

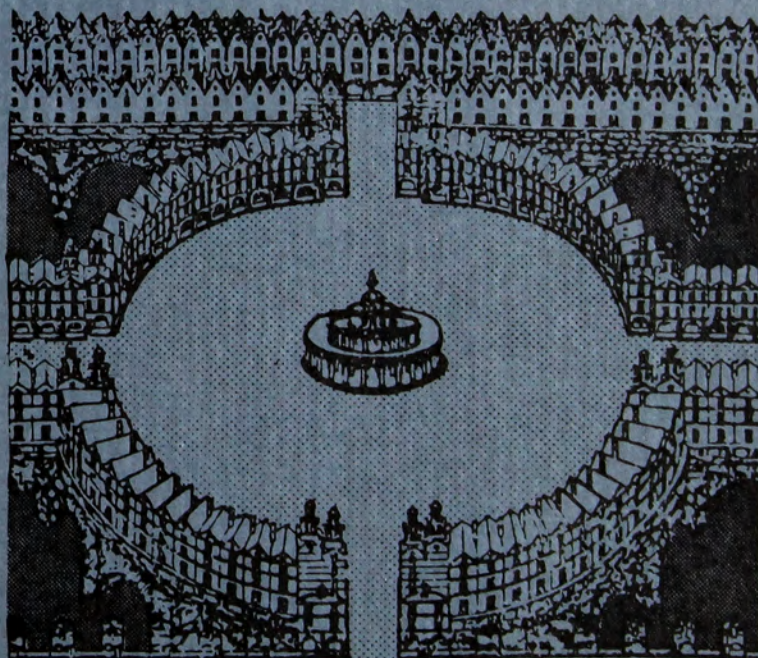
**Planning  
History  
Bulletin**

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**Planning History Group**



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PLANNING HISTORY BULLETIN

1982 Vol. 4 No. 2

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## Chairman's Note

The *Planning History Bulletin* is an indispensable link in our international network and I must continue to use it to communicate with members on Group matters. Our affairs are managed by an Executive Committee which serves for two years, half the membership retiring each year. As announced in the last *Bulletin*, (Vol.4, No.1) no postal election was necessary this year, and the unfilled places have been completed at my invitation, as guided by the Executive. The Executive Committee 1982-3, to take office in August, is as follows:

### U.K.

\*\*Mr P.A. Booth (Treasurer)  
 \*\*Professor G.E. Cherry (Chairman)  
 Dr M. Cuthbert  
 Dr S.M. Gaskell  
 Dr M. Hebbert  
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 \*Professor D.A. Krueckeberg (Co-editor,  
 (U.S.A.)  
 \*Professor P. Marcuse  
 \*Dr M. Smets  
 \*Dr I.C. Taylor  
 \*Dr S. Watanabe  
 \*Professor W.H. Wilson

The Officers of the Executive who have served in their present positions for the last three years have been re-elected by the Executive for a further term of three years.

\*to serve until 1984

\*\*to serve until 1985

An updated membership list is enclosed. Please check your own entry and do let us know if we are mailing you in any way incorrectly (designation, address, etc.).

Our Editor, John Sheail, has 'recruited' Professor Donald Krueckeberg (Rutgers University) as an American co-editor of the *Bulletin*. The idea of co-editors in other parts of the world is something we would like to explore as we seek to strengthen our international contacts. There may be merit too in devising a system of co-chairmen in order to establish some formal point of contact in various places of membership strength. Membership drives may be required and there may be need for a general entrepreneurial role to be discharged on a selective area basis by one of our members.



I am sorry to say that we still have delays on payment of subscriptions. If you have not paid for 1982 there is a reminder enclosed. If this (second) reminder fails to jog your memory I shall have to assume the worst and your name will have to be removed from the mailing list; this means that *PHB* Vol.4 No.3 will not reach you. Please help to keep our Secretary's membership records updated.

Rather than end on a sour note of financial arm-twisting, can I draw your attention to something more positive, namely the Editor's remarks in commenting on the extended length of this *Bulletin*. We hope to be able to maintain this pattern of greater coverage, and in the next number there will be an assembly of your completed questionnaires as to Work in Progress (recent publications and activities, including research). You have all been circulated with the blue forms, and the Editor would be glad to have as many back as possible. If you have not yet returned yours because it has been mislaid, I am taking the opportunity of distributing further copies with this *Bulletin*. Quite apart from simply listing the material you provide, the December *Bulletin* will be an opportunity to analyse the returns and offer a commentary as to where our contemporary work is taking us.

GORDON E. CHERRY

## Planning History Bulletin

This issue breaks fresh ground in having a greater number of book reviews and articles than previously. We are grateful to those who have prepared them, and to the organisers of the various conferences and meetings who have supplied us with information. As is recorded in the Chairman's Note, Professor Donald Krueckeberg has kindly agreed to become co-editor for America, and we hope that contributions from here and elsewhere will be much more conspicuous in future issues.

### Meetings and Conferences

**PATRICK GEDDES EXHIBITION, EDINBURGH**  
This year is the 50th Anniversary of the death of Patrick Geddes and of the founding of Town Planning Education at Edinburgh College of Art/Heriot-Watt University.

To mark both events, a Major Exhibition of Patrick Geddes' work in Edinburgh will be held at Edinburgh College of Art from Monday 23 August to Saturday 11 September. Entry is free to the exhibition, which will be open from 10.00 to 6.00 p.m., Monday to Saturday. Original drawings of plans and buildings, as well as paintings and other art work, will be a major feature of the exhibition.

Further information from Mike Cuthbert, Department of Town Planning, Edinburgh College of Art/Heriot-Watt University, Lauriston Place, Edinburgh. Tel: 031 229 9311.

## PLANNING FOR HEALTH, 1850-1950

The Planning History Group and the Society for the Social History of Medicine are jointly organising a meeting on this theme at Pauling Human Sciences Centre, University of Oxford, on 4 December 1982. The programme/application form to attend the one-day meeting is included as a separate sheet in this copy of *Bulletin*.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLANNING THOUGHT

At the Annual Conference of the Institute of British Geographers between 5 and 8 January 1983 at Edinburgh, the Planning Geography Study Group is organising a two module session with the Historical Geography Study Group, with the intention of examining the development and impact of ideas about planning in the past and the present. The general convenor is John Hancock, The College of St Paul and St Mary, The Park, Cheltenham GL50 2RH.

## THE NEW PLANNING PROCESS IN BRITAIN, II: THE 1960s

### History of Planning Methodology Workshop

The third in this series of workshops, held at LSE in April 1982, was in fact the second of two sessions looking at methodologies adopted under new planning systems. The first meeting held in January, was concerned with the 1940s; this very successful second session was concerned with events in the 1960s.

A well attended meeting heard four presentations; Mr J.B. McLoughlin (Freelance Consultant, formerly of C.E.S. and the University of Manchester)



on the introduction of new ideas on planning methodology into Britain in the 1960s; Mr G. Steeley (Hertfordshire County Council) on new ideas on planning methodology: the role of the sub-regional studies; Professor A. Faludi (University of Amsterdam) on the I.O.R. School: a bibliographic essay; Professor M. Batty (UWIST) on systems, computers and plans: the technical heritage of planning in the 1960s.

Brian McLoughlin, whose work in the 1960s was so important in determining the methodologies adopted, gave a broad picture of the context within which work was carried out at that time. He emphasised how the enormous confidence he and others had in the science of rationality applied to public policy-making was boosted by the general optimism of the period and the expectations of scientific, economic and social progress.

In addition to this general optimism about the role of scientific methods in social policy, the move towards explicit, rational methodologies in planning was given further impetus by the desire of many planners at that time to acquire a set of skills specific to the profession. As McLoughlin put it, 'this move was to a large measure explainable in terms of the British profession's quite desperate need for ... reassurance about its distinctive status and its claim to a voice in the councils of urban and regional concern'.

McLoughlin went on to highlight a number of important publications and events which affected the development of planning methodology in the 1960s; the May 1965 issue of J.A.I.P. in modelling, the 'night of the long knives' at the Town Planning Institute Extraordinary General Meeting in

January, 1965, Buchanan's South Hampshire Study, the establishment of SSRC and the Centre for Environmental Studies, the Planning Advisory Group and so on. In discussion, McLoughlin made it clear that he now rejects much of the work of the 1960s as having any role to play in the solution of contemporary planning problems.

This was in marked contrast to Geoffrey Steeley, who sees much of the work of the sub-regional studies, and certainly that of the Notts-Derby study in which he worked, as having been extremely valuable and still relevant today. In his discussion of the role of the sub-regional studies in introducing ideas on methodology, he focussed on the issue of what the Notts-Derby study team thought they were doing at that time. He agreed with Brian McLoughlin that a prime motive had been to 'break the mould', to escape the grip that the architects, engineers, and in Seeley's case the traffic engineers, had on planning at that time. One way of doing this was to focus very much on the notion of planning for activities rather than for property and land-use. Other motives at the time were the desire to develop planning as a political and decision-making process, to bring into the local government planning debate the new knowledge and ideas being generated in the social sciences, to introduce the new information handling technology to planners, to replace notions of survey and analysis with a system of indicators, to introduce the notion of uncertainty, and to bring developers and industrialists into the planning debate.

Andreas Faludi's contribution contrasted with the others in that he concentrated on a particular theme, namely the development of the work of the Institute of Operational Research

on 'Strategic choice'. This work was very familiar to planners searching for alternatives to the systems approach in the mid-seventies. Its early and later history is unfamiliar, however, and one of the minor mysteries for planning academics in recent years has been the apparent disappearance of strategic choice. Faludi's contribution traced the development of the I.O.R. work through a careful bibliographical review. The work of the Tavistock Institute in the early 1960s, leading to the Coventry study and Friend and Jessop's 'Local Government and Strategic Choice', was discussed. John Friend, present at the meeting with other past members of the I.O.R. team, was able to elaborate on this. It seems that the original intention was to develop a Penn-Jersey type transportation model for Coventry. Only after being told that they could not afford it did they drop the idea. Only by chance did an alternative to the systems approach develop!

Faludi's paper was particularly valuable in tracing the recent mysterious history of strategic choice. With the break up of the I.O.R. team, the ideas were in fact exported and 'strategic choice' now has a much stronger presence in Canada, Holland and Egypt than it does in Britain. One other mystery discussed was the lack of impact that strategic choice has made in the United States. It transpires that the decline in interest in Strategic Choice in Britain followed the completion of a major I.O.R. project for the DOE on strategic choice in structure planning, carried out with County Councils. The final report was to be the most substantial report yet on strategic choice; the DOE allowed I.O.R. to publish six copies!

In his contribution, Michael Batty concentrated on the role of 'computers, systems and models' in the methodologies developed in the 1960s. Dealing first with computers, he stressed the remarkable changes that have occurred in computing capability, and argued that without rapid developments in the 1960s many of the quantitative and modelling efforts in planning at the time would not have been possible. He illustrated this change in computing capability by reference to the work of Leontief on 'input-output' models around 1940. He 'used the Wilbur machine at M.I.T. made of tilting steel plates representing unknowns and steel plates representing equations to be solved'. The machine could solve nine simultaneous equations. Leontief recalls 'You could really change the coefficient slightly by simply sitting on the frames. If they did not give too much, this meant the solution was relatively stable'.

Moving on to systems theory, Batty discussed the continuing attempts by the social sciences to mimic the physical sciences. Together with the general optimism of the 1960s, this led to the inevitable, if rather late, adoption of systems concepts in planning. Closely related to the adoption of systems theory in the 1960s was the rapid development of mathematical models. Batty traced this brief history, from the growing influence of American work in the late fifties to the rapid demise of models in the 1970s. He pointed out the irony that as models have become less and less relevant to planning practitioners, various theoretical advances have been quietly made.

It is important, Batty argued, to stand back and look at the development



of planning since 1947 within a very broad context. The rise and fall of planning, including its methodologies and methods, can be viewed within the changing fortunes of the welfare state and the changing concerns of central government.

\*\*\*\*\*

The next meeting of the workshop will be on planning historiography in September 1982, at the University of Birmingham. This will probably be a joint session held with the Planning History Group. Further details from Michael Breheny, Department of Geography, University of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading RG6 2AB.

MICHAEL J. BREHENY

#### Publications

Mark Long, *Moral regime and model institutions: precursors of town planning in early Victorian England*, Department of Civic Design (University of Liverpool, P.O. Box 147, Liverpool L69 3BX), 20, 1982, 72pp, £3.70.

Model towns, streets and houses, the sanitary engineering, the statistical investigation, the philanthropy and the government administration of early Victorian England do not properly belong to what is now called 'town planning'. They were drawn instead from a political and intellectual current called 'social economy' - a strategy which has long since become defunct.

The expanded reproduction of capital from the late 18th century consumed not only increasing quantities of raw materials and machinery, but also workers. Given the factory form of

industrial organisation and the locational determinants of leading-sector industries, a great many people were attracted, or forced to move, to the new centres of production. The power of the old paternal hierarchies to monitor and direct communities was eroded away. In that sense, early 19th century England underwent an organic crisis of authority, as the fundamental social groups clashed over the objectives and leadership of society. The ruling bloc responded with a social economic programme. The paper sets out the subject-matter of this programme, and the manner in which it was applied to the various strategic sites in the social body.

Having identified his basic tools of analysis, the author looks in turn at the specific functions and institutions assembled in this social economic response, and develops in particular the concept of the 'model institution', as it related to the government and police, writing, statistics, medicine, sanitation, housing, the domestic, pauperism, education and religion. Finally, the author looks more closely at two projects, namely New Lanark and Victoria, which are invariably included in planning histories. They were in effect variants of the social-economic strategy, geared up to the tuition and organisation of individuals, rather than the rational allocation of land to its best use.

C.J. Carter, *The evolution of planning at the regional level in Scotland, 1945-1975*, Occasional papers in Town and Regional Planning (Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art, Perth Road, Dundee, DD1 4HT), 7, 1982, 62pp.

Thirteen factors are identified as having contributed to the emergence of

a distinctive approach to regional planning in Scotland. From the literature review and discussions undertaken, it is evident that there has been a continuous thread to the evolution of regional planning in Scotland from the early post-war years to the setting up of the present system. Even in the 1950s, Scotland experienced some continuity of activity through the partial implementation of the Clyde Valley Plan. From the early 1960s onwards, the evolution of regional planning activity showed steady progress. The subregional studies were an important stepping stone on the way to the establishment of (sub)regional councils, with statutory planning obligations.

The principal purpose of this paper is to place these events in historical context by looking at the evolution of planning at the regional level in Scotland. It draws upon the substantive published literature and a series of informal interviews with past and present officials in the Scottish Office. The paper starts with the intense activity in planning during the immediate post-war period, and ends with the re-organisation of local government in 1975. The greatest emphasis is placed upon the period 1960-75 because, in attempting to explain the present Scottish approach to regional planning, the years since 1960 offer: (a) most of the explanation; (b) the best documentation; (c) "actors" who are able to comment upon events as they saw them at the time; and (d) fewer problems in describing the links between economic and physical planning.

Dennis Hardy and Colin Ward, *The plot-*

*lands of the Thames Valley*, Geography and Planning Papers (Social Science, Middlesex Polytechnic, The Burroughs, London, NW4 4BT), 4, 1981, 41pp.

The word 'plotlands' is used by town planners as a shorthand description for those places where, in the first forty years of the century, land was divided into small plots and sold, sometimes in unorthodox ways, for people to build their holiday home, country retreat or would-be small-holdings. Four main factors brought about the phenomenon. One was the depression of agriculture and the break-up of landed estates. Another was the gradual spread down the social scale of the holiday habit and the idea of the 'week-end' away from home. The third factor was improved cheap transport, and the fourth is best summed up as the growth of the cult of 'the great outdoors'. The plotlands had several common characteristics. They were invariably on marginal lands, in an agricultural sense. The holiday homes tended to become retirement homes for their owners, and they tended to upgrade themselves over time.

Drawing on printed and manuscript sources, and site interviews, the Geography and Planning Paper focusses on the plotlands along the River Thames, describing how the river was 'discovered' and became part of the London hinterland. The experiences of Thames Meadow, Marlow Bottom, Munday Dean, Purley Park and Bablock Hythe are recounted.

More than any other plotland area (with the possible exception of Peacehaven on the seacliffs of Sussex), the private arcadias of the Thames valley attracted the full weight of Establishment criticism. The class issue was never far below the surface.



But at the same time the plotlands did present genuine dilemmas of public versus personal amenity. The idea that the river bank should be accessible to everybody, and consequently to nobody in particular, ran through the vast literature of the Thames, and was a consistent theme of the pre-war planning reports of official and unofficial authorities. What kind of *felicitas calculus* could be devised to measure the private happiness of the plotholding families against the pleasure of the visitors?

### Book Reviews

Ruth H. Kamen, *British and Irish architectural history: A bibliography and guide to sources of information*. Architectural Press, London, 1981, £30.00.

This is precisely what it claims to be: a reference work compiled by the Head of the RIBA Library Information Services for the benefit of those interested in British architectural history. There is a guide to the available literature, and an indication of what it contains. There is a brief selective bibliography. There is a very full list of societies, institutions and organisations. Of especial value is the index of sources to photographs, slides and films which is here made available for the first time.

Every good library should have a copy, as should any serious researcher or teacher in this field.

W. HOUGHTON-EVANS

J.W. Merriman (ed) *French cities in the 19th century*, London, Hutchinson (1981), 304pp including 69pp notes, bibliography and index; 2 maps, 14 plates, 4 figures, 6 tables: £17.50.

The central question addressed by this book is 'How did urbanisation and the growth of cities and towns change political life in France? The ten essays examine an important constituent of the prehistory of modern town planning in France, which will be of interest to many readers of this *Bulletin*. They contain, however, little that is explicitly 'Planning History' or indeed very much about those other issues - cultural, technical, architectural, economic or geographic - that might be subsumed by the catholic title, *French cities in the nineteenth century*.

Professor Merriman has brought together eight essays by historians who, like himself, teach in United States' universities, and he contributes a chapter on changing urban politics and industrialisation in Limoges. The title of his introduction to the book, 'Images of the nineteenth century French city', is again misleading; the chapter is short on images in either visual or literary form - which is a pity as the author tells us that one of the express tasks of the urban historian is to evoke, as well as to analyse, the urban transformation of France. It is a pity that we could not have been given one or two of Nadar's photographs or some examples of Degas' brushwork 'which bring to life again a complex social class'. Of specific interest to planning historians is a short (5 pp), rather slight, statement on 'space, urban form and planning' which does not really stand comparison with the more penetrating and authoritative sections of Professor Merriman's introduction

on urbanisation and its effects on popular politics in nineteenth-century France.

The Editor discusses briefly how 'local history can reveal the fundamental processes of economic, social, cultural and political change when representative experience and meaningful detail are considered from the point of view of the larger experience. Of course, the difficulty is defining 'representative' and 'meaningful', when the 'larger experience' is necessarily so imperfectly understood. This book starts from the strong position that all its contributors are very much in touch with the lives and experiences of real people in time and space - all the essays incorporate the results of work with primary archival sources. They illuminate the 'larger experience' to which Professor Merriman alludes.

The general nature of French urbanisation in the nineteenth century is now fairly clear, particularly in contrast with that of England (1). Almost all the contributors to this book have something to say on the fundamental fact that industrialisation in France retained a large, rural or 'proto-urban' component throughout most of the century. The relationship between cities and the countryside is a fundamental theme of modern French history and the great strength of this book is its exploration of the political dimension involved in this.

While it may seem a little invidious to highlight only two of the high-quality essays, the planning historian will probably find the urbanisation process most effectively examined in the essays by M.P. Hanagan (Vanderbilt University) and E.W. Margadant (University of California, Davis). The former stresses the persistence

of artisanal production and rural industry in the area around Saint-Etienne in central France, and the latter examines the process of proto-urbanisation and the political consequences of the spread of small-scale production and marketing into the countryside in rural regions during the period of the July Monarchy.

The book has a good, comprehensive index but a really woeful bibliography that does not deserve, in this reviewer's opinion, even its adjective 'select'. We are told it 'is intended to be suggestive; as such it is somewhat arbitrary and incomplete' (p.287). Why must something that is to be suggestive be arbitrary? There is no denying that it is incomplete; the omission of Zeldin is, to say the least, surprising (2). When one scans the entries in the bibliography, and realises what has been left out, one begins to suspect the reason why Professor Merriman is so carping about workers in other disciplines, notably geography. An assessment of the work of French historical geographers in urban studies could be the subject of a separate debate, but it seems inexcusable that the 'important works by urban geographers ... of interest to students of social protest' stemming from the Anglo-American school should be left hidden in Hanagan's footnotes (3).

Finally, the book looks nice (as it should at the price) yet contains one proof-reading error which deserves a place in any personal collection! Was it really the rich farmland of Beaune (p.17) that was so hotly contested in Zola's *La Terre*? Or was it the plateau of Beauce?

ROGER KAIN

1. A. Sutcliffe, *Towards the planned city: Germany, Britain, the United States and France, 1780-1914*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1981.



2. T. Zeldin, *France 1848-1945*, 2 vols., 1973, 1977, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

3. See, for example, D. Ward, Victorian cities: how modern? *Journal of Historical Geography*, 1, (1975), 135-51; and, *Environs and neighbours in the 'Two Nations' residential differentiation in mid-nineteenth century Leeds*, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 6, (1980), 133-162.

Anthony Sutcliffe, *Towards the planned city: Germany, Britain, the United States and France, 1780-1914*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1981. Pp 230. £6.50 (paper-back).

The early years of the town planning movement continue to fascinate the historian. Anthony Sutcliffe is surely one of the best equipped to fit together the pieces of the international story that constitutes that period and to point to explanations. His latest volume does just that in a synoptic work, rich in detail and persuasive in its insight. This comparative study across four countries will be an authoritative guide for many years, impressive, convincing and a major contribution to the subject field.

A first chapter sets the scene, reminding us of the place of Germany, Britain, the United States and France in a newly urbanised, industrialised world, with a 19th century record of public intervention in the urban environment already in evidence in such matters as street widths and alignment, drainage and sewerage, fire protection and measures to combat atmospheric pollution. The heart of the book then unfolds, with case studies of the four countries where, towards the close of the 19th century and into the 20th, varying initiatives were taken to build the framework for coherent policies and programmes of city development.

Sutcliffe argues that town planning in Germany was the creation of a national economic and administrative system, favoured by a general tolerance of government intervention in community affairs, powerful instruments of control having survived from pre-industrial days. The extension plan proved to be the most productive of these measures, helping to guide a phase of rapid urban growth after 1890. Both practice and theory flourished, as witnessed by the introduction of building zones in Frankfurt under the leadership of Oberbürgermeister Adickes, and Stübgen's great treatise of 1890, *Der Städtebau*.

In Britain, a national frame of reference is less in evidence. Legislation came as late as 1909, and even then the Act was merely permissive. As a consequence, lobbying and the performance of individual cities provide the key, with preoccupations about public health, housing reform and suburbanisation. Garden city theory and practice, following Ebenezer Howard's writings, developed without reference to Germany, as did Unwin's new forms of residential layout, although Horsfall did provide a German link through his advocacy of extension plans.

Town planning in the United States was different again. City plans were ambitious and extensive as befits the propaganda exercises they largely were. But the actual implementation of a planning system was feeble, reflecting social attitudes which were highly suspicious of government activities. The planning of new streets did not become a major issue in American cities, and it was the public park which emerged as the element in the urban structure that provided the focus for city planning. City beautification, invigorated by the Chicago exhibition of 1890, led to the creation of the American City Planning Institute, al-

though housing reform, particularly in New York, was also a major influence.

France offers yet another story; here planning failed to take any serious root before 1914, legislation in 1919 being enacted under the shadow of wartime destruction. There had been no progress towards slum clearance and rehousing, and the planning of suburban areas and their transport links, virtually unconsidered. Planning as an imported idea (in spite of Haussmann) was too weak to sustain; Paris and other leading cities offered no demand; French urban population was a minority and in Parliament an electoral system over-represented the countryside. The most progress that could be recorded came from a small, socially-aware intelligentsia and some progressive ideas in provincial cities such as Lyons and Nancy.

By World War I planning was clearly an international movement, although countries varied markedly in their particular contributions. Industrialisation and urbanisation (problems to which planning was directed) were themselves international phenomena. Moreover, the advocates of planning were reformers in an international body of influential professionals. International contacts were remarkably frequent, as suggested by the large number of world congresses that were held. Public art, garden cities and housing were topics that all attracted international audiences. In a world of competing nation states the process of innovation diffusion throughout the developed world was quickened.

Sutcliffe informs, stimulates and challenges us. From his historical grasp the old idea of the continuum

of planning from the 19th to the 20th centuries receives encouragement. He argues that the whole tendency of the 19th century was to enmesh public authorities in the process of town building in that they were both providing more and more of the infrastructure and increasingly constraining private owners of land and property in its development. But nonetheless something did happen in those years at the turn of the century before the World War in ways which suggest that a new situation had arisen. At a time of growing social tensions, planning of a kind different from 19th century antecedents seemed to hold out the promise of social peace, achieved through a painless rationalization of the land market. Lower rents, better housing and richer community facilities might indeed remove the need for a major, and much more painful, redistribution of income and wealth. As a consequence, we observe that in all the four countries, planning was led from the upper and middle classes; workers took remarkably little interest in it. Sutcliffe observes that planning's greatest supporters 'were, in Germany, an elite of officials and academics; in Britain, a dying class of bourgeois social reformers connected with a threatened Liberal Party; in France, a minority of upper-class do-gooders with strong links with the Church and other conservative institutions; and, in the United States, urban big business' (p.208). That should provide an agenda for the Planning History Group for many years to come!

GORDON E. CHERRY

James Stevens Curl, *The history, architecture and planning of the Estates of the Fishmongers' Company in Ulster*, Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 181a



Stranmillis Road, Belfast 9, 1981, 76pp, £4.80 plus 75p postage and packing.

The Plantation of Ulster in the early seventeenth century, involving the development of six Ulster counties and the building of twenty-three new towns, has been described by Gilbert Camblin in *The Town in Ulster* (1951), as one of 'the earliest examples of regional planning' and as 'the most important scheme for the building of new towns to be carried out in these islands before the end of the second world war'. The consequences of this enterprise are with us today, not only in the form of the cultural conflict which rends Northern Ireland, but in the siting and layout of many of the present-day towns whose origins date from this period. However, despite the importance of the Plantation of Ulster, it has attracted remarkably little attention from historians of planning, although other historians and geographers have written on the subject.

Among the entrepreneurs enticed to participate in the development of Ulster were the London Companies - the Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Grocers, Ironmongers, Mercers, Salters, Vintners and ten smaller companies - who were given the lands now known as the County of Londonderry. In 1979 Dr Curl wrote an account of the planning and architectural achievements of one of these companies, the Drapers, and now he has followed it with this study of the estates of the Fishmongers' Company from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. It would seem that at last this era is receiving from planning historians the detailed study it warrants. Alas, on the evidence of this book, one must con-

clude that this moment has not yet arrived.

First, Dr Curl fails to provide an account of the Fishmongers' Company during the foundation period of the seventeenth century. He begins with an 'Historical background', followed by 'The involvement of the City of London and the Livery Companies' and 'The state of the lands of the Londoners until the end of the Williamite Wars'. This very interesting, but general, account which brings us to page 45 of the 76 page book, contains little specific mention of the Fishmongers' estates. This section contains many illustrations in the form of maps, plans and photographs, but only some of these relate to the period covered in this part of the text. Many deal with the second phase of activity of the Fishmongers two centuries later. The fact that illustrations in the book are neither numbered, nor referred to in the text, diminishes their value to the reader.

During the eighteenth century when the lands were leased there seems to have been little achieved in the way of development and architecture. In 1820 the leases expired and the lands reverted to the Fishmongers' Company who once more initiated a programme of building and development. In the last section of the book, which deals with the period following 1820, Dr Curl is at his best in describing this work and its results which are evident in the legacy of fine buildings present in the area today. In *North-West Ulster*, the first 'Pevsner/Penguin' survey in Ireland, Alastair Rowan describes the buildings as giving Ballykelly, the principal settlement, 'for all its smallness, an exotic air in north Co. Derry'.

The layout of the book makes it diffi-

cult to read to or use for reference. The problem of the illustrations has been mentioned; there is no list of illustrations nor, indeed, a contents page. The text, in double column and broken up only by chapter headings, appears in massive black chunks. Shorter paragraphs (some run to over a column in length), definition of paragraphs by spacing or indentation of first lines, and the use of sub-headings would help immeasurably. Maps showing the location of the area and of places mentioned in the text would help to guide both the reader and the person who wishes to see for himself the interesting features of this area.

K.A. MAWHINNEY



## Sir George Schuster - An Appreciation

Sir George Schuster died on June 5th 1982 at the age of 101 after a distinguished career of public service in such varied fields as international finance, educational reform, industrial relations, overseas development and health administration. Like Lord Reith, his chairmanship of one of Silkin's seminal postwar committees brought him briefly into the orbit of the town planning movement, a movement with which he otherwise had no connection (1). Unlike Lord Reith's *New Towns Committee* reports, the *Report of the Committee on the Qualifications of Planners* (Cmd 8059, 1950) did not shape the course of subsequent planning history. The committee's recommendations for the future of the planning profession never won acceptance, as Dame Evelyn Sharp - a member - noted regretfully (2). But the Schuster Report has some documentary importance. In it we find the most lucid exposition of the underlying philosophy of the 1947 Act, that the Development Plan process should be the main mechanism for corporate policy-making and co-ordination within local government, with its corollary, that the essential attributes of the town planner were not technical skills but statesmanship, leadership quality and executive ability.

The keen reform minded elite in the Ministry of Town and Country Planning had always been worried that the implementation of improved national legislation would be frustrated by the poor calibre and low rank of planning officers in local government (3). Among measures discussed during the war years to upgrade the quality of field staff were exchequer supplements to their salaries, secondment of Ministry personnel, and transfer of planning powers to larger authorities (4); but it was naturally through a general improvement of recruitment and training that government hoped to obtain a lasting supply of 'new men' to operate the 'new planning' of the 1947 Act. Hence Lewis Silkin's appointment, in May 1948, of a Departmental Committee under Schuster's Chairmanship, charged "to take account of the present and prospective scope of town and country planning and to consider and report what qualifications are necessary or desirable for persons engaged in it, and to make any recommendations affecting those persons which appear to the Committee to be relevant".

The Committee's members were drawn from the civil service, local government and public life (5), but remarkably, contained no member of the professional institutes for town planning, architecture, engineering or surveying; no representative, that is to say, of the existing corps of qualified town planning personnel. The omission, we may surmise, was because they were at that moment locked in inter-necine dispute over the bid by the Town Planning Institute to obtain a Royal Charter and so establish itself as an independent and not merely a supernumerary technical profession (6). Rather than reproduce their interprofessional dispute within the committee the technicians were omitted altogether. But Lewis Silkin was in any case of a mind to make a break from the dominant position of the drawing-board professions. More than once he had hinted that they should not take for granted their monopoly over senior posts within his new planning system,

with its wider and more policy-centred conception of planning (7).

The Committee received written evidence from 70 persons and organisations and took oral evidence from 20. Though it commented on "the baffling complexity of views" offered to it, the reader has no difficulty in detecting an underlying simplicity of competitive self-interest in the evidence submitted by spokesmen of the occupational interests then manoeuvring, as Professor Haar put it, "for a slice, or sometimes more than a slice, of the planning pie" (8). But the most interesting arguments were those advanced by the academic witnesses - Michael Fogarty, Eva Taylor, William Robson among others - who stated that the new planning system implied an end to the traditional monopoly exercised by the technical professions over recruitment into local government departments.

The Schuster recommendations strongly endorsed this line. Since town planning under the 1947 system was a general policy-making function, it called for the introduction into local authorities of a new type of educated generalist recruited out of the universities in the manner of the administrative class civil servant. The town planner should above all be a graduate possessing first-rate intellectual qualities; a two year postgraduate training on the lines of the Liverpool or UCL courses, would be technical training enough. If this mandarin conception no doubt reflected the experience and values of the Committee's own membership (9), it also, and more importantly, has its place in a long and unfruitful history of attempts by central reformers to introduce graduate recruitment into British local government to raise the quality of personnel and to break down its entrenched departmentalism (10).

The Schuster Report was the last of the great sequence of British planning reports in the forties. But already by its date of publication its optimism about the role of town planning had an anachronistic ring. Few believed that 1947 Act Development Plans would provide a focal coordinating mechanism within local authorities; whatever the hopes at the centre town planning remained a subsidiary and illpaid function, especially within the county boroughs. Development Plan preparation was a humdrum rather than heroic task and it remained almost as narrowly oriented to physical land use regulation as the 1932 schemes had been.

The postwar growth in the size, status and independence of the Town Planning Institute has been attributed to the Schuster Committee (11). This is true only in that entry to the TPI was widened, although not to all graduates as Schuster had urged, but tentatively to geographers and economists in 1953 and sociologists in 1963. However, the expansion of two year courses for graduates on the lines recommended by Schuster was matched by an equal growth of planning courses for school leavers, about which the report had been politely lukewarm. Where Schuster had envisaged the TPI developing into a more open society of senior staff dedicated largely to the promotion of policy research, instead it became another and rival technical specialism, competing for occupational monopoly within the departmental structure of local government, a conception clearly rejected by the Committee.

In the 1960s there was a revival of the heroic conception of town planning as a comprehensive policy process, with accompanying attempts to define once again the



appropriate training and skills (12). But the notion of the generalist planner was now cast in a very different form. Problem analysis, policy-making and management were seen as technical skills in their own right, with the planner in the role of technocrat. Schuster's gentlemanly and British ideal was not to be prophetic (13).

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1. His chairmanship of what is known to planners as the Schuster Committee was not one of the many listed by him in his *Who's Who* entry.
2. Evelyn Sharp (1969) *The Ministry of Housing and Local Government*, London. George Allen and Unwin p.176. Much later, Dame Evelyn would reiterate the same mandarin philosophy in her report, Ministry of Transport (1970) *Transport planning; the men for the job*, London: HMSO.
3. e.g. William Robson, "Planning Administration and Planners", in G. and E.G. McAllister (1945) *Homes, towns and countryside*, London: Batsford. E. Sharp (1948) "Town and Country Planning" *Public Administration*, 26,1, 26.
4. J.B. Cullingworth (1975) *Reconstruction and land use planning 1939-1947*, HMSO, pp.81, 229-30.
5. William Holford, critical because it rejected his own conception of the architect as Master-planner, called it "a report of administrators to administrators": (1951) "Qualification for town and country planners" *Town Planning Review*, XXI, 4, 357-367.
6. The story is told in Gordon E. Cherry (1974) *The Evolution of British town planning*, Heath and Reach: Leonard Hill, pp.62-6.
7. Ibid p.163.
8. C.M. Haar (1949) "Appeals under the Town and Country Planning Act 1947" *Public Administration*, 27, 42.
9. D. Eversley (1973) *The planner in society*, London: Faber, p.315, notes that at least seven of the Committee's nine members were Oxbridge educated.
10. See particularly Ministry of Health (1934) *Report of the Departmental Committee on the Qualifications, Recruitment, Training and Promotion of Local Government Officers*, HMSO. (The Hadow Report). Dame Evelyn Sharp had been secretary to the Hadow Committee and was a member of the Schuster Committee. W.A. Robson of the London School of Economics saw in the Schuster Committee an opportunity to repeat his arguments to Hadow of the case for a generalist administrative class in local as in central government.
11. See Andreas Faludi (1978) "The specialist versus generalist conflict 1963-5" in *Essays in planning theory and education*, Oxford: Pergamon, pp. 46ff.
12. See in general Diamond, D. and McLaughlin, J. (eds) (1973) *Education for Planning*, Pergamon, Oxford.
13. Much more seminal was Robert Walker (1941) *The planning function in urban government*. University of Chicago Press, steeped as it was in the American rationalist tradition of administration theory.

# 'Town Planning': A note on the origins and use of the term

(The following is by way of an inquiry. Readers can treat it either as an antiquarian exercise or develop it into something more profound. Responses in PHB are invited.)

Identifying the 'invention' and first use of terms, looking at their etymology and, for those who want to venture into anthropological linguistics, examining the cultural criteria by which terms are defined, can be a fascinating and also useful exercise, not least for environmental and planning historians. The existence of a term is evidence of the existence of a concept: a study of a society's vocabulary is a guide to the way in which its members divide up their universe. Terms are invented as new concepts are created and the new language then helps to structure people's thoughts. And so on, into the complex world of Whorf, Sapir and Chomsky.

In this context, identifying the terms which we use to talk about the environment, finding out when they were introduced and then incorporated into the 'common vocabulary' gives some useful insights into our everyday culture. Here, Raymond Williams' *Keywords* (1), with discussion of terms like alienation, class, city and country, ideology, taste and work, is an excellent introduction. Having become hooked on this method myself some years ago (2) and found it a good way to identify changes in society and what one might call 'cultural consciousness' (think, for example, of our contemporary vocabulary and terms like 'drop-out' 'fall-out' or 'environmental management') I believe it can be a useful method of analysis.

There are various ways in which the method can be used. And this is a 'note', not a methodological essay! In compiling the table that follows there were a number of intentions. It is, firstly, part of a larger study of the various historical forces - economic, social, cultural, ideological - which have produced the particular dwelling form of the bungalow, and also, the social meaning of that form at any one time (3). The intentions were: to relate 'individual responses' (in the form of the weekend bungalow or cottage) to a consciousness of urbanisation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; to relate the development of the bungalow, as a distinctive form of dwelling, to relate the phenomenon of suburban expansion to the rise of public intervention (in the form of 'town' and later 'country' planning) to control them.

Here is where the query about the term 'town planning' comes in. Despite the considerable amount of research generated by the PHG, there still seem to be differences of opinion about when the term was first coined. Tony Sutcliffe suggests that it was coined in 1906 by Nettleford as an anglicization from the German (4). The OED, however, under 'town-plan' gives a date of 1904 along with a quotation from Horsfall, and various other examples in the following years (5) and according to Leonie Sandercock, the expatriate English architect, John Sulman, gave a paper to the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science at Melbourne in 1890 which 'contained the earliest use of the term "town planning"' (6), though the actual phrase and paragraph is not given.



The obvious place to begin pursuing what, if nothing else, can be an amusing hobby, is with the first edition of the OED, edited by J.A.H. Murray in 1888, and then follow up later editions (7). Anyone with any specialist knowledge will no doubt find earlier examples of terms than the ones quoted. Earlier uses - and their contexts - of the terms given in the table will be received with interest both by myself, and no doubt by Dr Burchfield, editor of the OED. What the terms actually mean, of course, is quite another matter!

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1. R. Williams, *Keywords. A vocabulary of culture and society*. Fontana, London, 1976.
2. A.D. King, 'The language of colonial urbanisation', *Sociology*, 8, 1, 1974 (also in *Colonial Urban Development*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1976); on 'country cottage' and 'week-end cottage', see essay on the social production of the vacation house, in A.D. King, ed., *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1980.
3. A.D. King, *The Bungalow. A Global History*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London (forthcoming).
4. A.R. Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States and France, 1780-1914*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1981, p.72.
5. Compact edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, 1980.
6. L. Sandercock, *Cities for Sale*, Melbourne University Press, 1975.
7. J.A.H. Murray, *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, Oxford Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1888.

Earliest identified use of selected  
terms referring to accelerated urban-  
isation, 1880-1930 (1)

Earliest identified reference outside  
Asia to: (2)

1869	bungalow (England: as seaside vacation house)	1869	bungalow (England: as seaside vacation house)
1876	bungalow (Australia: as country vacation house)	1876	bungalow (Australia: as country vacation house)
1879	'week-end'	1879	'week-end'
1880	bungalow (USA: as seaside vacation house)	1880	bungalow (USA: as seaside vacation house)
1880	country cottage 'fitted up for summer use' (USA)	1880	country cottage 'fitted up for summer use' (USA)
1884	evidence of early interest in 'week-end cottage' habit	1884	evidence of early interest in 'week-end cottage' habit
1887	bungalow (country)	1887	bungalow (country)
1888	'urbanisation' (USA)	1890	bungalow: recommended as suitable for permanent country or suburban residence
1888	'suburbanism'	1894	bungalow defined as 'a little house in the country'
1890	'town-planning' (3)	1895	discussion of bungalow as suitable for retirement in suburbs
1893	'suburbia' (4)	1904	week-end bungalow week-end country cottage
1899	(Publication of A.F. Weber, <i>The Growth of Cities in the 19th Century</i> , USA)	1905	'bungalow land'
1904	'urbanisation'	1905	'California bungalow' (USA)
1910	'conurbation'	1908	suburban bungalow (Australia)
1926	'suburbanisation'	1926	'ribbon development'
1929	'urbanism' ('The newly-coined word 'urbanism' ... denotes town-planning'. <i>The Times</i> ; 16 July)	1927	'bungaloid growth'
1930	'urbanist' ('a specialist in or advocate of, town planning')		
1932	(Town and Country Planning Act)		

1. from *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1980. Except where otherwise stated all terms and data refer to UK.
2. sources for this data indicated in King (forthcoming)
3. Sandercock, *op cit*, p.16.
4. the term 'suburb' was already used by Wyclif in 1380.



## Film as a source for Planning History

Of the various media available as data sources, none offers the planning historian as much unworked material yet poses as great a challenge as film. A growing number of studies (1) has indicated that the film archives of the cinematic and television industries contain an enormous storehouse of information about twentieth century life, particularly in urban society (2). Yet despite the enthusiasm and stridency with which use of film is often advocated, much of the advocacy stems from papers either with no empirical content or with findings produced by non-replicable artistic criticism. There is little published that offers any practical guidance to anyone interested in using film as a source but not already well-versed in mass communication theory.

With this in mind, the aim of this brief note is to catalogue some of the problems encountered and lessons learned from the experience of employing film in an historical analysis of urban imagery. To supply some background, the senior author of this paper is currently preparing a book on the nature of images of the future city (3). Focusing particularly on Britain, it will seek to show how particular ideas about the shape of the future city were developed and how they were propagated. As part of this inquiry, extensive use has been made of the written and visual content of the mass media in order to indicate both the climate of opinion at specific times and the views that those who influenced or designed media content ('communicators') wished to convey. In the course of this research, a wide range of print media has been employed - from science fiction novels to newspapers, and from boys' comics to radio scripts. With the aid of Martyn Youngs, a survey was also carried out to investigate the way that the future city was portrayed in films seen by British cinema audiences in the inter-war years (4). The survey covered both feature and documentary, and short and full-length films. Its findings will be discussed in detail elsewhere (5) but, in the meantime, they may be summarised as (a) identifying the growth of consensus about the form and appearance of the central city of the *far* future, with a broad set of images that we now associate with modernist visions of the city, and (b) identifying a progressively kinder treatment of flats as an appropriate dwelling form for mass housing, but showing that (c) the vision of the future city was inextricably rooted in the knowledge of technology and social assumptions of that period. Before arriving at these conclusions, however, it was necessary to come to terms with four major sets of problems, not all of which were satisfactorily resolved. These were:

1. Data sources and availability. These encompass a large number of inter-linked problems. First, what is the definitive version of the film? Is it the film as originally made, or after cutting or modification by the distributors? Or after its treatment at the hands of the censor? Or what? Even if it is argued that the definitive version is that shown to the cinema audience, it must be remembered that some films have had several versions. Our study, for example, examined Fritz Lang's classic film *Metropolis* (6). Originally made as a film of more than three hours (4189 metres), it was then cut to 3241 metres and later to 2868 metres. Each of these versions was seen by cinema audiences, although the

original version was very quickly withdrawn. Ironically, the copy in the British Film Institute only dates from 1975; the result of an international collaboration to try and restore the film to something approaching its second version.

Inevitably, the problem of the 'definitive version' will be solved *de facto* by the necessity of using whatever is available, but no such easy solutions are available to the next problem, namely, how to work on media content consisting of a very long strip of sprocketed nitro-cellulose or triacetate material. Viewing the film several times is essential, if expensive (see below), but tends to be the only way to gain broad impressions. 'Freeze-frame' devices allow the viewer to concentrate upon specific frames - an essential requirement for the planning historian, given that the point of interest might well be the incidental street-scene or building caught fleetingly by the camera. For detailed study, it is frequently necessary to supplement one's viewing by consulting still photographs and scripts, but here again care must be taken. Many 'stills' found in the archives are advance publicity photographs taken on the film set and which do not represent the film's content. Even with those that are taken from the film's frames, there is the problem of losing the context and continuity of the film itself. With regard to scripts, distinction should be made between those used in the film's production ('shooting scripts') and those that are faithful transcripts of the dialogue. Either can be used with advantage (7), but they yield quite different insights.

Finally, background documentation to film varies in both quantity and quality. Feature film studios often had copious archives but were slow to release them and, when they did, it was common for highly restrictive provisions to be imposed on their use (8). Secondary sources vary widely, depending on the country concerned, the established foci of research and so on. We considered ourselves most fortunate that the two books that comprise volume 5 of Rachael Low's history of the British film had recently been published (9). Had we continued the study into the 1940s or later, no such comprehensive survey would have been available.

2. Expense. Film is a notoriously expensive medium to research unless the researcher is fortunate enough to obtain the appropriate film on a video-recording. For the films that we were using, the only alternatives were either to hire the film for private screening or to view it at the archives. The latter is generally cheaper, although it is not possible to generalise about exact costs or differentials due to variations in policies for pricing film hire and archive viewing.

3. Methodology. Most studies of film by non-media specialists use implicit, thematic content analysis to produce their findings. While this is understandable, given the well-merited reputation of literature on film research methodology for opacity, it means that the analysis is usually unsystematic and uncomfortably dependent upon the researcher's preconceptions and insights. It is all too easy to overemphasise insignificant detail at the expense of the context that gives it meaning. This leads on to the question of interpretation.

4. Interpretation. It is difficult to examine films made 40 or 50 years ago and gain an accurate impression of what the film meant to the people who made or saw it at the time. In attempting to gauge contemporary understanding, the most common ploy is to examine film reviews from local or national presses. This was



an effective strategy in our case, as we were essentially interested in elite currents of thought, but would not be so reliable in discerning contemporary public reaction. After all, these reviews represent the opinions of professional film-watchers who were scarcely typical of the young, working-class audiences who flocked to the British cinema in the inter-war years.

A further problem in interpretation lies in knowing just who was likely to have seen the film. For example, audiences at commercial cinemas in the 1920s and 1930s generally saw an urban environment that was an adjunct of escapism, with ostentatious houses and their opulent fitments. The harsher reality depicted by the British documentary movement was seldom seen in the commercial cinema. Indeed, the few films of this genre that were shown widely, such as Pathé's *The Great Crusade* (10), were mostly watered-down versions that conveyed officially-approved optimism.

Finally, it is important to reflect upon whose opinion is communicated by a film. In many cases, the end product bears the hall-mark of compromise: between individuals concerned with making the film; between the production team and the distributing company; between the film-makers' wishes and the perceived susceptibilities of the censors, and so on. Few films can be interpreted as the sole product of a particular individual or even a single group of individuals.

This list has not by any means exhausted the problems thrown up by our study, and undoubtedly others could add further problems. Collectively these points indicate the need for considerable care in dealing with film, but none is so overwhelming that it obviates the use of film as a source. While it is a tantalisingly difficult medium to utilise, when employed properly and with due regard for the attendant problems, it has much to offer the researcher. As Roads (11) suggests:

'Film alone comes near to recreating the past in the sense that the present generation can share the experience of previous generations and, in sharing that experience, begin to see problems in their contemporary context ... The impact of a few feet of film can be worth a dozen badly written volumes.'

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1. Sherman, S.M. (1967) 'How the movies see the city', *Landscape*, 16, 25-6; Hurst, M.E.E. (1975) *I came to the city*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, especially 376-88; Smith, P. (1976) *The historian and film*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Sorlin, P. (1980) *The film in history*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; Short, K.R.M., ed. (1981) *Feature films as history*, London: Croom Helm.
2. Solomon, S.J. (1970) 'Film as an urban art', *Carnegie Review*, 22 (April), 11-19.
3. Gold, J.R. (forthcoming) *The urban vision: twentieth century images of the future city*, London: Croom Helm.
4. Gold, J.R. and Youngs, M.J. (1981) 'Images of future past', paper given at Annual Meeting, Institute of British Geographers, Southampton, January.
5. Gold, J.R. (forthcoming) 'Images of future past: visions of the future city in the British mass media, 1919-39', in J.A. Burgess and J.R. Gold, eds. *Geography and the Media*.
6. U.F.A., produced 1926, released January 1927.
7. Short, K.R.M. (1981) 'Introduction', in K.R.M. Short, *op.cit.*, 24.

8. *ibid.*, 22.

9. Respectively Low, R. (1979a) *The history of the British film*, vol.5 (1): *documentary and educational films of the 1930s*, and Low, R. (1979b) *The history of the British film*, vol.5 (2): *films of comment and persuasion of the 1930s*, both published London: Allen and Unwin.

10. Pathé Films for Ministry of Health, 1936.

11. Roads, C.H. (1968) 'Film as historical evidence', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3, 187.

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### Housing, Trades Unions and Planning History

The author is currently undertaking research in the Department of Planning and Landscape at Birmingham Polytechnic into the development of trade union initiatives in housing and planning with special reference to Coventry Trades Council. Part of this project is concerned with the historical analysis of town planning and housing policy and the influence of the trades union movement. This article is written in the hope of stimulating research in this interesting but neglected field of study.

Mainstream history has tended to ignore both 'labour' and 'local' histories in favour of a pluralistic and institution-orientated view. This is true, in general, of social welfare, and more specifically the emergence of housing and planning policies. The traditional picture is one of progressive reform and improvement which emphasises the development of policy through conflicting pressures, and a technical and pragmatic response by the state at both the national and local level. In this context, the emergence of public health and housing legislation can be viewed as a gradual and progressive development through, for example, the Acts of 1848, 1875, 1890, 1909 and 1919. This type of analysis is best exemplified by the writings of Ashworth, Cherry and Wohl (1). A major omission in these works is the failure to consider seriously the influence of working-class agitation. In particular, they fail to cover the emergence of the embryonic political movements (e.g. Social Democratic Federation, Independent Labour Party and the Fabians) and the trade union movement (e.g. Trades Councils and Trades Unions).

There is perhaps a more surprising and recent example of this failing. Swenarton's radical analysis of the Addison Act, 1919 (2), for example, makes little reference to the demands being put forward by the labour movement. It virtually ignores the development of building guilds, despite members of building trades in many parts of the U.K. forming themselves into co-operative guilds to build 'homes fit for heroes' between 1920 and 1922. Each of these guilds had considerable independence and was composed of representatives from every trade in the industry from bricklayers to architects and surveyors, all of whom had a say in decisions. It is, of course, important to investigate the state's curtailment of the house-building programme, especially the claims of 'unnecessary extravagance' of the social welfare measures of the 1919 Act. However, of equal interest should be the failure of this 'guild socialism'. It appears that out of £4m worth of housing contracts accepted by local authorities from building guilds, only £1m were agreed by the Ministry of Health (3). Furthermore, the close relationship between the



state and the building industry was as relevant then as it is today. The President of the National Federation of Building Trade Employers was also honorary Director of Production at the Ministry, which reflects the already important corporatist nature of the state. Building guilds threatened the concept of production for profit and therefore the state had to intervene to maintain capitalist relations by ensuring that relatively few contracts were accepted.

However, traditional history has neglected not only labour history, but also the local dimension. It has only been in the last decade or so that there has been a re-emergence of an interest in the history of localities. The work of Hennock on local government in 19th century Birmingham and Leeds has been influential (4), and, more generally, there has been the research which has followed on from the seminal work by Dyos (Ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (5). With one or two notable exceptions, such as Foster's study of three English towns and Melling's recent book on housing policy in various British cities before 1939, local labour history in relation to the study of planning and housing nevertheless remains neglected (6). There have been many institution-orientated studies of working class organisations such as Pelling's analysis of the Labour Party as well as histories of the emergence of the working class (7). However, local history now appears to be entering a new phase. Many Trades Councils and local union branches are now publishing material on their histories. This appears to be a response to, firstly, their centenary anniversaries - many trades councils, for example, were established in the 1870s and 1880s. Secondly there is a wealth of primary source material which exists in the minutes and records of these organisations. Finally there is the growing interest in local history *per se*. Planning and housing historians therefore have increasing opportunities to consider and re-evaluate their perspectives on the development of policy. It will be extremely interesting to see the use which is made of these local labour histories, especially as Trades Councils and Trades Unions appear to have been significantly involved in contributing to the development of housing and town-planning policies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

An illustration of this influence concerns the development of state housing. The Housing Act, 1890, empowered local authorities to build housing for rent. Nevertheless although only approximately 20,000 houses were built under this legislation, the trade union and labour movement played a prominent role in a number of areas in persuading reluctant local authorities to construct municipal housing. In Coventry, for example, the local Trades Council had an influential role in the Coventry Housing Reform Council (8). This latter organisation consisted of two groups - middle class philanthropists and supporters of the labour movement. The former saw the campaign as a temporary measure to alleviate the housing crisis caused by the economic prosperity brought about by the growth of the bicycle industry, while the latter's aim was to ensure that state housing became a right for all. Numerous petitions were brought before the City Council by the Trades Council, the embryonic Labour Party and the Reform Council, but it was not until 1907 that the first municipal housing was built. Moreover the same people involved with the Trades Council were also instrumental in proposing a scheme to build a garden suburb in 1911, which however failed to materialise.

A second illustration of the influence of the trade union movement concerns the

legislative breakthrough for state housing under the Addison Act, 1919. Swenarton argues that the government adopted the legislation as an insurance against revolution (9). At the end of the First World War, the state feared that the UK might follow Russia and Germany into a revolutionary situation. The adoption of the 'homes fit for heroes' was therefore a financial cost worth paying. The crucial question is to what extent did a revolutionary situation arise in this period. A considerable amount of work has been published on the events in Clydeside (10). Much of it concerns industrial action and community protest in 1915 over the increased rents charged by landlords. It has been argued that this form of working class action partly accounted for the Rent Act of 1915 which introduced rent-control legislation. However, as Dickens has noted, there was also considerable pressure placed on the state to limit rent increases by the major employers especially Clydeside (11). Nevertheless, it is less well-known that similar working class agitation broke out in many other parts of the country in 1915, including Birmingham, Birkenhead and parts of London (12). Furthermore, industrial action linked to social issues continued throughout the remainder of the war rising to a peak of intensity in 1917. In addition, of course, there were also large numbers of strikes for 'normal' trades union reasons - the number of working days lost in engineering and shipbuilding in May 1917 was 1.35m (13). Nevertheless strikes in support of better housing conditions took place in many centres, such as Coventry and Clydeside, which were vital centres of the engineering industry. Instrumental in these campaigns was the embryonic shop-stewards movement, which emerged during the war, and local Trades Councils. Thus widespread unrest, coupled with the demobilisation of some 5m people together with an equal number from munitions production, generated a situation where the state had to act in the short run against the logic of capital and provide 'homes fit for heroes'.

These two illustrations indicate the relative importance of the trade union movement in bringing about major changes in housing legislation which should not be under-estimated. Indeed it has been argued by Clarke and Ginsburg that improvements in housing for the working class have only ever been won by direct action (14). This, of course, contrasts with the traditional picture of housing and planning policies of a gradual and progressive reform. The increasing availability of material on local labour history should enable researchers to test the proposition that it was working-class pressure which made housing a political issue and eventually a state responsibility.

However, while this challenge to the accepted paradigm of social reform is important, the growing emphasis on both local and labour history also raises a further question. Historical analysis has tended to concentrate on the importance of personalities in shaping the nature of future events. In planning history there is, for example, the work of Chadwick, Howard and Addison. In contrast there is the alternative perspective of emphasising the structural aspects and relegating the individual to an unimportant factor. The study of the influence of the trade union movement tends to place the emphasis on structural forces, but local labour history, by its very nature, nevertheless indicates an important role for the individual. It therefore remains to be seen whether the use of local labour-history material will determine whether the actions of individuals in history are decisive or not, or whether a new balance is required between the relative importance of structural factors and the role of prominent individuals.



Similarly the narrative approach to local labour history is at present dominant. This is not surprising given its recent emergence, and at least it has stimulated debate and interest on this subject. However, a narrative approach implies an evolutionist account of history, and this is in many respects an unsatisfactory form of analysis. Historical analysis needs to consider the relationship between the subject under discussion with the wider social, economic and political forces at work at any particular time. Furthermore, it requires a careful analysis of the subjective attitudes of groups and individuals and, in particular, the extent to which actions reflect such positions.

Thus studies of local labour-history indicate that the trade union movement has been significantly involved in contributing to the development of housing and town planning policies. Equally important, the use of this type of local material poses important questions about the nature and type of planning history. The relative importance of structural forces compared with the role and significance of individual personalities, and the weakness of the narrative evolutionary approach are only two of these issues. It is hoped that this note will initiate a debate on the significance of trades unions in planning and housing history, and the author would be interested to receive any comments and views.

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12. J. Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, Allen and Unwin, 1972.
13. Ibid
14. S. Clarke and N. Ginsburg, *The Political Economy of Housing*, in *Political Economy and the Housing Question*, Conference of Socialist Economists Housing Workshop, 1975.

## Hampstead Garden Suburb and Planning History

Hampstead Garden Suburb holds an honourable place in planning history. Throughout its seventy five year existence it has received the plaudits of international observers and authorities and town-planning and domestic architecture (1). Its innovative approach to housing design, layout and density standards influenced the form of development envisaged in the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act. During the progress of the Bill through parliament John Burns encapsulated its character as "the suburb salubrious". The subsequent involvement of Sir Raymond Unwin (1863-1940), its overall planner, with the wartime munitions housing schemes, the Tudor Walters Committee and the Ministry of Health codified a garden suburb model for much interwar local authority and privately developed housing. The founder of the Suburb, Dame Henrietta Barnett (1851-1936) had worked within the Victorian Reform model of "five per cent philanthropy" which was stretched to its limits through the acquisition and development by the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust of the 240 acre "Old Suburb", and the building of the 70 acre "Artisans' Quarter" by the Co-Partnership Tenants' offshoot, Hampstead Tenants Ltd, under the leadership of Henry Vivian. The purpose of this short paper is to outline the development of the Suburb before 1914, its most influential phase, and to draw attention to prime source material, contemporary publications and significant appraisals (2).

Henrietta Barnett and Raymond Unwin inevitably dominate any account of the concept and early implementation. The Dame's ponderous biographical memoirs of her husband record the Barnetts' untiring work to bring spiritual and moral enlightenment to Whitechapel and the sequence of events following the announcement of proposals to build the deep "tube" railway to Hampstead in 1896 (3). Following the granting of Parliamentary sanction in 1902, Henrietta Barnett mobilised a Heath Extension Council to acquire 80 acres of the "Wylde" estate to be presented to a reluctant LCC. Her objectives broadened to include the construction of a new type of suburb with housing for all classes, first announced in her November 1903 letter to the *Hampstead and Highgate Express* (4) and developed at length in her 1905 article in the *Contemporary Review* (5). The latter reflected close discussion of the concept with Raymond Unwin, whom she had already selected as her architect. In 1928, in a twenty-first anniversary publication of the HGS Trust (6), she wrote warmly of Unwin's understanding of her aims, and ideals. Two recent accounts, by Brigid Grafton Green (7), and Kathleen Slack (8), have used archive material to chronicle Henrietta Barnett's role in the foundation and development of the project.

Unwin's contribution to the layout and design of the suburb should be assessed in the context of his earlier work with Barry Parker at New Earswick (1902 onwards) and Letchworth Garden City (1904 onwards) (9). Nor should Unwin's earlier writing be overlooked, particularly the two papers on community design in *The art of building a home* (1901) (10) which, although taking the Morris-inspired line of attack on "suburban villadom", nevertheless postulated the visual ideal of a democratised feudal village, with a clean break between development and adjacent countryside. This became one of the most striking features of his preliminary plan dated February 1905. Unwin's appointment was formalised by the "Steering Trust" in May



1906 (11), at which meeting Lutyens was also retained as consultant. Regrettably most of Unwin's personal papers of this period were destroyed by an incendiary bomb which hit a storeroom at "Wylde's", his Hampstead home and office, a few weeks before his death (12). The evolution of the definitive layout of the "Old Suburb" has to be pieced together from surviving documents which are far from complete (13). Trust Minutes do not, for example, elucidate the decision to eliminate the parades of shops shown on Unwin's 1905 plan flanking the axial approach from Heathgate to Central Square. Speculation that Lutyens might have been involved in the tightening up of the amorphous road pattern of the 1905 plan has not been substantiated by any of the available evidence, and matters are complicated by the survival of a transitional layout of c. 1906/7, clearly by Unwin, showing a near-definitive artisan's quarter with a further early alternative of Central Square.

As his biographer noted, relations between Henrietta Barnett and Lutyens were often strained and Unwin was not an impartial intermediary (14). Preliminary designs for the Central Square buildings include sketches in a grand Veneto-Palladian manner (15). This was too 'Roman' in the religious sense for Henrietta Barnett and starkly contrasting with the folksy Arts and Crafts picturesque of Unwin's earliest housing. The final designs for the two Churches emerged in 1909 and their downward sweeping barn-like roofs and lively silhouettes present an effective visual landmark whilst they in turn frame the Institute where Lutyens handled Queen Anne motifs with Baroque virtuosity.

If the Central Square, a symbolic citadel of religion and knowledge, was the dominant element of Civic Design at Hampstead, the "Artisans' Quarter" was most immediately influential over the emergence of statutory town planning dominated by housing. With the turning of the sod for Nos. 140-2 Hampstead Way on May 2, 1907, the development was officially inaugurated. The gathering included leading figures in the housing reform movement and politicians of all parties. Raymond Unwin handed the ceremonial spade to Henrietta Barnett. Co-Partnership tenants published shortly afterwards *Cottages with Gardens for Londoners* (16), which included a description of the event, together with illustrations of Parker and Unwin cottage-types.

The detailed layout of the area between Willifield Way, Hampstead Way and the Finchley Road was one of Unwin's finest achievements. He skilfully utilised set-back building lines, short terrace groupings, half quadrangles, stopped vistas and culs-de-sac, articulating outdoor space in a way which reflected his close study of the work of Camillo Sitte. Unwin illustrated these techniques at length in *Town planning in practice* (1909) (17), underlining the significance of the layout as an exemplar, and he also wrote a general account of the planning of the Suburb for *Garden cities and town planning* in 1911 (18). The Co-Partners also ventured into middle-class housing. Lutyens designed groups in North Square and Erskine Hill, and Parker and Unwin designed Corringham Road squares and Reynolds Close - perhaps the classic cul-de-sac grouping in the Suburb and clearly a model element for the Radburn layout. During the first world war, the movement lost much of its credibility. Subsequent operations by the Co-Partners at Hampstead (19) and elsewhere were little different from any speculative developer.

In order to create the loose-knit network of trees and closes which characterise the layout, and thereby allow Unwin to overcome the restrictive Local Authority

byelaws, the Hampstead Garden Suburb Act, 1906 (20), was promoted by Henry Vivian, Liberal MP and Chairman of the Co-Partners. The Trust was empowered to introduce its own Building Regulations (21), which Unwin based on an earlier set prepared for First Garden City Ltd at Letchworth. The Regulations included aesthetic guidance and accommodation standards, in addition to constructional advice. The Trust exercised a development-control system in many ways comparable with that granted to local authorities through the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. In addition, the Garden Suburb Development Company was founded in 1907 to collaborate with the Trust in advising the individual leaseholder, and promoted excellent design standards through commissions from a who's who of Edwardian domestic architecture which included C.M. Crickmer, Guy Dawber, Curtis Green, Lutyens, Parker and Unwin, M.H. Baillie Scott and Herbert Welch. Many of the deposited plans, now in HGS Archives, are exquisite examples of architectural calligraphy.

Development proceeded smoothly until 1914. In 1911 the addition of 300 acres of Co-Partners Land and a further 112 acres from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners created the need for a new lay-out - the "New Suburb" - prepared by Unwin at sea en route to the USA. A more formal outline-framework resulted, indicative of his growing interest in larger-scale Civic design only partly implemented (22). He was also retained as town-planning consultant by Finchley UDC.

Social life in the Suburb ranged from international summer schools on housing and town-planning to local educational and cultural events, including a range of esoteric pursuits typically indulged in by the liberal-minded Edwardian middle classes (23). A handsome Clubhouse, intended to be a visual and social focal point, was designed by Parker and Unwin. It was destroyed by a German landmine in the second world war, and its subsequent replacement by an old peoples' day-room highlights the decline in community life as the Suburb became more exclusively a middle-class enclave. The social transition is difficult to chart with precision but was hastened by the sale of individual houses, originally built for rental by the Co-Partnership.

The impact of Hampstead on the emergence of statutory town-planning was immediate. Although Letchworth shared many of the design and layout principles, its concept was too Utopian for government in the early 1900s. Hampstead demonstrated the effectiveness of the techniques in modifying and moulding suburban development, with a more acceptable aesthetic result than the public-health based bye laws. The Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909 sought to repeat the Hampstead pattern for suburban land with a recognised development potential, but the subsequent drawn out procedure with the Ruislip-Northwood Scheme (1910-14) (24), with which John Burns, William Thompson and Unwin were all closely involved, was indicative of the difficulty of transferring the detailed aspects of development control (a critical factor in the visual success of Hampstead) to the context of the more generalised guidance envisaged by the Act. Nevertheless, Nettlefold, Aldridge and the National Housing and Town Planning Council stressed the importance of Hampstead. Its design, density and layout standards were reflected in a host of pre-1914 Co-Partnership and Housing Society developments, including significantly the work of the LCC Architects at the White Hart Lane and Old Oak Estates (25). The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association was more reserved, recognising the eclipse of the ideal of the self-contained or satellite development by the easier, but inevitable, suburban option.



Internationally the influence of Hampstead was strong. A model and drawings were displayed at the 1910 RIBA International Town Planning Exhibition, whilst Unwin spoke of the development during his 1911 visit to the USA. The German connection represents an area for fruitful research - Eberstadt, Berlepsch-Valendas and Kampffmeyer all wrote enthusiastically about the Suburb (26); Ernst May worked for Unwin at "Wyldes", whilst Werner Hegemann became a close personal friend, and incorporated elements of Hampstead layout-practice in a series of plans for suburban subdivisions in the USA (27). The Belgian Reconstruction Movement (28), with which Unwin was directly involved, drew extensively on the Hampstead Model. In the 1920s Wright and Stein developed the culs-de-sac and embryo footpath network into the Radburn Layout (29), thereby extending the lineage to the motor age and, via a further exchange of ideas, to British post-1945 New Town practice.

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1. For example, Steen Eiler Rasmussen in *London: the unique city*, (1934), MIT Cambridge, Mass., 1967; "A great planning achievement", *Town and Country Planning*, XXV(7) July 1957, pp 283-91; and Sir Nikolaus Pevsner in *The Buildings of England: Middlesex*, Penguin, London, 1951. The Commemorative Issue of *Town and Country Planning*, *vide supra* contains a number of these admittedly partisan tributes.
2. Hampstead Garden Suburb Archives (Archivist: Brigid Grafton Green, 88 Temple Fortune Lane, London NW11) contain Trust Minute Books, Deposited plans for most individual houses, most significant early publications on the Suburb and contemporary photographs, material relating to Dame Henrietta Barnett including a printed copy of Unwin's preliminary plan with her handwritten comments, and memorabilia and ephemera of the social life of the Suburb.
3. (Henrietta Barnett), *Canon Barnett - his life, work and friends*, by his wife, John Murray, London, 1918.
4. "Garden Suburb for the working class", *Hampstead and Highgate Express*, 28.11.03. The cutting was kept, with others referring to Henrietta Barnett's campaign in one of the Garden City Association Pressbooks, now in First Garden City Museum, Letchworth.
5. Henrietta O. Barnett, "A Garden Suburb at Hampstead", *Contemporary Review*, Feb., 1905, pp 231-7.
6. *The story of the growth of the Hampstead Garden Suburb, 1907-28*, HGS Trust Ltd; several copies are in HGS Archives.
7. Brigid Grafton Green, *Hampstead Garden Suburb 1907-77*, HGS Residents Association, London, 1977.
8. Kathleen M. Slack, *Henrietta's dream*, privately published by the author, 1982 (available from 17 Asmuns Hill, London NW11 6ES.)
9. The author has reviewed Unwin's work in his contribution to Gordon E. Cherry (ed) *Pioneers in British Planning*, Architectural Press, London, 1981; a more detailed account of Unwin's achievements is contained in *To Speak of planning is to speak of Unwin*, the author's unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham, 1981. An edited version is in preparation for publication by Mansell.
10. Raymond Unwin, of Building and Natural Beauty, of Co-operation in Design, in Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin, *The art of building a home*, Longmans, London, 1901.
11. Minutes in HGS Archive, *Loc cit*, Note 2.
12. Unwin Papers in British Architectural Library (RIBA) and Department of Architecture and Town Planning Manchester University, contain Little Hampstead material.

13. The following sequence charts the progress 1905-11:

- i) Parker and Unwin Dwg.No.3471, February 1905, Preliminary Plan, widely published, copies HGS Archive and FGC Museum;
  - ii) *Ibid.* Minor 1906 revision, HGS Archive;
  - iii) Undated photoprint of Parker and Unwin unnumbered drawing, c.1906-7, FGC Mus, with transitional stage of Central Square;
  - iv) Near definitive layout of "Artisans Quarter" in *Cottages with gardens for Londoners, 1907 (vide infra)*;
  - v) Plan included in *Town planning in practice*, 1909 incomplete N. of Wilifield Way.
  - vi) Updated version with complete layout of "Old Suburb" published with Unwin's articles in *Garden Cities and town planning*, *vide infra*, note 18.
14. Christopher Hussey, *The life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, Country Life London, 1950, esp. p.187.
  15. Some early sketches are in RIBA Drawings Coll. *vide* Margaret Richardson, *Edwin Lutyens, Catalogue of the Drawings collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1973.
  16. Hampstead Tenants Ltd. *Cottages with gardens for Londoners*, Co-Partnership Tenants Ltd. n.d. c.1907; copy in HGS Archives.
  17. Published by T. Fisher Unwin, London 1909.
  18. Town planning at Hampstead, GC & TP, I NS 1, Feb.1911 pp 6-9; I NS 3, April 1911 pp 83-5.
  19. Bryce Leicester, Public Utility Societies and Housing, Unpub. report for Housing Reconstruction Panel, n.d. c. 1917, PRO RECO 1/482, was particularly critical of Hampstead Tenants' record of housing working class families.
  20. 6 Edw. 7 Ch.cxcii.
  21. Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin, *Regulations as to building issued by the Company's architects*, HGS Trust Ltd., Wyldes, 1907.
  22. *Vide* Raymond Unwin, *The Hampstead Garden Suburb Extension*, HGS Record I(1) Aug. 1912, pp 6-10.
  23. HGS Record published Aug. 1912 - Dec. 1916; *Town Crier* published April 1911-16; *Temple Fortune Notes* (published by Co-partnership Tenants Nov. 1919 - Summer 1924 (all in HGS Archives) record early social and education events).
  24. For Ruislip - Northwood *Vide* Henry R. Aldridge, *The case for town planning*, National Housing and Town Planning Council, London, 1915; PRO HLG 4 1971 and material from King's College Muniment Room; Summary by the author in *To speak of planning is the speak of Unwin*, *vide supra* Note 9.
  25. The impact of Hampstead on LCC housing design is recounted by Susan Beattie in *A revolution in London housing*, Architectural Press, London, 1980.
  26. Eberstadt wrote of Hampstead in *Der Stadtebau*, 6J8, 1909; Berlepsch Valendas in *Die Gartenstadtbewegung in England*, Oldenburg, Munich, 1912; Kampffmeyer in *Aus Englischen Gartenstadten*, Renaissance Verlag Robert Federn Berlin 1910. *Vide*, also Ernst May, "Unwin as a planner for social welfare", *Town and Country Planning*, XXXI (II) Nov. 1963, pp 427-8, (Unwin Centenary Issue).
  27. Described by Christine Collins in Werner Hegemann's *American Years*, PHG Spring Meeting, Swansea, March 1981.
  28. RIBA Journal, 23.2.25 p 143; 20.2.15 pp 189-90 and other technical periodicals record the lectures organised for the Belgian emigres. For the influence of Hampstead *Vide* Marcel Smets, *L'avenement de la cite-jardin en Belgique*, Pierre Mardaga, Brussels, 1977.
  29. Clarence S. Stein, *Towards New Towns in America*, *Town Planning Review*, XX(3) Oct. 1949.



# THE HISTORY OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING IN AUSTRALIA: A SUPPLEMENT TO SUTCLIFFE

Tony Sutcliffe's *The History of Urban and Regional Planning: an annotated bibliography* (Mansell, 1981) is an admirable introduction to the world literature on planning history. It is especially useful for those venturing beyond familiar national materials in search of both comparative foreign literature and the idea of planning as an international movement. But the book cannot escape the inherent imperfections of any ambitious bibliographic project, such as the virtual impossibility of comprehensiveness, the subjectivity of title selection, a limited supply of paper, and a specific publication date. Although they do not in this case detract from the book as an international reference work, there are inevitable sins of omission and commission.

Sutcliffe's bibliography contains less than 20 Australian references out of a total of 1,400. While planning history has not formally taken off here, this modest sub-total does somewhat underestimate the relevant literature. The following bibliography was prepared to supplement Sutcliffe's preliminary guide and to open up a little more Australian material. The bibliography also updates Davidson's 'Australian Urban History: A Progress Report' (*Urban History Yearbook* 1979, pp. 100-109) where only Sandercock (1975) carries the torch for planning history. Although none of the other 99 references here present a better overview of the history of planning in Australia they collectively give a better indication of what has been done - and what needs to be done.

Entries have been selected using the same basic criteria employed by Sutcliffe (1981, p.11) although I have had to be a little more ruthless and pragmatic in compiling a short selected list. Only those titles that would be relatively accessible in or through major state or university libraries have been included. Much other relevant material (such as undergraduate theses, conference papers, government reports and manuscript sources) has been excluded. This is not a guide to sources for the study of planning history in Australia but rather a sample of written history. However, it omits historical studies undertaken in Australia but with little or no local content. In the interests of international standardisation, the structure of the bibliography is also based on Sutcliffe's model. There are six major sections. Both the way in which Australian planning has developed and historiographical oversight mean that the sub-headings in Sections E and F do not mirror those in the equivalent sections of the larger work. Some changes have also been necessary to better accommodate Australian events and preoccupations.

This bibliography predictably shares some of the shortcomings of *The History of Urban and Regional Planning: an annotated bibliography*. Nevertheless, it assembles some of the material which might be included in a second edition of that book. In the interim the two bibliographies have the same purpose: the sharing of information for better understanding.

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#### Totalitarianism and the Modern Planning Tradition: Nazi Berlin Revisited

Nazism and modern planning. Mentioning the two together appears incongruous. Commonly thought of as poles apart, they seem hardly to warrant comparison. Yet the most cursory review of designs for the Third Reich's new capital shows the matter far from black and white. Serious examination even suggests a fresh look at our definition of 'modern'.

Hitler's vision of a Berlin Champs Elysees, five miles long and some 400 feet wide, was wildly extravagant. For brute social engineering or environmental poverty, the plans are without equal. Still, they should not be written off merely as a National Socialist oddity. Dig past the Nazi facade, and one finds similarities to things happening elsewhere, not just among brother fascists, but in the democratic West. Albert Speer and many of those who helped him translate the Fuehrer's grandiose dream city into reality, far from being ignorant or antagonistic regarding progressive planning thought, were well aware of it (even sympathetic), though in general these ideas were subordinated to the essentially political intent of the plans (1).

If we define 'modern' a bit more broadly than usual, we find clear, if disturbing, affinities between the Speer Plan and other urban projects of the recent past. Not that I would describe everything since 1800 as 'modern'. I would, however, include all that is plainly different from the past, that is linked with distinctly modern tendencies, such as industrialism/high technology, rationalism/functionality, liberalism. In the West, we lean heavily toward the last factor. 'Modern' is



'progressive' in the social sense, as well as often being aesthetically avant-garde. In tracing our city building heritage, we would just as soon forget the authoritarianisms of Haussman and the aggressive monumentality seen so widely, particularly in the late 19th and 20th centuries, in the form of pre-Mussolini nationalist Rome, Burnham's Chicago, or the Federal Triangle in Washington.

Viewed from this broader perspective, the Speer Plan forms part of a genuinely 'modern' tradition, one which it is painful to acknowledge. Such modernity even finds its roots in many venerated Utopians. This is all the more true if we look beyond physical form to the ideological underpinnings. The authoritarian spirit of the 1920s and 30s is reflected powerfully, for instance, in the thought of Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright.

Nazi plans for Berlin represent an extreme. They are preposterously out of scale with the existing city. They created a second city unto itself, which made nonsense of prevailing traffic patterns, severing vital links and imposing vast new demands which the plans did little to meet. They amounted to a display piece, a massive political stage set. It was, however, only on this last count of conscious manipulation and generally in the degree to which it was pursued that Speer's plans differed from such respectable ventures as Brazilia, Empire Plaza in Albany, New York, or from a host of lesser versions that have sprung up across urban renewed America.

I would like to focus on two key facets: the close parallels between Speer's work and certain democratic design, and, secondly, the subtle, local differences between plans produced within the totalitarian family. I will assume the fairly obvious links between Nazi plans and earlier efforts, principally the tradition of large-scale urban reconstruction beginning in 1853 with Haussmann's work in Paris, and the evolution of architectural city building (as contrasted with strictly functional planning) catalysed by the Viennese Camillo Sitte.

Any similarity between Speer's project and two of the contemporary forms of urban Utopia may seem unlikely. The visionary thought of Le Corbusier and Wright does not appear to have influenced Speer, yet there are significant parallels (2). The formal qualities of Le Corbusier's early plans come quickly to mind. A basic element of his Contemporary City for Three Million People, 1922, is a pattern of broad north-south/east-west avenues which cross at the very heart of the composition, much as in the Berlin scheme. This cross-axis is less strongly emphasized in the Radiant City of 1930. Indeed, as the formal analogies weaken, the philosophical ones grow stronger. The later Corb plan demonstrates an attraction toward collectivism and authoritarian forms of social structure widespread during the 1930s, in the democracies as well as the dictatorships. A political mood in the West that could place unprecedented powers in the hands of an elected American president, FDR, certainly favoured ideals greatly different in degree, but not in kind, from those which were established or arising in Italy, Germany, Spain, Russia or Japan.

These new ideas showed up less clearly in Le Corbusier's comprehensive urban plans than in his design for a National Center for Collective Festivals for 100,000 people, 1936, and in a new vision of the architect as leader of the nation. The National Center was almost certainly modelled on the Nazis' Nuremberg party rally ground, which in turn inspired the vastly larger Berlin Plan.

During his association with the Vichy regime, Le Corbusier finalised his concept of what he called the 'regulator', an architect/administrator empowered by absolute authority to work out the nation's urban destiny on the basis of 'objective' principles. That Le Corbusier could have let his increasingly desperate attempts to realise personal plans for an harmonious new age blind him to the collaborationist character of the Vichy government, probably indicates that he was equally unaware of the potential for abuse of the 'regulator's' powers. The quest for individual freedom and self-fulfilment was always at the heart of Le Corbusier's theories, albeit strongly conditioned by the realities of industrial society. Yet he skirted amazingly close to the rationale behind Hitler's regime.

Equally ingenuous was Frank Lloyd Wright's similar notion of an architect/leader. However, this is practically the only common ground between him and Speer, so persistently did Wright attempt to disperse and scale down the architectural elements of the city in order that nothing should threaten the almost limitless frontier-like liberty he championed. If there is a dominant character at all among Wright's vast assemblage of rugged individualists, it is his 'county planner', the artist as guide for society, qualified by his special vision and imaginative grasp of the essentials of life.

A fundamentally altruistic figure, Wright saw his planner as being able to understand the people, to express their spirit, and to speak to them with their own voice. Now surely the Fuehrer might speak to the grossest part of his people's nature, might fathom the very depth of their frustration, despair and outrage, might verbalise the yearnings for revenge which they felt. This might be far (very, very far) from Wright's true intentions, yet the potential for abuse, as with Le Corbusier's 'regulator', is very great. As with Le Corbusier, Wright would finally lose patience with the masses, whose appreciation of his prophetic insight he so fervently desired, bitterly rejecting them in *Genius and Mobocracy*. He would eventually appeal to elites to understand him and act.

These two episodes testify to a general search for authority in the 1930s. The plans share an essential, if small, measure of the philosophy so fundamental to Speer's work.

Turning to other, totalitarian projects, I would like to illustrate how differing culture and national history could colour an approach to city design. Not only was Italy geographically closer to Germany than Spain or Russia, the relationship of Mussolini with Hitler was more direct and personal. As with Germany, independent principalities of common culture had been merged to form the modern state of Italy during the same few years around 1870. The experience of building capitals for these new nations directly influenced the later plans of Mussolini and Hitler. The experiences varied greatly, in part because of historical circumstances.

The clearest difference was the relation of new development to old. Bismarck laid out his government centre around the Koenigsplatz at the edge of the old city, at the west end of the historic monumental axis of Unter den Linden. It was conceived as an addition to, or extension of, the former Prussian capital. To the degree that the new plan competed with the old, it did so on its own ground. By contrast, the first king of a united Italy, Victor Immanuel, was



determined to plant his capital in the very heart of historic Rome, albeit against the advice of no lesser an authority than Baron Haussman (3). The reasons for not developing a focus to the east - a logical and probably cheaper proposal - appear primarily political. While it was initially less expensive simply to reconstruct the existing city centre, and while time was of the essence, the key factor seemed to be the desire for a compelling visual symbol of the new order. The hub of nationalist Rome would be a rebuilt Piazza Venezia, far from the Vatican, the centre of vanquished papal authority. The huge monument to Victor Immanuel would stand nearby at the edge of the Capitoline, the site of periodic popular uprisings against papal rule and therefore still another visible manifestation of the nationalist victory.

Because Prussia formed the nucleus of the new German nation, its former capital could merely be enlarged and enhanced in line with its added stature. Rome was wrested from the popes in the process of creating the Italian state, hence the impulse to subjugate it physically as well as politically. What were the consequences for later, totalitarian planning? For Mussolini, late 19th century development set a pattern which he decided to follow - probably because of its associations with Italian nationhood. He moved his headquarters to the Piazza Venezia opposite the now completed Vittoriano. He had to hack his new boulevards through the dense fabric of the old city, and he did it in a much more Haussmannesque way than earlier. On the other hand, Hitler used Bismarck's Koenigsplatz as a basis for his design, and thereby avoided ravaging the heart of old Berlin. It was the existence of massive rail yards at the edge of the old city that really allowed him to minimize demolition.

The Rome and Berlin designs also differed in their political backgrounds and plan execution. They reflect quite different political circumstances, or at least differing perceptions as to the degree of authority that could be exercised by the regime. Mussolini showed an almost brazen confidence, unknown to Hitler's early years in power. Having quickly consolidated his 1922 victory, the Duce abolished municipal government in Rome during 1925, and replaced it with a governor responsible to him through the Minister of the Interior. A less radical move was made by Hitler, and only then after exhausting other alternatives. Having tried in vain to work out his urban plans with the Berlin municipal authorities from 1933 to 1936, he finally turned the task over to a private organisation headed by Speer, who even then enlisted the help of the City administration in land acquisition and subway construction, after basic design decisions had been made.

Hitler's vision of a new Berlin was not a Nazi aberration. Clear links exist with contemporary, as well as earlier, planning thought and practice. These links suggest that there may be a need to adjust the boundaries of that territory which we call 'modern'. The Berlin experiment bears the all too familiar earmarks of numerous recent ventures: technologically advanced means, shamefully backward ends; compelling functional logic ignored or turned awry: massive environmental conditioning perpetrated in the name of civic good. Happily, our failures can be as illuminating as our successes. Whatever the case, the Speer Plan was no isolated event, but part of a broad pattern of activity whose significance should no longer be neglected.

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1. Speer was Hitler's longtime personal architect. Because of his key creative and managerial role in the Berlin work, I have called it the Speer Plan, a name presumably even the Fuehrer would have approved.

Speer seems to have been genuinely committed to progressive planning ideals, though mainly at a theoretical level. His preparation for planning was meagre, yet distinctly forward-looking. Of the little formal training he received, much of it was with Herman Jansen. While not part of the Berlin avant-garde, the latter was a prize winner in the 1910 Greater Berlin Competition and in tune with contemporary thought. Speer's chief assistants were seasoned practitioners, all architect/planners. Hans Stephan had earlier held responsible positions in the Berlin Planning Office, and Rudolf Wolters had been employed by German Railways and collaborated on a rail and city plan in Siberia.

2. For insights into Le Corbusier and Wright, I am indebted to Robert Fishman's *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).
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An excellent overview of the plans is available in German, Lars Olof Larsson's *Die Neugestaltung der Reichshauptstadt: Albert Speers Generalbebauungsplan fuer Berlin* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiskell, 1978). As the sub-title indicates, this richly-illustrated study reviews the entire general plan for the capital, while I have focussed on designs for the central boulevard.

Wolfgang Schaeche is presently completing his doctoral work in Berlin, evaluating Speer's voluminous personal archive. Schaeche's detailed documentation of the Plan's numerous individual buildings has only just begun to appear in print.



