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W. M. Dudok and Hilversum: Architect and Municipal Planner; Dissemination of this Interconnection amongst Australian Architects, 1925-1955

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Abstract

The architecture/town planning of the Dutch modernist Willem Marinus Dudok (1884-1974) is a significant example of the crossover between municipal planning and architecture. Dudok's buildings, particularly those at Hilversum, are widely acknowledged and recognisable as design sources drawn upon by Australian modernists in the period 1925 to 1955. He planned Hilversum as a garden city in 1918 and it was visited by many Australian architects during this study period.

Dudok initially trained as an engineer. His career, combining architecture and town planning, presented the ideal modernist project in practice. Hilversum was one of the key locations in Europe after World War I, where modern town planning and architecture worked in unity.

Architecture, although often collaborative within a practice, could also be individualistic and Dudok's practice in many ways exemplified this approach. Town planning required the coordination of professionals. At Hilversum, Dudok achieved this unity, with his well-planned municipal areas and modern buildings successfully integrated into them. This was within the context of contemporary Dutch town planning and housing laws, post World War I.

This paper presents Dudok's work, emphasising the crossover and integration of architecture and town planning. It examines the significance or not, of this crossover between these disciplines in the dissemination of his work by Australian architects and examines specifically whether Dudok's town planning practices were part of the dissemination of his work. It concludes that for those Australian architects who experienced Hilversum first-hand, Dudok's buildings were perceived as integrated into the town plan, particularly their context and the essentialness of the landscaping.

Furthermore, Dudok had a commitment to the social wellbeing of the community through his planning with schools as focal points. Newcastle Technical College, New South Wales, is an exemplar of this in Australia.

Willem Marinus Dudok

In 1915, Willem Marinus Dudok (Figure 1), aged 31, was appointed Director of Hilversum Council Public Works Department; this position changed to Town Architect in 1928. He had first chosen a military career. Dudok trained as an engineer and remained in the army until 1913 when he was appointed Engineer and Deputy Director of Public Works at Leiden.¹



Figure 1. Willem M Dudok, 1953
(Gooienvecht Historisch Hilversum, Netherlands).

Importantly, Dudok's schools and Town Hall (1928-31) of Hilversum, a small town 20 kilometres south of Amsterdam, are widely acknowledged and recognisable as design sources drawn upon by modernists, among them many Australian architects in the period 1930 to 1955. These design sources included the use of rectilinear interlocking and connecting horizontal and vertical cuboid forms, narrow brickwork to emphasise horizontality and the use of De Stijl colours, red, yellow and blue.

Colin Davies in *New History of Modern Architecture* of 2017 claims that architectural historians have neglected Dudok, and suggests the reasons for the scant mention of his works were the fact that Dudok was an active practitioner having 200 completed buildings and that he did not adhere to the dogma of modernism.² Rather his Dutch contemporaries J.J.P. Oud and Theo van Doesburg, although completing considerably

fewer works, received the critics' attention. Additionally, much of the literature focuses on the relationship between Dudok and Frank Lloyd Wright.³ What is presented even less is Dudok's work as a town planner. The dominant body of literature on Dudok is in the Dutch architectural, planning and cultural journals. Discussion of his town planning views was also recorded in the English professional publications cited later in this paper. There are few monographs on Dudok and his work in English. Most notable was the 1954 monograph edited by Robert Magnee.⁴ A 1995 Dutch monograph on Dudok mentions his town planning schemes against the dominant discussion of his buildings. Donald Leslie Johnson and Donald Langmead in *Makers of Twentieth Century Architecture* suggest that after World War II, Dudok's significance was in urban planning.⁵

This paper commences by briefly describing Dudok's professional work at Hilversum as municipal architect and particularly in this context his work as a planner, his private engagements as both a planner and an architect and the articulation of his views on town planning. However, the focus of this paper and the core of it, is the dissemination of Dudok's work as a planner to Australian architects, not on Dudok's planning schemes themselves. The research undertaken specifically examined this through the first-hand accounts of Australian architects who visited Hilversum in the study period. Their recorded responses to Hilversum, including written notes, sketches, diaries, photographs and reports of the New South Wales (NSW) Board of Architects, Travelling Scholars in Architecture, documented their descriptions of both Hilversum as a city and how they experienced the planning of that city. This has been demonstrated in this paper by the selection of several Australian architects, including John Sulman, Ewen Laird and Winsome Hall Andrew, and the articulation of their reactions to Dudok's planning. What is also evident from these first-hand accounts is their observation that in his planning, Dudok placed buildings to become focal points in the social and cultural environment of the community. The school was most often this building. The final part of the paper is a short case study of Newcastle Technical College, NSW, an Australian example of an education institution whose planning sought to add to the social and economic fabric of Newcastle and whose architect Harry Rembert, Assistant Government Architect, Department of Works, NSW, was very much taken by Dudok's work.

In 1916-18 Dudok designed the Extension Plan for Hilversum, as a garden city. This town plan and its integral buildings brought Dudok professional recognition both within the Netherlands and internationally.⁶ The 70-plus public buildings included public

housing schemes, 27 educational buildings from kindergartens to secondary schools, an abattoir, two cemeteries and his most acclaimed building, the Hilversum Town Hall. When Dudok commenced work as the Town Architect, it was understood that designing a new town hall would be a critical part of his role. The Hilversum Council thought that Dudok “had proved himself as a competent architect” whereas the Dutch Architects Institute viewed that “works as the Town Hall should be designed and supervised by highly qualified independent architect.”⁷ The Hilversum Town Hall became a seminal work for modernist architects including Australians.

Dudok also accepted private commissions as an architect and a town planner. These projects included Villa Sevensteijn, The Hague (1920-21); the Dutch student hostel at the Cite Universitaire, Paris (1926-38); de Bijenkorf Store, Rotterdam (1929-30); the Extension and Reconstruction schemes for The Hague (1933, 1945); and the unrealised development plan for Zwolle (1948-53). He maintained a professional relationship with Hilversum until his retirement in 1954 and subsequently engaged in private practice until 1967.

Twentieth-Century Dutch Town Planning

Early twentieth-century Dutch town planning and architecture sit within the context of contemporary Dutch town planning. In 1901 the Wohingwet (Housing Law) was passed, requiring every city with a population greater than 10,000 to prepare a comprehensive town plan, indicating areas for slum clearance and for new housing construction. Municipal authorities established housing standards and were empowered to construct low-cost housing for workers.⁸ With changes to the Housing Act, 50,000 new houses were built in Holland between 1920 and 1930.

Giovanni Fanelli argued that the commissioning of dual role town planners/architects produced a diversity of modern architectural solutions for Dutch public housing:

In discussing the history of modern architecture in Holland the individually important works cannot be considered separately, rather they must be viewed in the context of an architectural and town planning culture, diffuse to such an extent as perhaps not to be found in any other country.⁹

Hilversum, Expansion Plan, 1916-1918, 1933

Hilversum had expanded rapidly after its connection to Amsterdam by rail. Its population grew from 35,000 in 1915 to 100,000 two decades later (Figure 2). The Dutch preference for low-rise dwellings enhanced the influential role of the garden city in the 1920s and the 1930s (Figure 3). Donald Grinberg claimed that the “garden city ideals significantly influenced the development of Hilversum under Dudok’s leadership.”¹⁰ Dudok’s initial Expansion Plan (1916-18) was designed on the premise that Hilversum should be economically independent of a commuter population. New industries would be established and separated from the worker’s housing by green areas, which would be protected and maintained. They would surround Hilversum as a natural barrier, controlling its development. The preservation of the natural rural environment was Dudok’s starting point for his planning schemes. He saw this approach as a difference between himself and other town planners of the time.¹¹



Figure 2. Dudok’s Hilversum’s Expansion Plan 1933
(Gooienvecht Historisch, Hilversum, Netherlands).

I want to consider the task of the town planner from the standpoint from which it is generally not viewed, i.e., first of all from the rural point of view, and then from the urban. For I think that the sound preservation of the land, as far as possible, is a question of great national interest.¹²



Figure 3. Public Housing Hilversum, Fifth Municipality. One-to-two storey detached housing (Photograph Carol Hardwick).

The Expansion Plan (1933) represented Dudok's ideal garden city where he authorised the preservation of the surrounding countryside. The public buildings were planned as the central structures from which his triangular urban areas spread out, such as in the fifth municipality. However, after World War II, Hilversum expanded its boundaries and increased the allowable height of buildings.

Dissemination

The United Kingdom was pivotal for Dudok's work being disseminated to Australian architects. He visited there, notably in 1934 and 1935 for his lectures at the Architectural Association, London. These, and the accompanying exhibition of his work, were key points in this journey of dissemination. Like in Australia, there was a recognisable Dudokey vocabulary in English 1930s architectural examples, including the use of brickwork as a modern material and the interlocking vertical and horizontal forms. Perhaps lesser known is that in the 1930s, Dudok was one of the architects to influence a whole new generation of Turkish urban planners and architects.¹³ He visited Turkey in 1938 as a jury member for the design of the new parliament building in Ankara.

Dudok's views on town planning are well articulated in addresses he gave to the Architectural Association in 1934, the Société Belge des Urbanistes et Architectes Modernistes in 1950, and to members of the British Town and Country Planning Association group travelling in Holland in 1955. In May 1934, Dudok delivered his address titled "Buildings At Hilversum," at the Architectural Association. However, most of his delivery presented his views of and issues fronting town planners in the 1930s. Dudok was

not always able to put into place the Development Plan that he desired. He lamented, “Its course of development, however, had not proceeded along the right lines: all kinds of casual property interests made their influence felt in the extension of roads so that here and there the plan reminds us strongly of a labyrinth.”¹⁴

Dissemination in Australia

Mary Turner Shaw, architect, summed up Melbourne’s modernist buildings in the early 1930s and the dominance of brickwork:

What we most approved was horizontality, preferably in brickwork in the mode of the Dutchman Dudok, with rows of windows and bands of cement render. Surfaces were generally plain, though the severity of the Bauhaus School had not imposed itself on us.¹⁵

The choice of brick as the favoured solid wall material for Australian modernists in the 1930s was not limited to Melbourne; brick was the modernist material throughout Australia in the 1930s.

New research for this paper focused on how Dudok’s role as Municipal Planner was disseminated to Australian architects, illustrated by their responses to their experience of his town planning at Hilversum. Did they share the layered view of Dudok, who equated the relationship between town planning and architecture to that between an orchestra and music, “as the orchestra is the most beautiful instrument for music, the town is the most beautiful edifice to architecture”?¹⁶ This paper suggests that those Australian architects who visited Hilversum, responded to it as a modern integrated town environment in a similar way to that in which Dudok conceived and designed it. Within their perceived holistic view of Hilversum, they appreciated Dudok’s landscaping, green belts, siting of buildings and the creation of public spaces that would enrich the community. In this manner their responses to Hilversum were in line with Dudok’s ideas of the interconnection, and the “town as the most beautiful edifice to architecture.”¹⁷

Dissemination of the Crossover from First-hand Visits to Hilversum

John Sulman attended the International Town Planning Conference in Amsterdam in July 1924 and visited Hilversum. In his report, “Town Planning in Great Britain, Europe and America,” to the NSW Legislature Assembly, he made special reference to Hilversum and that his excursion there reinforced his garden city planning ideals:

It is a town of trees and gardens well kept, prosperous and clean. The schools and other public buildings were closed (being Sunday) ... Workmen's dwellings are mostly two storied in rows but varied and designed with skill. A good many detached villas, with their own gardens, are also in evidence, while tree planting, public gardens, and playgrounds have not been forgotten.¹⁸

Sulman collected and kept plans from this 1924 visit of the Hilversum housing schemes and those of Rotterdam.¹⁹ There is no evidence to date that I'm aware of that Sulman met Dudok. However, it is possible that he could have on this 1924 visit to Hilversum.

The view and resultant understanding of Hilversum was one experienced from the street, indeed, the tree-lined streets. The young Australian architects explored on foot; that was how they experienced the environment, walking in the landscaping, along the tree-lined streets, as they went from one building to the next.

In 1934, Ewen Laird and Max Deans, young architects from Geelong, Victoria, visited Hilversum. Their diaries convey the joy that Hilversum held for Australian architects. Laird recorded in a very practical manner, descriptive entries of buildings and their details, often illustrated with sketches. They provide a wonderful first-hand account of this "adventure" and how Laird viewed the buildings in the broader landscape and Hilversum's garden city design. His diaries capture their explorations of Hilversum, the finite housing areas, and their meeting with the green belt, an important element of Dudok's Expansion Plan. Laird diarised in 1934 that he "walked along a leafy road to the edge of the residential area to the first school,"²⁰ where he did sketches of the school, a site plan, and a detailed description of the dominant yellow glazed bricks. Laird further emphasised the town landscape when describing the tree-lined streets and houses: "Had a long winding walk to the next school through small woods in which are dotted houses (not very good but better than the usual run of suburban work) in their natural settings."²¹

Winsome Hall Andrew, who travelled with Eric Andrew, recorded their April 1935 trip to Holland, detailing places and buildings visited in written notes to her family and photographs including those of her in front of Dudok's Vondel School (1928) and the Van Nelle Factory, Rotterdam (1926-30), which she found no longer found innovative:

We arrived in Rotterdam about 2:30 not long before dusk and Ernie took us around the outskirts of the town to see the flat schemes. – including visit to Van Nelle factory – which is huge and imposing but already seems quite usual design.²²

Her diary records the anticipation and prospective excitement of visiting Hilversum as the pinnacle of their trip:

We had to double back on our own tracks to get out to Hilversum which we did with a tenseness which was apparent. This was new ground for us all. Griff drove and I sat with map in hand ready for the great adventure.²³

Unfortunately, her notes did not include descriptions of their Hilversum visit.²⁴ Eric Andrew was one of several architects from this period who later, in 1949, qualified as a town planner, after which he referred to himself as an Architect and Town Planner. His papers, in the NSW State Library, contain Werner Hegemann's book, *Civic Planning, Housing Volume 1, 1922-1937*, with Dutch housing examples from Amsterdam and buildings at Hilversum.

The career of Frank G. Costello, the NSW Special Travelling Scholar, 1928, was the most aligned of the travelling scholars to the interconnection of planning and architecture. In 1933 he received the Hunt Bursary prize for planning, awarded by the Royal Institute of British Architects. His town planning contribution and architectural work with Brisbane City Council as Senior City Architect/Planner, 1941-1952, is discussed by Robert Freestone and Darryl Choy in "Enriching the Community: The Life and Times of Frank Costello."²⁵

In earlier research exploring how Australian architects knew about Dudok, Costello's accounts were significant because of their enthusiasm for Dudok and his understanding of the importance of the interconnection of town planning and architecture.²⁶ Costello reported in 1931 on his trip to Holland, emphasising the town planning of Hilversum, a lasting influence on his future career. He was away from Australia for eight years and visited Hilversum several times. He liked what he saw in Hilversum with Dudok's

schemes incorporating more individually designed dwellings compared to those he had seen in Amsterdam. Hilversum to him was the ideal place to live:

To me, Hilversu(m) seems, architecturally, the ideal place in which a man, not requiring an individual detached residence, would desire to live. The layout of the streets is splendid. Such public buildings as schools and churches are all of exceedingly good design.... But there is no monotonous continuity of terrace upon terrace of exactly similar fronts, as is often the case in London developments.²⁷

Costello travelled for a time with Graham McDonnell, the 1928 Travelling Scholar, who shared Costello's view that Hilversum was more than just individual buildings and importantly the harmonious way those individual buildings worked together. McDonnell travelled extensively in Europe. He understood the holistic environment that Dudok aspired to, and echoed Dudok's desire for town planning/architecture to create happiness:

The point that impressed me more than anything in regard to the Dutch work generally was that feeling of organisation of life and thought.... The building activities are not haphazard, but all seem to form part of some huge scheme for the organisation and betterment of the community. Probably this accounts very largely for the feeling of happiness and contentness amongst her citizens.²⁸

Another Dudok inspired colleague of Costello's was Benjamin Thomas Stone. They were fellow students at Sydney Technical College. In the Student Report of 1927 for *Architecture*, Costello reported on the exhibition of student work completed in 1926. He included an illustration of Stone's scheme for a Boys High School, which demonstrated Stone already showed an interest in site planning.²⁹ In 1933, he travelled by car, an old Morris Cowley, to Holland and, like Winsome Hall Andrew, described visiting Hilversum as "the grand finale to a Dutch tour; I can imagine nothing finer than a visit to Hilversum."³⁰ Stone worked for Department of the Interior in the ACT, including work on public housing, until his death from a fall during the construction of the Administration building, Canberra, in 1967.

One adventure which these Australian architect travellers confidently set out to achieve was to meet Dudok himself. Laird described this in his diary:

Took train from Amsterdam Central station to Hilversum. About ½ hour run through typical Dutch country – flat as a board just what you’ve always imagine.... walked through the Town Hall through the shopping area to see if we could see Dudok, however he had not returned from England. From his off sider got a card to get into any schools that were open.³¹

Pamela and Russell Jack from Sydney travelled through Europe in 1952; Jack was the recipient of the Byera Hadley Travelling Scholarship. They hit the jackpot. They not only met Dudok, but also enjoyed a personal tour of Hilversum by him. Pamela Jack recalled meeting Dudok in Hilversum and embarking on a “Cooks tour” with him, remembering him as “a wonderful old man, he spent so much time with us.”³² Dudok was 68 at the time. Jack Russell expanded on the importance of Dudok’s garden city design for Hilversum: “He was an architect of course and he only told us about his buildings. He strongly believed in organic architecture and the creation of a human environment and a suburban garden city urbanity.”³³

This paper has highlighted that in Holland during this period the role of Municipal Planner and Architect were often carried out by the same person, giving rise to towns such as Hilversum presenting great harmony in their design. Alan Gamble from Sydney recalled how he loved Hilversum:

Had a good look around. Apart from the fact that his work was breaking new ground it was very consistent and to see a place like Hilversum, with so much work done by the one architect... It was a very unifying (experience) influence in that town. I did note that I had never seen anywhere, not that I had a vast experience of seeing anything anywhere, such consistency in a community as there was with Dudok’s work.³⁴

Sydney W. Lucas, Superintendent Architect, Design, Department of Works, and thus like Dudok a senior public sector architect, in his 1952 report on his then recent trip to Holland, aptly titled “Can we Learn from the Dutch,” clearly admired the town planning of Hilversum, including the tree-lined streets, a landscaping element that the Australians

liked. “The Town itself is an excellent example of town planning and has a clean quiet atmosphere with winding treelined streets... it is the architecture of Dudok that attracts one to Hilversum and his influence has greatly enhanced its beauty.”³⁵

There were exemplars of housing schemes of the 1920s and 1930s that were of interest to Australians in addition to the Dutch schemes of Dudok and J.J.P. Oud, particularly those in Scandinavia and America. Max Collard, who worked for Stephenson and Turner in Melbourne, was the winner of the Robert and Ada Haddon Travelling Scholarship for 1938, visited Europe and America, and made a special study of government and municipal housing projects. He was most impressed with Scandinavian work, particularly in Sweden. Even though the height of these schemes was more than Hilversum’s one and two storeys, they still addressed the integration of landscaping, he commented, “Not only 4-5 storey blocks but ample garden space.”³⁶ Research study trips were undertaken to America by Melbournians Irwin Stevenson and Leslie M Perrott who visited New York housing schemes in 1939-40.³⁷ Sulman also visited America in 1924 and Sweden 1931.

The Municipal Architect as a Practitioner of Social Responsibility

Dudok signified the importance of a building type from his siting of it within the community. He planned schools as focal points, to enhance the wellbeing of the community. These schools, 27 of them, were thoughtfully designed for both the students and the community. Sydney Ancher wrote of his 1931-32 visit:

His [Dudok’s] schools, of which there must be almost a score, are certainly a joy to behold. ... Clean, efficient, and expressive of purpose, they certainly do appeal, and must play an enormous part in the early training of children.³⁸

Costello shared a similar view, when he wrote, “no child would feel anything but pleasure when at entering one of those schools.”³⁹

In Australia, schools occupy a considerable part of the Dudok-influenced buildings. The most acknowledged is possibly MacRobertson Girls’ High School, Melbourne (1933), by Seabrook and Fildes. However, perhaps lesser acknowledged are Harry Rembert’s Newcastle Technical College, Science Building and Trades Block Classrooms (1936-42), and Sydney Technical College, Building M (1936); Adelaide Boys High School (1940), by Edward Fitzgerald and John Brogan; as well as the many schools designed

with recognisable Dudok elements, in different states, often by state government architect departments. This is evident in NSW, when Harry Rembert was Senior Designing Architect and later Assistant Government Architect; in Tasmania, under S.W.T. Blythe, Design Architect, Tasmanian Public Works Department; in Victoria, Percy Everett, Chief Architect of the Victorian Public Works Department, 1934; and in Western Australia, Gordon Finn, of that state's Public Work Department.

Newcastle Technical College

Newcastle Technical College buildings, the Science Building, the Mechanical Engineering Building and the Trades Classroom (Figure 4), are an Australian example of Dudok's practice that the school was planned to become part of the social and economic fabric of Newcastle. It highlighted the wider community involvement in its planning beyond the design of buildings. The Education Minister argued for local community involvement, albeit to raise funds, that Newcastle should have a more "liberal manner" than Sydney, that there would be an initial grant from government but then large gifts from big local manufacturers would be encouraged and needed.⁴⁰ Assumingly what Dudok would have approved of more is the broader social context that the NSW Education Commission employed in their recommendation of the building plans:

The commission recommend that in planning buildings, care should be taken to see that they are satisfactory from the architectural and aesthetic point of view, and that they be so designed to serve as examples both to students and to the community, of what is best for the development of culture, comfort and convenience.⁴¹

In 1934 Harry Rembert prepared the site plan for the 22-acre site which fronted Maitland Road at Tighes Hill. The overall plan was accepted by the Newcastle Technical Advisory Council in 1936 and half of it was built by 1942. The design of the individual buildings, under the guidance of Harry Rembert, exhibited Dudok elements and it has been established that the office referred to texts and photographs of Dudok's work, including the photographs of Dudok's work in the Dutch journal *Wendingen*.⁴² The site planning set out to integrate the buildings on the large site. It was a formal symmetrical site plan with the Science Building located in the centre, set back considerably from Maitland Road. Peter Webber has suggested its location reflected the central position of science in Technical Education.⁴³ At the rear of the Science Building and separated by a formal garden was the curved Trades Classroom building. The Newcastle Technical Advisory

Council considered its contribution to the community beyond the aesthetics of the buildings. It regarded “the development of an aesthetic and cultural environment of extreme importance.”⁴⁴

In 1938, Sydney architects Henry E. Budden and Nicholas Mackey were appointed as consulting architects. They reviewed the scheme favourably and collaborated with Rembert on the site and building planning. Costello, as noted earlier, admired Dudok’s work, was employed by Budden and Mackey from 1936 to 1939 and likely contributed to and collaborated on the site planning and the evident Dudok influence on the buildings’ design under Rembert’s leadership. This educational complex was larger than Dudok’s schools in Hilversum and was not originally planned as an intervention into the residential sector of the community, and therefore was not as integrated into the built environment as Dudok advocated.



Figure 4. Newcastle Technical College, Trades Building, by Harry Rembert, NSW PWD Government Architects Office, 1938-40 (Photograph by Carol Hardwick).

Conclusion

Dudok, acknowledged internationally as a significant modernist architect, had a great influence on Australian architects of the period from 1925 to 1955. This paper has examined from the first-hand accounts of Australian architects who enthusiastically visited Hilversum the dissemination of his town planning. It was on their list of places to explore, and it was openly described as the pinnacle of a European trip. From this research, the paper concludes that these mainly young Australian architects responded to Dudok’s town planning. Even though they only occasionally spoke of their experience

using the term planning, they clearly admired the planned green spaces, the winding tree-lined streets, a favourite phrase used by these Australian architects, and the separation of the built-up areas by green spaces. They experienced these qualities as part of the view from the footpath and it positively impacted how they thought and spoke of Hilversum. This paper has pointed out that in this context, it was often Hilversum they spoke about, not individual Dudok buildings. His dual roles at Hilversum enabled this modernist project, with its integration of buildings within the landscape, and the creation of a harmonious holistic setting to evolve and the Australian architects appreciated that. They were in line with Dudok's premise that the city is the most beautiful edifice to architecture. They observed and described how Dudok had planned schools as the focal point of Hilversum's communities, emphasising the importance of education and the broader social and cultural context of schools in his town planning. Newcastle Technical College, NSW, is cited in this paper as an Australian example where there was wide community involvement in its development and the architects of this complex admired Dudok's work and like Dudok were public sector architects with a broader social responsibility.

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- ³⁸ Sydney Ancher, "Board of Architects of New South Wales, Reports of the Travelling Scholars, Report No. 3," *Architecture* (July 1932): 155-56.
- ³⁹ Frank Costello, "A Trip Through Holland," *Architecture*, 25 (1936): 280.
- ⁴⁰ Minute for submission to cabinet by D. H. Drummond, Minister of Education, Re: Report of Technical Education Commission, January 1935, Manuscript, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW.
- ⁴¹ "Report of the Commission and Recommendations," 25 January 1935, Manuscript, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW.
- ⁴² Charles Weatherburn, In interview by Carol Hardwick, Sydney, September 1996.
- ⁴³ Peter Webber, *E.H. Rembert: The Life and Work of the Sydney Architect* (Sydney: University of Sydney, 1982), 29.
- ⁴⁴ "Report of the Commission and Recommendations," 321.