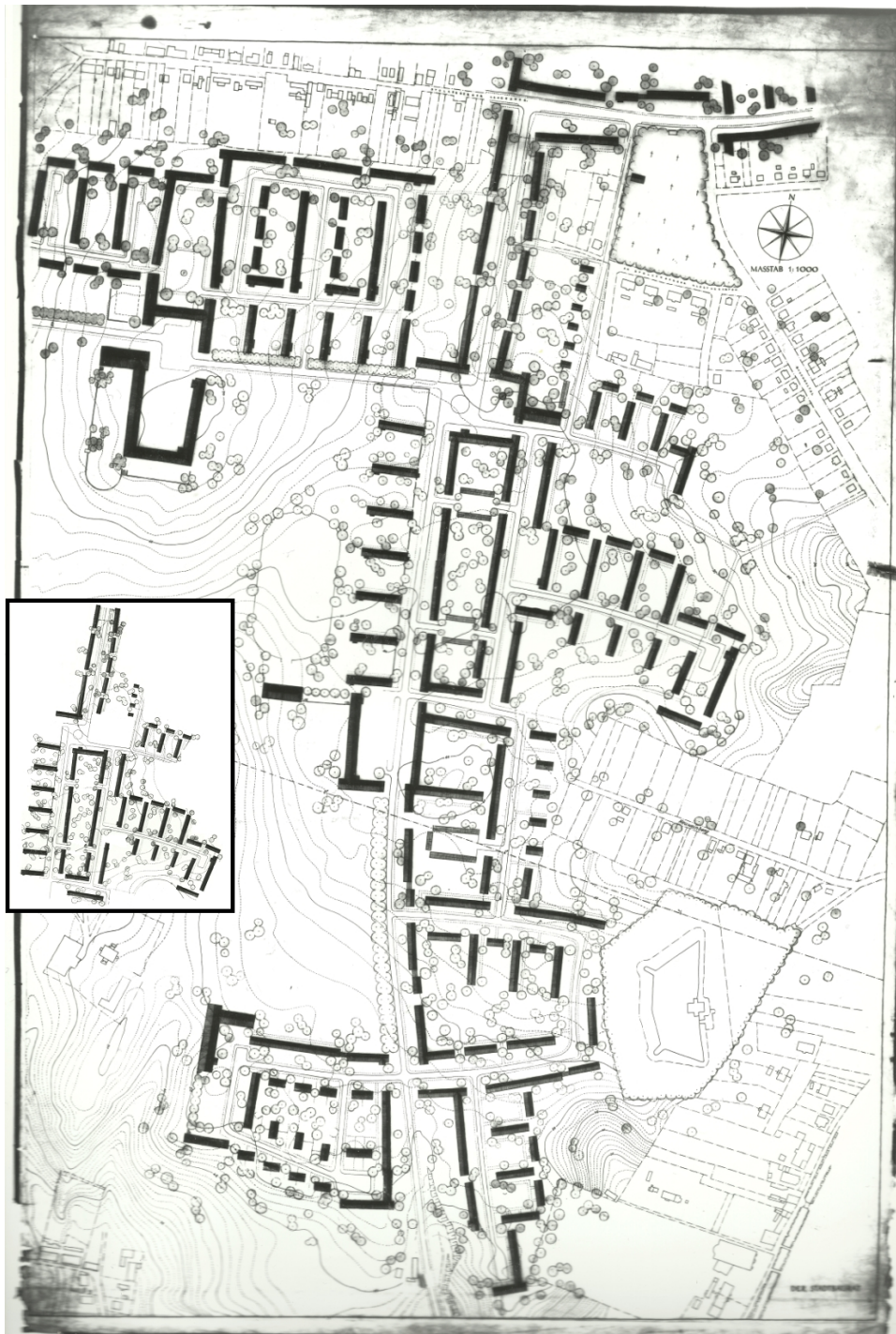


Fig. 4 Project for housing estate Stolzenberg (Chełm), compared with authors own illustration depicting which houses were built before 1945

we know as the little exercise square [*Kleiner Exerzierplatz*], also referred to as May Field [*Maifeld*]. For this purpose, the sports arena (built in 1914–1915) was to be demolished. The four wings of the building were to create an inner yard, the whole

structure to be topped with a tower. Redolent of Nuremberg's *Zeppelinfeld*, a tribune was to be erected on the other side of *Aleja Zwycięstwa*.⁵⁷ Architects continued to work on the design after the outbreak of war.⁵⁸

World War II Era

On 1st September 1939, the Free City of Danzig was incorporated into the Third Reich. On 26th October 1939, pursuant to the decree of 8th October,⁵⁹ the Reichsgau West Prussia was established, later renamed the Reichsgau Danzig–West Prussia on 2nd November [*Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreußen*].⁶⁰ Albert Forster was appointed its governor [*Reichsstatthalter*]. As the newly established province was gradually incorporated into the legal system of the Reich, the social and economic life in the city was subordinated to singular laws enacted during the war. Unless justified by the war effort, construction investment was curtailed and access to building materials and work force was rationed. That said, the construction industry never came to a complete standstill.⁶¹

On 18th September 1939, on the eve of Hitler's scheduled visit to Gdańsk/Danzig, Albert Forster hastily launched the construction of the city's ring road, which was to secure a transport link to the Berlin–Königsberg motorway.⁶² Plans for the Gdańsk/Danzig section were developed in secret from 1935; they provided for a ring road with several exits leading to Orunia, Chełm, Wrzeszcz, and Oliwa, and a junction with the motorway near Będzieszyn, a village located two kilometres to the south-east of Pruszcz Gdański.⁶³ The construction of the Gdańsk/Danzig section came to a halt during the war when earthworks had already begun. Designs for particular sections of the road were never completed.

The largest municipal investment during the war was that of the Chełm estate [*Stolzenberg*] (Fig. 4). In spring 1940, a decision was made to develop a residential estate at today's Chełm, an area located 2 kilometres to the south-east of the historic city centre. The project was to be carried out in collaboration with the Reichs-Ministry of Labour [*Reichsarbeitsministerium*] and the High Command of the Kriegsmarine, which commissioned U-boats from Danzig Shipyard and Schichau Shipyard. The investment was carried out despite formal constraints to the construction process.⁶⁴ The location of the estate and the building arrangement were agreed as part of the multilateral talks held in summer 1940. Also, government and DAF loans were agreed to provide funding to the municipal authorities.⁶⁵ Initially, as many as 1,600 flats

were to be provided in less than one year, the target figure being 5,000 flats for 25,000 residents.⁶⁶ The estate was developed by *Neue Heimat*, a DAF housing cooperative registered in the Reichsgau Danzig–West Prussia.⁶⁷ The predesign of the estate was developed at the Housing Office for Danzig–West Pomerania [*Gauheimstättenamt*], a DAF urban planning unit. Commissioned by *Neue Heimat*, the detailed design was exposed to several modifications, including those by Town Planner Michael Fleischer and Kriegsmarine architects.⁶⁸ The plan provided for a leafy area with detached and terraced houses, commercial facilities at major intersections, schools,⁶⁹ sports grounds, playgrounds, a cosy cinema, spacious youth club, and Hitlerjugend headquarters.⁷⁰ Additional sports fields, parks, and gardens were to be created in the area located to the south of the estate.⁷¹ Fleischer was in charge of the building arrangement, while *Neue Heimat* architects (Schmersahl, Palm, and Nieß) provided façade designs and floor plans, including those for shopping facilities.⁷² 800 flats (including 350 flats for shipyard workers) were to be secured as part of the first stage in the process (known as the “east” stage).⁷³ First 100 flats were completed in summer 1940. Subsequent 200 flats were provided gradually at the turn of 1942 and 1943.⁷⁴ Ultimately, nearly 50 three-storey terraced houses were completed,⁷⁵ out of 100 stipulated in the plan. The houses were developed in today's ulica Lubuska, Odrzańska, Buczka, Lotników Polskich, Łużycka, and Worcella. In high streets, the buildings had their roof ridges facing the road; in side streets, they were laid out in a comb arrangement. These plaster-coated brick terraced houses were covered with gable roofs. In order to avoid monotony, they were provided with modest portals that were topped with segmental arches and key stones. Located in the centre of the estate, near the roundabout, the building with two avant-corps and arcades was also added for variety (at ulica Buczka 13–17) (Fig. 5). The Chełm estate played a major propaganda role as a foundation for the future development of “healthy and productive society,” which was to be dominated by large families; it also served as a foretaste to a “grand housing project” to be executed after the ultimate victory in the war.⁷⁶ It is worth noting that the post-war demand for future

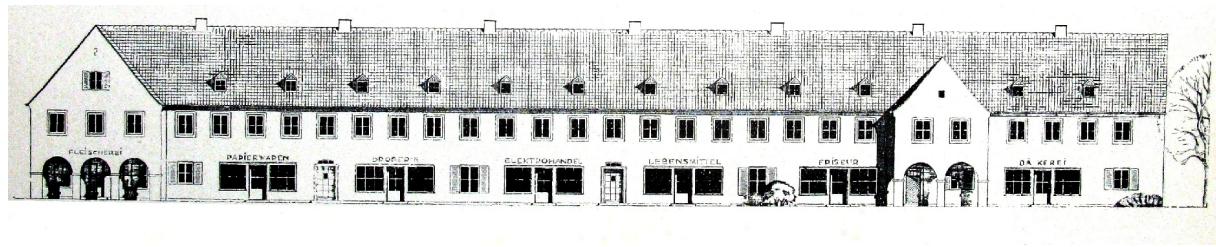


Fig. 5 Project of a house with shops - today Buczka street (Stolzenberg housing estate), 1940

housing in the city was estimated in 1940 at least 15,000 additional flats (150,000 flats for the entire Reichsgau Danzig–West Prussia).⁷⁷

Wartime architectural projects also include the development of modest terraced houses scattered across the city, including today's ulica Siennicka (City Centre), Zygmunt Augusta and Strakowskiego, Kochanowskiego and Dzielna, Bolesława Chrobrego (Dolny Wrzeszcz), Stwosza, Grottgera, and Wąsowicza (Oliwa), as well as aleja gen. Hallera and aleja Wojska Polskiego.⁷⁸ Additionally, the restoration of historic houses continued. As a result, the building at Długi Targ 30 (designed by Otto Frick) was converted into an office for the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in 1940.⁷⁹ Gauleiter Forster's residence in Eichenallee (today's ulica Dębinki) was in turn completed from 1939–1940 (designed by O. Schröder, interior design: O. Frick).⁸⁰ The former seat of the Senate of the Free City of Danzig in Nowe Ogrody [*Neugarten* 12/16] was extended from 1939–1941, its interior converted for the Gauleiter's purposes (also designed by Frick).⁸¹ The Srebrzysko cemetery saw the development of a burial plot for soldiers killed in action, which is known as the Heros' Cemetery [*Heldenfriedhof*]. The Medical Academy was provided with a new surgical outpatient clinic and an X-ray institute.⁸² Some of the wartime projects that never got beyond the design stage (barring projects described below) include the extension of the National Museum of the History of Danzig at Oliwa, the extension of the harbour and shipyard, as well as the development of new schools, a botanic garden, and a zoo.⁸³

In his postwar account, Georg Lippke, the then High Mayor [*Oberbürgermeister*] of Danzig, described a controversy concerning the future urban planning policies and architectural investments in the city. The dispute involved the municipal authorities (seeking to

improve the housing market), the Wehrmacht (pushing investment into military bases), and Albert Speer, who established an architectural studio in the city as Hitler's plenipotentiary.⁸⁴ The largest of the Wehrmacht's projects was that of the Land Forces Academy [*Heereskriegsschule*], which was to be inserted between Wrzeszcz and Oliwa, in the area of today's ulica Orłowskiego and Michałowskiego. (Fig. 6) The complex was designed to comprise: the headquarters of the academy, lecture rooms, cadet dorms, a gym, stables with a riding hall, a sports field, hospital facilities, and utility rooms. Developed by Hans Hermann Klaje in collaboration with Town Planner Finke and Engineer Pfuhl, the design drew in form on mediaeval castles and Prussian garrisons. Approved by Hitler in early 1940, the project was never completed.⁸⁵ The most prominent investment completed by the Wehrmacht was that of the expansion of the airfield at Wrzeszcz (from 1934). Two hangars were built and the field was significantly expanded for Luftwaffe purposes.⁸⁶ The expansion of the SS and police penal camp at Maćkowy, which was beyond the competence of the municipal authorities, is also worth mentioning.⁸⁷

In December 1940, the city received the symbolic title of *Hansestadt*, which hardly changed the city's status or political dispensation. The emphasis, instead, was on celebrating its illustrious history.⁸⁸ In May 1941, Danzig was awarded the status of *Neugestaltungstadt*, and thus joined more than 30 other cities in a programme for radical urban reform.⁸⁹ This required a powerful planning effort. A number of large format predesigns were developed at the time (some of them have survived). Their vision of urban development was very much like that of Hugo Althoff's Great Danzig Plan. These predesigns are of tremendous value given the nearly total annihilation of

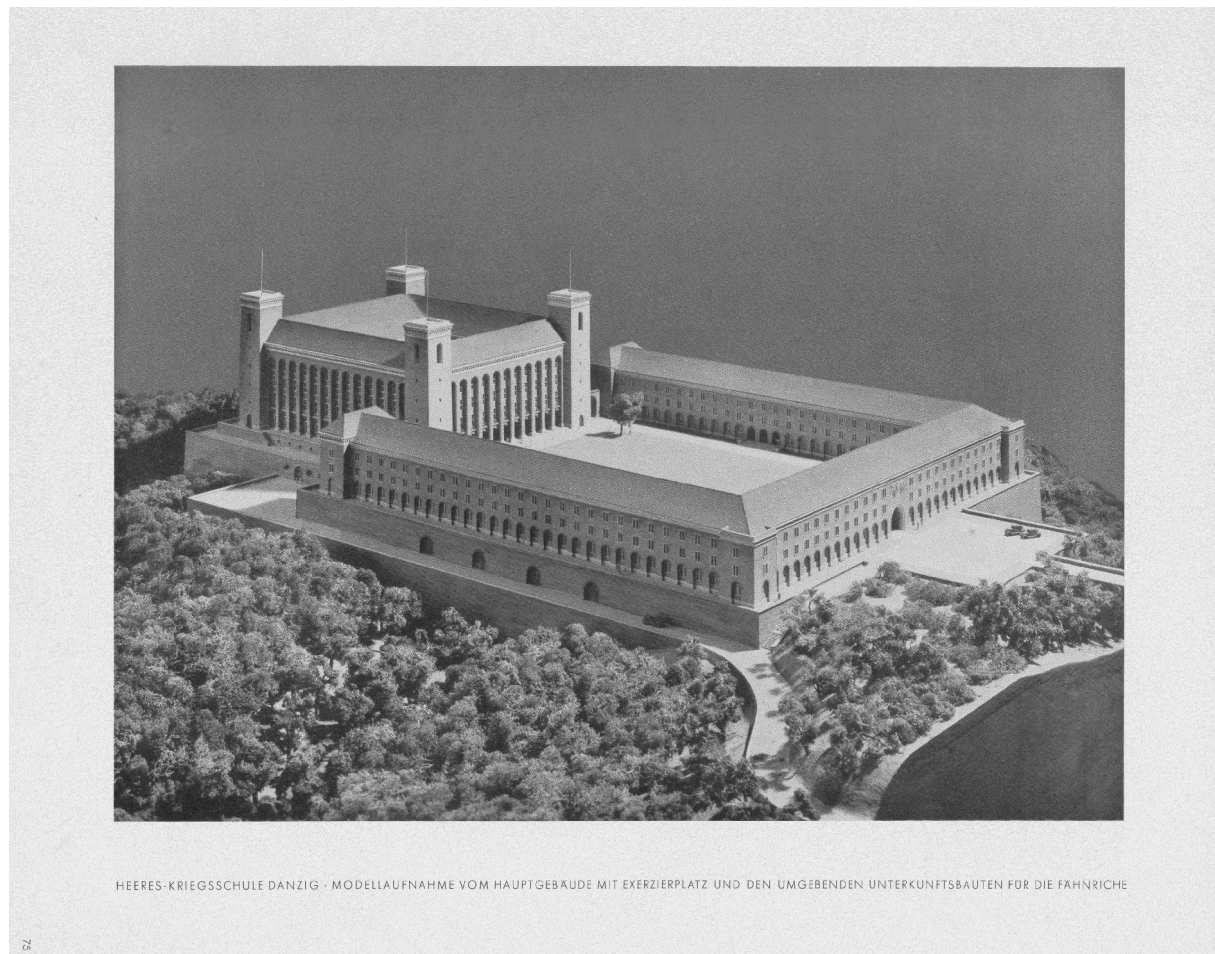


Fig. 6 Land Forces Academy, model of the main building with courtyard and houses, Wilhelm Lotz, Heeres-Kriegsschule Danzig, 1940

the records from the Municipal Construction Department after 1945.⁹⁰ Most of the wartime designs were only annotated *Stadtbaurat* (Town Planner) with no handwritten signature. Michael Fleischer is known to have served in this capacity from 1940–1945.⁹¹

Individual designs showcased different variants of the city's development, including the railway ring and the ring road of the historic city centre, Pruszcz airfield, new residential estates to the north of Wrzeszcz and to the west of the ring road (completed in part after the war), and a separate industrial area. One of the exits in the ring road was to be located in the vicinity of the Technische Hochschule, near today's aleja Hallera and aleja Grunwaldzka. Had it been developed, the Abegg Foundation estate (in part) and the Uphagen Mansion (in full) would have been demolished.

The only approved design for the radical redevelopment of the city provided for a new north-south transport axis to the north of the western line of the old fortifications. The design also included a railway station complex with a post office, hotels, an art gallery, and a concert hall near Brama Oliwska (the existing railway station would have been demolished to make way for a ten times larger new building); sports stands to the west of Góra Gradowa (where the Wehrmacht headquarters would have been located), an opera house building (between the current National Museum and the youth hostel at Biskupia Górka), the Reich Labour Service headquarters [*Reichsarbeitsdienst*, hereinafter: RAD], as well as buildings for the Gauleiter and Reichsstatthalter purposes and an arena, both located on the line extending from the Royal Route (following the extension of the former Senate building

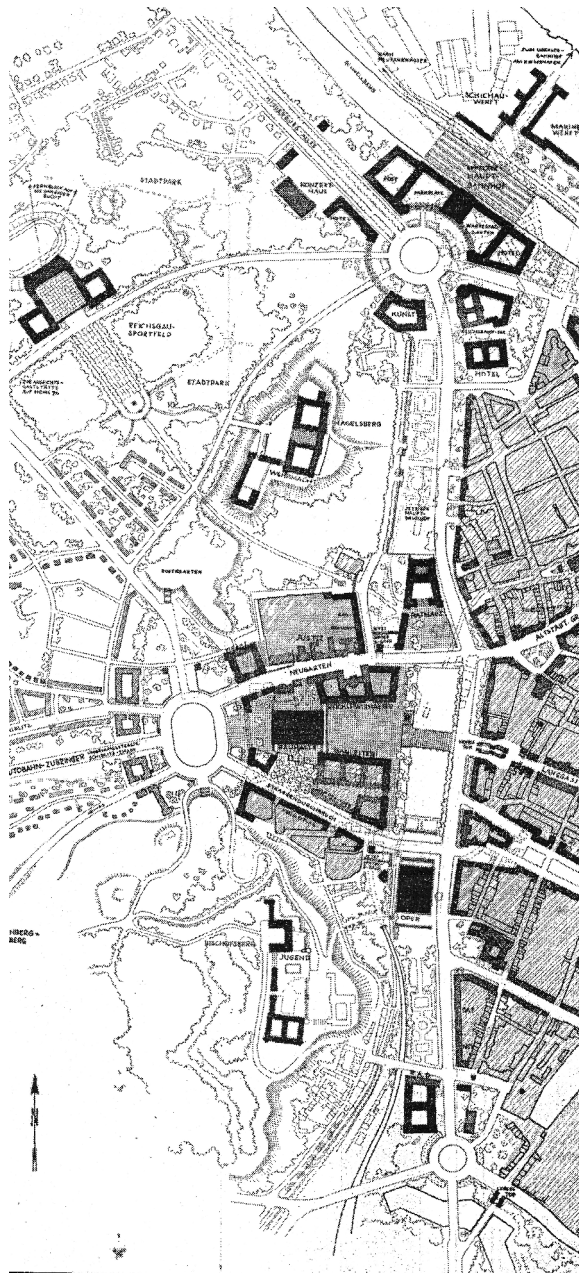


Fig. 7 Gauforum in Gdańsk, ca. 1939/1940, concerning demolition of the train station and building of a new one

and the demolition of the buildings in Targ Rakowy). Lined with uniform buildings, the new east-west axis would have run in the vicinity of today's Podwałe Przedmiejskie [*Vorstädtischer Graben*].

Further designs envisaged different variants for the redevelopment of Targ Sienny and Targ Rakowy, which was probably aimed at providing a Gauforum with a vast courtyard and a sizeable arena on the

forum's axis (Fig. 7). For unknown purposes, probably for the Wehrmacht or the Adolf-Hitler-Schule, a building complex, too, was to be developed at Góra Grad-owa. The complex would have been connected with the parade ground on the axis of the new railway station. A building for unknown purposes was also to be built on Wyspa Spichrzów [*Speicherinsel*] (Fig. 8). Had it been developed, following the demolition of the entire north side of the island, the structure would have outgrown St Mary's Church in size. There was also a rough design for the development of a building (probably for RAD purposes) in today's ulica Okopowa, which would have supplanted the Polish gymnasium (earmarked for demolition).

The latest of the dated predesigns were created in the first quarter of 1942. Regardless of the intended purpose of the buildings (largely unknown) and poor chances for their completion, their designs were extremely oversized and disrupted the surrounding urban fabric with no regard for the existing architecture.

Following air raids in 1942, the municipal authorities adopted a policy to meet a growing housing demand. Accordingly, attics were converted for housing purposes, residential barracks were built, and large apartments were divided into smaller units to be shared with new tenants as of 1943.⁹² The Reichs-Ministry of Finance established a special department for the protection of monuments against war damage, which conducted inventory activities in Danzig while taking valuable art works out of the city.⁹³ Air raid shelters were increasingly built. From summer 1944, civilians were also forced to extend the earth fortification network.⁹⁴ During the Battle of Danzig in March 1945, Albert Forster secretly fled the city, almost on the eve of Hitler's orders to defend it by every possible expedient. Hitler's orders doomed Danzig to destruction at the hands of the Allied forces, which is also the most perceptible mark that the Nazis left on the city's architecture.

In many respects, Danzig from 1933–1945 may be compared to the Reich or even treated as its mirror reflection on a micro scale. This refers not only to its society or political system, but also to architecture. This mere handful of construction investments and projects that never got beyond the design stage reveal a number of facets to the construction activities

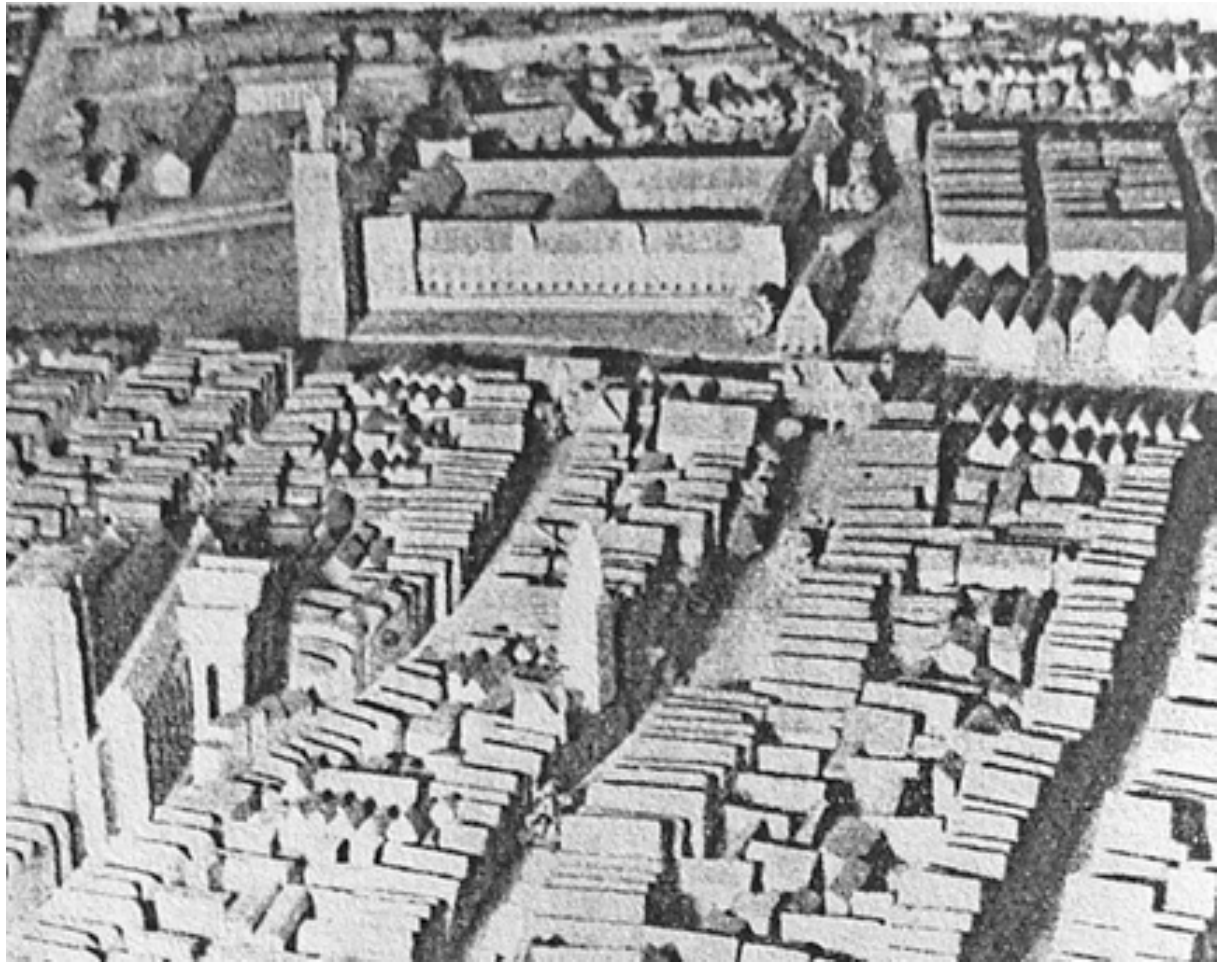


Fig. 8 Model of the old town with a new building with a tower on Wyspa Spichrzów [Speicherinsel], ca. 1939/40

undertaken by the Nazi authorities in the city. Before 1939, the Senate, pressurized by Gauleiter Forster and funded by the Reich, embarked on a number of propaganda initiatives such as infrastructure modernization, the restoration of historic houses in the Main City, and cost-effective residential housing that was simple in form and structure and redolent of local traditional architecture. New jobs in the market ramped up support for the Nazi Party, who as they consolidated their power and developed their structures, began to seek space for their officials and institutions. Architects loyal to the Nazis strove to appeal to their taste by providing axis plans and rhythmical façades, which were often austere in form. Press reports from the time demonstrate how each and every investment, no matter how inconspicuous or planned before 1933, might be harnessed for the promotion of a new regime. New loci of memory were particularly high on

the agenda. These emerged with new school buildings and training facilities, as well as memorials, cemeteries, and renamed streets and squares, all of which were used for Nazi celebrations and festivities.

Emphatically, urban planning and construction activity continued during the war and a growing number of administrative bodies (mainly central German institutions) sought to contribute to the shaping of a new city. The design of the city's Gauforum was the pinnacle moment for local urban planners. This party rally ground and a quasi-place of worship with oversized solitary buildings drew upon the model designs developed for Munich, Weimar, and Dresden. The idea behind it was to encroach on the public space so that a new regime could fully present itself. The Gauforum project called for incalculable resources and was in fact impossible to complete. All this aside, it would have brought a radical change to the archi-

tectural and planning structure of the city. The Nazi Party had no qualms about erasing heritage. Plans for the demolition of much of the historic city centre, which were a necessary part of the Gauforum design, are the best evidence to prove this.

Endnotes

- Other areas within the Free City of Danzig, and after 1939 other places within the Reichsgau Danzig–West Prussia are beyond the scope of this paper and the dissertation *Architecture and Urban Planning in Gdańsk/Danzig from 1933–1945*, which I am preparing under the supervision of Professor Małgorzata Omilanowska.
- Bernhardt 2015, *Stil–Raum–Ordnung*.
- Pusback 2006, *Stadt als Heimat*. Cf. an excerpt available in Polish translation by Katarzyna Olszewska; Pusback 2013, *Miasto jako ojczyzna*, p. 251–268.
- Gruszkowski 1994, *Mało znana karta*, p. 9–11.
- Lorens 1998, *Przekształcenia obszaru śródmieścia*, p. 26–81.
- Daniluk 2013, *SS w Gdańsku*; Daniluk 2017, *Miasto skoszarowane*.
- Perz 2009, *Paul-Beneke–Jugendherberge*, p. 396–413.
- Załęska-Kaczko 2014, *Organizacja „Kraft durch Freude”*, p. 172–181.
- Friedrich 2011, *Tożsamość peryferii*, p. 176–216.
- The Nazi Party (over a hundred members) was formally registered in Gdańsk/Danzig in 1926 (two hundred thousand citizens). A year later, the party won merely one seat in the Volkstag election (120 people at the time).
- More on Forster: Schenk 2002, *Albert Forster*.
- The following places in Gdańsk/Danzig enjoyed much popularity among the Nazi Party members: *Café Derra* (no longer in existence) in today's ulica Kartuska [Karthäuser Straße], a sports arena in today's aleja Zwycięstwa [Hindenburg Allee] (now converted into an opera), a canteen at Gdańsk Shipyard, and a sports stadium at Dolne Miasto. More on the offices in the seminal years of the Nazi Party in Gdańsk/Danzig: Daniluk 2013, *SS w Gdańsku*, p. 55–57.
- More on German subsidies and loans “for various construction purposes,” artistic purposes, and “permanent ceremonial decorations” in the city, cf. Bundesarchiv Koblenz [hereinafter: BA Koblenz], *Nachlass von Hjalmar Schacht*, N 1294/11, k. 9, 12; – Bundesarchiv Berlin [hereinafter: BA Berlin], *Reichskanzlei*, R 43–II/973b; *Gebietsabtretungen – Danzig*, k. 29, 32, 44, 47–49, 111.
- Barring new roads, major transport projects from 1933–1939 included: the development on a new tram depot at Strzyża (1934–1935), the extension of the airfield at Wrzeszcz (1934 r.), and the development of a bus depot in today's ulica Partyzantów [Mirchauer Weg] at Wrzeszcz (1939). Additionally, Targ Drzewny [Holzmarkt] and Targ Węglowy [Kohlenmarkt] were redeveloped in 1936 and 1939 respectively, and a new Stągiewny Bridge was built from 1936–1937.
- Schenk 2002, *Albert Forster*, p. 75–77; 122; 282. Most of the promises were never fulfilled. For instance, the need for an indoor swimming pool had been addressed by the local press for decades. Based on the design from 1931, the Nazis laid the foundation stone to the pool in today's Plac Wałowy [Wallplatz] in June 1934. However, no follow-up was made (the pool was never built), *Danzig kann ein Hallenbad haben 1931; Feierliche Grundsteinlegung 1934*.
- Initial plans provided only for the makeover of the existing theatre building (cf. BA Koblenz, *Nachlass von Hjalmar Schacht*, N 1294/11, k. 12).
- Construction designs were provided by Town Planner [Stadtbaurat] Ernst Becker. Construction works were supervised by Master Builder Gerhard Plagens (assisted by Ernst Becker), *Unser neues Staatstheater 1935*; Krause 1936, *Das Danziger Theater*, p. 27.
- Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku [State Archive in Gdańsk, hereinafter: APG], *Państwowy Urząd Policji Budowlanej w Gdańsku* [Staatliches Baupolizeiamt zu Danzig] [Danzig Construction Poli-

ce], 10/15/3630, *Kohlenmarkt 33*; Prusiewicz 2004, *Trzy teatry*, p. 58; 64.

- Unser neues Staatstheater 1935*, p. 20.
- “(…) der Wille der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung das Kulturgut Danzigs und sein kulturelles Leben zu wahren.”, Krause 1936, *Das Danziger Theater*, p. 27. Unless indicated otherwise, original German quotations were translated into English by the translator (B.S.) based on the Polish translations provided by the author (J.Z.K.).
- Pusback 2006, *Stadt als Heimat*, p. 190–203.
- “Die nationalsozialistische Bewegung in Danzig hat sich seit der Machtübernahme in ihrer kulturellen Aufbauarbeit mit besonderer Tatkraft und Sorgfalt für die Wiedererneuerung des steinernen Antlitzes unserer Hansestadt eingesetzt.”, Volmar (1940), V. Cf. the translation in: Pusback 2013, *Miasto jako ojczyzna*, p. 248–249.
- Apart from Pusback's dissertation on the 1933 inventory of the historic houses in the Main City, cf. Barylewska-Szymańska 2011, *Kamienice gdańskie*, p. 219–248; Bernhardt 2015, *Stil–Raum–Ordnung*, p. 223.
- The restoration process was funded in part by the Senate of the Free City of Danzig and in part by the Hausbesitzerzweckverband der Freien Stadt Danzig (a mandatory homeowners' association, which was established in 1936 and received a loan for restoration purposes from the Bank of Danzig). However, most of the funding came from private sources (also using a special line of credit supervised by the Senate), *Arbeitsbeschaffung durch den Hausbesitz 1936*; Pusback 2006, *Stadt als Heimat*, p. 229; BA Berlin, *Reichsfinanzministerium*, R 2/14559, *Währung in Danzig 1935–1940*, p. 172; 319.
- APG, *Danzig Construction Police*, 10/15/3257 (Jopengasse 11).
- Pusback 2006, *Stadt als Heimat*, p. 234. During World War II, adjacent buildings (from 10 to 13) also housed the Nazi leadership [Gauführung] of the Reichsgau Danzig–West Prussia; *Danziger Einwohnerbuch 1940*, vol. 2, p. 194.
- The location of the complex was selected on purpose: a Polish gymnasium, one of the major landmarks for the Polish residents of Danzig, operated in the vicinity.
- Hartwig 03.1939, *Neue Züge im steinernen Gesicht*. The paper was modified and published again after the outbreak of World War II: Hartwig 09.1939, *Neue Züge im steinernen Gesicht*.
- More on Danzig's Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt activities during World War II: Daniluk 2017, *Miasto skoszarowane*, p. 319–321.
- BA Berlin, *Generalbauinspektor für die Reichshauptstadt*, R 4606/58, *Protokolle zur persönlichen Information des Generalbauinspektors*, 1937, p. 228–230.
- Das neue Gauverwaltungsgebäude 1939*, p. 11–12; *Unermüdlische Aufbauarbeit 1940*, p. 6–7. The modernized complex now houses the Pomorskie Marshall's and Voivodeship Offices.
- “(…) ein Musterbeispiel für die ideale Vereinigung modernen Bauwillens und städtebaulicher Erhaltungskunst”, Hartwig 03/1939, p. 18. The building survived the war (the gable roof in the north wing supplanted with a flat roof); it was demolished in the 1990s.
- Announced in the press in September 1937, the competition catered to the local architects of “Arian descent.”, *Hier wird Danzigs große Jugendherberge 1937*, p. 4.
- Perz 2009, *Paul-Beneke–Jugendherberge*, p. 400. In total, the hostel cost 3 million Danzig gulden to complete. For fear of Polish claims to hostel accommodation, the Senate made a secret money transfer to the sub-account of the city authorities. BA Berlin, *Reichsfinanzministerium*, R 2/25324, *Finanzamt I Danzig*, 1939–1944, p. 9.
- The building now houses the departments of the Provincial Police Headquarters in Gdańsk.
- Perz 2009, *Paul-Beneke–Jugendherberge*, p. 400; 402; 411.
- Perz 2009, *Paul-Beneke–Jugendherberge*, p. 406–407.
- Das Glockenspiel der Jugendherberge 1940*, p. 6.
- Apart from bricks and timber, which were used for construction and decorative purposes, e.g. the coat of arms at the tower and swastika-like ornamental compositions at the bay window, marble ashlars were also used for construction, cf. Perz 2009, *Paul-Beneke–Jugendherberge*, p. 402–403; 407; 410–411.

40. More on the activity of the Danzig-based KdF from 1933–1939 and the bathing beach design: Załęska-Kaczko 2014, Organizacja „Kraft durch Freude”.
41. Frick 1940, Strandhalle der NSG.
42. Załęska-Kaczko 2014, Organizacja „Kraft durch Freude”, p. 177.
43. Spode 1997, Ein Seebad, p. 31.
44. Mit der Errichtung 1942. Initially, the timber hall was to be assembled in the city centre. Instead, however, a more spacious brick hall with a sloping roof was provided in spring 1943, Omilanoska 2012, Herbert Böhm, p. 327–328.
45. The street names celebrated Dietrich Eckart (participated in the Beer Hall Putsch, died in 1923) and Robert Ley (Head of the DAF, died in 1945).
46. Eine Mustersiedlung 1936.
47. Concurrently, Schröder supervised the development of the estate in today’s ulica Klonowiczka; Richtfest der Nationalen Arbeitersiedlung 1936. In 1938, Otto Schröder provided a design for the makeover of the building at Berlin’s Unter den Linden 49, which was to house the Zentralstelle für Deutsch-Danziger Wirtschaftsangelegenheiten, BA Berlin, Generalbauinspektor für die Reichshauptstadt, R 4606/2411; in 1939 he designed Forster’s residence in today’s ulica Dębinki [Eichenallee] in Gdańsk. Cf. information on the Albert Forster’s forest residence in Sobieszewska Island, today’s ulica Lazurowa, Daniluk 2013, SS w Gdańsku, p. 80.
48. BA Berlin, Deutsche Arbeitsfront, NS 5/II 3101, 98 (unnumbered). The building at ulica Wileńska 14, which initially served as a youth club (before 1945 also as a preschool), stood out from the rest of the estate: it was placed crosswise to residential houses, had more windows at the ground floor, and featured two balconies at gable elevations.
49. Eine Mustersiedlung 1936.
50. Half of the building shells were completed three months after earthworks had started; Richtfest im Königstal 1936.
51. Hartwig 03.1939, p. 18; Ein großer Neubau 1939; Die Umgestaltung des Heumarkts 1939. Completed after the outbreak of war, the building housed the Reichsnährstand.
52. Located at Targ Rakowy 5/6, the building now houses the Joseph Conrad Korzeniowski Provincial and Municipal Library.
53. Hartwig 03/1939, p. 18.
54. Woldemar Brinkmann (1890–1959) was Paul Ludwig Troost’s student; he provided interior designs for then KdF’s MVs Wilhelm Gustloff and Robert Ley, the German pavilion at the Paris Expo 1937, and the Munich Opera House (never completed).
55. Hitler added suggestions to Brinkmann’s design and told him to continue his work (both the design and Hitler’s suggestions are yet to be found, however), BA Berlin, Generalbauinspektor für die Reichshauptstadt, R 4606/3303, p. 3, 4, 12.
56. Danzig, Opernhaus Bd. 1, 1939; Danzig, Opernhaus Bd. 2, 1939.
57. Hartwig 03/1939, p. 18.
58. This is far from a comprehensive list of the architectural projects commissioned by the Nazis in Gdańsk/Danzig. These few accounts may nonetheless give some insight into the trends emerging in the city (which were rather analogous to the phenomena occurring in the Reich).. Without going into much detail, some other projects must be mentioned: the makeover of the municipal stadium (renamed the Albert Forster Stadion), the expansion of the Srebrzysko cemetery (provided with a new gate), the development of municipal and cooperative housing (numerous estates, including those of Strzyża [Strieß] and in ulica Beethovena [Beethovenweg], Schuberta [Franz-Schubert-Weg], Wagnera [Richard-Wagner-Weg], and Mozarta [Mozartweg]); a new community house in ulica Kochanowskiego [Posadowskyweg], and the extension of bathing beaches and the gym in ulica Wałowa [Wallgasse].
59. Erlaß des Führers 08/10/1939; Erlaß des Führers 20/10/1939.
60. Erlaß des Führers 02/11/1939.
61. Prewar investments continued, including those of the hostel at Biskupia Górka or buildings in ulica Okopowa and Targ Rakowy.
62. The construction of the motorway (from 1934) raised much controversy as an extraterritorial project dissecting the Polish corridor and the Free City of Danzig.
63. BA Berlin, Generalinspektor für das Deutsche Straßenwesen, R 4601/1061 and R 4601/4023; BA Berlin, Reichsautobahnen – Direktion, R 4602/37; cf. two plans for the Gdańsk/Danzig section of the motorway in the cartographic collection of the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz [hereinafter: GStAPK], item No. C 51166–1 and D 50430–3.
64. Concurrently, the Kriegsmarine provided funding for the development of residential housing in Königsberg and Elbing (today’s Elbląg) (cf. BA Berlin, Reichsarbeitsministerium, R 3901/21316, p. 3).
65. Kopsch-Rossin 1940, Neuer Lebenswille, p. 7.
66. BA Berlin, Reichsarbeitsministerium, R 3901/21316, p. 4.
67. Lochmann 1940, Die Aufgaben, p. 9.
68. BA Berlin, Reichsarbeitsministerium, R 3901/21316, p. 4. Ultimately, the construction project (successfully completed and accepted in June 1940) was attributed to Michael Fleischer.
69. BA Berlin, Reichsarbeitsministerium, R 3901/21316, p. 22–23, 29, 97–98. Designed by the municipal construction department, two school buildings were to be provided in the area.
70. Wohnstadt Stolzenberg 1940; Kopsch-Rossin 1940, Neuer Lebenswille, p. 7; Fleischer 1941, Die Gross-Siedlung, p. 554–558.
71. In autumn 1940, Max Karl Schwarz, an established landscape designer from Worpswede near Bremen, was hired to provide development plans for green areas; – BA Berlin, Reichsarbeitsministerium, R 3901/21316, p. 105–106.
72. Sickert 1941, Die Bauten der “Neuen Heimat”, p. 558–566.
73. It was established that the plot of land would yield ca. 2,000 flats (in three-storey buildings). BA Berlin, Reichsarbeitsministerium, R 3901/21316, p. 65–66.
74. Daniluk 2013, SS w Gdańsku, p. 258–259.
75. Located in today’s ulica bpa A. Wronki, four small single-family houses (modest designs with gable roofs and little gardens) were an exception to this rule.
76. Wohnstadt Stolzenberg 1940; Kopsch-Rossin 1940, Neuer Lebenswille.
77. Richtkrone über einer Danziger Mustersiedlung 1940, p. 3 (interestingly, different sources provided different estimates).
78. Cf. Daniluk 2017, Miasto skoszarowane, p. 257; BA Berlin, Reichsfinanzministerium, R 2/26604; BA Berlin, Partei-Kanzlei der NSDAP, NS 6/271; BA Berlin, Rechnungshof des Deutschen Reiches, R 2301/5292.
79. Handelskammer in neuem Hause (1940), p. 5.
80. The plot still features a small caretaker’s lodge and a two-storey building covered with a hip roof (the former Forster’s residence, now at the back of the Main Library of the Medical University of Gdańsk), BA Berlin, Reichsfinanzministerium, R 2/27686, p. 1–2; APG, Państwowy Urząd Policji Budowlanej w Gdańsku [Staatliches Baupolizeiamt zu Danzig] [Danzig Construction Police], 10/15/396 Eichenallee 1.
81. The building failed to survive the war. With no existing photographic records at hand, it is impossible to describe the alterations. Cf. information on the funding for the investment in: BA Berlin, Reichsfinanzministerium, R 2/11739, R 2/11750 and R 2/27686; Die Arbeit der kommenden Monate 1942.
82. Daniluk 2017, Miasto skoszarowane, p. 249. The municipal hospital was also earmarked for extension (after the war), Danzig wird Metropole des Ostens 1940, p. 6; APG, Państwowy Urząd Policji Budowlanej w Gdańsku [Staatliches Baupolizeiamt zu Danzig] [Danzig Construction Police], 10/15/3833, Zwischen-Gutachten über den Ausbau der Städtischen Krankenanstalten in Danzig (Stand der Arbeiten Ende 1942), 23 August 1944.
83. Daniluk 2017, Miasto skoszarowane, p. 247; 251.
84. The only certain fact about the office is that it served the Nazi leadership [Gauleitung] of the Reichsgau Danzig-West Prussia, Daniluk 2017, Miasto skoszarowane, p. 259–260 (he quotes the manuscript of Tonband-Interview mit seiner Nichte, Frau Rosemarie Müller-Wenzel 1983 in Baden-Baden, which is now part of Gerd-Dietrich Ewert’s collection in Hamburg; I would like to thank and acknowledge Jan Daniluk for sharing a copy).
85. Daniluk 2017, Miasto skoszarowane, p. 246–247. On other Wehrmacht projects that never got beyond the design stage: Daniluk 2014, Niezrealizowane projekty Wehrmachtu, card 8–8a.
86. Daniluk 2017, Miasto skoszarowane, p. 253.
87. Daniluk 2013, SS w Gdańsku, p. 139–140; 142. Cf. also: Daniluk 2011, Obóz karny SS i policji w Maćkówach.

88. „Hansestadt Danzig” 1940. Accounts from the time depicted Danzig in the Hanseatic period as “a political and economic centre of the German east.”
89. Verordnung zur Durchführung 16/05/1941 (in connection with: Gesetz über die Neugestaltung deutscher Städte 04/10/1937. The programme also involved other cities such as Wrocław/Breslau (17/02/1939), Szczecin/Stettin (31/03/1939), and Poznań/Posen (12/07/1940).
90. The predesigns were discovered by Wiesław Gruszkowski and Bohdan Szermer in the basement of the former Municipal Construction Department. For many years, these extremely valuable designs had been stored at the Faculty of Architecture of the Gdańsk University of Technology. Once copied as photographs, the original predesigns were transferred to the Cartographic Department of the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk (where some of them underwent conservation treatment). Gruszkowski 1994, *Mało znana karta*, p. 9. Only some of the designs are known to have survived the war. Other designs can be seen in photographs by Heinrich Hoffman, who captured Hitler during his stay in Danzig in May 1941. In one such photograph, the Führer is leaning over a large mock-up of the city and a model of a building, large format designs hanging on the walls in the background. Thirteen photographs by Hoffman (with the designs in the background) are available online in the digital collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München: <http://www.bpk-images.de> [last retrieved 15/10/2017], item numbers: from 50045452 to 50045458 and from 50045475 to 50045480.
91. Michael Fleischer (1903–1983) was born in Bistritz, Transylvania; he received a degree in Architecture from the Technische Hochschule Stuttgart; from 1925–1930 he worked at Professor Paul Bonatz’s architectural studio, and from 1927 as an assistant lecturer at the Technische Hochschule Stuttgart. From 1930–1936 he was involved in the Madrid expansion project; from 1937–1939 he was in charge of the urban planning office [Planungsstelle] in Cologne. From 15th March 1940 until the end of the war he was appointed town planner [Stadtbaurat] in Danzig. In 1942 he offered lectures on architectural design at the Technische Hochschule Danzig. In 1945 he was involved in the Cologne redevelopment project (dismissed following the protest from other architects). Until 1949 he was active in Krefeld and Aachen, from 1949–1955 in Spain, and from 1955/1956 in Bielefeld, Medina Warmburg 2005, *Projizierte Moderne*, p. 520; Barylewska-Szymańska / Szymański 2018, *Osiedle mieszkaniowe*; Die Hauptsatzung für die Stadt 1940, p. 5.
92. Daniluk 2017, *Miasto skoszarowane*, p. 253; 261–262. According to Daniluk, the barracks served as living quarters not only for POWs and forced labour, but also for the Wehrmacht, police, SS, or Technische Hochschule (cf. designs for administrative barracks in Nowe Ogrody in 1943 and barrack designs for air raid victims – BA Berlin, Reichsfinanzministerium, R 2/11739, R 2/28335, R 2/28356; BA Berlin, Rechnungshof des Deutschen Reiches, R 2301/4944, BA Berlin, Reichskanzlei, R 43-II/1009b), cf. remarks on the increasingly stringent construction laws in 1943, Daniluk 2017, *Miasto skoszarowane*, p. 254.
93. Predominantly, the furnishings of the Main City Hall, Artus Court, churches, and historic houses were taken out of the city, Bernhardt 2017, *Inwentaryzacja zabytków sztuki*, p. 282–283; GStAPK, I. HA, Finanzministerium, Rep. 151 No. 3527 (concerning the foundation of the Keibel group); GStAPK, I. HA, Finanzministerium, Rep. 151, IV, No. 2407, No. 2407/ from 1 to 6, No. 2408, 2409/ from 0 to 2 (concerning the inventory of the city’s art works by the Keibel group); BA Berlin, Reichsfinanzministerium, R 2/12902, Sicherung von Kunstwerken gegen Luftgefährdung in Danzig.
94. Daniluk 2017, *Miasto skoszarowane*, p. 327–329; 404–406.

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Summary

The article shows the development of NS-architecture and town planning in Danzig between the years 1933–1945 concerning its political, social and historical background. In two parts of the text, concerning years 1933–1939 and 1939–1945 the author shows that in many respects, Danzig may be compared to the Reich or even treated as its mirror reflection on a micro scale. To illustrate this thesis Załęska-Kaczko provides many examples of realized and unrealized plans of housing estates and monumental public architecture.

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