

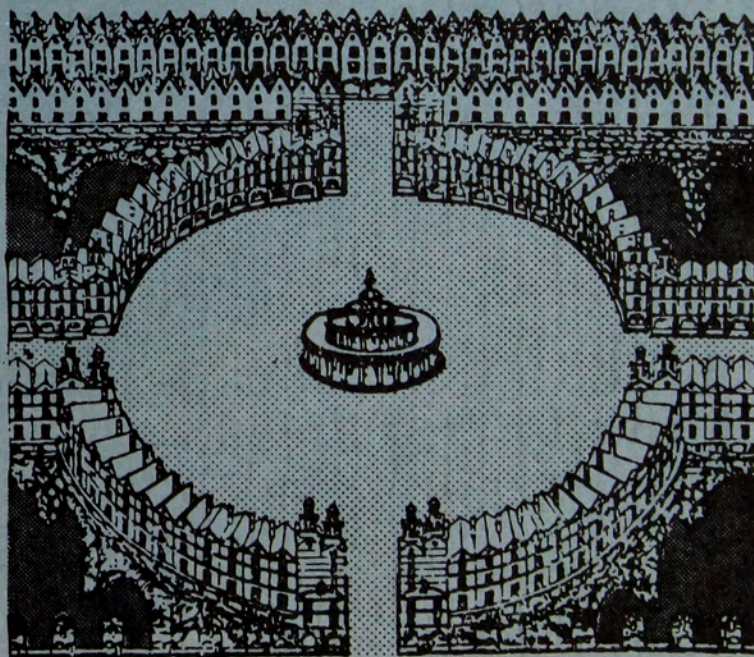
**Planning  
History  
Bulletin**

# **PHB**

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**Planning History Group**



PLANNING HISTORY GROUP

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## Chairman's Note

This number of the *Bulletin* introduces a slightly different format. The new editor, Dr John Sheail, has been able to build on the successful features of the past and give greater distinction between the various parts. The vertical columns were thought suitable for such matters as meetings and reviews; otherwise, longer notes and articles seemed to benefit from presentation in the more usual report form. In due time, it may be hoped that articles will come to dominate the content size of the *Bulletin*; the editor is hoping that you will keep him well supplied with copy.

No postal election will be necessary this year for the Executive. Vacancies will be filled from those who have offered to serve, and remaining places will be filled by nomination. The Executive for 1982/83 will be announced in the next *Bulletin*.

If, enclosed with these papers, there is a reminder about your annual subscription, please send your cheque or bankers order form without delay. Quite apart from the cash flow, it helps our hard-working secretary to keep her membership books up to date.

Gordon E. Cherry

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## Treasurer's Note

I am pleased to be able to report that our finances now seem to be on an assured footing: 1981 has been in every sense a most successful year for the Group. Full details of the Group's accounts appear on page 15 of this *Bulletin*.

Subscriptions will of course continue to remain our biggest source of income and we have increased that by holding the membership numbers and by raising the subscription to £4.00. We also now have, however, a useful addition to our income which I expect we shall maintain in 1982 from circulating publishers' leaflets. Deposit account interest is another useful source, although the 1981 figure is boosted by the inclusion of five quarterly payments. With declining interest rates and only three quarters' interest to be accounted for in 1982, this item is likely to be much smaller in 1982. We also have to pay tax on the interest from part of 1981. The seminar surplus is almost entirely the result of the eminently successful 1980 International Conference, 'Metropolis 1890-1940' whose accounts were not wound up until 1981, and is therefore a non-recurring item.

Our costs, however, are increasing rapidly. Printing costs have increased because the size of the *Bulletin* has increased, and mailing costs went up by 50%. Postal rates went up again last month so that 1982's bill will be even bigger.

Nevertheless we carry forward a very big balance which will help us to keep our subscription rates low. The balance must, however, cover the cost of mailing one, and printing two, copies of the *Bulletin*.



Our bank manager, Mr Bromehead, in his letter reproduced on page 15, rightly points to an apparent anomaly in the statement, by noting that the seminar account balance at 31 December was larger than the sum in the account ascribed to the General Fund. The seminar account is used only for dealing with seminar finances when seminar organisers are unable to handle them by other means. At the end of a calendar year business on a seminar may not have been concluded. Such was the case last year with the Birmingham seminar. But by December all the income had been received and all the costs known, although not all the bills had been paid. It therefore seemed appropriate to transfer the small surplus to the Group's income in the balance sheet and note that a certain part of the seminar account balance was due to the Group's General Fund. The difference represents the outstanding liabilities incurred by the Birmingham seminar.

Philip Booth

## Planning History Bulletin

The prime purpose of the *Bulletin* is to keep members in touch with current research and developments in the history of planning field throughout the world. Each issue should contain notices of meetings, and reports on those that have taken place. There should be reviews or abstracts of key publications, and one or two articles designed to stimulate or review progress of themes in planning history. Each issue must be of immediate and lasting interest to readers, both within and outside the membership of the Group.

*PHB* is not just another journal competing for high-quality research papers. It has a much more distinctive role, but it can only succeed if members of the Group play their part by keeping *PHB* informed on what is happening in their particular field of interest. Only then can *PHB* fulfil its potential of providing a proving ground for planning history, and a test bed for concepts and initiatives.

### WORK IN PROGRESS

We would like to produce a fresh list of 'work in progress' for publication in forthcoming issues. Please fill in the form which is printed on a separate sheet of paper in this issue. The layout of the form is intended for guidance only! But please fill it in, and return it today to John Sheail, Institute of Terrestrial Ecology, Monks Wood Experimental Station, Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire PE17 2LS.

## Meetings and Conferences

### URBAN MORPHOLOGY: RESEARCH AND PRACTICE IN GEOGRAPHY AND URBAN DESIGN

A conference on this theme will be held by the Institute of British Geographers' Urban Geography Study Group at Birmingham on 5-6 July 1982. It aims to provide a forum for urban designers and urban geographers, interested in the historical development and management of the urban landscape. Full details are available from T.R. Slater, Department of Geography, University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, Birmingham, B15 2TT.

Papers to be given include:

- The shaping of morphology - G. Gordon
- The historian's view of urban form - A.R. Sutcliffe
- Patterns of land development in Boston and Omaha, 1630-1910 - M.P. Conzen
- Urban conservation: balancing preservation and change - D. Lowenthal
- Theory into practice: the effect of planning on the urban form of Chichester - R. Fennell
- The pure past and gentrification: a Canadian approach to heritage - D. Holdsworth
- Passing in the night? Public and professional views of Milton Keynes - J. Bishop.

### THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF IRISH PLANNING

The Planning History Group in association with the Irish Institute of Planners and the Irish Branch of the Royal Town Planning Institute are organising a conference on 23-25 September 1982 in Dublin. Full details of the programme and registration forms are mailed separately with this *Bulletin*.



Registration forms must be returned to the Planning History Group Treasurer, Philip Booth, at the Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Sheffield, Sheffield S10 2TN, not later than 2 August 1982.

#### THE SUBURB SALUBRIOUS

A series of lectures has been organised to celebrate the 75th Anniversary of the official inauguration of Hampstead Garden Suburb. The lectures, organised by the Victorian Society in association with the Planning History Group, will be held at 6.30 p.m. at the Art Workers' Guild, Queen Street, London WC1. Tickets (£1.00 per lecture) can be obtained at the door or in advance from the Victorian Society, 1 Priory Gardens, Bedford Park, London W4 1TT.

It is hoped to arrange a bus tour of Hampstead, Brentham, Ruislip-Northwood and the LCC Old Oak Estate on Saturday 8 May, 1982. Members of PHG are advised to contact the Victorian Society at the address above (tel. 01-994 1019) for details of the tour.

The four lectures are:

#### 14 April 1982

The precursors of the Suburban Ideal  
Alan Crawford (Chairman, The Victorian Society)

The Arts and Crafts influence on domestic architecture - Norman Shaw and Bedford Park - Voysey, Baillie Scott and the reform of the middle-class house - the reform movement and the Suburban Ideal at Port Sunlight, Bournville and New Earswick.

#### 21 April 1982

The foundation and planning of Hampstead. Mervyn Miller (New Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust)

Henrietta Barnett and the late 19th century reform climate - the campaign for the Heath Extension, and the foundation of the Suburb Trust - Raymond Unwin and the evolution of the plan for the Suburb - the influence of Camillo Sitte and German practice - the Artisans' quarter and Co-partnership housing - development of the Suburb to 1914.

#### 28 April 1982

Lutyens in the Suburb. David Baker (Architect in practice, Hampstead Garden Suburb)

The design problem of Central Square - the appointment of Lutyens - the evolution of the design and layout of the central complex of Churches and Institute and adjoining squares - influence on work in the Suburb by Herbert Welch, Michael Bunney, J.C.S. Soutar, G.L. Sutcliffe - the evolving formality of British Civic Design.

#### 5 May 1982

The Influence of Hampstead. Mark Swenarton (Lecturer in Architectural History, University College London)

The 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act and the Suburb Salubrious - Brentham, the Co-partners' suburb - Old Oak, the LCC estate - Ruislip/Northwood, the intended 1909 Act successor to Hampstead - Well Hall munition workers estate - Tudor Walters and the rationalised approach to housing design - the interwar municipalisation of the Garden Suburb.

#### PLANNING FOR HEALTH, 1850-1950

The Planning History Group and Society for the Social History of Medicine are jointly organising a meeting on this theme at Pauling Human Sciences Centre, Oxford University, on 4 December 1982. Details are

available from Dr P.L. Garside, Urban Planning Research Unit, The Polytechnic of North London, London N7 8DB.

#### REGIONAL CONGRESS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES FOR DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN SETTLEMENTS IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

A congress on this theme is being organised by the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific of the United Nations, at Yokohama, Japan, between 9 and 16 June 1982. Further details are available from Human Settlements Section, ESCAP UN Buildings, Rajadamnern Avenue, Bangkok 2, Thailand.

#### THE HOUSING MARKET IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1860-1930

Day Conference, 27 November, 1981, of the Historical Geography Research Group.

The Conference organised on 'Studies of the Housing Market, 1860-1930' attracted nearly 50 participants from all over the country and from a wide range of disciplines and research activities - an indication, if one were needed, of the flourishing state of housing research in this country, and of the catholicity of the conceptual and methodological approaches to the subject.

In the first session, Peter Kemp (University of Sussex) presented a paper arising from his research work on 'Housing Landlordism in the late Nineteenth Century', and Martin Daunton (University College, London) returned to a theme he has explored previously of 'Public Place and Private Space: the Victorian City and the Working-class Household'. Kemp

was concerned with the general aspects of the form and function of the housing market. He examined why the market was dominated by private renting from housing landlords, and discussed some of the characteristics of investment in house property. His research developed earlier work on this subject, and confirmed the domination of private renting in determining the conditions within which housing was provided in the late nineteenth century.

Against this structural background, Daunton sought to interpret conditions through 'the eye of the slum dweller or the cottage tenant'. In doing so, he challenged the concern with market forces and other conceptual approaches to housing history, namely (1) analyses of the building cycle which take 'the nature of the houses as given', (2) a concern for the 'housing problem' in terms of a Whig interpretation which views 'housing in the Victorian city not on its own terms', (3) a history of town planning which emphasises the emergence of the Garden City without being concerned with Victorian layout at first hand, (4) the historical geographers' statistical presentation of social segregation which ignores the social meaning of their findings. Daunton argued that, as a result, the Victorian city has not been tested on its own terms. It has instead been 'viewed indirectly through later perceptions, formulated with the benefit of hindsight'. In developing an alternative approach, he presented houses not merely as the end product of certain processes, but as the generators of complex social relations. Particular attention was given to the way in which residents utilised their accommodation, and how this related to changes in other parts of the urban environment and



the social history of the working-class as a whole.

In the second Session, attention was again firmly directed on the 'housing problem' as such, with three papers: Jim Yelling (Birkbeck College), 'The Compensation Question in Victorian Slum Clearance'; Richard Dennis (University College, London), 'Philanthropic Housing in London: Questions and Sources for Research'; Colin Pooley (University of Lancaster), 'The Development of Corporation Housing in Liverpool: some Preliminary Observations'. It has long been recognised that compensation costs were the key factor determining the progress of official slum clearance and redevelopment during the Victorian period, but little attention has been given to the precise reasons for the scale of compensation, or indeed to the manner in which they were calculated. Yelling's paper introduced a great deal of new material, with its systematic review of legislation in conjunction with the evidence given to committees of enquiry on compensation in London schemes, and the actual payments made in the Boundary Street clearance scheme of 1890. Yelling concluded that there had been too much emphasis on the purely racketeering aspects of Victorian clearance compensation. General policy considerations were much more important, and have continued to be relevant in subsequent and present-day clearance operations. Housing historians were alerted to an issue of developing significance and one which needs much more detailed investigation if the practice of clearance is to be properly understood.

The remaining papers dealt with the response to clearance in terms of the replacement of houses by philanthropic bodies and local authorities. In

justifying his addition to the literature on five-per-cent philanthropy, Dennis sought to bring out a geographical perspective to its study, drawing attention to factors behind the selection of sites for block dwellings, and the relative success of different schemes when measured in terms of rent-loss due to vacancies, the ease with which investors received a return of 4-5 per cent, and their effect on the physical and moral health of their inhabitants. Although at an early stage, this research indicated both the scope for comparing estates and areas, the role of different organisations, and the 'philanthropic' and 'non-philanthropic' approaches. In the long term, such work might be relevant to both ecological models of residential segregation and gravity models of mobility and of migration. At the conference, it highlighted the confusion still rampant in housing history with respect to basic definitions and terminology.

Housing types need to be placed both in a context and within a comparative framework. Such a dimension was readily apparent in Pooley's paper, which outlined the national legislation pertaining to local authority house-building, the detailed aims and methods of the research project on Corporation Housing in Liverpool, and some preliminary results from investigations into local authority house provision on Merseyside from 1869 to 1945. While the limited analysis raised more questions than it answered, the case studies indicated that corporation housing was varied in both the character of its tenants and in the role which it fulfilled in the housing market in Liverpool in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Clearly, this research project should add a much needed di-

mension to our knowledge of municipal housing, with its emphasis on the role of local authority housing in changing social and spatial organisation within cities; the manner in which corporation estates gained distinctly different characteristics over time, and the extent to which the corporation's involvement in housing materially improved the standards of accommodation for the majority of the working population of the city.

The Conference was originally intended as a 'regional' meeting to discuss 'research in progress'. By encouraging speakers to present their papers at an early stage in research, it was hoped to generate constructive criticism and comment. Such an intention was wholly justified in the final Discussion Session, chaired by John Hall (Queen Mary College). In addition to comments on the contributions made to the conference, members were able to review the current state of housing history. Concern centred on the extent to which the study of housing was compartmentalised. Members thought that the history of housing should be related much more explicitly to architectural studies and to the examination of spatial layout of buildings in towns and of rooms within buildings. Alongside this was the problem of scale, and the inter-relationship of local studies and national surveys. In this context, the conference identified two major needs in housing history: the extension and systemising of comparative local studies, and the examination of housing developments in Britain in relation to those elsewhere, especially in Europe and the United States.

There was criticism of the heavy emphasis on empirical studies, and the

corresponding lack of attention to theoretical analysis. Many members felt the political dimension of housing policy had been inadequately studied; the time had come to challenge what was seen to be the Whig approach to housing history. Whilst members generally agreed that the history of housing in this country was more advanced than anywhere else, they recognised the need to challenge certain assumptions in the approach adopted to the history of housing, and to reinforce that study within the social and political economy of the urban system.

MARTIN GASKELL

#### THE ORIGINS OF TOWN PLANNING IN GERMANY, 1850-1875

A Colloquium with this title was held in Bad Homburg, near Frankfurt, on 7-12 December 1981, supported by the Werner Reimers-Stiftung. Gerhard Fehl and Juan Rodriguez-Lores report how attention was focussed on three aspects of this early phase, namely:

1. the historical conditions which brought about an end to 'absolutist' town planning, and formed the seed-bed for 'modern' town planning,
2. the evolving shape and structure of the modern 'industrial' and 'bourgeois' town, and its bearing on the structure of urban planning,
3. the first practical experiments in urban extension planning.

The first part of the colloquium looked more generally at the period. The range of current interest and research on the period is indicated in the titles of the papers given:

W. Kantzow: The fracture in evolution of German cities resulting from



Prussian reform politics and a changed concept of land tenure.

H. Croon: State control and local communities: their influence on the shaping of building line-plans and urban development between 1850 and 1875.

H. Bodenschatz: Infrastructure and its effect on urban ground rent: the example of the railways until 1875.

D. Radicke: The beginnings of public suburban passenger transport in Berlin - an early means of town extension planning (1865-1870).

G. Fehl: Town planning between 'disfiguration' and 'embellishment' - some theses relating to the change of urban development control between 1800 and 1875 in Germany.

Juan Rodriguez-Lores: 'Crooked streets' versus 'straight streets': on the 'irrational' origins of modern town planning.

The papers of Kantzow and Croon outlined the legal and political structures that evolved after the Prussian Reforms of the Marquis of Stein (1805-15), that played so important a part in the development and planning of towns and cities. The papers focused on the consequences of the new concept of private land-tenure freed from feudal bonds, the organisation of private land-ownership around and within towns, and the new bourgeois political-order, with its communal reorganisation and three-class election system. Among the more significant repercussions for town planning were the emergence of an individual, free land-tenure, and the political dominance of house- and land-owners in the political parties of the reorganised urban communities.

Bodenschatz and Radicke stressed the central importance of the new techno-

logy and infrastructure, particularly in the form of the railways, in stimulating development and determining the pattern of ground rents. Railway construction affected urban development in many ways, particularly around the sites of railway stations. New forms of private suburban development sprang up along the railways out of Berlin in the 1860s.

Fehl identified two phases in the transition from feudal to modern town planning. The first sought to curb the surviving absolutist concepts. Legislation secured a minimal amount of state control in the so-called 'general interest'. The second phase grew out of the first. From about 1840, there was severe competition among the various groups or interests for the opportunity to make plans. Rodriguez-Lores showed how the historical debate over 'crooked or straight streets' was in effect a debate on the economic principles of planning and the opportunities of the newly formed communal planning bodies to gain control over urban development. The attempt to exert public control over private development was fundamental to the shaping of the new discipline of town planning, particularly in view of the small scale and scattered nature of private land tenure in Germany.

The theoretical approach adopted in the first part of the Colloquium was complemented in the second by a series of case studies, chosen to highlight aspects of land tenure and development control.

P. Ruhnau: The Frankenberger-Quarter in Aachen: on the making of an early speculative urban quarter (1870).

R. Kastorff-Viehmänn: The early plans for town extensions of the growing industrial cities in the Ruhr Area:

Duisburg, Ruhrort, Mülheim (1790-1860).

W. Petsch-Bahr: The fate of the never-realised town extension plan of Bonn 1855-1865.

M. Kläger: The town extension plan of Mainz: competing interests and the planned extension of the fortified city (1868-1875).

W. Mayer: Vienna: Extension of the inner city and the comprehensive plan of 1865, designed to regulate the growth of the whole city.

A. Sutcliffe: Paris and London around 1860 compared: urban traffic and urban restructuring.

The papers of N. Gutschow on the extension planning of Münster, and of H. Selig on speculative building in Munich, could not be delivered due to illness.

Together, the case studies highlighted the extremely wide range of legal structures, urban concepts, and local conditions under which modern urban planning evolved in the different parts of Germany after the initial phase of transition. Partly as a result of differences in land ownership, a number of competing concepts can be detected. There were the privately initiated extension schemes of large urban developers in Aachen, and the common building-line plans of the quickly industrialising communities in the Ruhr. In Bonn, communal pride and the bourgeois order led to a large extension plan on fragmented private land. In Mainz, there was fierce competition between various local interest groups over a communal plan that involved land partly owned by the community and partly in private ownership. Differences in the scope for planning on public land and that subdivided into private holdings was

clearly demonstrated in Vienna. An important distinction can be drawn between the planning of the few large capitals, such as Vienna, Paris, London and Berlin, and the smaller, but rapidly growing, towns of the 1850s. Whereas the first attempts to restructure urban centres took place in these large capitals, the smaller towns concentrated exclusively on extension planning which, at that time, was almost the only area of activity in town planning in Germany.

Although these examples could not reflect the whole spectrum of urban planning at that time, the case studies were extremely valuable in fulfilling the objects of the colloquium. The development of town planning represented right from the start a new concept and practical approach to such basic problems as the public intervention in private development. Although historians have been fully justified in seeking the foundations of modern town planning in this period, much more research is required before a well-formulated theory on the origins of modern town planning, the conditions and determinants of its evolution, and the significance of the earlier and subsequent phases in its development, can emerge. The case studies helped to identify the priorities for further research in the context of the more theoretical discussions of the first part of the colloquium, particularly with respect to the function of ground rent, private and public land ownership, infrastructure and the character of public intervention. In the concluding discussion, a methodology of analysis was proposed.

In discussing the theme of the colloquium planned for 1983, it was noted how the early phase of modern urban



planning was concerned with the concepts and instruments taken over from the absolutist period. The main function of urban planning was to safeguard 'orderly development' in the 'general interest', but debates as to what was 'orderly' and 'general' had already become fierce. Urban planning had an important function of leading urban development along the lines of the land and building market. It was clear in all the case studies that social reform was not yet recognised as part of urban planning. Although underway, land reform, housing reform, and public health reform were pursuing a quite separate course. Only public health reform was beginning to merge with urban planning. The gradual fusion of these various social reform movements with urban planning from the 1860s onwards will be the subject of the next colloquium.

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#### THE NEW PLANNING PROCESS IN BRITAIN, I: THE 1940s

##### History of Planning Methodology Workshop

This workshop meeting, held at LSE in January 1982, was the first of two sessions concerned with methodology and related issues under new planning systems. This session was concerned with events in the 1940s, leading up to the 1947 Act and subsequent practice; the second session\* will be concerned with the 1960s.

This very successful and well attended meeting heard four presentations. The first was a modern-day assessment of events in the 1940s, and the other three giving contemporary accounts. They were:

Dr. M. Hebbert (London School of Economics), The achilles heel of British town planning? Planning methodology

and the post-war reforms.

Professor Lewis Keeble (formerly of the University of Queensland), The Town and Country Planning Act, 1947; anticipation and disillusionment.

Dr E.C. Willatts, OBE, (formerly of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning), Some recollections of planning in the 1930s and 1940s.

Professor M. Wise (London School of Economics), Geographical contributions to planning themes and methods in the 1940s.

At the outset of the meeting the aim was to assess the relationship between the wealth of ideas on planning methodology generated during the 1940s and the much more limited content of the 1947 Act and the practice that followed. The relative poverty of systematic work in practice after the 1947 Act was highlighted in Michael Hebbert's opening contribution. He referred to the observations on the new British planning system of American academics, such as Haar and Rodwin, who were on sabbatical leave in the early fifties. These visitors, here to assess 'the daring experiments in social control of the environment' noted with some alarm the lack of interest in methodology or social science research to underpin the new legislation. Rodwin regarded the lack of systematic investigation as the 'achilles heel' of contemporary town planning.

This situation in the late forties and early fifties stands in marked contrast to the enthusiasm shown for systematic research amongst geographers, economists and planners working on planning issues earlier in the forties. Lewis Keeble, Christie Willatts and Michael Wise all described this work in some detail, emphasising to different degrees the role of war-

time conditions in stimulating interest in planning. Again, all the three speakers referred to the need to put the scale of work in the forties into perspective. Although influential, the work described was carried out by only a handful of people, using very limited resources. It may have been inevitable that work carried out on this scale did not create the momentum required to carry the ideas through into legislation and practice.

The contemporary accounts also highlighted how the lack of planning education and of disciplinary barriers helped to create the gap between ideas and practice. Clearly, most planning practitioners in the forties and fifties were not equipped to carry out the 'systematic investigation' demanded by the British academics in the forties and the American visitors in the early fifties. Problems also arose from the lack of co-ordination, between the geographers and economists responsible for survey work under the new system, and the engineers and planners responsible for the plans. As Christie Willatts pointed out, often the planners, having produced their plan, would wait for their distant colleagues to finish the survey work!

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\*This meeting will be held at LSE on 30 April 1982. So far, Andreas Faludi, Brian McLoughlin and Geoffrey Steeley have agreed to make presentations. Anyone interested in attending should write to Michael Breheny at the Department of Geography, University of Reading, Reading RG6 2AB.

MICHAEL BREHENY

## Publications

### ENVIRONMENT AND PLANNING B

The range of topics covered by this International Journal for the Science of Architecture and Design has recently been broadened to cover the area of urban design and physical planning. Articles are invited in the areas of planning theory, local planning and planning history. From volume 9 of this quarterly journal, the editor, Dr Lionel March, is joined by a co-editor, Professor Michael Batty, Department of Town Planning, UWIST, King Edward VII Avenue, Cardiff CF1 3NU, Wales.

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### MONUMENTUM

From March 1982, this International Journal of Architectural Conservation appears quarterly in a new format, published by Butterworths. Among the wide range of topics covered, the editor is keen to publish historical articles, covering such themes as key restorations, retrospective assessments, and studies of significant architects in the history of conservation. The editor is Derek Linstrum, University of York, Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, The King's Manor, York, YO1 2EP, England.

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### TECHNOLOGY AND URBAN GROWTH

A new monograph series, 'Technology and Urban Growth', is being launched by Temple University Press under the editorship of Blaine A. Brownell, Mark S. Foster, Zane Miller, Mark H. Rose, and Howard Sumka. The definition of 'technology' will be a broad one; planning history lies well within its scope. Book propos-



als and manuscripts are currently being invited and should be submitted to the editors, care of: Temple University Press, University Services Building, Temple University, Broad and Oxford Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122, U.S.A.

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#### JOURNAL OF URBAN HISTORY

Members who would like to publish articles in North America may wish to be reminded that the *Journal of Urban History* maintains world-wide interests and has built up a strong tradition in planning history. The editor, Blaine A. Brownell, is an active PHG member and he would be pleased to hear from any member of the Group with a manuscript or an idea for an article. Letters should be addressed to: Professor Blaine A. Brownell, Center for Urban Affairs, University of Alabama in Birmingham, University Station, Birmingham Alabama 35294, U.S.A.

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Mark Long, *Planning: 'Birth' or 'Break'? Problems in the historiography of British town planning*. Department of Civic Design (University of Liverpool, P.O. Box 147, Liverpool L69 3BX), 18, 1981, 18pp, £1.00.

The latest Working Paper from the Department of Civic Design sets out to examine a range of planning histories with a view to discovering how 'they theorise the historical event', and how 'they theorise history writing'. Most presuppose an evolutionist account of causality, and an empiricist account of knowledge. Inspired by Foucault's substantial works on medicine, prisons and sexuality, the author criticises them for the way in which they are

dominated by an approach which 'prioritises the subject; reads documents as tracts of subjects' intentions', and serialises the achievements of their subjects. The planning histories of Ashworth, Osborn, Cherry and others take little account of 'the construction of subject positions, the production of documents, or the play of numerous and distinct social practices'. Instead of seeking what is, in effect, an imaginery unity and linearity in planning history, historiography should be a 'specific discursive practice, in its (contradictory) relations to other discursive practices and to non-discursive practices'. Such a practice can be defined as 'the set of transformable regularities which form so many conditions of existence of its subjects, objects, concepts and choices'. A proper history of planning would consider the roles and conditions that affected the statements being quoted. If applied, the concepts set out in this Working Paper would allow, to cite Mark Long's words, 'a more productive engagement of conventional planning histories with unusual narratives, that deliberately disperse the familiar unities of name and date over the anonymity of the discursive practice'.

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Peter J. Hugill, *The elite, the automobile, and the good roads movement in New York: the development and transformation of a technological complex, 1904-1913*. Department of Geography (Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY 13210), Discussion Paper, 70, 1981, 28pp.

Although America was late in adopting the automobile compared with Europe, the revolutionary mode of travel was taken up with great enthusiasm. Adoption was in two phases. An elite acquired expensive touring cars, which

required a network of improved macadamised roads. In the second phase, the middle class began to adopt the automobile. Studies of one village, Cazenovia, in New York State highlight the role of the elite in demonstrating the enormous potential of the automobile, and the beginnings of a good road network, in stimulating the interest of the middle classes in the years 1911-13. Records of automobile trips in the gossip column of the weekly village newspaper show a pattern of long-distance, elite trips before 1911 and superimposed upon it a pattern of much shorter trips by the middle class thereafter.

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A.D.M. Phillips, *Mossland reclamation in nineteenth-century Cheshire, Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 129, pp. 93-107.

Whereas considerable attention has been devoted to the reclamation of the Lancashire Mosslands in the nineteenth century, the historian has taken comparatively little interest in the agricultural development of those in Cheshire. In setting out to redress the balance, the author has written a paper of significance to more than the agricultural historian. Carrington Moss was bought by Manchester Corporation in 1886, primarily as a site for the disposal of large quantities of refuse produced within the city. The conversion of mossland into farmland, although important, was a secondary aim. Both in terms of the amount of nightsoil sent from Manchester, and as a reclamation scheme, the venture was a success. As the author comments, 'the influence of towns on the agriculture of surrounding areas in the nineteenth century has long been

realised and seen especially in the development of dairying and market gardening'. The reclamation of Carrington Moss provides a more direct example of the impact of towns on farming. Rarely can an urban population have affected so directly the agricultural development of its hinterland.

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#### Book Review

John W. Reps, *The Forgotten Frontier: urban planning in the American West before 1890*, University of Missouri Press, Columbia 1981 and London, 1982, pp. 169, £17.50 cloth, £9.10 paper.

Reps' *Cities in the American West: a history of frontier urban planning*, Princeton University Press, 1979, was a much acclaimed volume, the sheer bulk of which, together with its lavishness of production, and consequent cost, has meant some restriction on its availability, at least as far as non-American readers are concerned. How nice it is therefore to have this more handy monograph, happily still most attractive with its 100 illustrations, to provide an overview, both scholarly and succinct, of the role of urbanisation and town planning in the settlement of the West. For the Planning History Group, it is also pleasant to recall that this second work was developed from a paper invited for the first international conference, London, 1977.

Historical studies of the American West are now vast and varied. Reps is a master of the literature and he guides us in attractive style over those 19th century years when 'a restless and land-hungry people swept across the Western half of the conti-



nent, planning and building thousands of new communities in an unprecedented manner' (p.1). In making his own significant contribution, he confirms an important correction to a thesis of earlier historians that the sequence of settlement had progressed from early exploration, to hunting and trapping, to land clearance for farming and to the formation of urban settlements evolving from hamlets into cities. Reps denies this frontier hypothesis, seeing the urbanisation of the West in a different light, which asserts that the creation of towns preceded or occurred simultaneously with the opening of land for agriculture. Evidence is brought to bear that towns were in the vanguard of settlement, established as planned communities with layouts which guided future growth. The West was a region of planned cities, not of spontaneous hamlets that grew randomly, without direction. In a rich canvas, Reps stirs our imagination in a fascinating account, full of knowledge and perception, of the complex interplay of people, private citizens and public officials, corporations, colonization societies and religious groups.

The various elements of the American west are given separate sections. Town development in the northern borderlands of the Spanish colonial empire provided the origins of such contemporary cities as Los Angeles, San Francisco, San José, San Diego, Albuquerque, Tucson and San Antonio, typically inheriting a grid street plan, a main plaza and systematic methods of land allocation. Elements of Spanish urban planning were also continued in Texas by the Mexican government until independence in 1836, after which such centres as Houston, Galveston, Dallas and Fort

Worth, together with the new national capital of Austin, were developed.

The frontier settlements of the Pacific north west form another section, with early communities concentrated on the Willamette and lower Columbia rivers and along the shores of Puget Sound. To the south, a further frontier of urbanisation opened up with the discovery of Californian gold, silver in Nevada and other minerals elsewhere. The mining towns soon belied the traditional image of disorder; they possessed uniform street frontages and regular layouts, while the supply centres such as Sacramento and Denver had extensive grid iron street plans which guided future growth.

Town building on the Plains began in the 1850s and witnessed the rise of Nebraska City, Topeka and others. Another phase was linked to the construction of the transcontinental railroad, with companies creating their own railroad towns, often beginning as 'end-of-track' communities. Some, like Cheyenne, later became important cities. Some existing towns boomed with the arrival of the railroad: like Omaha when it served as the eastern terminus of the Union Pacific, or Las Vegas, opened up by the Santa Fé line, or Los Angeles when it was linked to the rest of the country in 1876, or San Francisco when the railroad confirmed its status as the greatest city in the west.

Religious communities had their own settlement history, nowhere better exemplified than with the Mormons. Joseph Smith's Nauvoo on the Illinois bank of the Mississippi, was followed by Brigham Young's move to Salt Lake City, which became a model for other Mormon communities. The final spurt of Western town building before 1890

## Research Register

DEREK GUNBY, Department of Planning, Cleveland County Council. The formation of the British Town and Country Planning System, 1919-1947. A study in the development of local and national government town planning practice and ideology.

My research is concerned with studying the development of the statutory town-planning system in Britain between 1919 and 1947 and to furnish explanations as to why the system evolved in the way it did. The central focus of the study lies in the exploration of the experience of town planning at the local government level, by reference to a series of case studies, and to match this against the various perceptions of the purpose of planning held by politicians, industrialists, the professions and so on. The purpose is not only to try and understand more fully how town-planning practice emerged in the formative decades prior to 1947, but also to pinpoint the reasons for the several strengths and weaknesses of the system.

The selected case studies are based on the North-East of England in the localities of South Teesside, North Teesside, Hartlepool and the North Riding of Yorkshire. These areas present a variety of experience and response to growth and decline in industrial and rural settings.

Considerable source material has been located in County Archives, particularly relating to the various Joint Town Planning Committees active in this area. So far studies have been completed on the early history of the South Teesside Joint Town Planning Committee, 1920-1930, and on the ex-

took place in Oklahoma where whites settled in the so-called Unassigned Lands, not designated for any individual Indian tribe. An undignified land rush took place before townsites had been surveyed, in sharp contrast with the orderly procedures of the Mormons.

Overall, standardised urban patterns based on the undeviating grid characterise the American west. But there were varied inputs to this picture, reflecting the conflicting dreams of power, wealth, freedom, conquest and opportunity. Urban futures were not ordained; developments occurred which could have been different; unexpected events conspired to produce the unforeseen. Some speculations were wildly successful, others much less so. Some mining towns flourished, others failed. Some old towns were restructured, as at Albuquerque where the arrival of the railroad led to the creation of a settlement two miles away. There were missed opportunities, as with the discarding of F.L. Olmsted's plan for Tacoma which could have introduced curving streets across the contours of the growing port. Elsewhere, there was over-zealous adherence to certain plans: in San Francisco an urban pattern of grids was uncompromisingly stamped out over the city's steep hills by local officials. And so on: questions abound which demand explanation. Reps, even in this brief volume, sustains out interest and whets our further curiosity. It is a pleasure to have this reminder, more extensively developed elsewhere, of the fruits of his scholarship.

GORDON E. CHERRY



perience of Thornaby, 1922-1926. Work on the North Teesside Joint Town Planning Committee, 1923-1930, is nearing completion. This latter Joint Committee is interesting in that it was one of the first executive Committees and contained within its area the growing ICI works at Billingham.

The study is towards a higher degree at the Open University and commenced at the beginning of 1981 on a part-time basis. My supervisors are Gordon Cherry (external supervisor) and Andy Blowers (O.U. supervisor).

#### W.G. HOLFORD: HIS LIFE AND WORK

William Holford was born in 1907 in South Africa. He came to England to study architecture under Reilly at Liverpool, and after a brilliant student career was appointed to the Chair of Civic Design in that University at the age of 30, succeeding Abercrombie on the latter's translation to London. During the war he became adviser to the Minister of Town and Country Planning upon the framing of legislation, and was also associated with the development of planning techniques which occurred in the Ministries of Works and Town & Country Planning at that time. He was thus doubly involved in the revolution in planning machinery and methods which occurred during and shortly after the Second World War.

In 1947 he succeeded Abercrombie to the Chair of Civic Design at University College London, and in the words of Professor F. Myles Wright, "then began the career as teacher, practitioner, adviser and administrator, which was astonishing in its range, diversity and distinction".

Having already been associated with Abercrombie's GLC and LCC plans, he himself undertook, with Holden, the City of London plan. His other work in Britain embraced plans for Cambridge, Corby New Town, St Pauls Precinct and Picadilly Circus. He was appointed to advise upon the replanning of Canberra, and also undertook commissions in Brazil and his native South Africa. He was a President and Gold Medallist of both the RIBA and RTPI, a Royal Academician, and served on innumerable advisory bodies and commissions.

He died in 1975 at the age of 68. His obituary in *The Times* described him as "the most influential figure in town planning throughout the period during which town and country planning in Britain became transformed from a minor official regulatory activity into a major activity of central and local government departments".

Holford's papers are deposited at the University of Liverpool and a grant has now been made to the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham, by the Leverhulme Trust to support a two-year research study of Holford's life and work. The research will be conducted by Professor Gordon Cherry. He will be assisted by a research associate, J.L. Penny; and they would be very pleased to hear from PHG members who might have any relevant information to offer.

#### New Members

Dr M.J. Breheny, Department of Geography, University of Reading.

Mr T.J. Brown, School of Land and Building Studies, Leicester Polytechnic.

Mr Antonio Manno, Venice, Italy.

The General Library, University of California, U.S.A.

#### PLANNING HISTORY GROUP

##### Balance Sheet for 1981

INCOME	£	EXPENDITURE	£
Balance from 1980	740.32	Bulletin printing costs (3 issues)	341.40
Subscriptions from 1980	966.33	Membership mailing	471.71
for other years	35.69	Administration, charges etc.	39.45
	1002.02	Inland Revenue (tax on deposit account interest)	76.50
Leaflet distribution	125.00		
Interest on deposit account	133.21		
Surplus on seminars	120.68		
			929.06
		carry forward to 1982	1192.17
	£2121.23		£2121.23

##### BANK ACCOUNTS

General Fund at 31.12.81	Current	17.84 o/d
	Deposit	1042.03
	Giro a/c	37.67
Held for General Fund in Seminar Account		130.31
		£1192.17

I return herewith the Accounts books, files and statements relating to the Planning History Group having examined these as requested. I have now checked the figures on the enclosed balance sheets and confirm that they appear to represent a true and fair summary of the books of the Group. I would however point out that perhaps some clarification should be added to the balance sheet in respect of the GENERAL FUND IN SEMINAR ACCOUNT. Assuming the balances are being taken as at 31 December, 1981 then this figure should read £149.41 according to your bank statements.

I have added my signature to the balance sheets in order to confirm that these are the figures that I have checked.

(signed) G.D. Bromehead  
Assistant Manager  
Williams & Glyn's Bank Ltd



# Oxford University Press

THE TRANSFORMATION OF RURAL ENGLAND c.1580-1800

Robin A. Butlin

This book encourages students to think about the problems of understanding and explaining the causes of rural change in England at a crucial time in that country's history. It starts from the basic assumption that much work on this subject is descriptive and lacks any explicit theoretical basis, and proceeds from a review of existing theories to an analysis of their application in relation to a number of specific topics, including population change, land and land ownership, field systems and enclosure, and innovations. Specific regional examples and case studies are cited in support of general arguments wherever possible, and a wide range of literature is cited from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds. The book will be of value to historical geographers, undergraduate students of geography, history and economics taking courses in historical geography and economic and social history. Paperback £2.95 Theory and Practice in Geography

THE GEOGRAPHY OF PLANNING DECISIONS

John M. Hall

Who are the planners? Why and how do they promote or prohibit changes in the geography of built-over Britain? This book describes the changing aims, methods, and outcomes of land-use planning in Britain. Six case studies are presented for type localities ranging from London's deserted docklands to Cumbria's coastal fringe nuclear site at Windscale. For each, different conflicts of interest have been seen in recent development proposals, and varying methods of adjudicating over them have been adopted. But in understanding the geographies of change, the gradual summing of local planning approvals may be more important than such well-publicized cases. The book explains how planning has evolved, what kind of plans are drawn up for what areas, and emphasizes that 'the planners', although influential, are but a small segment in the development sequence. Planning - especially in the last decade - has been in a state of flux: legally, administratively, and professionally. This volume will enable undergraduates, local councillors, amenity groups, and civic society members to appreciate the making of planning decisions in the context of national legislative frameworks, political ideologies, and local council meetings. Paperback £2.50 Theory and Practice in Geography

THE POLITICS OF MASS HOUSING IN BRITAIN, 1945-1975

A Study of Corporate Power and Professional Influence in the Welfare State

Patrick Dunleavy

Between 1955 and 1975 nearly 1.5 million people were rehoused from inadequate or slum accommodation in British cities into high-rise flats, as part of the post-war public housing drive. Today this is widely regarded as a policy disaster. The form of housing provided was highly unpopular, enormously expensive, and had a detrimental effect on social life in inner urban areas. The author takes high-rise housing in particular, together with mass housing policies in general, as a case study of a new kind of policy process in the welfare state. His book sheds important light on a wide range of issues in social science and on some of the most central issues in the recent history of the British welfare state and the planning system. It will be invaluable to political scientists; sociologists; specialists in urban studies, social administration, and social policy; land use planners; architects; the construction profession; local government administrators; and civil servants. £17.50

## Notes and Articles

### HISTORY OF PLANNING METHODOLOGY ARCHIVE: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROJECT

Michael Breheny writes that from 1st January 1982, a project supported by the Social Science Research Council, at the Department of Geography, University of Reading, will establish a History of Planning Methodology Archive. The aim of this one year project is to gather together literature on planning methodology, or the planning process, that is currently inaccessible or vulnerable. The emphasis will necessarily be on twentieth century material, reflecting theoretical and practical work in Britain and North America. Once the archive is established the intention is that it should become a focus for research on this neglected aspect of planning history.

The last decade has seen a major increase in work on planning history. So far, however, the concerns of this new work have been limited, being largely concerned with the 'outcomes' of planning, in terms of built form. Such a focus inevitably omits important aspects of planning; for instance, it gives little insight into the motives or ideologies underlying practice. It also tends to omit discussions of how plans were produced; that is the methodology of planning. If we are to understand the history of planning, and use that understanding to inform the present, then it has to be a rounded, comprehensive history in which we begin to appreciate the relationships between all of its components. Hence, the need is to add to the existing valuable, but partial work.

Study of the history of planning methodology will help to fill one of the existing gaps in the study of planning history, and the archive is a necessary basis for such study. There are many aspects of past work on planning methodology of which we are ignorant or we misunderstand. The only way to rectify this is to establish planning methodology as a valid subject for historical study in planning, and to gather as much of the source material together as possible.

#### Material required

Ideas on the kinds of material to be held in the archive will develop as the project proceeds. However, initially interest will focus upon the following (inevitably British) areas:

Early twentieth century theoretical work on the planning process. Geddes and Unwin, for example, were considering explicitly elements of a planning process.

Survey work of the 1920s and 1930s, including supporting background work as well as published surveys.

Early work on sociological aspects of planning.

Research work on planning processes generally, and on surveys, analysis and public participation in the early and mid 1940s (A.P.R.R. material, for instance).

Official working papers, bulletins, circulars etc. related to the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act.

Background work on the production of development plans in the 1950s and 1960s.



Work on regional plans in the 1960s and 1970s.

Research work on new ideas and the new planning system of the 1960s.

Official working papers etc. related to the new planning system in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Subregional studies of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Work on post-war transportation studies.

Theoretical or practical work on the development and use of particular techniques throughout the twentieth century.

In all cases as much documentation, both published and unpublished, as possible is required. Preferably this should be in complete sets, documenting the whole process of plan production, in the case of practical material, or complete sets of research notes, in the case of theoretical work.

As well as documented material, the intention is to collect oral accounts, on tape, from people who worked on early planning projects. Transcripts of these will be produced.

#### Outputs from the project

The most obvious final product of the project will be a collection of valuable and carefully catalogued documents, available, many of them for the first time, to scholars wishing to study the history of planning methodology. The archive will be held in the University of Reading library, or some other library if considered more suitable.

The intention is to produce guides to the literature in the archive, which will explain what is available, now complete it is, and in what context it should be considered. These guides, probably organised by topic, will also point out the location of relevant material not held in the archive but which has been located during the project. Thus comprehensive guides to the literature will be built up, covering both archive material and related material held elsewhere.

Such guides may be supplemented by other source documents. For instance, collections of brief biographies may be produced for individuals who are prominent in this history, explaining their roles and relationships. Such collections should be useful for researchers in this field.

The most important ultimate product of the project, of course, will be the fruits of research work based on the archive; work which will contribute to the comprehensive study of planning history discussed earlier.

#### Responses to the project

The value of this project will depend upon the response of individuals and agencies to requests for material. Contributions of the following kinds will be gratefully received: documents for the archive (see topics earlier); advice on the availability and location of material; ideas on the contents and products of the archive. Funds are limited and no money is available for the purchase of documents. The project will thus have to rely on the goodwill of contributors. Money is available to pay for postage costs; alternatively it may be possible to arrange for the collection of material. Anyone who can contribute to the project in any way is asked to write to Michael Breheny, Department of Geography, University of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading RG6 2AB.

## CEMETERIES AND PLANNING HISTORY

It is a curious fact that cemeteries have not attracted the attention of many historians until recently. When the present writer published his *The Victorian celebration of death* in 1972, Howard Colvin, reviewing the book, acknowledged that 'cemeteries have a history that is worth writing ... Mr Curl has been the first to put it into a readable, well-informed, and moderately priced book'. (1) *Town and Country Planning* (2) noted that the book was a serious study of a neglected element of town planning. The *Journal of the Garden History Society*, (3) reviewing the writer's *A Celebration of death. An introduction to some of the buildings, monuments, and settings of funerary architecture in the Western European tradition* (London and New York, 1980) stated that when the earlier volume appeared, the Victorian cemetery movement had 'barely been examined, certainly never in such depth', and went on to say that 'within three years of the book's appearance, the first voluntary organisation for the conservation of a cemetery was formed at Highgate ... and a nationwide survey of cemeteries is underway, being carried out by the Victorian Society. *The Victorian celebration* provided the initial spark for many of those now involved in this field; and it may fairly be said that with that book Mr Curl created cemetery studies as a scholarly discipline'. The *New York Times Book Review* acknowledged the unique contribution of *A Celebration* as a detailed study of funerary architecture and landscapes.

The importance of cemeteries in the history of urban planning is, nevertheless, still largely ignored by writers. The reasons are complex, but the avoidance of cemeteries seems to stem from fear and embarrassment. Death is modern pornography, and seems to shock a generation grown blasé with sexual mores. Yet death is the only inevitability in life, and cemeteries played a huge part in what might be termed the potty-training of urban man. The Victorian cemetery was a remarkable and unique creation, and, like so much else in that period, was a new response to an unprecedented problem. Victorian cemeteries are the results of an undersung aspect of urban reform in that tremendous age. From Norman times until the nineteenth century, there were no large public cemeteries in Britain: the dead were buried in churches, in crypts, in churchyards, in chapels, and in the various small private burial-grounds or Dissenters' grounds that were developed from the seventeenth century. The close association of burial-grounds with religious establishments stems from ideas of bodily resurrection and of being buried near altars or the relics of saints where Masses would be said for the repose of the souls of the dead. When coffins were used, and notions of ownership of graves superseded mediaeval customs, graveyards became noxious, full, and unhealthy places. In large urban cemeteries on the Continent, like the Cemetery of the Innocents in Paris, burial was for a limited period: bones were disinterred and stacked in charnel-houses so that the ground could never fill. Similar practices prevailed in mediaeval Britain and in other countries, but all urban churchyards began to suffer from over-use long before the nineteenth century dawned.

John Evelyn and Sir Christopher Wren argued for the formation of large cemeteries outside London after the Plague of 1665 (when the chaos caused in overcrowded churchyards demanded radical solutions of burial-pits elsewhere), but custom, superstition, and the vested interest of the clergy in burial fees prevented permanent reform.



Curiously, reform of burial customs did not begin in Europe, but where Europeans were forced by climate to apply rational and hygienic principles to the disposal of their dead in hot, humid, and lethal climates. The British in India established cemeteries that were set apart from churches and from cities by the beginning of the eighteenth century, a fact noted by Vanbrugh, who admired the possibilities of erecting vast mausolea with architectural pretensions at the cemetery of Surat. Many other grand cemeteries were laid out in India, notably the South Parks Street Cemetery in Calcutta, established in the middle of the eighteenth century, which was liberally spattered with tombs of a grandeur unimaginable in the mean churchyards of Europe. Here the Classical Elysian Fields were realised by emigré Europeans, who frequently employed designs for mausolea that rarely left the drawing-board or the pattern-book in Europe. The French established large cemeteries in Louisiana, and Europeans returning home could hardly help contrasting the large, handsome, and hygienic cemeteries of the colonies with the squalid, overcrowded, smelly churchyards of home. The desire to build elaborate mausolea, such as those possible in India, was strong among returning merchants and soldiers, and there are several spectacular examples of mausolea built incongruously in small churchyards, notably at Knockbreda in County Down.(4)

However, the first European country to establish a large cemetery outside the city on principles learned abroad (and from Classical Roman precedent) was France. The Cemetery of the Innocents in Paris had become a scandal, and was closed in 1784. All the bones were removed to ossuaries formed in the disused underground quarries (to designs by the architect Héricast de Thury) between 1786 and 1788, and indeed the contents of many mediaeval Parisian churchyards and crypts were transferred to the ossuaries by the beginning of the Revolutionary period. By 1794 four cemeteries were proposed for Paris, and under Napoleon interment in the overcrowded churchyards and church floors was controlled or stopped altogether. The great cemetery to the east of Paris, called Père-Lachaise, was laid out in the Napoleonic period, and was beautifully landscaped and embellished with magnificent tombs. The cemetery of Père-Lachaise became the model for Europe to follow.

Although there had been a small cemetery formed at Bunhill Fields, London, in the seventeenth century (largely patronised by those who refused to pay burial fees to the Established Church), there were no real reforms in burial of the dead in the British Isles until the establishment of the very fine Clifton Old Cemetery in Belfast in 1774. The Belfast of the eighteenth century was a small and enlightened town where rational ideas imported from France and from Scotland were much admired. Most Belfast intellectuals were graduates of the Scottish Universities, being themselves Presbyterians, and the fusty conservatism of England and its Established Church was not much appreciated by them. The cemetery of Calton Hill in Edinburgh was also laid out in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and much embellished with fine house-tombs, very French in manner. Clifton Old also had its fair share of house-tombs derived from French exemplars.

The great influx of populations into towns in England as a result of the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions created especial problems of hygiene. Sanitation, supplies of drinking-water, waste-disposal, and burial of the dead had to be

tackled on a scale unknown since Roman times. The rapid rise in population overloaded the already unseemly parish churchyards, and it became clear to some men of foresight that radical changes would have to be made.

George Frederick Carden began a campaign in *The Penny Magazine* of 1824 for the establishment of cemeteries in England on the lines of Père-Lachaise. He argued that the French cemeteries were a favourite place of resort for the populace, as well as being handsome, pleasant, and hygienic. The first city in England to lay out cemeteries was Liverpool. In 1825 and 1829 two megalopoleis, formed by joint-stock companies, were opened. These cemeteries had architecturally splendid propylaea and other structures that were greatly admired by contemporary opinion.

Very soon Glasgow followed the example set by Liverpool, Edinburgh, and Belfast, and its spectacular Necropolis took shape beside St. Mungo's Cathedral in 1831, paid for by the Merchants' House of Glasgow. The polemics of John Strang, especially in his *Necropolis Glasguensis*, published in 1831, played no small part in creating a favourable climate of opinion for the new cemetery, but perhaps even more important was Strang's insistence on the idea of a cemetery as educational (especially for the great masses of society), hygienic, morally improving, beautifully landscaped, and embellished with fine tombs that themselves would be open-air sculpture-galleries.

The fact that St. James's Cemetery in Liverpool was paying a dividend of 8% in 1830 (much better than speculative housing), and that in October 1831 the first of a series of ferociously lethal cholera epidemics struck at a terrified nation, no doubt smoothed the passage of the first Bill to establish a general cemetery in London through Parliament. Cholera was thought by many (including Edwin Chadwick) to be caused by evil 'miasmas' that arose from and hovered above the churchyards, and the miasmatisists helped to create a favourable climate for cemeteries by their shrill campaign against traditional churchyards. A new company was formed on joint-stock principles, and this General Cemetery Company laid out the Cemetery of All Souls at Kensal Green to designs by John Griffith. The huge cemetery was consecrated in 1833, and fashionable status was accorded when Princess Sophia and the Duke of Sussex (both children of George III) were buried there. Between 1832 and 1847 Parliament authorised the establishment of a series of cemeteries by private companies in the London area. Kensal Green was followed by Norwood (1837), Highgate (1839), Nunhead (1840), Abney Park (1840), Brompton (1840) and Tower Hamlets (1841).

The publicity given to the miasmatisist lobby, to Carden's views, and to Strang's notions of cemeteries as uplifting and morally improving, as well as the widespread patterns for mausolea and views of Père-Lachaise, caused cemeteries to proliferate at a time when cholera was scourging Europe and America. Throughout Britain, the United States of America, and Europe, many cemeteries were established, all derived from French precedent at Père-Lachaise. However, the British cemeteries were all operated by joint-stock companies, and this was not generally followed in America or in Europe, where the idea of a cemetery as a commercial speculation was frowned upon. The European cemeteries were early on established as municipal or even as state enterprises, while the American cemeteries began life as bodies corporate, with state-appointed trustees. The details of the



niceties of raising capital, as well as of the early history of cemeteries, are given in the present writer's *A Celebration of Death*. While the French, with rational realism, devised a notion of a *concession temporaire*, or limited tenure of a grave, the British persisted with the concept of permanent rights of burial in perpetuity, or even of freehold plots, which failed to take account of the possibilities of inflation, rising labour costs, or upkeep. The British private cemeteries thus tended to suffer from depreciating assets, falling income, and problems of upkeep.

Even in 1850, however, the British began to become uneasy about cemeteries as commercial speculations, and there was an attempt to set up vast state-run cemeteries and to purchase compulsorily all the private cemeteries that were established. In fact, only one cemetery was nationalised. This was Brompton, which was in great financial difficulties by 1850. After that year local authorities led the field in the formation of cemeteries, and by 1860 every city and town in Britain had a cemetery that was laid out with trees, walks, good drainage and an orderly arrangement of the grounds. The main influence on cemetery design in this last phase was John Claudius Loudon, who published *On the laying out, planting, and managing of cemeteries and on the improvement of churchyards* in 1843. This volume goes into exhaustive detail on every conceivable aspect of cemetery design, and Loudon had a profound influence on planting, notably of evergreens, while he was particularly original in matters of hygiene, construction, drainage, and layout. The present writer has prepared an Introduction to a facsimile edition of Loudon's seminal work published by Ivelet Books Ltd., Redhill, in 1981. (5)

The large cemeteries of the nineteenth century were the result of a general movement towards the civilising of urban man. They are an important part of planning history, and they must not be underestimated for the part they played in taming epidemics and reducing mortality. They are also significant as a branch of landscape architecture; most contain fine sculpture, splendid mausolea and chapels, and many other items of architectural and historic interest. It is high time they were appreciated, for many are under threat because of indifference, ignorance, fright or vandalism, official and otherwise.

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1. *The Oxford Mail*. 16 March 1972.
2. March 1973.
3. Winter 1980. Review by Brent Elliott.
4. Curl, James Stevens. *Mausolea in Ulster*. Belfast, 1978.
5. Available only from Ivelet Books Ltd., 18 Fairlawn Drive, Redhill, Surrey, RH1 6JP. There is a cloth-bound edition and a special leather-bound edition. Details from the publishers.



