

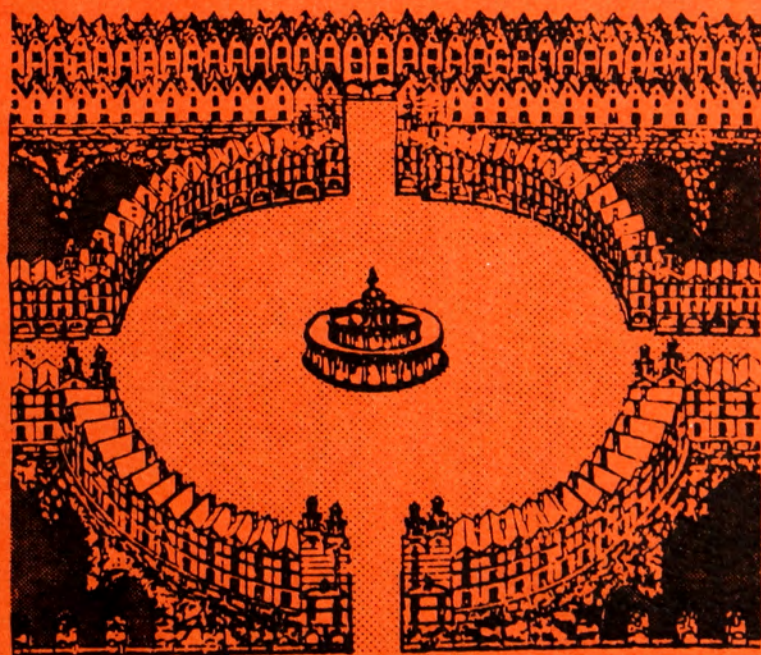
Planning
History
Bulletin

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1983

Volume 5

Number 1



Planning History Group

PLANNING HISTORY GROUP

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PLANNING HISTORY BULLETIN 1983 Vol.5 No.1

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Chairman's Note

The term of office for the following members of the Executive will come to an end in August 1983:

U.K.

Dr M. Cuthbert, Department of Town and Country Planning, Heriot-Watt University
Dr S.M. Gaskell, Assistant Principal, City of Liverpool College of Higher Education
Dr M. Hebbert, London School of Economics
Dr R.J.P. Kain, Department of Geography, University of Exeter

non-U.K.

Dr M.J. Bannon, Department of Regional and Urban Planning, University College Dublin
Ms Eugenie Birch, Graduate Programme in Urban Planning, Hunter College New York
Professor B.A. Brownell, Department of Urban Studies, University of Alabama
Mrs Christiane Collins, Adam L. Gimbel Library, Parsons School of Design New York
Ms Joan E. Draper, History of Architecture and Art Department, University of Illinois
Professor D. Hulchanski, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto

The Group's Constitution provides for an annual opportunity for new blood on the Executive. There is, therefore, an annual election system based on a postal ballot. The names of those PHG members wishing to offer themselves for election or re-election should be submitted to me in writing not later than 30 June 1983. There are no requirements for proposers or seconders.

If there are more than the required number of names submitted (four for UK; six for non-UK) there will be an election by postal ballot, and voting slips will be enclosed in the August number of the *Bulletin*. The December issue will announce the result, but the Executive will be in post before then.

Exhortations to members to pay their annual subscription early in the year seem to have been well received, particularly in the UK where 73% of the 139 members have already paid. For non-UK countries the figure is 54% of 138 members, so there is still some way to go. If you have not yet cleared your 1983 membership subscription please do so quickly.

The Editor has been able to assemble a number of papers of international interest for this issue. The broad breadth of appeal is certainly something we wish to maintain and indeed develop: over to you, please bombard him with your offerings!

Gordon E. Cherry

TREASURER'S NOTE

PLANNING HISTORY GROUP: BALANCE SHEET FOR 1982

Income	£	Expenditure	£
Balance from 1981	1192.17	Bulletin printing costs (4 issues)	481.98
Subscriptions for 1982	1113.35	Membership Mailing	550.10
Subs for other years	103.80	Administration & Charges	76.72
	1217.13	Tax ¹	42.30
Publications leaflets	225.00		1151.10
Interest on deposit accounts	110.52		
Surplus on Dublin seminar	156.36	Carry forward to 1983	1750.08
	<u>£2901.18</u>		<u>£2901.18</u>

Bank Accounts at 31.12.82

General Fund Current	298.42
Deposit	1067.73
Giro a/c	88.15
Helf for General Fund	
in seminar a/c	179.93
in Dublin	115.85 ²
	<u>£1750.08</u>

Notes

1. Income tax paid on deposit account interest for the year 1981-2
2. Held in local currency converted at Invoice Rate at 31.12.82 of £1.00 = £1.165 IRL

I confirm that I have audited this set of accounts as at 31.12.82 and they appear to be in order.

(signed) J.L. Batty
Assistant Manager, Williams & Glyn's Bank PLC
2.2.83

1982 was yet another successful year financially for the Group which leaves us with a healthy balance for the coming year. Though expenditure was at the level predicted, income far exceeded my perhaps rather cautious estimate. Some sources of income are unpredictable, however; particularly the surpluses on seminars and the payments for the distribution of publishers' leaflets. You should note that the first call on the surplus from the Dublin seminar will be for the eventual publication of the Dublin papers, which leaves a true balance for general purposes of just under £1,600.

Costs are continuing to rise, inevitably. A bigger *Bulletin* costs more to print and more to send by post. Two factors look likely to increase expenditure rather faster in 1984 than even the enlarged *Bulletin* and general price increases would suggest. The first is that for the first time we are having to use outside printers for the production of the *Bulletin* rather than the cheaper University of Birmingham Print Unit. The second is that our fixed costs for administration are also likely to rise from their currently very low level. Whereas for the first, an increase in membership only increases costs pro rata, for the second, an increase in membership will help to reduce average costs, so there is an added incentive for us to find new members.

Philip Booth

Meetings and Conferences

PLANNING 1930-1960: A PERSONIFIED DEBATE

The Centrum voor Stedebouwkundige Geschiedschrijving (Centre for Urban Historiography) is organising a Planning History Seminar on this theme at Leuven University on 28-29 April, 1983. The provisional programme includes contributions on Doxiadis and Serge Chermayeff, and on the course of French and German reconstruction after 1945. An English text of most lectures will be available in mimeo-form, and the proceedings and papers will be published in a special issue of the Dutch architectural magazine, *Wonen - TA/BK*. Admission to the Seminar is free, and hotel accommodation and meals can be arranged. For further details, contact Lucia Adams, c/o Centrum voor Stedebouwkundige Geschiedschrijving, I.I.S.R.O., Celestijnenlaan 131, Belgium 3030 Leuven (Heverlee) (tel. 016/22.09.31, extension 1695).

PLANNING HISTORY GROUP MEETING: SEPTEMBER 16-17, 1983 Oxford Polytechnic

Details are currently being finalised for a two-day Planning History Group Meeting. The first day will focus on planning and economic change. The second day will include a half-day trip to sites of planning history interest in Oxfordshire, and a half-day on the second theme of 'Images of the Future City in Film'.

Fuller details and booking slip are enclosed with this issue of the *Bulletin*. Enquiries should be addressed to Stephen Ward, Department of Town Planning, Oxford Polytechnic, Gypsy Lane, Oxford.

GEDDES AT DUNDEE

The 50th anniversary of Patrick Geddes' death has been celebrated in Dundee by

two events, both of which included contributions from Helen Meller whose book-length re-appraisal of the Scottish sage is near completion. In March a one day symposium was organised by the Department of Town and Regional Planning of the Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art and University of Dundee to mark the Geddes anniversary. In the centenary year of the University, it also marked his connection with the then University College, Dundee, where he was part-time professor of botany from 1888-1919. The symposium programme began with a short introduction to Geddes in Dundee, by Dr Donald Southgate, the author of the official University history. A public lecture was given by Dr Helen Meller on the Indian town planning reports of Geddes, based upon her SSRC sponsored researches in India. The two papers in the afternoon session were: 'What is living and what is dead in the work of Patrick Geddes?' by John Hasselgren, and 'Retrospect on the Outlook Tower' by Dr Michael Hebbert (a lively attack on the Geddes 'legend'). The proceedings of the symposium are available in a special occasional paper (No.8) priced £2.00, available from Dr John Moir, Department of Town and Regional Planning, Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art, Perth Road, Dundee DD1 4HT.

In November Helen Meller returned to contribute to a symposium organised by the Historians' Committee of the Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art, entitled 'Art, Design and the Quality of Life in turn of the century Scotland 1890-1910'. Dr Meller spoke about Patrick Geddes and "City Development" in Scotland'. There are plans to publish the talks given in this two-day event in the near future.

JOHN HASSELGREN
Department of Town & Regional Planning

PLANNING FOR HEALTH 1850-1950

A joint conference of the Planning History Group and the Society for the Social History of Medicine was held in early Dec-

ember 1982 at the Pauling Human Sciences Centre, University of Oxford. Health and social conditions have been linked in the public mind since the last century, and even in the 19th century there was an attempt through legislation to eliminate what were seen to be the causes of ill-health in the mass of the population. One very interesting result to emerge from this conference was the realisation that the definition of illness and health changes constantly. It would not be wise for the historian to take the assumptions of the planner at their face value.

Dr Michael Harrison (Birmingham Polytechnic) took for the starting point of his paper Manchester's high death rate in 1868 and the very slow progress that was made until 1914. At first the reasons for the high death rate appear obvious enough: organic filth; overcrowding; smoke pollution, etc. In fact, 'poverty' provides a large part of the explanation. The people who suffered most from an unhealthy environment were those with least power to change their lot in life. Such a change was attempted, instead, by the Medical Officers of Health and those middle class associations which bothered themselves with the health of the general population. The Manchester Statistical Society was such a body. The health of Manchester did not improve, however, until city-wide improvements in the provision of pure water and adequate sewage disposal.

A significant point which emerged from the discussion following Dr Harrison's paper was that fashions in diagnosis sometimes make it difficult to correlate the death rate with the causes of death. This makes the interpretation of the statistics very much more problematic than might otherwise be expected.

Dr P.L. Garside (Polytechnic of North London) dealt with the problem of 'overcrowding' which had been considered one of the elements in unhealthy areas from

the 19th century. Dr Garside argued that government response to the problem had less to do with market forces or social justice than with the perception of the problem as solvable within a limited time and with limited resources.

In 1919 there were two distinct problems which both seemed overwhelming: a simple shortage of houses for the needs of the population, although it was recognised that the need was of a specific type of dwelling in certain specific areas; and overcrowding of the urban populations in worn-out housing. In their legislation the Government tackled the first problem of new overcrowding by providing dwellings not for slum dwellers, but for those who under 'normal' circumstances would be able to find their own housing. The old slums were left as they were while an Unhealthy Areas Committee was established to report on the situation. The solution they came up with was no wholesale slum clearance, but amelioration and housing management to be confined to selected unhealthy area schemes.

By 1930 time had run out in the urban centres and connections were being made between poverty and poor housing. Legislation was enacted with the intention of attacking the overcrowded slums, but even these measures were deliberately limited in their effect because once again it was realised that the full problem would involve an unacceptable level of public expenditure.

One of the great pleasures of the conference was the film about the Peckham Health Centre. The film was made immediately after the second world war by the Central Office of Information for the Foreign Office to show Britain rising from the ashes. The founders of the Centre wanted to emphasise the preventative element in health care and so set up the Peckham Health Centre as a recreational and social club where members were given regular medical examinations or 'overhauls'. State health care, according to the

founders, did not give enough responsibility to the individual for his own health to which he should contribute by a small fee and participation in the social activities of the Centre. Not surprisingly the Centre did not gain the support of the Medical Officer of Health or local GPs, and after the war negotiations with the NHS failed and it closed.

Dr Charles Webster (Director, Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine) set the film in the context of the evolution of health centres. Lord Dawson, chairman of the commission which produced the Dawson Report in 1920, was already in 1918 working out the model for a system of health centres based on his experiences in the Army Medical Corps. One of the successful centres was the Finsbury Health Centre, a project of the public health authority, which was built in an inner city area with severe housing problems and expected to serve a population of 70,000. Later, during the political debate on what form a comprehensive health service should assume, the concept of the health centre became a controversial issue.

The next speaker, Dr J. Pickstone (UMIST) started from the fact that in 1948 the NHS had a problem planning a hospital system from an already existing hospital stock which had evolved without previous planning. A study of hospital provision in the cotton towns around Manchester in 1939 has revealed two hospital types. These were the voluntary hospitals, dating from the philanthropic activities of Victorian industrialists. They were usually in the centre of the town and dealt with acute and surgical cases. The second group consisted of Poor Law Hospitals which were administered by the Public Health Committee of the local authority. These hospitals were usually further from the town centre and were concerned with the chronically ill and psychiatric cases.

When the NHS wanted to expand the hospital system in the 1950s and 1960s the history of hospital building in the Manchester area had created inequalities from which four types of development emerged. There were those towns where the voluntary hospitals or the municipal hospitals expanded, or where geographical and political problems produced a mis-match in what was needed and what was provided. And finally, there were areas where new hospitals had to be built. Dr Pickstone analysed the cotton towns according to their post-war development and showed how they fell into the four categories of development by virtue of the pre-war legacy of hospital provision.

Martin Valins (MARU, Polytechnic of North London) concluded the day with a summary of primary health care from 1911 and the introduction of the national insurance bill until the present. With the advent of mass health care there was always the question of who should pay and for what. At various times health centres were seen as an equitable solution, but GPs, afraid they would lose their autonomy and become involved in expense, were reluctant to join them. In 1963 the 'Doctors' Charter', which provided a direct reimbursement to cover the major cost of ancillary staff and the rent of premises, made health centres an attractive proposition, especially as it had been discovered how expensive hospitals were to run. From 1966 until 1974 and the reorganisation of the NHS, health centres continued to be built. In 1971 the General Practice Finance Corporation was set up to provide interest-free loans for GP premises. Now the direct subsidy to the GPs to up-date their premises or to build new ones has become the favoured way of financing primary health care.

The final discussion brought comments from both the historians and those engaged in the administration of health care. Concern was expressed about present developments which had been set in context by the day's speakers. The

general conclusion was that the joint conference had been very illuminating to both the planning historians and those involved with medicine, by suggesting the many assumptions lying behind decisions taken in planning for health.

TANIS HINCHCLIFFE
Urban Planning Research Unit,
Polytechnic of North London

Book Reviews

John Hall, *The geography of planning decisions*, (1982), Oxford University Press: Theory and practice in geography series, 62pp, £2.50, ISBN 0 19 874034 4.

It is symptomatic of such a small volume covering such a large subject that it should conclude with a series of questions. John Hall manages to pack a surprising amount of detail into this slim book but naturally raises many more hares than he has ground to run down. This is not to say the book is not valuable. The neat, brisk style of writing is well-suited for the intended audience of geography undergraduates, sixth-form teachers, councillors and laypersons interested in the planning system. With an admirable economy of style Hall presents an up-to-date overview of Britain's statutory town planning system. The clarity of the prose is matched by the crisp diagrams and the purposeful use of references.

Hall's main concern is to show how the planning process operates and what are the attendant problems and issues. In this, he succeeds well. The title of the book and Hall's stated purpose, namely 'to show how statutory planning is contributing to the changing geography of towns and country in Britain' are, however, too ambitious in such a limited format. The question as to how much influence town planning has exerted on the investment decisions of public and private agencies is of central concern to all practising planners and students of the system. Sadly the

answer is often very little influence, as has been demonstrated by the work of Blowers (1) and McConaghy (2). Hall uses six case studies, based on a modified Coleman typology of scapes, to illustrate the range of conflicts generated by recent major investment decisions. Disappointingly he fails to generalise from the case studies, or to use them to illuminate his review of the planning process attempted in the last chapter of the book. To my mind all six studies show that, faced with crucial planning decisions, the Government has always opted for ad-hoc mechanisms which by-pass the local statutory town-planning system, invariably strengthening central control at the expense of local democracy.

The book contains a very lucid historical survey of town planning, concentrating on the 1930s onwards. My one quibble is that it underplays the extent to which the town-planning framework was largely established before the second world war. The war experience enabled the legislators to exploit the already-established framework to the limit, although they failed to link planning to central public expenditure. This weakness became more evident, as Hall shows, during the growth decade of the 60s and, with the onset of stagnation and recession, in the 70s and 80s. It has undoubtedly been an important factor constraining the way planning decisions have been able to affect the geography of Britain.

DEREK GUNBY

1. A. Blowers, *The Limits of Power* (1980), Oxford, Pergamon Press.
2. D. McConaghy, *Setting up Six Towns: An Urban Strategy Gap*, *Town Planning Review*, (1978), 49(2).
Planning in a Critical Decade, *The Planner*, (1981), 67(1).

Derek Fraser (ed.) *Municipal reform and the industrial city* (1982), Leicester University Press, 165pp, £12.00. ISBN 0 7185 1176 X. (Themes in Urban History series)

This collection of three essays on Manchester, Leeds and Bradford is derived from recent doctoral theses, and prefaced by a general introduction by Derek Fraser. At first sight, it might appear to allow a direct comparison of government in three of England's foremost northern industrial cities. Although the essays do touch on common issues - for example, the role of the 'shopocracy' and the effect of the Small Tenements Rating Act - they are not in practice truly comparative. Rather, they follow the spirit of Briggs' *Victorian Cities*. Each essay emphasises a particular theme, as illustrated by the experience of a single city.

Fraser's introduction identifies three themes central to research on the history of local government: an interest in central-local relations (undergoing a revival as these relations loom large in current political science); a focus on the sources of political power, the social composition of voters, councillors and officials; and an inventory of the extension of urban administration into increasingly diverse fields - from municipal sewers by way of municipal trams to municipal orchestras. The three essays that follow his introduction consolidate these fields of interest and provide valuable case studies. They do not, however, take the history of local government in any new direction.

The essay on Manchester is only concerned with the second of Fraser's themes, and with the obtaining of incorporated status in 1838. It ends with incorporation, which is where the others begin, and is concerned with the struggle for power between a loose knit, outward-looking Toryism and a close-knit, inward-looking Unitarian Liberalism. Gattrell stresses that the Manchester middle classes were

much more concerned with this internal competition for power than with a fear of the poor, despite the image so frequently presented of a city of two polarised classes. Moreover, Manchester's class structure was complicated by the existence of a substantial petty middle class of shopkeepers and craftsmen, and it was this class that underpinned Liberal success in parliamentary elections and its control of the council after 1838. What the council actually did is not discussed. Incorporation was about local democracy: the Municipal Corporations Act defined the electorate, but did not specify the activities on which Corporations should spend their time.

Gattrell's paper is the most elegantly argued of the three, but it is probably of less interest to planning historians than either the essay by Barber on Leeds or by Elliott on Bradford. The former examines the varied activities of Leeds Corporation between 1835 and 1914, almost to the exclusion of a political dimension, perhaps because the latter has been so thoroughly covered in previous studies by Fraser and Hennock. Far from being a pioneer act of concerned local government, the Leeds Improvement Act of 1842, like the Liverpool Sanitary Act of 1846, was actually introduced for fear of something 'worse' being imposed by central government. Here, in his discussion of negotiations between the council and Local Government Board over slum clearance and rebuilding, and in a brief review of local government finance, Barber is concerned with central-local relations. But for the most part, his story is confined to the third of Fraser's themes, exploring the justification for successive extensions of local authority control. Early on it was agreed that local authorities should provide necessary functions which private enterprise failed to supply: sewers, paving, lighting, but not water, gas or other utilities where it was assumed that competition between private companies would ensure a satisfactory supply.

When it became apparent that these utilities too were supplied on terms which amounted to monopolies, local government felt justified in taking control. It was also argued that if the corporation maintained the roads, it should also have responsibility for the pipes, cables and rails embedded in or underneath them. Public housing, however, proved harder to justify, particularly when central government forbade the building of houses at rents affordable by the poor, whose needs were ignored by private enterprise.

Elliott's paper covers a shorter time-span, from 1837 to 1860, but is the only one to cover all three of the themes identified by the editor. The distinction between pro-incorporation Liberals and anti-incorporation Tories paralleled the situation in Manchester, but the 'shopocracy' was never as powerful. As in Leeds, bye-laws promised more than they delivered. It was one thing to legislate against pollution, another to enforce the legislation, especially where the lawbreakers were councillors and prominent industrialists. Elliott also reassesses central-local relations, arguing that the initiative invariably lay with local government. It was rarely a case of a dominant central authority imposing its will on a reluctant local board. While Elliott's paper is the most wide-ranging, its parts unfortunately do not add up to a satisfactory whole: sections on the electoral geography and social composition of Bradford councillors sit uneasily alongside discussions of public health and the police.

In sum, this is a useful collection of essays, far from comprehensive, challenging orthodox wisdom on a number of important issues, but more often reinforcing than rewriting our knowledge of nineteenth-century local government.

RICHARD DENNIS

Department of Geography,
University College London

F.M.L. Thompson (ed) (1982), *The rise of suburbia*, Leicester University Press, Themes in urban history series, 274 pp., £22.00, ISBN 0 312 68433 9.

As in earlier volumes in the series, the book consists of contributions from a number of research theses, specially summarised for this book. The impact of each is heightened by being presented with other similar work and, in particular, by being prefaced by a perceptive editorial introduction, which reveals the broader perspective of nineteenth-century suburban development in Britain.

Professor Thompson's scholarly overview of nineteenth century suburban growth begins in 1815 and ends in 1939. Although the idea of the superior residential suburb certainly existed earlier, it was not in his view until after 1815 that 'modern' suburban development occurred on a significant scale. He also argues that residential expansion has been much more in the form of physically-distinct towns, urbanized villages, infilling and redeveloped older suburbs since the end of the second world war rather than massive sub-urbanisation around the outer fringe of large cities.

Thompson accepts, but not without some well-discussed areas of doubt, that the evolving form of suburbs was an expression of the rise of a distinctive bourgeois ideology, for which the detached or semi-detached house, set in its own garden, provided a necessary context. The components of this ideology included a desire for a clear separation of work and home, an insistence on the need to distance one's family from those of lower social status, and a view of the home as a feminine domain. It also embraced an emphasis on domestic privacy, a society based on male economic dominance and female domestic subordination, and a code of morality nurtured by home-based family life.

The authors of the substantive studies in this book feel able to take the demand

for suburban life as given, or at least to assume that, once the desire for suburban homes had been established, the creation of further suburbs was almost self-sustaining. After 1830, those who controlled the supply of suburban houses could assume a continuing demand. The question which developers addressed was how to fit a particular housing development into the precise needs of a local market. The emphasis in research, therefore, becomes one of discovering how, why and when urban residential shapes on the ground took on the particular form they did.

Thompson extracts four general points from the local studies presented here. One was the recurring importance of pre-urban features of landownership and landscape, which in turn affected the precise form of urban development. A second was the manner in which transport services assumed varying roles in different situations: the presence of a railway station, for example, was a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for outer suburban growth. A third element was the mixed social character of nineteenth-century suburban districts, which at the very least had to include indoor servants and a diverse array of service workers as well as middle-class residents if the suburb was to function effectively. Finally, suburban growth in any particular district was not a continuous process: it was long drawn-out and much interrupted. The endemic over-optimism of developers led to the over-provision of housing and subsequent set-backs, thus tending to produce a contrasting patchwork of architectural styles and social classes.

Three of the four substantive studies in the book are concerned with parts of metropolitan London, which makes it possible to compare various types of development. Only one chapter penetrates the suburbs of a large city in the north of England.

J.W. Rawcliffe examines the evolution of Bromley from a Kentish market town to a

London suburb between 1841 and 1881. Workmen's cheap fares were fought off and the extension of a tramway to the town was resisted, so that, by the late 1870s, Bromley had become a wealthy middle-class suburb with many of its middle-classes working in London. Its peak in population expansion occurred between 1861 and 1871.

Michael Jahn's contribution is concerned with suburban development in outer west London between 1850 and 1900, an area which included Acton, Chiswick and Hanwell, and a period which saw three booms in house-building. The course of this general middle-class development contrasted with much of metropolitan Essex and the Lea valley. There were also detailed differences related to the local pattern of landownership, the attitudes of different railway companies to the type of traffic they were attempting to attract, and the timing of initial residential developments.

C. Treen's chapter examines the process of suburban development in north Leeds from 1870 to 1914. This was an area of about 12 square miles and grew around several distinct foci for new development. These clusters began to coalesce after 1870 and, rather than the railway, the horse-drawn tram provided an important stimulus to growth.

Finally M.C. Carr explores the development and character of Bexley in Kent. He is essentially concerned with suburbanisation after 1800. The growth of the town as a dormitory took place between 1880 and 1920; the 1920s were a period of transition in its becoming a metropolitan suburb; Bexley emerged finally as a mature suburb in the 1930s. Carr envisages a situation in which the pace and scale of suburban growth were determined by broader influences, operating on a national and metropolitan level, but with the detailed spatial pattern of the suburb being decided by more local factors. In particular, an important

role was played by earlier development, into which further suburban residential growth had to be fitted.

This useful book is elegantly produced and carefully edited. One can understand why a book of this kind must cost £22 in the bookshops, but it remains a matter for regret that it is clearly destined for library shelves rather than the bookcases of individual scholars where it certainly deserves to be found. Even libraries have to think twice about paying this much for an individual book, at a time when subscriptions for periodicals are being cut. The work is welcome, but is the format right?

JAMES H. JOHNSON
Department of Geography
University of Lancaster

Theses

F. Trowell, *Nineteenth century speculative housing in Leeds, with special reference to the suburb of Headingley, 1838-1914*, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York, September 1982, three volumes.

This thesis examines the process by which areas of open fields were developed into peopled streets in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and the extent to which the emerging local architectural profession was involved, both in this process and in detailed aspects of speculative housing design. To achieve these aims, part of a suburb of Leeds was selected as a representative study area. It contains housing of all types, ranging from detached villas to small back-to-back terraces, and was typical of suburban areas in many other towns. The major sources of original and unpublished information comprised deposited estate plans, deposited building plans, and some house deeds, all held by Leeds Corporation.

The basic research methods were to examine deposited plans relating to the study area, in order to trace the development of the existing housing stock, and to carry out site visits to record buildings and their architectural character. It was then possible to analyse the persons and processes involved and to assess the end product. The findings are related to housing development generally in nineteenth-century Leeds and to other relevant studies of the Victorian suburb.

The study area data indicate three major conclusions. First, the tradition that builders erected the majority of speculative houses by using rule-of-thumb methods and standard pattern books does not seem tenable when the complexities of building legislation, the type of builder involved and the professional advisers concerned are examined. Secondly, the areas of speculative terrace housing, although apparently homogeneous in character, were usually carried out on a piecemeal basis, without any planning policy to relate them to other adjoining estates. Thirdly, the involvement of the architectural profession in the design of ordinary housing was far greater than previous research would suggest.

Rolf H. Jensen, *The origin of modern city planning in Norway (Moderne Norsk Byplanlegging blir til)*, Ph.D. thesis in Social Planning, Nordic Institute for Urban and Regional Studies, Stockholm, 1981, 567 pp., (in Norwegian), ISBN 91 86248 00 6.

Examines foundations of modern city planning in Norway, as indicated by contemporary technical journals and general planning literature, especially that written by Professor Sverre Pedersen. (1) Norwegian city planners took as their models examples from classical planning history and contemporary modern classics from Europe and USA in the latter half of the 19th century. Each was adapted

to local circumstances and needs. Although the Norwegian capital obtained its first modern building laws in 1827, and the other cities by 1850, city planning was fragmented, covering many fields. Among these were health reforms, building designs, architecture and road- and street-engineering. The latter dominated city planning. This study traces the evolution of city planning from 1850 to 1905, focussing on the various professions involved, improvement of health, social housing, laws and regulations, and political ideas. Military engineers yielded to civil engineers and architects; sterile gridplan cities were the norm of planning practice. Small technical departments were established in the larger cities. The primary aim was to prepare short term plans for city growth and to improve fire protection and sanitary standards.

From about 1905 the new ideas of Camillo Sitte inspired developments in Sweden and Germany. 'Straight line' planning was replaced with curves. Zoning was used to protect housing areas from heavy traffic and the growing industry, and to curb public expenditure on roads. Slowly more attention was also paid to social housing, garden-city principles, modern transportation, and public land-ownership. The young Norwegian planning profession managed in a short time to compete with the more developed Swedish and Finnish planners, through an extensive and systematic use of open city planning competitions, the first taking place in Trondheim in 1909. The major aspects of a plan were taken to be: transportation (roads and terminals), land-use (industrial efficiency as the most important criteria), the layout for different types of housing, design of business districts, the location of public buildings (as monuments), and the creation of parks and recreational areas which could also serve as buffer zones in cases of fire. By 1920 a more national

style of city planning had emerged, emphasising the use of terrain, and relying on Norwegian housing types, notably the detached house.

In the same period, housing shortages and overcrowding, as well as poor housing conditions for the working class, became a major concern and aroused political interest. The health and 'moral standards' of larger cities, as well as among peasants and labourers in rural areas, called for improvements. The Norwegian Society for Housing Reforms, with close connections to the international garden city movement, tried to attack these problems by means of information, education and moral pressure. It flourished for some years. Its inspiration was later reflected particularly in the organisation of social housing. The various efforts to solve housing problems did not, however, begin to produce results until after World War II.

There was a steady increase in the number of building laws with planning provisions through the period. In 1924 a quite advanced law was enacted, and carried into effect in 1929. This required all towns and urban areas to carry out city planning to professional standards. It also required specific administrative arrangements. It remained in force until 1965.

Norwegian city planning achieved a national respect and international fame in the 1920s with the help of Professor Sverre Pedersen. Pedersen's planning was based upon his eye for a city's natural features and his use of topography and terrain. His forms gave impressions of dominant axial patterns stressing natural viewpoints. Buildings were usually symmetrically placed along the axis, intensifying nature's forms with his designed pattern. He was influenced by history, especially the baroque period. A national model of great importance was de Cicignon's city-plan for Trondheim of 1681. Functionalism reached Norway in the late

1920s and '30s. Young radical socialist architects campaigned for a new and different society. Science for them should play a fundamental role in planning, and planners ought to understand the political implications of their work. They should ally themselves with the underprivileged working-class. Before long, however, most of these young radicals had abandoned their international models of detached apartment-buildings and adopted a more moderate line to which many of the traditional city planning principles were attached. During this period, regional planning was introduced as a logical extension of city planning in order to obtain land needed for city growth. Rural areas and their natural resources were a source of great concern. Most Norwegian planners believed that people should continue to live in small towns, instead of migrating to the larger cities.

Under the leadership of Sverre Pedersen, Norwegian city planning stuck to its basic formula of planning for reconstruction during World War II. After the War, however, a very distinct change took place as a new generation of planners took over. In the pursuit of effective modern reconstruction, and above all in an effort to cope with city growth and new development, the traditional Norwegian planning model was abandoned on the premise that it was outdated or irrelevant. A building heritage was almost completely lost until a renewed interest for the national roots of modern city planning came about in the more uncertain mid 1970s.

1. (1882-1971), the celebrated architect, planner and consultant. He served as city planner in Trondheim until, in 1920, he became the first city planning professor in Scandinavia at the Norwegian Institute of Technology.

(Dr Jensen is a Visiting Scholar in the University of Washington, Seattle, during 1982/83.)

Publications

Nigel Morgan, *An Introduction to the social history of housing in Victorian Preston* (1982) Curriculum Development Centre, Lancashire Education Committee, 5 Camden Place, Preston PR1 3DL, 116pp.

Prepared at the Preston Curriculum Development Centre, as a means of supplying teachers in local schools with materials for a study of the local environment, the booklet illustrates how some of the more important historical sources can be found and used in a reconstruction of the social history of Preston's housing. Some of the sources are ideally suited for practical and first-hand activity, even with quite young pupils. The nineteenth century is divided into three periods, namely the years up to 1850, 1850-1880, and the period before the first world war. A case study is made of the Plungington area.

Lester Rowntree, *Creating a sense of place: the evolution of historic preservation of Salzburg, Austria*, *Journal of Urban History* (1981) 8(1), pp. 61-76.

The process of creating and maintaining a unique sense of place began in the 1860s as a conservative reaction to the threats of new technology and industrialism to the traditional cityscape. The paper describes the role of Max Dvorak and his catechism for preservation, and the Historic Preservation Law of 1923 and its successor of 1967. An analysis of the major steps taken over the last hundred years supports the notion that landscape tastes, once codified, become a conservative element of culture and change little through time.

John Sheail, *Underground water abstraction: indirect effects of urbanization on the countryside*, *Journal of Historical Geography* (1982) 8(4), pp. 395-408.

Highlights the indirect effects of urban development on the countryside by examining the environmental problems that arose from the urban abstraction of underground water supplies, as they were perceived in Hertfordshire and Shropshire, England, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Robin Flowerdew (ed), *Institutions and geographical patterns* (1982), London, Croom Helm, 331 pp., £14.95, ISBN 0 312 41886 8.

In the publisher's series on 'Geography and environment', the volume illustrates the effects of institutional structure and action on such issues as rural development, industrial location, migration and environmental policy in Britain, the United States and Europe. Contributions include: Institutions and rural development, GORDON CLARK; Institutions affecting environmental policy, TIMOTHY O'RIORDAN; Environmental policy and industrial location in the United States, KEITH CHAPMAN; The local state and the judiciary; institutions in American suburbia, R.J. JOHNSTON.

Michael and Rosanna Tooley, *The gardens of Gertrude Jekyll in northern England* (1982) The Old Vicarage, Witton-le-Wear, Bishop Auckland, Durham DL14 0AN, 60 pp., £2.00.

Published to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Miss Jekyll's death, it describes eight of the nineteen gardens she designed in the north of England, namely Brackenbrough, Dyke Nook Lodge, Lindisfarne, Renishaw, Gledstone, Blagdon, Bradley and Bishopsbarns. Together, they represent the different styles of gardening that Miss Jekyll practised as the first horticultural impressionist - painting garden pictures. Appendices identify all the gardens in northern England, and the plants recommended for gardens of different interest. Designed over a long period,

1882 to 1928, they ranged in scale from small borders to complete gardens integrated into the house plan - from semi-wild gardens to formal parterres and tank gardens. The plans devised provide many ideas for novel and unusual plant associations and for planting plans in modern gardens of different sizes, soils, climate and aspect.

E.P. Hennock, *Central/local government relations in England: an outline 1800-1950*, *Urban History Yearbook* (1982) 38-49.

The author has revised a paper, originally given at the SSRC seminar on the changing relations between central and local government (held at the University of York in 1980), in which he recounts how local government evolved in the early nineteenth century, the manner in which knowledge was both centralised and dispersed, the role of central grants, and the changing character of central/local relations during the present century.

Andrew Gibb, *The development of public sector housing in Glasgow* (1982) Centre for Urban and Regional Research, University of Glasgow, Adam Smith Building, Glasgow G12 8RT, Discussion Paper 6, 32 pp. ISSN 0263 1075.

Outlines the development of municipal involvement in the provision of housing in Glasgow and the subsequent growth of the public sector to its present role. Three approaches to the living environment may be discerned, beginning with a broadly based assault on sanitation and public health and, by the first world war, moving to the more localised scale of the home. From the 1920s, there was an enormous improvement in physical housing conditions but, whilst peripheral schemes and high-rise flats were to be successful in reducing indices of overcrowding, the general well-being of the community suffered. By the 1980s, the emphasis was less on the house and more

on its dwellers.

Gerald Wibberley, *Countryside planning: a personal evaluation* (1982), Wye College, Ashford, Kent TN25 5AH, 30 pp.

The monograph marks the retirement of Professor Wibberley from the Ernest Cook Chair of Countryside Planning in the University of London. In an account of his career as a student, civil servant and academic, and his considerable involvement in a wide range of rural issues in Britain, Professor Wibberley illustrates how the perception and management of the countryside have changed dramatically over the last fifty years.

Mary Ellen Cavett, H. John Selwood and John C. Lehr, Social philosophy and the early development of Winnipeg's public parks, *Urban History Review* (1982) 11(1), pp. 27-39.

Intended both to enhance land values and to improve the quality of life in Winnipeg, Canada, the parks laid out in the late nineteenth century served the interests of real estate promoters and satisfied the demands of social reformers.

Leonard K. Eaton, Warehouses and warehouse districts in mid-American cities, *Urban History Review* (1982) 11(1), pp. 17-26.

Studies the process by which wholesale districts were formed in the late nineteenth century. Often structures of unusual architectural distinction, the warehouses, together with the railway station, often became the civic monuments of the North American city.

Michael Simpson, Thomas Adams in Canada, 1914-1930, *Urban History Review* (1982), 11(2), pp. 1-15.

Thomas Adams (1871-1940), a leading British planning pioneer, became plann-

ing adviser to the Commission of Conservation in 1914. Galvanizing the infant Canadian planning movement, he gave it a comprehensive legislative, institutional and professional structure by 1914. Like his hosts, he was a utilitarian, a meliorist and a functionalist. His system broke down in the 1920s when the atmosphere was not congenial for planning, and Canadian society too immature to accept his message. Little of his actual structure now survives but Canadian planning philosophy remains essentially utilitarian. This article discusses Adams' British background, his aims and policies in Canada, his successes and failures and his significance in Canadian planning history.

Michael Simpson, Meliorists versus insurgent planners and the problems of New York, 1921-1941, *Journal of American Studies*, (1982), 16(2), 207-28.

American planning has been dominated in the twentieth century by a meliorist approach to environmental problems. The sharpest exchange with a more radical tradition occurred in the city and state of New York between the wars. It led to an abortive proposal for a state plan on the part of the radicals or insurgents, and the Regional Plan for New York and its Environs of 1921-30. The paper explores the problems of the metropolitan region in the inter-war years, the alternative strategies put forward, the controversies between the opposing schools of thought, and their relative successes and failures.

J.D. Hulchanski, *The evolution of Ontario's early urban land use planning regulations, 1900-1920* (1982), University of Toronto, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, Research Paper 136 (Land Policy Paper 2) 39pp, \$3.00. ISSN 0316 0068 ISBN 0 7727 1299 9.

In this paper, originally presented at the Canadian-American Comparative Urban History Conference at Guelph in 1982,

the author reviews the origin and evolution of the earliest urban land-use planning adopted by the Province. It focusses on the three key planning-related statutes adopted prior to 1920. A detailed examination of the factors leading to the adoption of the enabling legislation provides insights into the social and political dynamics which influenced the specific approach to urban planning during the period. There is an assessment of how far Ontario's largest municipality, Toronto, took advantage of the legislation.

Notes and News

BROMBOROUGH POOL

It may interest members to hear of recent developments at Price's Patent Candle Company settlement, Bromborough Pool, on Merseyside. This village is described by Tarn (1973) as a precursor of the model industrial settlement, and contains much of value to the planning historian. It represents an early attempt at the construction of good quality company housing, and at the creation of a community where the material conditions of the workforce were amply catered for. Amongst the more notable features are its spacious layout, the provision of accommodation in semi-detached cottages or small terraces, the emphasis placed on large individual gardens and the allowance made for a wide range of community facilities.

Development of the village began in 1853 with the construction of 76 cottages, situated along two parallel streets. These were extended in the early 1870s and at the end of the century. At its height the village contained a population of approximately 700 people, living in 140 houses, and included a chapel, school, village hall, cottage hospital and several shops, together with a cricket pitch, bowling green and extensive allotments. The community's active so-

cial life was organised by a Mutual Improvement Society, tacitly supported by a paternalist management.

The village is now the property of UNICHEMA, a subsidiary of the Unilever organisation, and houses only a small minority of the factory's workforce. Faced with the problems of increasing costs of maintenance, and the need to modernise many of the older properties, the company is presently demolishing the cottages as they become vacant. To date, 11 blocks (containing 44 housing units) have been lost and others are likely to be cleared in the future. Unlike its better-known neighbour, Port Sunlight, the village does not have Conservation Area status at present and none of the buildings is listed.

STEPHEN JACKSON & DAVID STENHOUSE

Department of Geography
City of Liverpool College of
Higher Education

Tarn, J.N. The Model Village of Bromborough Pool, in D. Mills (ed) *English Rural Communities*, (1973) London, Macmillan, pp. 145-54.

MOVING ON

In July 1983, Dr J.D. Hulchanski moves to Vancouver to take up a full-time permanent position as Assistant Professor in the School of Community and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia. His main teaching responsibilities will involve the areas of: (i) urban planning history; and (ii) housing and land use policy. He will be teaching one course in planning history and supervising a planning history workshop, in addition to any thesis work on planning history. He is the national research advisor for the Co-operative Housing Foundation of Canada.

NIEUWSBRIEF

Published in the Dutch language, this is the title of the Newsletter of the Association for the Study of the History of Planning in the Netherlands. Founded in

1980, the Association organises meetings every three months, attended by scholars and students in planning, architecture, geography, art history, and economic and social history. The editors of the Newsletter are Michiel Wagenaar and Arnold van der Valk, p/a Sociaal Geografisch Instituut, Jodenbreestraat 23, 1011 NH, Amsterdam.

EDWARD JOSEPH LOGUE PAPERS 1931-1975

The Logue Papers document the career of a major figure in the field of urban planning and development between 1950 and 1970. As a lawyer, planner, administrator and educator, Logue oversaw comprehensive urban redevelopment programs. He headed three major urban renewal projects in the East, namely as development administrator for: Mayor Richard Lee's New Haven Redevelopment Agency (1954-60); Mayor John Collins' Boston Redevelopment Authority (1960-67), and as president and executive officer of Governor Nelson Rockefeller's New York Urban Development Corporation (1968-75).

Files for these projects contain extensive correspondence with politicians and political agencies, architects and urban planners, municipal officers and organisations, and numerous city residents and businesses. Inter-office memos and correspondence provide further insight into these operations, as do detailed clippings files, photographs, and printed material. Two additional facets of Logue's career are also represented in these papers. His service in India as an assistant to Ambassador Chester Bowles (1952-53), and his unsuccessful campaign for mayor of Boston (1967) are well documented. The papers include personal letters with friends and family, student papers and material from his years at Yale University, and files relating to his work with Connecticut's Democratic Party (1949-51).

The Logue Papers, totalling one hundred

and seven feet of material, were donated to Yale by Edward J. Logue in 1980. A 166 page guide to the collection is now available. Requests concerning the guide or use of the collection should be addressed to: Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, Box 1603A Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut 06520.

New Members

United Kingdom

Professor John Burnett, Department of Government, Brunel University, Uxbridge, Middlesex UB8 3PH.

Professor Harold Carter, Department of Geography, University College of Wales, Llandinam Building, Penglais, Aberystwyth, Dyfed, SY23 3DB.

Mr Jonathan Coopersmith, Brasenose College, Oxford OX1 4AJ.

Mr Gerald Daly, Darwin College, Cambridge CB3 9EU.

Mr H.N.B. Morgan, 30 Manor Avenue, Fulwood, Preston, Lancashire PR2 4DN.

Mr S.H. Pickett, 6 Crown Circus, Inverness, IV2 3NQ.

Dr D.K. Stenhouse, Geography Department, City of Liverpool College of Higher Education, Liverpool Road, Prescott, Merseyside.

Dr F. Trowell, 34 Hall Park Avenue, Horsforth, Leeds LS18 5LR.

United Kingdom Institutions

County Planning Department, Hertford County Council, County Hall, Hertford SG13 8DN.

Overseas

Mr Frederick H.A. Aalen, Department of Geography, Trinity College, Dublin 2, Ireland.

Mr Michael J. Carley, University of British Columbia, 6333 Memorial Road, Vancouver BC, Canada V6T 1W5.

Dr Busso von der Dollen, Dr-Konrad-

Adenauer-Strasse 16, 5340 Bad Honnef, Rhondorf, West Germany.

Professor Rolf H. Jensen, Department of Urban Planning, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195, U.S.A.

Mr Takashi Kawanaka, Building Research Institute, Ministry of Construction, 1 Tatehara, Oho-machi, Tsukuba-gun, Ibaraki-ken 305, Japan.

Dr Hideyuki Kobayashi, Building Research Institute, Ministry of Construction, 1 Tatehara, Oho-machi, Tsukuba-gun, Ibaraki-ken 305, Japan.

Dr Yasuo Nishiyama, Department of Architecture, Gokiso Showa 466 Nagoya, Japan.

Mr P. Potter, Unterer Torackerweg 10, 7487 Gammertingen 2, West Germany.

Professor L. Sandercock, Centre for Environmental & Urban Studies, Macquarie University, N. Ryde 2113, New South Wales, Australia.

Dr Takashi Suzuki, Nishi-Narashino 2-21-15, Funabashi-shi, Chiba-ken 274, Japan.

Overseas Institutions

Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania 19010, U.S.A.

Work in Progress

SUPPLEMENT 1

In this first supplement to 'Work in Progress' (PHB 4(3), 1982) a distinction is again drawn between recent publications and activities (A), and work in progress (B).

Professor Donatella Calabi, Castello 5878 - 30122 Venezia, Italy.

- A1 *Il Caso Inglese: materiali per il corso di storia dell'Urbanistica*, Ed. Cluua, Venezia, 1981.
- A2 *Moderne et Tradition dans l'architecture domestique en Angleterre* (1981) Paris, IFA.
- A3 *Architettura domestica in Gran Bretagna, 1890-1940* (1982) Milano, Electa.
- B1 Research on Venice in the XVI Century: Rialto and the renewal of the market area. (Since 1982.)

Mr Jonathan Coopersmith, Brasenose College, Oxford OX1 4AJ (9201 Fox Meadow Lane, Potomac, MD 20854, USA after 1st July 1983)

- A1 Currently a postgraduate student at Oxford in the history of science. Forthcoming in *Technology and Culture* are reviews of:
Ronald Amann and Julian Copper, (eds) *Industrial Innovation in the Soviet Union* (1982) New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
Clive Trebilcock, *The Industrialization of the Continental Powers, 1780-1914* (1981), London, Longman.
- B1 A dissertation on the electrification of Russia from 1880 to 1930. A subtheme is the role of planning in both tsarist and communist Russia. The GOELRO Plan for the electrification of Russia was the first real attempt at planning and implementing those plans. The dissertation will explore the history of GOELRO with an eye to examining how the far-reaching plan was actually implemented.

Professor G.B. Dix, Department of Civic Design, University of Liverpool, P O Box 147, Liverpool L69 3BX.

- A1 Sir Patrick Abercrombie, 1879-1957, in G.E.Cherry (ed) *Pioneers in British Planning* (1981) London.
- A2 *The British Planning Experience - The Public, Plans and Policies, 1960-1980*, a paper presented to Lincoln Institute Land Policy Roundtable, London, May 1982 (to be published).
- B1 Book on Abercrombie, his life and work.

Dr George Gordon, Department of Geography, University of Strathclyde.

- A1 G. Gordon and B. Dicks (eds.) *Scottish Urban history* (1983) Aberdeen, University Press, 281 pp.
- B1 Editing two volumes, namely 'Regional Cities in Britain 1890-1980', and 'Perspectives of the Scottish City, 1831-1981'.

Dr Yorifusa Ishida, Moegino 25-7, Midoriku Yokohama 227, Japan.

- A1 Historical Background and Evaluation of the Town Planning Act 1968, *Toshikeikaku (City Planning Review)*, April 1982, 119.
- A2 Introduction of the Foreign Building Line System and Understanding of its Functions, *Sogo Toshikenkyu (Comprehensive Urban Studies)* March 1982, 15.
- B1 History of Land Readjustment and Development of Urban Periphery in Japan.

Dr P.M.J.L. Lombaerde, Belgielei 48/13, B-2018 Antwerpen, Belgium.

- A1 *Louvain-la-Neuve: image et contre-image d'une ville*, *APLUS* (1978), 45, pp. 1-30.
- A2 *Shifts within the concept of town planning: from a perspective towards a semidogical approach*, (March 1982), Ph.D., K.U. Leuven, 483 pp; there is a summary in the English language available.
- A3 Urban development of Antwerp from the 12th until the 20th century: a brief overview. Published in the Dutch language in *Antwerpen: van nederzetting tot metropool*, (1981), Antwerpen, pp. 23-34.
- A4 The changing face of a maritime town: the case study of Ostend during the period from 1865-1878; this article, written in the French language (45 pages) will be published and translated in the Italian language in *Storia Urbana*, March 1983 (guest editor M. Smets). There is an English summary available.
- B1 French urban planning policy at Antwerp during the period from 1809-1814: the creation of the 'Ville d'Etat Marie-Louise'.
- B2 The foundation of the new town Montaigny in the Southern Netherlands (1604-1635).
- B3 The impact of Simon Stevin and Wenceslas Cobergher on town-planning and fortification systems at Ostend (1600-1650).

Professor Peter Marcuse, Graduate School of Architecture and Planning, Columbia University in the City of New York, New York, N.Y. 10027.

- A1 Targeted Crisis: On the Ideology of the Urban Fiscal Crisis and Its Uses, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (1981), 5(3), p.330.
- A2 The Determinants of State Housing Policies: West Germany and the U.S., *Urban Policy under Capitalism*, Susan and Norman Fainstein, eds., (1982), Sage Publications.
- B1 An article on history of housing policy in Vienna, 1919-1933.
- B2 Book on history of West German housing policy, 1949-1980.
- B3 Development of infrastructure and planning controls in New York City, 1875-1900, for forthcoming conference.

Dr F. Trowell, School of Constructional Studies, Leeds Polytechnic, Brunswick Terrace, Leeds LS2 8BU.

- A1 Nineteenth century speculative Housing in Leeds: with special reference to the suburb of Headingley, 1838-1914. D.Phil. thesis (unpublished), Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York, 1982, three volumes.
- B1 Writing articles and papers on:
 - 1) The role of nineteenth century architects in the design of speculative housing.
 - 2) The process by which open fields were developed into peopled streets in the nineteenth century.
 - 3) The effect of restrictive covenants on nineteenth century speculative housing.
 - 4) Nineteenth century speculative developers and builders.
- B2 Research in progress - local architectural practices in Leeds, 1850-1914.

Notes and Articles

JOHN SULMAN AND 'THE LAYING OUT OF TOWNS'

While J.S. Nettlefold is most frequently credited with coining the term 'town planning' in 1906, Tony King's recent etymological sortie reveals its use at a conference in Melbourne by John Sulman as early as 1890. (1) I shall leave it to others to hunt for earlier precedents, but readers may be interested to learn more about Sulman, his 1890 paper, and his role in the introduction of 'town planning' to Australia.

Sulman was born in Greenwich, London, in 1849. A friend of William Morris, he studied at the Royal Academy and was articled to the architect H.R. Newton. He emigrated to Australia in 1885, and left behind a good reputation, including a term as Vice-President of the Architectural Association, and a healthy architectural practice, specialising in churches. He settled in Sydney. With churches, banks and office buildings as staple commissions, he practised from 1886 to 1908, and then assumed the role of consulting architect and town planner until his retirement in 1928. He lectured in Architecture at the University of Sydney from 1887 to 1912. The Royal Australian Institute of Architects annually makes an award in his name for a building of outstanding merit.

A conservative, rather patrician, and seemingly humourless individual, he was nonetheless possessed of 'amazing energy'. He was the 'typical Englishman - polished, erudite, aggressive, debonair always; forceful and decisive in action and speech'. It was 'a stubborn obstruction' that turned 'aside the great wind of his purpose'. (2) He died 'after a vigorous old age' in 1934.

Australian cities must have been a shock for Sulman, for whom even London paled in comparison with Paris and its magnificent tree-lined boulevards. He first toured the continent and had the inkling of making town planning 'a subject of special effort' in 1873 on a Pugin Travelling Studentship. He had won this Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) award from a field of competitors that included his friend Aston Webb. (3) On arriving in Australia, he toured all the capital cities and some regional centres. On the whole he conceded that

'though slums were few, and plenty of space had been allocated in most cases for traffic, ... traffic needs had not been studied, the commonplace chessboard system of planning being almost universal'. (4)

Australia thus presented him with the opportunity for furthering his town planning interests. The 1890 paper in Melbourne was his first, and arguably his best, major statement, but not until the late 1900s did he find the time and financial independence to plunge more fully into the subject.

A high profile in the fledgling Australian town-planning movement was not difficult, but Sulman enjoyed more respect than most of his fellow advocates. His directly 'practical' work was mainly limited to subdivision design, but the results were not always particularly distinguished. Involved in the planning of the first state garden suburb at Daceyville in Sydney (1912), he must have been surely embarrassed when Ewart Culpin lambasted the design by noting that 'practically the only feature common to Garden Suburbs is that the area is pre-planned!' (5) His real strength came as lobbyist, teacher, and expert adviser.

Sulman gave frequent public lectures, and published widely in journals and newspapers. Some of the latter pieces were consolidated into pamphlets such as *The Improvement of Sydney* (1907), *The Federal Capital* (1909), and *The Traffic Problems of Sydney* (1927). Before his *An Introduction to the Study of Town Planning in Australia* (1921) the only home-grown books on the subject were the polemical *Town Planning for Australia* (1914) and *Town Planning with Common-Sense* (1918), both by the redoubtable George Taylor, editor of the influential Sydney journal, *Building*. The most notable feature that Patrick Abercrombie could point to in Taylor's first book, with its 'crudity of general format', was Sulman's introduction. (6) Sulman's own 250-page book assembled the twenty standard lectures he gave regularly as the Vernon Memorial Lecturer in Town Planning at Sydney University, an appointment lasting from 1917 to 1927. He rarely ventured into technicalities in print, but his authority as an adviser is evident in published transcripts of his evidence to major government enquiries on city improvement in 1908-1909, metropolitan government in 1913, housing conditions in 1915, and workers' housing in 1918. (7) In N.S.W. his formal government positions included membership of the Building Regulation Advisory Board (1921-1934), President of the Public Memorials Advisory Board (1919-1928), and President of the Town Planning Advisory Board (1918-1928). His most senior planning appointment came in the federal sphere as Chairman of the Federal Capital Advisory Committee (1921-1924), a body that took over responsibility for Canberra after the departure of the beleaguered Walter Burley Griffin. Sulman was awarded a knighthood in 1924 - eight years before Raymond Unwin.

Sulman was well-travelled, making regular visits to 'the Old Country' with occasional sidetrips to continental Europe and North America. His international outlook was matched only by Charles Reade, the Government Town Planner of South Australia (1916-1920). His international reputation was exceeded only by that of Griffin, although his only paper to attract a significant international audience was 'The Federal Capital of Australia' prepared, perhaps at the suggestion of Aston Webb, for the RIBA Town Planning Conference in 1910. (8) But he moved effortlessly in international planning circles and was a Vice-President of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association from 1923 until his death. (9) At its 1924 Amsterdam conference he was, along with such luminaries as Patrick Geddes and Joseph Stubben, one of the 'grand old men of the occasion'. (10)

'The Laying Out of Towns'

Sulman used the term 'town planning' once in a paper delivered to Section J (Architecture and Engineering) at the second meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) at Melbourne University in January 1890. (11) He later recalled the immediate background to the paper

'During that summer I rented a furnished cottage at Katoomba (in the Blue Mountains west of Sydney) and was struck by the bad layout of many of the roads in that mountain resort, some of them so steep that vehicular traffic was impossible and even walking a difficulty. Being very busy I had not had time to prepare the paper on 'The Laying Out of Towns' which I proposed reading ... until I was actually on the train where I thought out my points, and (I) wrote the manuscript in the hotel bedroom after my arrival.' (12)

Under five general headings (and paragraphs) the paper criticized the 'happy-go-lucky' approach to urban layout embodied in the rectangular grid of the 'chessboard' system, and argued not only for a more rational, efficient, and aesthetic sense of

design, but also for a more tightly regulated procedure for the initial development of towns and suburbs.

Proper layout began with the Location of new settlement. Only areas with growth potential should be considered, and the site should be healthy, free from flood hazard and with a well-drained soil. The desirability of careful siting of urban functions, such as the pre-planned grouping of public buildings, was considered under Utilisation. Sulman preferred the 'spider's web' as a starting template for town design, and he consistently returned to this simple model in his later writing. (13) The geometry of the 'spider's web' offered intrinsic potential for town Decoration, and he also discussed other possibilities: curved streets, tree planting, and imaginative siting and shaping of parkland. Adopting the utilitarian stance that prevention was better than cure, Sulman argued that absolute freedom in urban design could no longer be condoned. Six suggestions for Legislation were listed: the banning of dwelling construction on floodable land; prohibition of town sites on 'soil of unhealthy character'; limitation of population density through minimum allotment size; relating the proportion of reserves and streets to town or estate area; prevention of sprawl by fixing a maximum areal extent to both town and suburb; and a requirement that all subdivision plans together with an accompanying drainage and water supply scheme be officially inspected and approved.

In considering the Realisation of this new approach in the last paragraph, Sulman highlighted the likely professional opportunities for architects. The reference to 'town planning' comes in this final section. Referring to the recent design for a model suburb in Sydney he notes that

'The plans of Kensington were designed by an architect, laid out by a surveyor and checked by an engineer. That is as it should be. The architect is the one man who by training and experience combines in himself a knowledge of all the conditions of town-planning, and to him should be entrusted the task of initiation.' (14)

'The Laying Out of Towns' was an important step in the transformation of rudimentary layout of colonial towns to modern town planning. It anticipates some of the style of Australian planning thought in the early twentieth century: pragmatic rather than utopian; awake early to the economic and professional benefits of skilled design; concerned more with efficient traffic circulation than housing; preoccupied with land subdivision; and ready to equate town planning with suburban planning. The paper is also sprinkled with remarkably advanced physical planning ideas. Zoning is suggested in the comment that

'It should not be forgotten a modern town is an organism with different functions for its different members requiring separate treatment, and it is just as easy to allot these to suitable positions at first, as to allow them to be shaken with more or less difficulty into place'. (15)

The recommendation

'That no town or suburb contain a greater area than one square mile, with a belt of reserved land at least 1/8 of a mile in width between the same and the adjoining suburb' (16)

not only predates Ebenezer Howard's use of Adelaide as a model for town growth, but also Unwin's influential interpretation of Howard's social city as satellite suburbs. (17)

Sulman was not the only figure advocating a break from established practice of urban layout and a greater degree of state intervention, albeit of the most mild kind. (18) But he was a well-known and respected architect, his paper was comprehensive and articulate, it was aired at a national forum, and was far more widely read than anything his peers could offer, being reproduced in *The Surveyor* of the N.S.W. Institution of Surveyors, the Melbourne-based *Building and Engineering Journal*, and in pamphlet form. The AAAS even set up a committee to consider the paper and a succinct report presented at the 1891 meeting fully endorsed its legislative suggestions. (19) Reaction in professional and trade journals was generally favourable, although the surveyors were not fully convinced by the 'spider's web' idea and downright indignant about an architect's 'attempt to jump the claim of surveyors' to town planning expertise. (20)

The reintroduction of 'town planning'

While Sulman's use of 'town planning' now claims our attention, ninety years ago it was just a felicitous yet inconspicuous choice of words. The term did not stick in the professional or popular imagination. Indeed, there was a general downturn in all 'planning' talk in the 1890s - paralleling the state of the national economy.

The new century started more promisingly and within a few months of Federation a congress was held in Melbourne 'to discuss questions relating to the laying out and building of the federal capital'. (21) This was the first national conference on modern town design in Australia, and may well rate as one of the earliest in the world. Delegates endorsed the resolution that 'the Federal Capital should be laid out in the most perfect manner possible' but in none of the twelve contributed papers was there mention of 'town planning', let alone what the 'most perfect design' looked like. Sulman was not present at the gathering, and although his 1890 paper was not cited a reference to a possible 'radiating' plan suggests it was not entirely forgotten. (22) The oversight was soon corrected when G.H. Knibbs acknowledged his indebtedness to Sulman's paper in his own formidable treatise on 'The Theory of City Design' read before the Royal Society of N.S.W. in September 1901. (23) But 'town planning' still did not surface, and in the early 1900s 'city improvement' and 'the city beautiful' seemed respectively to foreshadow its pragmatic and idealistic connotations.

In 1907 *Building* reprinted Sulman's paper as 'How to Lay Out a Town'. The decision was prompted less by perception of urban crises than the stimulus to township formation supposedly given by the rural settlement and railway construction policies of various governments. (24) The last of three instalments appeared in January 1908 and covered the Realisation section of the paper, thus reintroducing the term 'town planning' to a new, or at least an older, audience. Times were more propitious than the last decade of the nineteenth century and events now moved more swiftly. Sydney led the way, and Sulman's newspaper articles on 'The Improvement of Sydney' in 1907 were an important catalyst. In May 1908 the state government appointed a Royal Commission into the improvement of Sydney and suburbs, with traffic problems as a special brief. The Commission's final report, submitted just over a year later, noted John Burns' *Housing, Town Planning, etc. Act* which had been reintroduced into the House of Commons. After summarising the main features of this proposed legislation, the Commission recommended that a similar measure be adopted in N.S.W. with 'extension' of powers to include 'the regulation of subdivisions both as to frontage and depth of each building lot'. (25)

From the winter of 1909 onwards, the term 'town planning' diffused into general use in N.S.W. and elsewhere. *Building* began featuring the term in major headings of articles from 1910. (26) Town planning was, in the words of an editorial of the leading architectural journal in 1910, 'one of the subjects of the hour'. (27)

Envoi: theory and practice

John Sulman liked to see himself as the 'father' of town planning in Australia, and his contemporaries certainly accorded him this honour. His important role in the early history of modern planning in Australia is indisputable. Yet while the personal rewards were handsome, he must have died a disappointed man. Australia generally, and N.S.W. specifically, had nothing to match the foreign initiatives with which he was familiar. Sulman was a success as propagandist, educator, adviser, figurehead - roles matching 'the great wind of his purpose'. But the political and economic environment in which he laboured was not receptive to the modest 'reform' proposals he so publicly stood for. The judgement seems unfortunate, but his concrete 'achievements over a forty-year period were minimal'. (28)

'The Laying Out of Towns' was a good twenty years before its time. Even the use of 'town planning' in the reprinted version of 1907 was precocious by Australian standards, although by then 'town planning' was coming to stay. However, not until 1920 would an Australian parliament pass town planning legislation, and by the time Reade's pioneering act had passed through a hostile Upper House in South Australia it was little more than a subdivision control bill. (29) The 1928 *Town Planning and Development Act* in Western Australia was the first Australian legislation to permit preparation of comprehensive town planning schemes although nearly three decades later not one local authority had been able to do so. (30) And Sulman would have had to live another eleven years for the N.S.W. *Local Government (Town and Country Planning) Amendment Act* of 1945 - the first town planning legislation to become law in his home state.

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1. 'The Origin of the Term "Town Planning" in England', *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, (1929), 15(11), pp.310-311; T. King, '"Town Planning": A note on the origins and use of the term', *Planning History Bulletin* (1982), 4(2), p.15; L. Sandercock, *Cities for Sale* (1975), Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p.16.
2. 'Personal - John Sulman', *Architecture* (1919), 5(5), p.147. Other biographical notes include: 'An Australian Architect who has made town planning his special study', *Building* (1913), September, pp.69-73; 'Sir John Sulman', *Architecture* (1934), 23(9), p.193; P. Searle, *Dictionary of Australian Biography* (1949), Sydney: Angus and Robertson, pp.391-392.
3. As secretary of the RIBA, Webb was later to charge Sulman with 'cleaning up' the architectural profession in Sydney, a mission which proved very controversial. See: J.M. Freeland, *The Making of a Profession: A History of the Growth and Work of the Architectural Institutes of Australia* (1971), Sydney: Angus and Robertson, pp.60-61.
4. J. Sulman, *An Introduction to the Study of Town Planning in Australia* (1921), Sydney: N.S.W. Government Printer, p.xiii.
5. E.G. Culpin, *The Garden City Movement Up-to-date* (1913), London: Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, p.64.
6. (P. Abercrombie), 'Two Australian Pamphlets on Town Planning', *Town Planning Review* (1914), 5(3), p.241.
7. *Report of the Royal Commission for the Improvement of the City of Sydney and its Suburbs* (1909),

Sydney: N.S.W. Government Printer; *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Question of the Constitution of Greater Sydney* (1913), Sydney: N.S.W. Government Printer; *Evidence taken by the Royal Commission on the Housing Conditions of the People in the Metropolis and in the Populous Centres of the State* (1917), Melbourne: Victorian Government Printer; *Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, Report together with minutes of evidence relating to the Proposed Scheme for Housing Commonwealth Workmen at Lithgow* (1918), Melbourne: Government Printer.

8. J. Sulman, 'The Federal Capital of Australia', *Transactions, Town Planning Conference* (1910), London: RIBA, pp.604-610. The paper was not read through lack of time, although it is not clear whether Sulman was there to read it anyway.
9. The Association was renamed the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning in 1926. A personal diary kept by Sulman during his 1924 trip (Research Collection, Graduate School of the Built Environment, University of N.S.W.) records some of the contacts made in England: Raymond Unwin, George Pepler, Thomas Adams, Ebenezer Howard, Thomas Mawson, Werner Hegemann, and at Welwyn 'two young American architects, Mr Stein and Mr Wright'. This trip also resulted in two government reports: *Commission Government in America* (1925), Melbourne: Commonwealth Government Printer, and *Town Planning in Great Britain, Europe, and America* (1925), Sydney: N.S.W. Government Printer.
10. C.B. Purdom, 'International Town-Planners in Holland', *Garden Cities and Town Planning* (1924), 14(9), p.193.
11. J. Sulman, 'The Laying Out of Towns', *Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science* (1890), Melbourne, pp. 730-736; reprinted as Appendix A in Sulman, *op cit*, 1921, pp.214-216.
12. J. Sulman, 'Town Planning', unpublished memoir, Research Collection, Graduate School of the Built Environment, University of N.S.W., pp.1-2.
13. For example: 'The Architecture of Towns', *Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science* (1891), Christchurch, pp.425-426; 'Town Plans Illustrating Senator Millen's Paper', *Volume of Proceedings of the Second Australian Town Planning Conference and Exhibition* (1918), Brisbane, pp.48-49; *Town Planning: A Sketch in Outline* (1919), Sydney: N.S.W. Government Printer, pp.11-13; 'Town Planning', *The Australian Surveyor* (1928), 1(3), p.19, etc.
14. Sulman, *op cit*, 1890, p.736.
15. Sulman, *op cit*, 1890, pp. 731-732.
16. Sulman, *op cit*, 1890, p.735; see also p.732.
17. See for example Culpin, *op cit*, p.6.
18. For example, a series of papers read before the Victorian Institute of Surveyors and published in its *Proceedings* is a neat chronology of increasingly sophisticated thought on town design in Australia: T. Couchman, 'The Survey and Laying Out of Townships' (March 1876), R.H. Shakespear, 'The Subdivision, Marking Out and Method of Description of Town Allotments' (September 1876), J.M. Coane, 'Sanitary Subdivision of Land' (April 1889), and a fourth paper that rivals Sulman's in its prescience by J. Keily, 'Study on Unity of Design in Planning New Towns and New Suburbs' (September 1889). See note on Keily's paper in: J.M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia: A History* (1972), Melbourne: Pelican, p.223.
19. 'Report of the Committee', *Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science* (1891), Christchurch, pp. 540-541; see also: J.M. Powell, *Environmental Management in Australia, 1788-1914* (1976), Melbourne: Oxford University Press, pp. 159-160.
20. E. Herborn, Letter to the Editor, *The Surveyor* (1890), 2(10), pp.15-16.
21. *Congress of Engineers, Architects, Surveyors, and Members of Allied Professions, to discuss Questions relating to the Laying Out and Building of the Federal Capital, and matters of Professional Interest Generally* (1901), Melbourne.
22. G.S. Jones, 'Some Thoughts Concerning the Federal City', *Congress of Engineers, Architects, Surveyors, op cit*, p.22. Jones had been a member of Sulman's private architectural circle 'The Palladians' in the early 1890s (J. Sulman, 'Reminiscences', unpublished memoir, Research Collection, Graduate School of the Built Environment, University of N.S.W.).

23. G.H. Knibbs, 'The Theory of City Design', *Journal and Proceedings of The Royal Society of N.S.W.* (1901), 35, p.95.
24. Introduction to 'How to Lay Out a Town', *Building* (1907), November, p.44.
25. *Report of the Royal Commission for the Improvement of the City of Sydney and its Suburbs* (1909), p. lvii.
26. For example: 'House and Town Planning', *Building*, February, pp. 70-77; 'Town Planning', *Building*, May, pp. 59-64; B. Pite, 'Town Planning for Australia', *Building*, October, etc. A regular 'Town Planning' section appeared in 1912.
27. Foreward, *Art and Architecture* (1910), 7(1), p.1.
28. Sandercock, *op cit*, p.27.
29. C.C. Reade, 'Town Planning Legislation in South Australia - A Retrospect', *Town Planning Review* (1921), 9(3), pp. 157-161.
30. H. Boas, 'The Evolution of Town Planning in Western Australia', paper read to the Fourth Australian Planning Congress (1956), p.7.

SITE-PLANNING AND THE CONTROL OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR: THE 'IDEOLOGY' OF RESIDENTIAL AREAS

The influence of architectural and planning considerations on behaviour control has often been identified by historians and social scientists as an important topic - particularly insofar as architectural layouts might affect or induce social behaviour. The relationship has, however, seldom been analysed in detail. The 'ideology' of site-planning remains a difficult issue, which should receive more attention from researchers.

In a recent article entitled 'The building type envisaged as the re-use of figures', the architectural historian, Xavier Fabre, has examined the architectural language used to describe the continual re-use of building forms, following their evolution of functions. (1) Fabre was discussing the case of the castles, where the medieval defensive system has been replaced by a vast complex of gardens, with a corresponding extension of their architectural limits. Such a type of territorial control can be used to demonstrate the nature of ruling social power. Similar considerations can be elaborated further from various examples of the history of site-planning. A specific chapter of the history of architecture refers to an 'ideology' of the morphology of the built environment, as expressed by the layout of residential areas. At the scale of the neighbourhood, collective dwelling types are based upon a rigorous spatial distribution, because they must obey the rules relating to the social organisation of small groups of people. The ensuing relationships, which have frequently been studied with respect to the planning of whole towns (especially new cities), have nonetheless been neglected in research on the layout of residential areas, including specific housing estates.

The following is based upon the postulate that space is inserted between buildings, as if it were a malleable material, which can be moulded to establish and safeguard specific kinds of social organisation. There are numerous examples which illustrate this hypothesis by showing how space around buildings can be employed as a medium for freedom or repression in respect to the daily lives of the residents. The layout of

residential areas, usually discussed in terms of density or building orientation, can also be analysed in terms of the concept of social control.

The built environment as a social regulator

It is important not only to refer to the physical characteristics of man-made space (size, symmetry and axiality) but also to evaluate them on the basis of objective criteria and not solely according to how residents appraise them. The built environment can be considered as a mechanism for social regulation.

In the wake of the industrial revolution traditional architectural guidelines were not so much challenged as toppled by numerous purely utilitarian constructions, such as factories and workers' housing. By their very number, they generated new building types. More than any class of public buildings, this segment of the built environment has been subjected to the logic of social regulation and control. In this respect, the role assigned to the buildings has not yet been adequately studied by the historian.

One can hypothesise that every group of buildings bears the hallmark of its protagonists and that, by its morphology, it indicates the main functions it is intended to serve. The built environment is created by the imprint of social customs and the 'ideology' of specific professional groups. For example, one can show certain associations between specific architectural types and their corresponding social groups. Here, however, it is necessary to introduce a digression related to the scale of specific building complexes. Alberti (2), Durand (3), and Sitte (4) evoked in turn the homology between the city and the dwelling unit. It is the residual spaces, rather than the enclosed building volumes, which are of primary concern; 'The forum is to the city what the atrium is to the family residence: the principal room arranged with care and richly decorated'. (5) The urban square or central space is assigned the function of establishing unity within urban diversity by linking not only the viewpoints but also the pathways of a centripetal layout provided with social connotations.

The notion of over-valued and under-valued spaces

The vast extension of stately residences of the Ancien Regime in France expressed not only the social and economic superiority of the aristocracy but also the social distance that prevailed inside the mansion between the master and his servants. This social distance is clearly expressed by a plan with separated parts, in which the central sections harbour fashionable receptions and the side wings contain the service quarters. The elongation between the respective parts of the mansion is, above all, an expression of the segregation between different classes of people living under the same roof.

The extension of buildings in the form of a crescent around a court of honour tends to establish the concept of over-valued space, one characteristic of which is a geometrical form that is easy to see from a specific viewpoint and provides a stage scene adapted to the social ritual of reception. This example illustrates, at least in this case, how the principle of architectural composition is founded upon the concept of a central space that serves as a reference point for the layout of buildings and over-values that central space. It would be easy to prove, in turn, that over-valued spaces acquire a form of over-decoration that reflects a monumental and symbolic dignity.

Unlike these examples of architectural ostentation, which express social power, there is a category of building types which is intended for those whose lives are intentionally regulated by religious, military and administrative controls (monasteries, military barracks and workers' housing). The primary means of social control are the corridors which channel pedestrian circulation between groups of detached buildings. (6) The pathways used by this circulation of people can be considered as under-valued spaces which extend over vast distances without variation of their architectural treatment. The obvious equality of this spatial organisation is founded upon social equidistance. In terms of uniform occupation of land no space is privileged to the detriment of another. The principle adopted in this architectural layout is the intentional under-development of a complex of under-valued spaces leading to minimal dimensions that guarantee a spatial order founded upon discipline and obedience.

If we admit the existence of these two opposed spatial and social systems, the first one being central and over-valued, the second marginal and under-valued, we also realise that both systems conform to the same and consistent conception of built space imposed over the centuries by the ruling classes. The laws of spatial and social control were analysed historically by Michel Foucault in his essay on prisons, where he described the total and permanent character of the surveillance that prisoners undergo in the 'panopticon'. (7) This may sound an extreme case but it indicates very well how constraint and discipline can be imposed upon tenants.

Spatial organisation and social significance

By creating a hierarchy of space in a residential neighbourhood the designer discriminates between under-valued and over-valued spaces, thus expressing priorities with respect to the design of his project: the search for unity in the site plan leads the designer to choose the concept of over-valued space upon which the whole composition depends; in contrast, economic constraints and rationality results in the inclusion of under-valued spaces, such as the spaces between the various building blocks.

The discriminatory process of architectural design, apparently logical and objective, includes the assignment of moral and social values to the morphology of residential areas. The site plan suggests (either by its geometrical regularity or irregularity) a more or less compact and ordered social landscape. It is meant to symbolise a community of individuals who are dependent upon each other. The site plan must also take account of the residents' wish for solitude. These contradictory requirements frequently confine the site plan within a neutral corset, in which any effects can be overcome by their opposing kind: the presence of compromise is patently obvious.

The design of a residential area which refers to well known spatial models (such as the piazza, village or citadel) often proceeds by spontaneous actions that assimilate behavioural properties. Architects and planners working during the 1960s and 1970s reacted against the designs employing dispersed site layouts built during the 1950s. These projects were founded upon an equal distribution of building volumes which symbolised the principle of social equality. The objective consisted in grouping buildings so that the juxtaposition of their inhabitants was expected to induce harmony and warmth (...). Architectural or environmental psychology has effectively demonstrated, however, the ineptness of this sort of conjecture. It has highlighted the reluctance felt in certain residential areas to enter into the kind of human contact supposedly brought about by these specific architectural designs.

Environmental psychology explores the validity of those theories which expect specific social behaviour to be determined by spatial layouts. Oscar Newman suggests that the vast residential schemes in New York City were not designed with any adequate concept of 'defensible space'. They were dangerous because crime, vandalism and assault could occur frequently. (8) According to Newman different design strategies might have provided greater residential security. Such considerations have been criticised in turn by Bill Hillier, who argued that territoriality is an ignorant view of human behaviour which has been largely discredited by anthropological research. (9) Such controversy proves that the spatial distribution of social behaviour is complex and cannot be solved with a mere deterministic approach.

It seems, however, that the spatial characteristics of a residential area may reflect the nature of the desired relations between residents at the beginning of the design process and before the residents have arrived. The example of two residential areas built from 1906 for the staff of an iron and steel works at Ugine in the Department of Upper Savoie (France) provides an opportunity to compare the compact site plan of the housing area for unmarried workmen with the more individual groupings of houses for the managerial staff at the Plateau of Charmettes. In the first case, a central avenue is surrounded by buildings that bring together pedestrian paths which can be continually observed by the management. The vagabonds cannot escape the attention of the overseers and can easily become discouraged by the strict work schedule. This site plan displays a similar type of central, somewhat repressive, space, that can be observed in Van Gogh's paintings of a hospital (figure 1). In the second case, the subtle distribution of individual dwellings in a tree-lined park guarantees the visual privacy of each household, while permitting the development of neighbourly relations by people of the same socio-economic group. Here, in contrast, the layout is not subordinated to axial and orthogonal rigour, but follows the topography of the land to suggest a rustic revival. The housing development is reminiscent of paintings by Cezanne showing houses surrounded by trees and inbedded in nature (figure 2).

The first site plan is devoted to the provision of an over-valued space by treating it as if it were under-valued, whereas the second exalts the absence of under-valued space with an imagery, over-valued space. The respective divergences between these two plans may be the function of well disguised intentions.

The legibility of a residential area is dependent on the facility to identify the relation between over-valued and under-valued spaces: the courtyard types of space are supposedly places for convergence and reunion; these may be contrasted with the garden type established as a place for tranquillity, whatever its topographical characteristics. On the contrary circulation spaces serve equally well as places for reunion.

To sum up, the buildings in a residential area can be characterised by their accessibility to a large range of social purposes. Such a finding underlines the weakness of any approach which assigns to specific social characteristics residential areas in particular geographical contexts. In this respect, the implicit meaning of site plans may reveal allusions of human behaviour through the spatial characteristics they embody. Their study could lead to the identification of the social intentions of their authors during the design phase. But there is nothing to indicate that the total social value of a residential area can be anticipated correctly prior to occupancy.

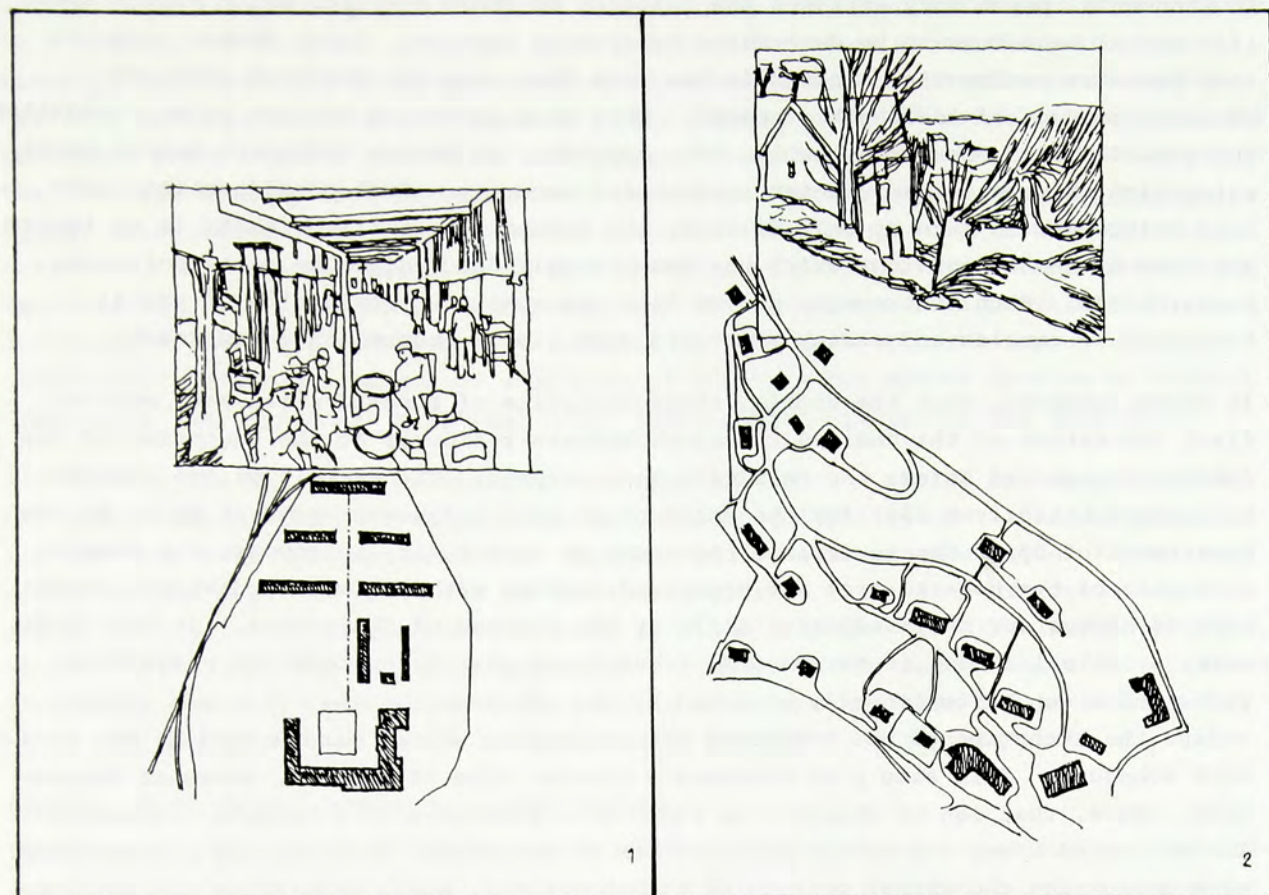


Figure 1. above: Sketch of Vincent van Gogh's painting of the hospital at Arles. 1889.

below: Sketch of site plan. Dwellings for bachelors at Ugine. 1906.

Figure 2. above: Sketch of Paul Cezanne's painting of a house at Auvers. 1872-1873.

below: Sketch of site plan. Residences at Charmettes, Ugine. 1906.

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1. Xavier Fabre, 'Le type comme reutilisation de figures', *Archithese*, 4-82, p.34-38.
2. Leon Battista Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria* (1485), I, 9.
3. J.N.L. Durand, *Lecons d'architecture. Examen des principaux types d'edifices* (1819), Paris, p.19.
4. Camillo Sitte, *L'art de batir les villes* (1889) Vienna; (1980) Paris, p.8-9.
5. *Ibid*, p.8-9.
6. Gilles Barbey, *L'habitation captive* (1981), St.Saphorin, p.56.
7. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison* (1975), Paris, Gallimard.
8. Oscar Newman, *Defensible Space* (1973), New York.
9. Bill Hillier, 'In Defence of Space', *RIBA Journal* (1973), November.

FACTORY HOUSING IN EARLY VICTORIAN LANCASHIRE

In the history of the nineteenth-century town, the industrialist and business man have been given both an important and enigmatic role. Though recent writers have generally attached some significance to them in terms of both the provision and the improvement of working-class housing, there has been no quantitative analysis of their contribution. Ashworth wrote of a continuing tradition linking the new towns of the twentieth century and the small settlements of the early factory system. (1) Darley identified across the century products of individual industrialists' initiative which were of both architectural and social significance. (2) Burnett concluded that 'employers' housing often had a philanthropic aspect ... in the textile areas of the Midlands and North, factory owners seem generally to have been disposed to provide above average housing'. (3)

What does all this add up to? The evidence has been based essentially on individual examples, and the conclusions are largely impressionistic. There is no overall assessment of the material contribution of industrialists to the housing stock of nineteenth-century Britain, nor within that any analysis of the different motives behind such activity. Basic questions remain unanswered: how extensive was industrial housing; did the pattern vary significantly over the course of the nineteenth century; what proportion of such housing was of an 'improved' nature? This limited piece of research attempts to initiate that investigation by looking at the practice in one particular area. So far it has only a local significance and its conclusions are tentative. It does, however, draw attention to a gap in our knowledge of nineteenth-century urban economy and industrial enterprise, and it illustrates the kind of research which needs to be undertaken, at both a local and a regional level, if this gap is to be filled.

Despite the generalised statements made by housing historians, only a small proportion of nineteenth-century industrialists built any houses. In a purely numerical sense, their total impact was limited. Taking the Report of the Factory Commissioners of 1834 it is evident that the general situation in the growing industrial towns was similar to that reported in Leeds, where only three out of sixteen firms in the town owned any houses and, of these, two firms owned less than ten each and only one had built many houses (around seventy). (4) Professor Pollard has estimated that by 1870, when the steel industry was expanding so dramatically, there were only two firms in Sheffield that owned more than 50 dwelling houses. (5) He described how,

.... as the East End expanded the owners of large new firms did not engage in building for their immigrant workers ... The bulk of working class dwellings was owned in blocks of from 10 to 50 houses, representing investments of between £1,000 and £10,000 made by tradesmen, publicans and men of like status.

In the Northern Township of Manchester, the number of houses owned by industrialists was between 10 and 12 per cent of the total and, of these, only three firms held blocks of as many as 50 to 100 houses each. (6) The situation had changed very little since 1834, when several Manchester manufacturers told the Factory Commissioners how it was not the custom for mill owners to undertake in any way the accommodation of their workforce. (7)

This seems to have been the typical pattern for the large manufacturing towns of the North, where the nature and extent of managerial involvement in housing can be most clearly traced. The picture is less clear for the small towns and rural areas of the region. However, a very general guide to the overall degree of involvement of factory owners with housing can be elicited from the returns to the Factory Commissioners in 1834. These indicate that out of 881 firms, 168 provided some houses. (8) These figures do not, however, indicate the scale of property ownership. Of the 168 firms owning houses, only 14 state clearly how many houses are actually owned. Of these, two had between 50 and 100, and the remainder less than 15 each. Roughly a quarter of the firms claimed that they housed the majority of their workers, while nearly a half stated that they provided accommodation for only a few of their workpeople.

A further general estimate of the extent of industrial housing can be gained from the answers to a questionnaire circulated to 251 mills within an area stretching from Rochdale in the north to Macclesfield in the south, from Leigh in the west to Glossop on the east. (9) Out of 105 firms established in the course of the nineteenth century, approximately 15 per cent claimed to have owned houses at some point in the course of their development. In general, therefore, this survey would suggest that only a small minority of industrialists participated in the provision of houses.

Closer examination of these sources, along with a study of the Land Tax Returns for south east Lancashire, (10) confirms that, apart from in the large cities where very few industrialists indeed undertook building, there is no clearly defined contrast in the degree of involvement between factory owners in urban and rural areas. More detailed local studies indicate, however, that there were marked local variations in this general pattern. These are significant, for they illustrate the dangers of generalisation. (11) Industrial housing was not only limited numerically, but its distribution was not uniform, and its development did not depend on either straightforward economic or social motivation. Local tradition largely predetermined whether or not an industrialist undertook housing, and more importantly whether he directed any philanthropic impetus in the direction of improved housing schemes. This alone can account for the very marked variations in practice which do not result from differences in either the pattern of land-ownership or in the industrial character of different districts.

This variety is apparent, for example, in four east Lancashire cotton towns and their surrounding districts. In the Oldham area there was a conspicuous absence of houses connected with the mills, both in the town and at the industrial settlement of Greenacre Moor outside the town. (12) This was true in the 1820s, when the industrial character of the area was being determined, and in the 1850s when Edwin Butterworth penned his 'Historical Sketches of Oldham'. At the election of 1832, the Earl of Ellesmere congratulated the citizens of Oldham on the fact that the town's physical growth was so largely the result of their own labours. (13) On the other hand, Bury contained, by the third quarter of the century, a large number of mills with associated housing, and it was surrounded by numerous industrial settlements. The Peels possessed 20 cottages at their Burrs Mill in 1800. (14) By 1830 there was a compact community about a mile from the centre of the town at Freetown, dependent on the mills of Thomas Greenalgh and William Rathbone Gregg. (15) Moreover, it was an area in which new communities continued to be planted. In 1862 a co-operative mill colony was begun at Hooley Bridge, (16) and between 1863 and 1872 the firm of J. & J. Mellor developed its work at Warthfold along with accommodation for 237 of

of its own workers. (17) Community building on a more gradual scale was undertaken in the hamlet of Heap, two miles to the east of Bury. (18) There, by 1825, J. Wrigley had leased land from the Earl of Derby for the purpose of building a small paper mill with 15 adjoining cottages. When the enterprise was taken over by J. & E. Crundy in the middle of the following decade, they gradually extended both the factory and the associated housing until by 1850 the firm owned over 80 cottages in the village. In the town of Bury itself, there were three mills, Pimhole, Limefield and Daisyfield, owning between 60 and 100 cottages each. (19)

It was the study of this area of Lancashire that gave particular weight to Marshall's conclusions on the importance of the mill owner in founding and developing industrial communities. If the area immediately to the east, around Rochdale, is investigated the picture is, however, very different. Although the source material is less prolific, it is clear that by 1858, 9 of 15 mill owners in the Borough of Rochdale owned houses. Of these, six owned less than 10 each, two owned between 10 and 20, and one, Joseph Butterworth of Hanging Lane Mill, possessed 18 back-to-back houses, 6 'upstep houses', and 12 cellar dwellings. (20) The pattern was similar in the outlying township of Spotland where, by 1875, several large mills had been built on separate and independent sites. (21) The average number of houses owned by each was six. The mass of terraced streets that had grown up between these sites was the product of the activities of the building societies and the speculative builders.

Thus the pattern changes from town to town, with each influencing the industrial settlements around them. Bolton accepted an intermediate position. A study of an extensive collection of property surveys made between 1850 and 1885 revealed that it was just as likely for a town centre mill to own a handful of cottages in the street adjoining the mill yard as it was for the rural mill to stand isolated and lacking even the meanest accommodation for its workforce. (22) While the neighbourhood of Bolton could boast the model villages of Egerton, Eagley and Barrow Bridge, (23) the well established Firwood Hall bleaching and dye-works stood isolated in the next valley, nearly two miles from the nearest hamlet. (24) The fact that a mill was isolated did not mean the owner had to house his workers, despite the considerable practical advantages which could be expected to follow such action.

The pattern of local variation in these east Lancashire towns is reflected throughout the region. The custom of industrialists providing housing basically depended for its establishment on local practice in a particular area, and for its continuance on the strength of local tradition. The outcome of this variation was a varied response on the part of industrialists to the housing problem. Beyond this local diversity there were, however, common motives which led industrialists to build houses. They had little to do with the philanthropic ideal, or the desire to ameliorate the living conditions of the working people and create a more satisfying environment. In most cases, those industrialists who built houses did so for reasons either of managerial necessity or as a means of capital investment.

In the first stages of industrialisation, the practicalities of managerial necessity compelled industrialists to provide houses for their workforce. (25) Such housing schemes were part of a whole pattern of settlement which Marshall described as 'coming into being through one major decision or a comparatively limited succession of major decisions. (26) As a result of this process, settlement occurred on sites

because of a combination of economic factors. If there was no labour force near at hand, the management was perforce obliged to house the necessary immigrant population, in many cases, where there was no public organisation to provide the basic services.

By 1840, however, housing provision was no longer a primary concern of industrialists catering for a largely immigrant workforce. By then the textile region of Lancashire was an area of closely-knit towns and villages where it was rare for a mill to be situated beyond walking distance of an established community. This tendency was extended over the middle years of the century as changing power requirements occasioned the increasing conglomeration of mills, and advanced the process of urbanisation. In south-east Lancashire, the mill and its cottages were no longer a separate entity. They were additions to an existing settlement pattern, and there is considerable evidence of workers walking daily from their community to mills in the neighbouring village or town. Whilst the involvement of industrialists with housing varied from area to area, it is clear that by the middle of the nineteenth century factory owners no longer felt compelled to provide accommodation. Whilst some might choose to direct their capital in that direction, housing was no longer needed to secure or control their workforces. By the second and third generation of industrialisation the supervision of labour was much more sophisticated. Housing was only one incentive in the institutionalisation and internalisation of discipline. (27) Much more detailed study is needed before a full assessment can be made of the place of housing as an external pressure used by industrialists invoked to enforce work-discipline.

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BELGIAN URBAN DEVELOPMENT: SPA, OSTEND AND ANTWERP IN THE 19th CENTURY

In contrast to the 18th century, public authorities no longer intervened so directly in urban development during the first half of the nineteenth century. Instead of controls, subsidies and guidelines, they resorted to town planning measures. (1) Although this trend can be observed in other European countries, (2) it was coupled in Belgium with a public policy of favouring certain urban centres more than others. The development of Spa, Ostend and Antwerp during the second half of the 19th century illustrates how public-authority policy was implemented at an urban level.

Simultaneously with such a policy of subsidies the authorities embarked on a programme of large, new public works, including the widening of roads, building and enlarging dock areas, shoring up the banks of rivers and streams, and the construction of an extensive railway network. (3) A forerunner of large-scale intervention in the second half of the 19th century, the War Ministry constructed three large fortification rings around the city of Antwerp. (4) The public authorities made increasing use of the capital provided by private individuals and institutions. (5) A particular expression of this phenomenon in Belgium was the use made by Leopold II of nominees for the execution of a number of large developments.

At Spa, Ostend and Antwerp, public-authority policy had two clear objectives. The first was to stimulate the tourist attractions of seaside resorts and thermal spas. The seaside resort gradually became more important than the spas, which were mainly located inland. The second objective was to review thoroughly Belgium's military defence system. The barrier system, which involved defending a large number of places, became impossible to maintain after 1830. In 1847, it was decided to develop one great central stronghold around Antwerp, which would serve to defend the whole of Belgium. (6) A large number of towns, including Ostend, thereby lost their traditional defence role.

A systematic examination of the reports of the Ostend Town Council indicates that funds originating from the thermal resort of Spa were used to carry out a number of improvement works in Ostend. The funds came from the games of chance in the casinos of the Redoute, Salons Levoz and the Waux-Hall, (7) where profits amounted to 1,780,000 gold francs between 1822 and 1846. The government did not allow such gambling at Ostend. From 1859, an annual 5% of the taxes on gambling at Spa was allocated for improvements to the town of Spa and for the towns of Chaudfontaine, Blankenberge and Ostend. (8) Both of these last two towns are situated on the North Sea coast, and were increasingly well-known as seaside resorts. It is clear that the Belgian government wished to promote the growth of coastal tourism, as well as the spas at Chaudfontaine and Spa. The preference of the public authorities for coastal resorts dates from 1865 and the accession to the throne of Leopold II. In an agreement between the State and the concessionaires of Spa, a total of 70,000 francs was to be allocated from the profits made at Spa. Ostend was to receive 55.6%, Blankenberge 21.5%, and Chaudfontaine 8%. Two other coastal municipalities also benefited: 10% was apportioned to Nieuwpoort, and 4.3% to Heist.

Between 1865 and 1872, Ostend received 38,920 gold francs annually, derived from the profits of Spa. In spending these funds on works of urban improvement and public hygiene, as much emphasis was placed on the reconstruction of the old central area of the town as upon the development of seaside resort facilities and accommodation (table 1).

Table 1: Spending of a part of the funds from Spa on improvement and reconstruction works in Ostend, 1866-1872

Profits from Spa	Use made by Ostend of the annual income (38,920 fr)	Amounts
1865	1866: 4th credit for the fitting out of new rooms, including some in the Town Hall	38,920
1866	1867: 1. 5th credit for the casino in the Town Hall	14,500
	2. 2nd credit for building the stand and race-course	5,000
	3. Construction of the stands and racecourse	4,000
	4. New pavements in the side-streets of the old town	15,420
1867	1868: 1. 6th credit for the casino	5,000
	2. Purchase of lifeboats for the beach	1,500
	3. Gas lighting for the sea wall	2,400
	4. New pavements in the side-streets of the old town	5,000
	5. Enlargement of the Leopold Park	25,000

Table 1, continued

1868	1869:	1. Digging of an artesian well and distribution of water to the streets and footpaths	25,000
		2. 1st credit for new sewerage	13,920
1869	1870:	1. 2nd credit for new sewerage	17,000
		2. Construction of a shooting range	3,648
		3. 1st credit for the re-paving of St. Jozefstraat	13,000
		4. 2nd credit for the re-paving of side-streets	5,272
1870	1871:	1. 2nd credit for the enlargement of the Leopold Park	29,920
		2. 2nd credit for digging of an artesian well and water distribution	9,000
1871	1872* 1873	1. 3rd credit for the enlargement of the Leopold Park	21,488
		2. 3rd credit for increasing the efficiency of the artesian well	13,000
		3. 3rd credit for the casino	6,000
		4. 3rd credit for the re-paving of side-streets	6,000
		5. Works on levelling the old glacis and construction of a bridge over the weir	8,000
Period from 1866-1872			288,008 gold francs

*Unlike the preceding years, the total sum is 54,488. In 1871, the casinos at Spa were closed by government decree and a new distribution of the funds was accorded to the 'villes d'eaux'. The two different subsidies overlapped.

The next phase in the syphoning off of funds from Spa to the coastal area followed the closing of the Spa casinos by the law of 27 March 1871. A sum of 3.3 million gold francs was shared between Spa and the coastal towns of Ostend, Blankenberge and Heist. Fixed amounts for improvement works were allocated to these towns annually between 1871 and 1880 (table 2).

Table 2: Distribution of the funds from Spa casinos after the closure of three casinos in 1871.

	Spa	Ostend, Blankenberge and Heist
1871	200,000	70,000
1872	200,000	63,000
1873	200,000	56,000
1874	200,000	49,000
1875	200,000	42,000
1876	200,000	35,000
1877	200,000	28,000
1878	200,000	21,000
1879	200,000	14,000
1880	200,000	7,000

Detailed records were not kept of how these amounts were spent. The funds were spent partly on the improvement of footpaths in the old town and partly on the construction of a sewerage system. In the new districts, built on the former site of

the fortifications after 1874. The entire water-supply and sewerage systems of Ostend were subsidised between 1865 and 1880 from the proceeds from gambling at Spa. Another source of income were the municipal taxes for bathing on the beach at Ostend.

A final allocation was given to Spa and Ostend in 1902. Games of chance had increased considerably in both 'villes d'eaux', and was condoned by the authorities until the law of 24 October 1902. As compensation for this measure an amount of 5 million francs was awarded to Ostend and 2 million francs to Spa. The contrasts in the amounts granted highlighted the importance of Ostend as a seaside resort compared with that of Spa as a thermal spa resort. In Ostend, part of these funds was used to construct the Royal Pedestrian Arcade along the new sea wall. (9)

During the second half of the 19th century, the public authorities sought not only to increase the success of the seaside resorts by transferring funds from Spa to various coastal municipalities, but to use the success of the seaside resorts of Ostend as an indirect means of financing the new fortification ring around Antwerp. A War Ministry decree provided the means to finance the so-called 'great fortress ring' around Antwerp (10) by demolishing the military forts and strongholds at Ghent, Tournai, Charleroi, Namur, Mons, Antwerp (the Spanish fortress and the citadel) and Ostend. The government wanted to sell the land, once demolition had taken place, to the towns or to private individuals at the highest possible price, thereby reducing its share of the costs of the new fortifications around Antwerp, estimated at 50 million gold francs. In this way, 22 hectares of land at Ostend were sold in 1874 to the Liege notary public, The Ostender Moulon, who offered 780,000 francs. (11) The sale to a private individual meant that the land was developed as a speculative venture, rather than for the benefit of the old town. This was underlined by the fact that the town plan drawn up by the engineer, L. Crepin, was adopted, rather than the improvement plan of the French architect, Hector Horeau. The latter plan provided for a green belt around the old town to replace the strongholds. Under Crepin's plan the land was divided into building plots. It was only in this way that such a high selling price could be obtained. Crepin justified such an approach to urban expansion in a letter to the Finance Minister, Frere-Orban. (12) From this example and from the redemption of tolls on the Scheldt in 1863, it is clear that the authorities no longer wished to expand Ostend as an important seaport. They wanted it to become an elitist residential seaside resort. Henceforth Antwerp was to be the pre-eminent Belgian port and a centre for international commerce - a role which was difficult to combine with its new military function. As early as 1909, it was decided to demolish the great fortification ring.

This short paper is intended to provide merely an illustration of how public authorities were trying to define the function of various towns in the national context of the second half of the 19th century. Industrial development was promoted in a number of towns (Leige, Charleroi, Ghent). The centres of Spa and Ostend became elitist amusement resort towns, each with a distinctive character. The metropolis of Antwerp was assigned a double role, namely as a stronghold for the defence of Belgium and as an international port. Under the impetus of Leopold II, Brussels was further enlarged to become the capital city of Belgium. (13)

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1. P. Godding, 'L'evolution de la legislation en matiere d'urbanisme en Belgique au XIXieme siecle', in *Cities in development 19th-20th centuries, Records of the 10th International Colloquium of the Credit Communal de Belgique at Spa* (1982), Brussels, pp.11-35.
2. In Germany especially large-scale attempts were made to coordinate urban planning regulations. See especially a historical summary of this in J. Stubben, *Die Bedeutung der Bauordnungen und Bebauungspläne für das Wohnungswesen* (1902), Göttingen. A second indirect attempt by the public authority to extend its influence over urban development was the provision of an increasing number of common facilities. The importance of this is pointed out in A. Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City* (1981), Oxford.
3. The construction of railways by the State was already provided for in Belgium by the law of 1834. The Brussels-Malines line was opened in 1836.
4. See Q. Hughes, *Military architecture* (1974), London, p.211.
5. The formation of the so-called 'naamloze vennootschappen' (a form of limited liability company) was allowed from 1874 onwards. These partnerships of private individuals often included important municipal and urban representatives. They were to take part in the majority of speculative construction developments during the second half of the 19th century. The first 'naamloze vennootschappen' were formed during the Dutch administration.
6. In 1848 the Defence Council took the decision to expand Antwerp as a national stronghold. Consequently most of the fortified towns in Belgium were only dismantled in the second half of the 19th century. In an article by E.C. Vollans it was incorrectly stated that Ostend's defences were dismantled as early as the beginning of the 19th century. See E. Vollans, 'Urban development in Belgium since 1830', in *Urbanization and its problems* (1970), Oxford, Beckinsale and Houston, pp.171-193. For other European countries such as France and Germany, see A. Sutcliffe, *op cit*, p.3 as well as p.194.
7. William I, King of the United Netherlands, authorised games of chance at Spa by the law of 22 May 1822. The first Belgian law regulating games of chance at Spa dates from 1846.
8. E. de Brouwer, *La question des jeux* (1865), Ostend.
9. The cost of this majestic 350 m long arcade amounted to 1,500,000 francs. Half of this sum was paid by King Leopold II, the other half coming from the funds accorded as compensation for the prohibition of games of chance.
10. See de Rychel, *Histoire de l'établissement militaire de la Belgique* (1907), Ghent, Vol.1, p.322.
11. See P. Lombaerde and R. Lombaerde-Fabri, 'Le Développement urbanistique, architectural et artistique de deux villes d'eaux en Belgique: Spa et Ostende', in *Records of the International Colloquium at San Pellegrino Terme 16-18 June 1981: Stile e struttura delle città termale d'Europa* (in press).
12. See also Koninklijke Legermuseum (Royal Army Museum, Brussels) *Archives du Fond des Fortifications, Ostende, C. Demantelement I.1. Notice Ing. Crepin: aménagement* (21.10.1867), quartiers Anc. fort., p.3: '...j'ai pensé qu'il s'agissait de donner une rigoureuse extension à la ville en tenant compte de tous les progrès apportés à l'assainissement et à la voirie, tout en permettant au Gouvernement de tirer la partie la plus avantageuse des terrains militaires, au point de vue financier'.
13. L. Ranieri, *Leopold II, urbaniste* (1973), Brussels, as well as L. Verniers, *Bruxelles et son agglomération de 1830 à nos jours* (1958), Brussels, and Y. Leblieq, 'L'urbanisation de Bruxelles aux XIXe et XXe siècles (1830-1952)', in *Cities in development* (1982), Brussels, pp.335-394.

A HUNDRED YEARS BEHIND?

During the last three decades the city centre of Stockholm has been transformed. Over large areas, earlier development has made way for offices and business premises. Many streets have been widened and multi-storey car-parks have been built. Altogether, over 400 buildings have been demolished and replaced by just over 100. Large-scale urban development is not, however, unique to Stockholm, nor indeed to the twentieth century. Exactly 100 years ago, there was a radical transformation of the city centre of Paris. Initiated and supported by Napoleon III, the enterprise was directed by Baron Georges Eugene Haussman. Do the two projects represent entirely different planning systems? Or are there - notwithstanding the differences in time and the size and political culture of the two cities - parallels in the aims of the planning and the implementation process?

Let us start with some of the differences. The rebuilding of the Stockholm city centre was a mini-project compared with Haussman's grand plan; about 20,000 buildings were demolished in Paris. Admittedly, many of them very small, but so were quite a number of those demolished in Stockholm. Another important difference was that Stockholm did not have a Haussman. As prefect, Haussman was not only governor, but town planning officer and head of the municipal administration. He combined the functions which were divided in Stockholm among several people. One is tempted to add that he also combined within himself many of the characteristics often ascribed to the leading actors in the redesigning of the Stockholm city centre; an enormous capacity for work, toughness, insensitivity to criticism, incorruptibility, keenness of mind, and an ability to think big. Added to this, he had an unusual capacity to rouse enthusiasm in others; he could often convince people who were initially critical of his projects.

Politically, it should not be forgotten that the Paris scheme was actively supported by the government, that is to say by the emperor. In Stockholm there was no equivalent government support. The National Board of Building and Planning seems to have often obstructed the work of urban development during the 1950s. Perhaps it should also be mentioned that in Paris the city council was not elected; it was appointed by the emperor on the recommendation of the prefect. This difference did not, however, have any practical significance. Despite the objections raised by many of its members, the Stockholm City Council made no serious attempt to check or control the town planning project. As in Paris, the real decisions were taken outside the Council.

And now for the similarities. In both towns the town-planning schemes had been the subject of discussion for decades before work started; in both cases planners were keen to clear a good deal of low-standard and outmoded building. Both projects stemmed from an optimistic belief in development and progress, and from an unshakeable conviction on the part of the leading actors that their solutions were the only right ones. Nor was it considered necessary or even desirable in either city to draw up a detailed programme; in both cases the lodestar was action rather than investigation and discussion. In both cases, too, there was a good deal of secretiveness. The political authorities were either presented with a fait accompli or were manipulated with half-truths or part-truths into making apparently provisional decisions which proved, in the event, to be binding.

In both cities, one of the main objectives was to preserve the traditional attraction of the centre, as measured largely in terms of access. Major thoroughfares were planned to and from the centre - the Klarabergsgatan-Hamngatan, Sveavagen-Klaratunneln, Tunnelgatsleden, and Blasieholmsleden in Stockholm, and the Rue de Rivoli and Boulevard Sebastapol-Boulevard St. Michel in Paris, to mention only the main east-west and north-south arteries respectively. In Stockholm various ring roads round the centre were discussed: Haussman actually planned such a road by extending 'les grands boulevards' (which surrounded the northern part of the city centre), south of the Seine along the Boulevard St. Germain. When the tariff wall was moved in 1860, it was possible to start planning a new outer ring (les boulevards extérieurs) in its place. The politicians and technologists of the 1950s and 1960s in Stockholm had a 'hierarchic' view of the city. Head offices and selective trade-speciality shops were to be in the city centre, while other activities should be located towards the periphery. Haussman's ideas were moulded by the same attitude, albeit less explicitly. As a result of the new thoroughfares, the outlying areas were to be developed as residential and industrial regions, while the inner city should remain the centre of retailing and administration.

It could be interjected that Haussman was concerned mainly with the street layout, whilst large tracts of the centre of Stockholm were subjected to total clearance. Haussman did, however, entirely clear that part of Paris which he regarded as the true centre of the city, namely Ile de la Cite and the area round les Halles. As in the case of Klarakyrka and Jakobskyrka in Stockholm, Notre Dame was allowed to survive. If Haussman had enjoyed unlimited economic resources in Paris, a large part of the inner city would probably have been completely cleared.

The methods of implementation exhibit obvious parallels. In Stockholm, there was much talk of 'rolling city planning', whereby the city would continually acquire plots which would then be made available for redevelopment once streets had been laid out and technical work completed. The added land value would go towards financing the urban planning scheme. The principle was much the same in Paris, except that the new plots were sold whereas they were leased in Stockholm.

At first everything happened as Haussman had envisaged; the city was able to acquire land at reasonable prices and also found buyers for its plots. Gradually, however, the problems began. Compensation for expropriation tended to be unreasonably high, which meant that finance became difficult. Furthermore there was growing criticism of Haussman himself for vandalism, willfulness, economic irresponsibility and for creating a road network on an altogether too grand a scale. A judgement in the High Court limited severely the opportunities for expropriating land for building plots along the new streets. In Stockholm, by contrast, the right of expropriation was extended as a result of the 'Lex Norrallm'.

However, Haussman would not be stopped. Large-scale projects for road-building were launched, and a number of private companies was involved. Very often, Haussman was almost the only one to know the terms of the agreements reached. After a dramatic peak in demolitions towards the end of the 1860s (848 houses were pulled down in 1866), the bottom dropped out of the scheme and, by the time Haussman resigned from his post in January 1870, work had more or less come to a standstill. A similar course of events can be observed in Stockholm. During the 1950s, both ambition and action remained on a relatively limited scale, and were largely realised. Sergelgatan, with its five tower blocks, was built during this period. Ambitions grew in the 1960s,

and criticism became more viciferous. The city found it increasingly difficult to secure builders for the new plots. In 1967 the most extensive plan - City 67 - was presented; demolition reached its peak. There were secret documents on different projects in the Clearance Section of the Stockholm City Real Estate Department. But the many deserted demolition-sites bore witness to the fact urban renewal had reached a deadlock by about 1970. A year or so later the political reappraisal commenced.

Thus in both Stockholm and Paris the period of urban development lasted for about 20 years, from the beginning of the fifties to the end of the sixties. In both cases serious problems arose in the sixties, as the rate of demolition accelerated and plans and ambitions grew. In both cases criticism developed during the first half of the sixties, becoming severe towards the end of the decade. The Stockholm planners were largely spared the kind of personal and defamatory accusations directed against Haussman. Haussman did not have to wait long for redress; several of his half-finished projects were completed over the following decades. Likewise, the replanning of the city centre of Stockholm is already being judged with greater discrimination and in a much more positive light than only ten years previously.

This is not the place to start discussing development-cycles, to launch any theories about the maximum length of urban-renewal processes, but it may be relevant to ask whether Haussman was a hundred years before his time - or whether the planners and decision-makers of Stockholm were a hundred years behind.

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CRISTINA

VELO-BIND

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