

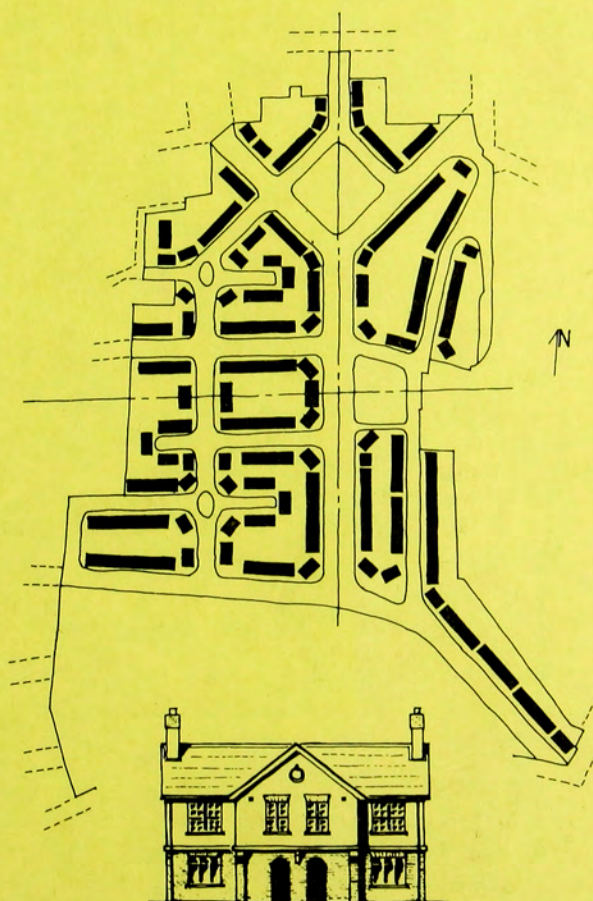
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Dublin Corporation: Fairbrothers Fields Estate (1924-25)

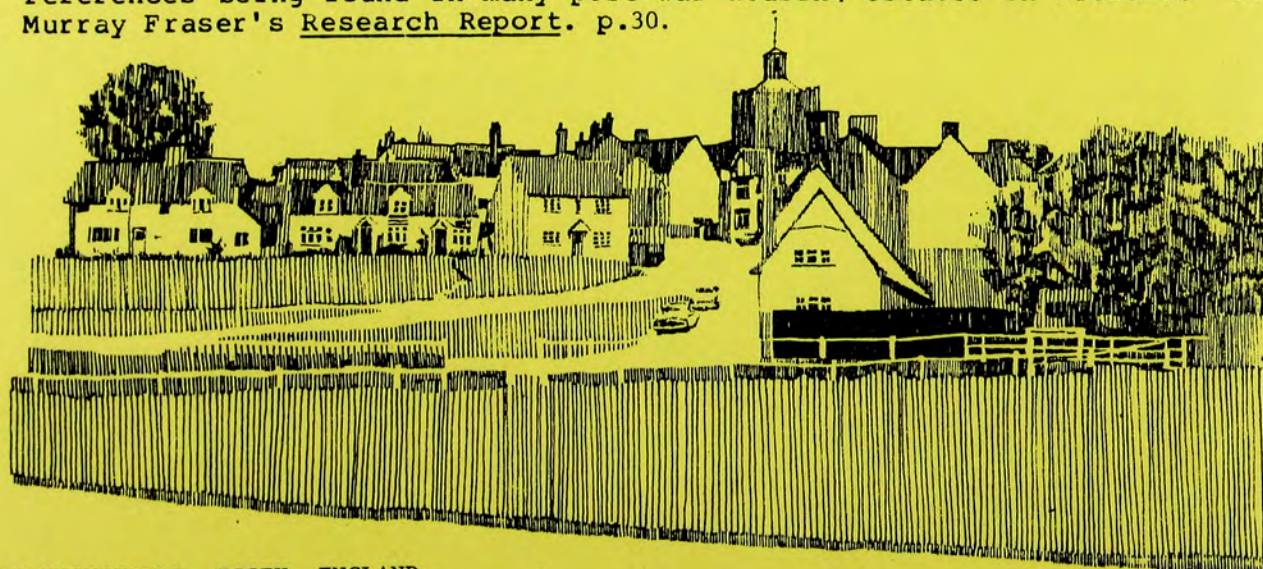
Planning History Group

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Note on cover illustration

Dublin Corporation's Fairbrothers Fields Estate exemplifies the design transition in early Irish state housing. The sketch plan (redrawn) shows the 1917 biaxial garden suburb layout with "grand avenue" route and 370 3 - 5 room dwellings, the scheme having been re-designed to a much lower density following the 1914 Geddes/Unwin housing report. Promoted during the war in the expectation of retrospective subsidy, the Corporation used part of a special Treasury loan in 1918 to clear the site. Delayed by post-war disruption, the estate was slightly enlarged before being built in 1924-5. The sketch elevation (redrawn) shows one of the semi-detached villa blocks with abstracted Neo-Georgian features as constructed, such references being found in many post-war housing estates in Ireland. See Murray Fraser's Research Report. p.30.



FINGHFIELD, ESSEX, ENGLAND.

One of the vernacular models for the Essex County Council's Design Guide of 1975, discussed in Brian Goodey's paper.
(PHB thanks him for this and other illustrations).

1.

CHAIRMAN'S COMMUNICATION

As 1985 comes to an end the Planning History Group can look back on another year of productive activity, the key note being consolidation. A new Editor, Treasurer, Meetings Secretary and Membership Secretary have all most successfully taken over the reins from previous incumbents. In the meantime the network of contacts has expanded, research papers and publications have appeared and plans laid for future activities. As ever, it has been a pleasure to be in touch with you all.

The big event of 1986 will be the launch of Planning Perspectives. The link with the Planning History Group will be a close one and the publishers feel able to offer a most favourable subscription rate for PHG members. An individual UK subscription rate has been fixed at £39.50, but for members of the Planning History Group the rate will be £16.50 - a very attractive reduction. My hope is that many will in fact become individual subscribers. The more successful PP becomes, then the more papers can be published, with the number of yearly issues perhaps increasing from three to four. The chicken and egg situation will be very apparent, and if things go well the package will offer substantial benefits for us all; an increased membership of PHG, buoyant subscription rates to PP and an improved service to our members.

Every good wish for the coming year.

Gordon Cherry

EDITORIAL

One of the less depressing aspects of life in the middle eighties is the conspicuous improvement we have seen in the standard of urban architecture. Instead of the crude and repellent environments of so much postwar development, designers are providing buildings that fit into their surroundings and are viewed and used with pleasure. Of course, some Post-Modern work is just a pastiche of external decorative effects on a standard modernist box. But at its best, the new spirit in architecture involves a fundamental shift of attention from the individual building site to the whole context of the surrounding streets, spaces and buildings; it requires a feeling for the quality of places and for the way in which we perceive and enjoy them; and this in turn requires a sense of history. So the creative interests of the Post-Modern designer come to meet up with the planning historian's curiosity into the distinctive characters and qualities of towns. At times the meeting of Post-Modernism with planning history may be quite explicit: in the new San Francisco city plan, for example, which introduces design guidelines that hark back to the setback formula in the 1916 New York City Zoning Resolution, recommends ornamentation, decorative building tops, cornices and domes, and encourages street frontage architecture in place of the modern box-and-plaza form; in the highly-publicized debates in 1984-1985 over the City of London Local Plan, which were brought into sharp focus by a

proposal to build just such a Miesian box in the very heart of the City, with excellent Post-Modern counterproposals and a good deal of serious argument about development, design and planning over the last hundred years; and more esoterically in the sophisticated morphological studies of the Venetian and Catalan schools of urban designers, who have consciously tried to devise a discipline of historical research as a basis not just for conservation but new developments that harmonize with their settings. Leaving aside the stylistic controversies and fancy arguments which riddle Post-Modernism as they do any architectural movement, planning historians may well be inquisitive to learn more of its central concerns. We asked Juan Pablo Bonta and Brian Goodey to give us some guidance, and their papers conclude this issue of the Bulletin.

1985 was a vintage publishing year, with - among other titles - new biographies of C.R. Ashbee, Thomas Adams and Raymond Unwin and the publication, under Michael Bannon's editorship, of the first major volume on the history of Town Planning in Ireland. Picking up the Irish theme, this issue combines a review of the Bannon collection, a paper by Fred Aalen on the early involvement of the state in rural housing provision, and a Research Report by Murray Fraser on his doctoral research into Irish state housing between 1890 and 1932. For the substantial conference reports which make up most of the remainder of the Bulletin, we are grateful to Nicholas Bullock, Gerard Fehl and Deborah Lyon.

Lastly, a word of thanks to all the individuals with whose regular assistance all three issues of the 1985 Bulletin have been produced and distributed more or less to schedule: our Editor for the Americas Daniel Schaffer, whose active participation has ensured that the Bulletin's contents have this year quite fairly reflected the geographical spread of our membership; John Sheail, for a stream of abstracts and details of recent publications of interest, Jutta Muller for German translations, Jane Pugh for the preparation of our front cover, John Hodges the printer, and Jacky Jennings who types, progress-chases, and despatches the entire job with wonderful calm and efficiency.

Michael Hebbert

N O T I C E S

TEACHING PLANNING HISTORY

Saturday 22nd March 1986, Department of Town and Regional Planning, Sheffield University.

The Spring meeting of the PHG will focus on education and planning history. It is intended to be a round table forum for all those interested in the teaching of planning history at all levels up to and beyond degree level, and in all disciplinary settings. Thus it is hoped that planners, historians, geographers, architects and representatives of other disciplines will attend and contribute.

There will be three theme papers, including the results of Philip Booth's current survey of planning history teaching, but the intention is to use the session for an exchange of ideas and information about objectives, methods and resources in teaching planning history.

Detailed costings have yet to be undertaken, but a token charge will be made to cover costs of administration, room hire and coffee. For further details contact Dr, Steve Ward, PHG Meetings Secretary, Department of Town Planning, Oxford Polytechnic, Gipsy Lane, Headington, Oxford OX3 0BP.

OFFERS OF PAPERS OR SHORTER CONTRIBUTIONS TO PROVIDE A STARTING POINT FOR DISCUSSION PARTICULARLY WELCOME.

R E P O R T S O F M E E T I N G S

"Lower Income Housing as a Town Planning Issue": 3rd Werner-Reimers Foundation Symposium on Planning History. Bad Homburg, February 20th to 23rd, 1985.

In February this year Frankfurt was host to an international colloquium on the history of planning and housing reform, a reminder, *in parvo*, of the housing conferences both national and international that the city used to welcome regularly before 1914. The colloquium, initiated by Professor Gerhard FEHL of Aachen and smoothly organised by the Werner Reimers Stiftung in Bad Homburg, was able, like the symposia and conferences on housing before 1914, to bring together most of the central figures in Germany working on the history of housing reform; in addition the colloquium also included a number of representatives from other European countries (and the USA) where the discussion of the housing problem had paralleled and influenced the German debate.

The value of such a colloquium on developments in Germany is greater than an equivalent conference for Britain: by comparison with the state of research in Britain, interest in Germany in the Housing Question is still in an exploratory phase; in Germany there are still no equivalents to such well established monographs as A.S. Wohl's The Eternal Slum (1977) or J.N. Tarn's Five-Per-Cent Philanthropy (1973). Nor did the surge of interest in urban history which swept England and the USA in the early 60s

produce an equivalent wave of interest in Germany until much later. DIFU (Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik) first started to publish a very slim register of research for those working on various aspects of urban history, including the housing problem, as late as 1970.

Despite this later growth of interest in the subject a number of full length studies have been published and, as the colloquium clearly revealed, research interest in different areas in the field is rapidly growing. Dorothea BERGER-THIMME's Die Wohnungsfrage und Sozialstaat, a sharply observed account of the various pressure groups working for housing reform (for example, Verein Reichwohngesetz and the Bund deutscher Bodenreformer) and the interplay of interests involved in the campaign for housing legislation at state and national levels before 1914, was published as early as 1976. Since the mid 70s interest in the history of the housing Question has become increasingly wide-ranging, reflecting the variety of interests that are necessarily involved in so large a subject. In the work of Lutz NIETHAMMER, for example, we can see the housing problem considered from a number of very different points of view: as perceived by the worker, in his study of working class housing in the Ruhr; as an element in Kommunalpolitik, in an examination of the conflict between city and suburbs over the question of incorporation; as the conjunction of reforming and economic interests that surround the abortive initiative for Reichs housing legislation between 1912 - 1914; finally the collection of essays that he edited in 1979 under the title Wohnen im Wandel offers a number of perspectives on the history of housing ranging from the discussion of local housing typologies to the life style of the Schlafgänger or lodger.

Complementary to the work of social, economic and urban historians has been the interest of historians of architecture, planning and public health in the range of technical issues that surround the housing problem. Gerhard FEHL's work at Aachen illustrates the best of this approach and his research (with Juan RODRIGUEZ-LOPEZ) on the history of planning and on the development of tenement and cottage forms of housing has done much to fill out our understanding of the importance and the breadth of the German contribution in these fields before 1914.

Much of the success of the Bad Homburg Colloquium was to have brought together representatives of these different research interests and the papers presented at the colloquium reflect this diversity. The Housing Question was discussed in terms of social reform politics, both local and national, as town planning, in terms of land reform and municipal Bodenpolitik, as architectural typology, and as a problem of cheap transport. Nor was the debate limited to the examination of a single city as has so often been the case in England where the fascination with London has, at least until recently, dominated discussion: at Bad Homburg, developments in Berlin were sharply contrasted with those in Hamburg, Mainz, Mannheim, Bremen and elsewhere.

To this diversity of German interests, the colloquium also brought speakers from other European countries who were able to provide the necessary reminder of the international dimensions of so much of the debate on housing legislation around the turn of the century which emphasised the differences between countries,

the solutions put forward to solve the housing problem were often influenced by developments abroad: early German interest in co-operative housing was fired by admiration for the English building societies, while English interest in Town Planning as a means of facilitating the construction of workers' housing drew strength from the example of German planning. By setting the debate on the developments in Germany against this larger background the colloquium was not only able to emphasise what was particular to Germany, but also what was common to the movement for housing reform across Europe and provided the inspiration for the ten International Housing Congresses held between 1889 and 1913.

Much of the debate at Bad Homburg served to remind those attending of the very different points of view from which the question of housing and planning can be approached; no common agenda for future research was, nor indeed could have been agreed at the colloquium. But if the uniformity of interests to do so was quite understandably lacking, the debate did at least establish the need for dialogue between the different interests represented, for the political historians to grasp the nature of the technical problems, and for the historians of architecture or planning to recognise the essential political dimensions inherent in many of the 'technical' solutions proposed. Most of all, however, the colloquium reflected the vitality of research in this area; will this growing interest in the history of housing reform and planning now lead to a number of publications that can stand comparison with such authoritative contemporary works as Eberstadt's Handbuch der Wohnungsfrage or Fuch's Die Wohnungs- und Siedlungsfrage nach dem kriege?

Dr. Nicholas Bullock
King's College, Cambridge

Belgium, almost forgotten pioneer of European Town Planning,
Public Lecture Series, Aachen, May and June 1985.

Tuesday, June 25th 1985, saw the end of an exceptionally instructive lecture series given by Belgian guest lecturers on the history of Belgian town planning. The lecturer was Pierre PUTTEMANS, his subject Victor Bourgeois, the best known representative of modern architecture and town planning in Belgium, co-founder of the avantgarde association CIAM (Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) - and at the same time - an international symbol of the early decline to which the Modern Movement was subjected in the late 20s and early 30s. From 1930 onwards, Victor Bourgeois gradually withdrew from architecture and turned to the idea of a rational-functionalistic city planning, and was - even after 1950 - only able to build extraordinarily nondescript houses in the style of internationalism. Here in Germany we tend to attribute the disintegration of modernism to the national socialists. In the international context, and with Bourgeois in mind, it seems more a matter of ideological self exhaustion. In their mania for conformity modernists lost their drive to progress.

Thus, the Belgian variety of town planning had followed a different route from the German or the much better known English example. The 7 lectures followed this divergent evolution stage

by stage from the early industrial period. At the beginning of the 19th century, new factory owners like James Cockerill and Henri Degorge took up the systematic development of housing for their workers. Among the outstanding examples - now, thank God, preserved from further dilapidation - are Grand Hornu near Mons, reminiscent of early French State factories, or the Cour du Val near the glass factory which was converted from the cloister Val St. Lambert in 1826. (Lecturer: Axel FOHL).

The concentration of workers in the big cities of Wallonia, their early trade union organisation and the great strike of 1186, were reasons for the "Catholic Party" to pursue a policy of "decentralisation", i.e. to keep workers in the country, to direct the new manufacturing industry to rural areas as well and to secure the towns for the bourgeoisie and the middle classes. In 1889, the first major housing law in Europe was passed in Belgium turning this policy into practice, thereby starting a by now almost hundred year long development of dispersed settlement which is still startlingly evident in Belgium. The railway system built and run from the beginning by the State, had an enormously dense rail network, and already in the 1860s offered a reduced tariff for workers to help this systematically planned decentralisation; at the same time, the traditional way of living in small houses with gardens was encouraged. In the cities, on the other hand, there were experiments in the 1890s with novel workers' blocks of flats, run by cooperatives and supported by the State, which turned out to be more efficient than anything else in Europe (Lecturer: B. DE MEULDER).

The late 19th century witnessed yet a further great decentralisation movement, that of the well-to-do and the middle class, the "leisure-class", who for the duration of their holidays were moving to the coast to escape the smog and rush of city life. There, where speculators planned on a grand scale, "natural life" and "tranquility" were still purportedly to be found. Here we have - at least partly - the big city reaching beyond its narrow radius - similar to London (Brighton) and Berlin (Heringsdorf). Pieter UITENHOVE who is concerned with the history of leisure attitudes gave a vivid description of the Belgian example in connection with land speculation and heedless destruction of natural conditions.

The great catastrophe hit Belgium with the Great War when many of the old towns in particular suffered grave damage during the battles between the Germans, English and French. Rebuilding occurred in two separate ways. One was the rebuilding of the historical centres, subject of Jo CELIS' lecture. He described the new nationalism which accepted neither French gothic, German classicism nor English Arts and Crafts - nor the recent modernism. Rather, the destroyed city centres were rebuilt in the regional styles not according to historical plans but based rather on a historical ideal, and often on the original site, but sometimes also after thorough reorganisation of the layout of the old town, as in Leuven. The innocent visitor of today hardly notices the deception. This last manifestation of already outdated historicism was the work of middle classe elites, an already rationalised building industry and architects trained along historical lines.

It contrasted with the housing construction following the period

of shortage of the Great War: a socialists' reform law during the first post war coalition encouraged the building of 'cooperative garden districts'. Everywhere "little Russias" came into existence, settlements in the style of the Modern Movement at a time when hardly a thought was given to the planning of a modern settlement in Germany. At first, the architects did not adhere to one particular style. In 1921-22, the well-known landscape architect van der Swaelmen designed (together with V. Bourgeois) the modernistic settlement "Cite Moderne" as well as the "Cite Floreal" outside Brussels, a rather more romantic settlement in the English style. In his lecture, Herman STIJNEN pointed out the different division of labour in Belgium for settlement planning: the landscape architect designed the settlement plan whilst the architect provided the designs for the dwelling. Of special interest was Swaelmen's method of design: he carried it out on the spot in the undulating countryside, marking the rows of houses with posts; laid out the course of roads with string and thus incorporated the landscape directly. One is aware of this even today when one walks with admiration through his garden city.

To conclude the lecture series, Marcel SMETS, organizer of the whole programme, summarized Belgium's experience. It is a distinctive and important case for the planning historian. Even if driving on Belgian motorways creates the impression of a monotonous country, and even if the high degree of indiscriminate spread of settlement throughout the landscape is frightening - planning legislation for settlement control has only existed since 1962 - since the middle of the last century town planning in this country has been based on private initiative and on free enterprise to a greater extent than anywhere else. The conservatives have given support to the concept of planning and to its costs, through state advance concessions, by encouraging housing construction, through the State owned railways and the national banking system. This gave great impetus for greater private initiative in urban development, greater autonomy of the communes versus state intervention, remarkable achievements in the residential areas of the well-to-do and the middle classes, a relative favourable supply of housing for the lower income groups in the suburbs and small towns - as well as numerous unsolved environmental problems that have their roots far back in history.

Gerhard Fehl, Lehrstuhl for
Planungstheorie,
Rheinisch-Westfälischen
Technischen Hochschule,
Aachen, West Germany.

Canadian Urban Studies Conference: The Canadian Urban Experience - past and Present, Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, 14-17 August 1985.

More than 300 registrants attended 40 sessions examining historical and contemporary aspects of urban politics, economics, housing, government, planning and development in Canada. Outlined below are five of the historical sessions:

In a presentation on defence and commerce as factors in town planning, Gilbert A. STELTER (University of Guelph) explored relationships between urban form and culture in the initial

development of central and eastern Canadian centres. He asserted the importance of examining urban history from beyond the boundaries of cities and, in the case of structural urbanization in Canada, from the transformation of European urban systems during the early modern period. French influences included the medieval bastide, a centre of commerce, agriculture and defence with a land division system that persisted in parts of Canada to the late 1700s; the baroque architecture and religious influences of the counter reformation in the 17th century, as reflected in Quebec City's Upper Town and early Montreal; and the age of mercantilism and the citadels of Louis XIV, of which Louisbourg became a quintessential example. From England came the commercial square and the strategic use of fortified towns to colonize Ireland. Plans to disperse Protestants among the Acadians of Nova Scotia were based on the latter but events intervened to force settlement at Halifax only, where a fortified town and later a citadel were built in the 18th century. In Upper Canada, Governor John Simcoe adopted the Roman semi-military planning model. Imperial rivalry between France and England, and later concerns about American aggression, provided a key military role in the location, shape, function and daily life of several centres. However, it was towns such as Toronto, Saint John and Montreal that became main commercial centres, not fortified places such as Kingston, Halifax or Quebec City. Commentator Bruce C. DANIELS (University of Winnipeg) welcomed Stelter's broad approach but suggested additional consideration be given to the role in urban development of churches, local geography, regionalism in England and France, and settlers' resistance to the plans of central places.

R.J. MORRIS (University of Edinburgh) offered an exploratory analysis of the organization and use of power in British and Canadian urban centres during industrialization in the 19th century. British centres functioned as organizers of labour when industry, which developed in the countryside to tap natural resources and a surplus workforce, began moving into towns to facilitate technological change and greater control, division and specialization of labour. Concerned with the reproduction of labour, British centres used municipal services to ameliorate social tensions arising from entrepreneurship. This reflected an ethic of industrial social responsibility and a paternalistic tradition of a landowning elite arbitrating between capital and labour. Canadian cities, in contrast, functioned as accumulators of capital and funnels for a transatlantic flow of people, goods and capital from metropolitan areas to an economic vacuum in the countryside. Industrial development tended to occur along trade flows to directly serve trade or replace imports; later, to satisfy a growing domestic market, including railway construction. Canadian cities, especially on the prairies, sought early incorporation as a means of raising capital to lure railway and other development through bonusing and provision of services. This contrasted with British centres where capital was attracted by private, not public means; railway companies often were supplicants required to pay handsomely to move lines through built-up areas; and the bearers of the civic gospel fought with economizers over municipal services. Canadian cities lacked the mediating sociopolitical structure provided by the British landowners. Instead, holders of capital nakedly wielded their powers, exerted local boosterism, and found it difficult to negotiate class relationships. Morris stressed that Canadian and

British industrial/urban development occurred within significantly different environments, the influences of which require further study. Audience suggestions for Canadian research included the roles of foreign ownership, centralization of economic and political power in Canada, countryside industrialization in Canada, and Canada as a developing country on the economic periphery in the 19th century.

Three speakers explored the role of business in Canadian urban development. L.D. MCCANN (Mount Allison University) focussed on branch businesses as indicators of the emerging core-periphery structure and metropolitan dominance, 1891-1931. He noted the prevalence of Quebec and Ontario as locations of, and headquarters for, urban-based branches. During the period, however, Toronto surpassed Montreal as the site of branch headquarters and the source of branch investment. Moreover, by 1931 Toronto controlled greater numbers of manufacturing, wholesaling and retailing branches; extended its investments to all regions of Canada; it dominated in terms of percentage control of manufacturing and wholesaling branches as against Montreal's control over retail branches only. James SIMMONS (University of Toronto) found locational patterns of retail, wholesale and commercial services 1931-1981 marked by a shift of distribution activity down the urban hierarchy as smaller, poorer places achieved higher real incomes and adopted consumption patterns akin to those in larger centres. This occurred in the context of extraordinary growth in per capita income and the tertiary sector, which probably helped smaller centres withstand a period of rapid 'metropolitanization'. Data for the last decade of the period indicate that retailing continued to disperse down the urban hierarchy, but services and wholesaling grew more rapidly in larger centres. If services continue to outpace the growth of retailing, the trend in favour of smaller centres could be reversed. As well, the effects of computerization on locational patterns of distributional activity are uncertain. Meric S. GERTLER (University of Toronto) provided preliminary results of work on the spatial patterns of capital formation in Canada since 1956. The growth rates of investment in peripheral regions exceeded that of central regions. However, Ontario's absolute share of total investment continued to dominate; Quebec's share declined in the 1970s; and the shares of British Columbia and Alberta increased because of resource exploitation. Comparison of capital stock with share of population indicated the Atlantic provinces and Manitoba had deficits (i.e., were exporters of capital), while Ontario moved from a surplus to a deficit position, and Saskatchewan, Alberta and B.C. had surpluses. Most provinces ended the period with less manufacturing as a percentage of total private fixed capital stock. Nonetheless, in 60% of census metropolitan areas, manufacturing investment continued to have a propulsive role, leading other economic sectors.

John C. WEAVER (McMaster University) and Michael J. COUCET (Ryerson Polytechnical Institute) drew on a jointly developed data set from Hamilton (Ontario) assessment rolls (1850-1971) for respective historical reviews of apartment building and home ownership. Weaver combined his Hamilton case study with an outline of the business and cultural dimensions of North American apartment building - from the rise of apartments as shelter for the affluent in U.S. cities in the 1870s-1880s; to

over-construction in the 1920s as investment flowed into the market in expectation of substantial gains; to retreat in the 1930s and 1940s with depression, war, wary investors, and industry efforts to control competition and prevent rent-cutting; to resurgence of construction in the 1960s. Competitive efforts of independent investors developed the industry but, as the size of buildings increased, so too did the proportion of corporate investment. Key marketing characteristics were established early; appeal to the younger middle class; linkage of image and lifestyle with shelter; and the importance of site selection, neighbourhood quality and ageless, conforming design. Responding to questions, Weaver suggested landlord power increased as rental accommodation was consolidated in apartment buildings, relative to the more competitive tenancy situation which could occur, especially during economic downturns, when rental properties were smaller and more scattered. Doucet's study of home ownership revealed this goal remained elusive for many Hamiltonians for much of the past century. Owner occupancy fluctuated from a low of 20% of a random stratified sample of residential units in 1864 to a high of 51% in 1921, dubbed by Doucet as the 'golden age of the common man'. This high level of ownership stemmed from changes in construction design, materials and technology, and in home financing (blended monthly mortgage payments), rather than public intervention. In contrast, by 1956 45% of all residential units and 75% of all non-apartment units were owner occupied in the context of more interventionist federal housing policy.

A session on the state of local government records prompted calls for greater municipal support for archives, and more innovative approaches by archivists to delivery of professional services, to overcome the neglect of such records in Canada. Ian WILSON (Saskatchewan Archives Board) and Allan MACDONALD (Archives on Ontario) noted in separate presentations that lack of priority for local archival management had led to ad hoc legislative, administrative and financial measures, loss of important materials, and inadequate procedures for public access. Positive exceptions to these circumstances included the Vancouver Island Project; Quebec legislation explicitly establishing municipal archival responsibilities; the transfer of records from some 200 municipalities to the Archives of Ontario following local government reorganization in that province; extensive internal programs in some major urban centres; and recent formation of a national archives council, to be complemented by provincial councils. Wilson and Mark WALSH (Windsor Public Library, Ontario) suggested local archival management may improve gradually, not for the cultural motives which spurred federal and provincial governments, but for administrative reasons - i.e. as a logical extension of contemporary records management systems. Wilson noted this will not obviate the need for local governments to accept greater legislative and financial responsibilities for internal programs, or external arrangements with other agencies; nor will it obviate the need for innovative assistance to municipalities lacking resources for archival programs. Two recent provincial-municipal agreements in Saskatchewan provided one model; other models might be satellite archives, travelling archivists, or private entrepreneurship by archivists.

Titles of Papers mentioned in the Conference Report

1. Stelter "Fortress and Market; Defence and Commerce as Factors in Canadian Town Planning"
2. Morris "British and Canadian Cities During Industrialization: A Comparison of Urbanization by Implosion and Urbanization by Trade Friction"
3. McCann "Metropolitan Dominance in the Emerging Canadian Urban System, 1891-1931"
4. Simmons "The Impact of Distribution Activities on the Canadian Urban System"
5. Gertler "The Structure of Urban and Regional Investment in Canada, 1956-1981"
6. Weaver "The North American Apartment Building as a Matter of Business and an Expression of Culture: A Survey and Case Study"
7. Doucet "Homeownership Patterns Over Time and Space: The Case of Hamilton, 1852-1956"
8. Wilson "Local Government Records in Canada"
9. Macdonald "A Survey of Municipal Records in Ontario, 1974-1984"
10. Walsh "The Windsor Municipal Archives: Heritage Development in Hard Times"

Deborah Lyon
Institute of Urban Studies
University of Winnipeg

RECENT AND FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

The Angel Literary Awards

Arcadia For All: The Legacy of a Makeshift Landscape (Mansell Publishing) by Dennis Hardy & Colin Ward, the fascinating account of self-build housing on the 'plotlands' of South East England between 1900 and 1940 has won the £500 non-fiction prize in the Angel Literary Awards offered annual by Gough Hotels. The award, for writers resident in East Anglia, was presented to the authors at a dinner held at the Angel Hotel, Bury St. Edmunds on Friday evening, 15 November, 1985.

Carol Herselle Krinsky (1985) Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History Meaning. MIT Press, Cambridge Mass and London. 500 pp. 253 illus. \$50.00.

Professor Krinsky's comprehensive review of the synagogue as a building type draws examples from the Roman empire to the present day and from smaller cities as well as almost every European capital from London to Leningrad. Its specific interest to the planning historian lies in her discussion of the urban context of the ghetto, and the consequences of allowing the Jewish communities greater residential and building freedom in the 19th and 20th centuries. Carol Krinsky, Professor of Fine Arts at New York University, is currently President of the Society of Architectural Historians, and belongs to the Planning History Group.

Albert Christ-Janer, (1984) Eliel Saarinen: Finnish-American Architect and Educator, with foreword by Alvar Aalto (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, revised edition 1979, 1984), xviii, 169 pp., illustrations and index, folio paperback.

The contributions to city planning and architecture in Europe and the United States of Eliel Saarinen (1873-1950) are examined in the context of his views on art, politics, education and design theory. Lushly illustrated with architectural plans, renderings, and photographs of Saarinen's projects, Christ-Janer's revised study expands upon the 1948 biography prepared in collaboration with the subject.

Andrew Lees (1984). Cities perceived. Urban society in European and American thought, 1820-1940. Manchester University Press, Manchester, 360 pp., price £25.00, ISBN 0 7190 1725 4.

Drawing on a wide range of sources, writers well known and obscure, the author examines the complex fears and enthusiasms aroused by the rapid growth of cities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A comparative framework encompasses developments in America as well as Britain, France and Germany. The evidence discovered of an ambivalent and even strongly positive attitude towards urbanisation complements the more familiar images of hostility that have bulked so large in previous studies of the period.

Ashok K. Dutt and Frank J. Costa (eds), (1985), Public planning in the Netherlands. Perspectives and change since the second world war. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 261 pp, price £20.00. ISBN 0 19 823248 9.

This collection of 15 papers by an international group of scholars and

planning professionals constitutes the first comprehensive treatment in English of Dutch public planning. Together, they concentrate on the relationships between planning ideas and government framework, and between planning procedures and changing economic and social issues. Having described the evolution of the planning system, chapters examine specific functional aspects of planning, a range of planning issues, and finally such important planning projects as the creation of new land from the IJsselmeer, the development of new urban settlements, and the construction of sea defences.

Barry Maitland (1984) Shopping Malls; Planning and Design London; Construction Press ISBN 0 582 30525X

Though Maitland writes as a Professor of Architecture primarily for the practitioner, his exhaustive treatment of shopping mall design includes an historical review of the origins of the first enclosed retail centres first in North America, and then in Europe and elsewhere around the world.

Gary W. Malamud (1984) Boomtown Communities New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold Company ISBN 0 442 26399 6.

Malamud's volume is the fifth in the "Environmental Design Series" edited by Richard Doper. Its object is to trace common processes and problems wherever energy exploitation or rapid industrialization create sudden demand for housing and urban services in unpopulated areas. There is coverage of most boomtowns worldwide since the mid nineteenth century, and though specialists will find some of the geographical and historical treatment rather skimpy, the subsequent analytical chapters on generic problems of planning rapid urbanisation are usefully thought-provoking. The same cannot be said of the concluding section on "an overall boomtown solution", which smacks too much of the urban designer's vice of cheerfully tackling intractable policy dilemmas with a felt-tip pen and a flow chart under the guise of "problem-solving".

The Future of the Irish Rural Landscape (1985). Edited by F.H.A. Aalen, pp. iv + 201 + 15 plates (C.R.P. Dublin), obtainable from Department of Geography, Trinity College, Dublin. Price IR £6, cheques payable to 'Department of Geography Trinity College Dublin'.

This volume contains the eight papers presented at a conference organised by the Department of Geography, Trinity College, Dublin and the Irish Planning Institute, and held at Trinity College in March 1985. Though the aim of the conference was to investigate current and future developments likely to influence the appearance of the Irish rural landscape, several of the papers have an historical dimension and may be of interest to PHB readers. The contributors include F.H.A. Aalen on change and conservation in the rural landscape and A. Gailey (Ulster Folk and Transport Museum) on "Traditional buildings in the landscape".

Hedley Smyth (1985), Property companies and the construction industry in Britain, University Press, Cambridge, pp.265, price £25.00, ISBN 0 521 26512 6.

The experiences of the second world war and post-war reconstruction provide the basis for analysing the property and construction sectors of the British economy. Developing out of a materialist theoretical perspective, the book challenges the traditional notions of the 'backwardness' of the construction sector, and investigates the complex

relationship between ground rent, the value of the building and building rent as it affected the property sector.

James Chambers (1985), The English house, Thames Methuen, London, pp.288, price £14.95, ISBN 0 423 00400.

No other European country has so great a variety of housing. The volume recounts the changes that have taken place in the shape and size, layout and building materials, and overall design of the house from the early medieval period until the present day. Assessments are made of the impact of social mobility, technical developments in building, the role of fashion, and such innovations as gas and electricity.

Josef W. Konvitz (1985), The Urban Millennium: The City Building Process from the Early Middle Ages to the Present (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press), pp.290, \$24.95, ISBN 0 8093 1201 8.

This comparative urban history traces the changing modes of city building from 1000 AD to the present and argues that the flexibility and adaptability of the past have been replaced in the past one hundred years by a more rigid and permanent infrastructure. It concentrates on planning the built environment.

Glenn Yago (1984), The Decline of Transit: Urban Transportation in German and U.S. Cities, 1900-1970 (New York: Cambridge University Press), vii, pp. 293, \$29.95, ISBN 0 521 25633 x.

This study examines the social, political and technological forces that have altered the urban transportation systems in the United States and Western Europe to better understand the nature of the present-day crisis. Central to the study are the causes of automobile dominance over mass transit, first in American cities and later in Europe.

Frank Jackson (1985) Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect Planner and Visionary, London: A. Zwemmer Ltd. 192 pp. £12.50.

Richly illustrated and superbly produced by Zwemmer, the book and print dealer, this is less a personal biography than an account of Unwin's professional achievements as architect and planner. Successive chapters cover the early years of the partnership with Barry Parker, the designs for New Earswick, Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb, Unwin's role in the housing and town planning movements, his interwar regional plans for London, and lastly his late lectures in America. The account is succinct and well-referenced, and by a perceptive understanding of the Morrisian socialism which motivated Unwin from start to finish of his long and many-sided career, it makes a thoroughly convincing unity of its subject's life and work.

Christopher Bacon (1985) Pruitt Igoe Revisited, University of Sheffield, Department of Town and Regional Planning Working Paper TRP 61. 40 pages, 12 illustrations. Available at £3.00 from the Department, 6 Claremont Place, Sheffield S10 2TB.

The Pruitt Igoe estate in St. Louis remains today the most famous public housing disaster in Europe and North America. Designed in 1950/51 and occupied in 1955/56, it was demolished between 1972 and 1976. And yet with such a remarkable history there is no specific explanation for the rise and fall of the project. Various studies have highlighted the effects of poverty and racism, inadequate funding and poor design but these problems were common to many other post war multi-storey public

housing projects in the United States.

This working paper argues that it was the political and economic problems facing St. Louis that were the primary cause of the construction and failure of Pruitt Igoe. Without these there would have been no need for such an experimental and unpopular design and an absence of the social conditions which undermined any possibility of successful operation. Pruitt Igoe was primarily a characteristic of the post war 'urban crisis' in the United States. The limitations of public housing, modern architecture and anti-poverty programmes are a secondary consideration.

This is the first of three working papers concerned with the history of deck-access housing from the beginning of this century up to the present day. The second paper will provide another case study, namely of Park Hill flats in Sheffield. Together, they will allow detailed comparison of the British and United States experience. A third paper will describe the estates built in Europe, North America and elsewhere and suggest, following the two case studies, a framework for understanding the development and contemporary problems of this important type of multi-storey housing.

Howard P. Segal (1985), Technological Utopianism in American Culture (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1985, ISBN 0-226-74436-1; 0-226-74338-8 paper.

For centuries, it has been traditional for utopian thinkers to design the perfect community as a city. The city itself was a metaphor for the perfect society in the Hebrew prophets and in St. Augustine. Utopian thinkers since the sixteenth century have used the provision of space and the allocation of land use to model social structures and economic activities. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, 25 American writers presented descriptions of utopias in which technology was the instrument critical to the actualization of utopia. Almost all of these texts have been forgotten since the depression. Howard Segal's great achievement has been to place these writings into two contexts: the history and philosophy of utopian thought from the Renaissance to the present, and the development of technology and planning in America from the early nineteenth century to the present.

Historians of planning will find Segal's large themes of more value than his treatment of these 25 writers. The utopian texts themselves have many features in common, and Segal brings out their architectonic descriptions clearly enough. The resemblance between these texts and grand, visionary plans for American cities and regions since the 1980s was tenuous at best, and Segal explains well why city planning did not work as utopians, who were not planners, thought it might (91-97, 114-120). As for Segal's account of how planning emerged in late nineteenth-century America, that familiar story raises fresh questions by being set in the context of a discussion of utopian thought. The implication of much of Segal's book is that planning history should confront the reasons why modern cities, despite the emergence of planning and the impact of technology, do not satisfy many of the non-material needs of people. His discussion of altered meanings of work and play in twentieth century urban life also has relevance to planning history, given the importance of recreational space in urban design and the values associated with urban centers and suburbs (129-34). Clearly, planning historians need to pay much more attention to the meanings of work and leisure in different periods. Finally, Segal's analysis includes a plea for the functional value of utopian thinking in contemporary culture.

The book is a pleasure to read. It is, however, organised in an awkward way. There are 88 pages of notes to 164 pages of text. The notes, of course, are in smaller type. Many of them contain extended arguments and points of substance. They must be read along with the text. But the notes for many passages in the text may be twice as long as those passages. For example, a 17-line paragraph on page 97 about small utopian communities in nineteenth-century America is supported by a single note on p.216-17 which is 62 lines long, with citations of 18 books, articles and dissertations. The notes and bibliography alone are important reference tools.

Joseph W. Konvitz,
Professor of History,
Michigan State University.

Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees (1985) The Making of Urban Europe 1000-1950 Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press 399 pp. £25.50.

A standard work for the general reader and for teaching use at university level needs to convey accurately at least some of the intricacies of contemporary scholarly developments, while retaining a basic simplicity of argument that will attract and hold the attention of the beginner. Hollenberg and Lees achieve this most difficult balance in their lucid but compendious text, and without any resort to dense footnotes or bulky appendices, or any undue selectivity in their interpretation of the words urban Europe and the dates 1000-1950. The key to the book's success lies in its structure, which is bold, fresh and persuasive. Simply the authors break the millenium into three periods. The preindustrial age (eleventh to fourteenth centuries), the proto-industrial age (fourteenth to eighteenth centuries) and the industrial age. Urbanization in each epoch is discussed in terms of two models, a model of cities as central places for the supply of services within a rural region, and one of cities as points in a network through which goods and services are traded between regions. Within the epoch, this distinction serves to explain uneven geographical variation in the distribution and type of urbanization. Across the epochs, the changing character of the central place and network functions explain the historic evolution of urban social organization and institutions. The conceptual framework has a far greater expository power than this bald summary might suggest. It allows demographic trends to be shifted from their accustomed place at the beginning of any discussion of urbanization, to the end of each of the three sections, where the population change of different types and sizes of cities are effectively interpreted in the light of substantive economic considerations. It accommodates a generous and up-to-date historiographical discussion of the urban history literature, from Braudel to Wrigley by way of H. Carter, Corfield, Lampard and Wallerstein. Without any loss of narrative momentum, it introduces the reader to a range of relevant social service concepts that every urban historian should know: central place and network theory, of course, but also concepts of wage and price cycles, urban size and function, agglomeration economies, land rent and public goods. Planning historians, having read the authors' introductory disclaimer that their focus on economics, demography and geography means less attention to politics, culture and design, will appreciate the perceptive treatment of just these aspects of proto-industrial (baroque) and industrial (modern) city planning. In a word, this is a very good text, and for those of us teaching basic courses of urban history, one that may soon be seen as indispensable.

Michael J. Bannon (ed.) 1985, The Emergence of Irish Planning 1880-1920, Dublin: Turoe Press, pp. 336, price £9.95 p.b., £18.95 h.b., ISBN 0 905223 73.

This book, the first volume of a pair entitled A Hundred Years of Irish Planning, was launched in May 1985 by Mr. Fergus O'Brien T.D., Minister of State at the Department of Environment in Dublin. His official benediction reflected the importance of the publishing event within Irish society, Michael Bannon's volumes being the first to bring the national planning history out of the twilight world of specialist academic journals into accessible reach of a general readership. Whereas the forthcoming second volume The Irish Planning Experience will carry the story right up to the present day, the six chapters in The Emergence of Irish Planning are devoted primarily to the years before 1914, excepting only a competent history of town planning in Cork by Michael Gough and an opening chapter by Arthur Horner on the physical and demographic development of Dublin between 1880 and 1982, forming - because of that city's overwhelming dominance - an appropriate gateway for all that is to follow. Michael Bannon explains his focus on the pre-World War I epoch in terms of a cyclical model of Ireland's planning movement, which has three peaks of activity and interest in the 1960s, the early 1940s, and the period of concern for this volume, particularly the years 1911 to 1914. Each peak is associated with a social or economic issue of the day, culminates in visits from international luminaries and a flurry of research and policy-making, and fades as the planning effort becomes technicized or taken over by reformists whose concerns are out of touch with Irish political realities.

In those prewar, pre-Independence years, the pressing issue was Dublin's housing problem. Pressing, that is, in terms of the scale of overcrowding and mortal squalor in slum tenements: as Mary Daly demonstrates in her chapter on this topic, the fact that tenement landlords were widely spread through the shopkeeper, publican and business classes and embraced influential members of the Dublin elite - including a professor of Irish at the Catholic University - ensured a very low political and administrative priority for intervention by Dublin Corporation, in notable contrast to the salience of the rural land and housing issues. The Corporation's administrative inefficiency and improper partiality to the landlord interest were notorious, though as F.A. Aalen demonstrates in a detailed analysis of the philanthropic, industrial and public arms of the housing movement, the city had maintained a steady programme of slum clearance and rebuilding schemes from the 1880s and indeed by 1914 had housed 7,500 persons, or 2.5% of its population. However, it was only after 1910, when the Nationalists and the labour movement began to militate over the city's continuing housing crisis that the issue came to take the centre of the stage with an official commission of inquiry and promises of substantially greater resources for a major initiative against the tenements of the very poor.

Michael Bannon shows in his own chapter how "town planning" now entered the scene, thanks to the bridge-building efforts of Irish reformers to join Dublin's housing issues with the already vigorous international planning movement. There was the familiar proliferation of exhibitions, journals and conferences, and above all, Patrick Gesses, who visited in 1911, in 1913 to give characteristically "startling" evidence to the Housing Inquiry, and again in 1914 to organize a major Civic Exhibition and summer school. How Geddes brought in Raymond Unwin to develop a low-density housing policy for Dublin, and the latter's subsequent involvement as H.M. Government's senior town planner in the reconstruction of the city after the Easter Uprising of 1916, are told by

the leading Unwin specialist Mervyn Miller.

"We want no garden city - give us working class dwellings!" was the cry when the Corporation's proposed garden city at Marino, later designed by Unwin, was first mooted in 1910. The dialectic of domestic housing politics with the international and quasi-colonial currents of the town planning movement runs like a thread through all the contributions to Michael Bannon's collection. It ensures that the volume will fascinate a wide readership besides students of Irish social and economic history, for whom it will be indispensable.

Hartmut Frank (1985) Faschistische Architekturen: Planen und Bauen in Europa 1930 bis 1945 Hans Christians Verlag, Hamburg. 334 pp.

Is there such a thing as fascist architecture, a specific organization of space, a characteristic concept of built form common to the European fascists regimes from Germany to Spain during the 1930s and the 1940s? If so, how much sense does the popular accusation of fascism in today's architectural debates make? It is this kind of question that this anthology with its 17 individual essays pursues. Its purpose is to enter more deeply into a debate which, in particular in Germany, is burdened with extreme resentment, repression, comforting cliché, and opportunistic prejudice.

Here this fascism debate has blurred the views of architectural history, just where its particular attention should be called for. Architectural history still has great difficulties in posing the quality question to the products of recent 'evil' regimes. The dogmatic linkage of modernity and 'progress' in particular often precludes a whole range of questions which would arise as much in stylistically undetermined analyses and in mere superficial international comparisons.

The positions as well as the approaches of the individual authors vary considerably. There are empirical studies as well as theoretical debates of controversial character. The spectrum ranges from the description of specific cases - the planning of an SS estate in Berlin (Machule), of Italian settlement policy in Libya (Talamona) to the planning of whole cities such as Hamburg (Schubert) or Warsaw (Peschken) and on the development of the architecture of individual countries during the period in question - Italy (De Michelis), Spain (Sambricio) and France (Cohen). Other case studies are devoted to characteristic competitions after 1933 (Nerdinger), to individual protagonists of the respective architecture (Ciucci) or the diffusion of particular planning concepts (Pahl-Weber). A third group of contributions pursues the development of specific architectural movements, - the fate of modern architecture in Germany (Fehl), the history of Traditionalism in France (Vigato), the traditionalist 'Stuttgart School' in Germany (Voigt) or the controversial positions within Third Reich landscape architecture (Heinrich-Hampf).

These are preceded by the contributions of a more general character. Opening the discussion from a German point of view, Frank proposes the thesis that a division of labour between the modernist, traditionalist and eclectic architectures existed during the Third Reich, which can be explained as a result of populist cultural policies designed for impressing as well as integrating the masses. This is followed by De Michelis' treatise on the relationship between architecture and politics in fascist Italy, which at first glance produced results so different from those in Germany. He explicitly speaks of 'fascist architectures' in the plural and thus formulates the central thesis of this volume. A similar position is taken up by Scarpa. Under the heading of the

'Subjective Factor' her comparison between the architectural situations of Germany and Italy pointedly opposes the thesis that there is a direct connection between the architects' personal political statements and their architectural designs. She points out that, especially during the 1930s, many a renowned architect praised modern architecture as a particularly suitable means for the self-expression of such varied political systems as those in Germany, the Soviet Union and Italy. The counter position is formulated by Friemert, who contrasts the Third Reich and the Weimar Republic. He seeks for the social conditions under which an aesthetics of modernity was able to evolve. From the omnipresence of the fascist structures of oppression he concludes the impossibility of modernity in fascisms.

All the 17 essays are being published for the first time in this form. The majority are revised lectures prepared for a colloquium at the Hochschule für bildende Künste Hamburg, that took place in January 1983. The present architectural debate suffers from a lack of objectivity and a recurrent thoughtless labelling of various styles as fascist, which obviously is intended to secure a marketable position. This shows that it has become yet more urgent to enter more deeply into the debate on the relationship between architecture and politics.

(Publishers' summary)

Henry C. Binford (1985), The First Suburbs: Residential Communities on The Boston Periphery, 1815-1860 Chicago: University of Chicago Press, xiv, 304, maps, illustrations, tables, index, \$25.00, ISBN 0 226 05158 7.

When the 1970 census revealed a majority of Americans living in the suburbs, it amounted to a historical landmark as important as the one a half century earlier when the census showed for the first time that over the population lived in urban places. But the growing interest in urban history has, until recently, left our suburban past neglected. When suburbs are interpreted by historians they are typically seen as extension of the urban core, the products of mass transportation and the exodus of middle-class commuters. Sam Bass Warner's study of the Boston area, Streetcar Suburbs, remains the classic treatment of those spacious green refuges from urban blight in the late nineteenth century.

Henry Binford takes us back earlier into the antebellum history of the suburbs and insists that it is here we must begin if we are to fully understand the special character of this now predominant mode of American life. Binford sees the suburban die being cast well before mass transit comes on the urban scene, and he sees the principle actors as the indigenous suburban dwellers who preceded the commuters. Like Warner, he has chosen Boston as the site for his case study. Cambridge and Somerville across the Charles River from Boston are the special focus of this book. Between 1815 and 1860 what once had been rather isolated rural villages became suburbs that were at once intermeshed with the central city through roads, ferries, bridges, and railroads, and yet fiercely independent of the city in their identity and their way of life.

The book is well-written, tightly organized, and is throughout a nicely crafted work of history built on a deep foundation of original research. The first part of the book describes the period after the American Revolution when Boston was alive with new trading and manufacturing opportunities, and the suburbs became connected through new turnpikes and bridges - gateways to the city - with the metropolitan economy. Cambridge and Somerville at this time were not bedroom communities for

urban commuters but were part of a bustling "fringe economy" that supplied Boston with manufactured goods and with food - milk, produce, and meat - that filled the stalls of the new Quincy Market. On the fringe new textile bleacheries, shipyards, glass factories, ice houses, brick yards, soap factories, slaughterhouses, tanneries, and ropewalk works emerged. The suburban population boomed with the fringe economy. Between 1820 and 1860 Cambridge, East Cambridge, and Cambridgeport together went from about 3,000 to about 26,000, while Somerville (originally part of Charlestown) climbed to over 8,000.

Much of this growth came from a new commuter population, the product of a "revolution in mobility" that transformed the old "walking city" into increasingly separate zones of work and residence. Stages and omnibuses arrived in the 1820s, then steam railroads, which during the depression of 1837-42 found new profits in catering to passenger traffic from the towns outside Boston. As links to the city strengthened so did local identity, as reflected in Somerville's declaration of independence from Charlestown and Old Cambridge's adoption of a new city charter. The "new model" suburban town, led by a wealthy Whig elite, expanded its government powers, offered more services and amenities to its citizens, and operated within what began as a happy balance between fringe economy enterprise and ideal of a bucolic residential enclave. That balance was upset as the population thickened and soap factories, slaughterhouses, and other noxious industries crowded next to expanding residential neighborhoods. The new model of elite leadership and cooperative voluntarism was likewise shattered in the 1850s by political and social conflict.

In the period after the Civil war the residential interests came to dominate and the industrial economy was gradually winnowed out of the suburbs. Along with this shift came a determination to remain independent of the city politically and to maintain a separate suburban quality of life. Binford criticizes those who see the suburbs merely as selfish refuges for the wealthy, a view he ascribes to a "city-centered" bias that reduces the suburb to a mere adjunct of the city. Instead, Binford insists, we must see suburbs as "monuments to their enterprise... innovative, competitive, localized, stubborn, at once parochial and urbane."

Immediately the response to any case study is to ask how typical such a case study might be, how useful are Cambridge and Somerville for our general understanding of the suburban experience beyond Boston. Boston is an old American city, and its patterns of antebellum suburban life would not be replicated later in Chicago or Phoenix, one assumes. The special geography of the Boston area, with water separating what was originally a small near-island - the Shawmut Peninsula - on which Boston was built, from nearby villages, surely influenced the history of the latter. Binford does not address the issue of typicality, but he does insist that the historical roots of the suburban trend are to be found in this antebellum experience, and that this early stage of growth set the pattern for the modern suburb that flourished in the age of the streetcar and later the automobile. All who read this book will surely come away with a stronger understanding of the meaning of suburban life in America.

Don H. Doyle,
Vanderbilt University

Michael Simpson (1985) Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada and the United States, 1900-1940 London and New York, Mansell 262 pp \$ 38.00 £21.00 ISBN 0 7201 1714 3

As the publication of Michael Simpson's biography is a major historiographic event of the year on both sides of the Atlantic, we asked two reviewers to read it, one from each side. Richard T. Anderson is Executive Vice President and Secretary of the Regional Plan Association, New York, while Dennis Hardy, Head of the School of Geography and Planning at Middlesex Polytechnic, is working on a history of the Town and Country Planning Association in London.

Richard T. Anderson writes:-

In 1922, Charles Dyer Norton, after several years of urging, convinced the Russell Sage Foundation to underwrite the landmark Regional Plan of New York and its Environs. Norton wanted a bold imaginative plan. He was instrumental in stimulating the 1909 Chicago Plan and never tired of repeating Daniel H. Burnham's appeal to "make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood..."

When Norton and his colleagues on the Regional Plan Committee considered "a supreme commander" to organise and direct the effort, they turned to Thomas Adams, who was generally acknowledged at that time as the world's foremost planning professional.

Raised in Edinburgh, Adams had moved to London in 1900 with literary aspirations but instead joined the Garden Cities movement inspired by Ebenezer Howard. Thus began a remarkable 40-year planning career in Britain, Canada, and the United States.

Michael Simpson writes that "Thomas Adams was a great planner whose contribution to the modern planning movement has been unjustly neglected." Professor Simpson, a lecturer in History and American Studies at University College of Wales, Swansea, has thoroughly documented and effectively presented the professional life of Thomas Adams. Modern planning has all too few inspiring biographies. Here is "the first man to earn his living solely from town planning work." He was at the forefront of planning practice in three countries, a leader in planning education, in professional organizations and development, and in planning legislation. "As a publicist for planning", Simpson states, "he had no rival..."

Without formal planning or design education, Thomas Adams enjoyed an extraordinarily diverse planning career. In Britain, he staffed the Garden City Association at the time that Letchworth Garden City was created. He designed a number of garden suburbs, was town planning assistant at the Local Government Board, and was a leader in forming the Town Planning Institute. By 1914, British planning and Adams had grown up together. Sir Patrick Abercrombie, later Director of the Greater London Plan of 1944, described Adams as "justly looked up to as the head of the profession in this country."

Ready to move on, Adams was persuaded to try to establish planning as a central government function in Canada. Over a number of years, his emphasis was on legislation, but he also designed residential suburbs, helped launch the Town Planning Institute of Canada, and replanned the

Richmond area of Halifax after a major explosion. Simpson described the Canadian years as "an extraordinary solo effort" in which "Adams had offered Canadians a comprehensive vision of an integrated planning system based upon intergovernmental and public and private cooperation..."

Canadian planning was to achieve little after the first World War, much to the disappointment of Adams. But he was already involved with American planning to a considerable extent. After his first visit to New York in 1911, he observed: "the adoption of a city planning policy... is the most important and urgent duty of the City of New York as a means of solving its many problems." He consulted with New York leaders from time to time and eventually served as Chairman of the Advisory Group of Planners to the Committee on the Regional Plan of New York. This led to his appointment in 1923 as General Director of Plans and Surveys.

In a thorough and readable overview of the making of the Regional Plan, Professor Simpson effectively portrays the philosophy and approach of Thomas Adams. In Simpson's words, "written largely by Adams himself, the Regional Plan bore his stamp more than that of anyone else, with the debatable exception of Norton." The strident debate with Louis Mumford and his colleagues on the Regional Planning Association of America is covered well, including Adams' attempt to reach an accommodation with these fellow professionals, whom he admired and respected yet strongly disagreed with. Simpson writes; "The Adams path was the middle way between 'the visionless realist' and 'the unrealistic idealist.'"

Upon completion of the Regional Plan, Adams declined an invitation to be Director of the newly-formed Regional Plan Association. He continued to consult with the Association but was not active in the 1930s. His last visit to New York in 1938 was one of praise for implementation of so many elements of the Regional Plan; he even lauded the formidable role of Robert Moses. But the Adams philosophy continued to influence the Association. To this day, Regional Plan promotes improved planning at all governmental levels and within the private sector. Most important, the Adams vision of the need for and validity of a regional plan has not been lost. A Second Regional Plan was issued in 1968 and a third is now contemplated.

In researching this biography, Michael Simpson clearly became impressed with Thomas Adams; "By 1914, he was regarded as the head of the planning profession in Britain; between 1914 and 1919, very largely he was Canadian planning; and in 1923, he was regarded as the best man for the largest task in American planning up to that time, ahead of native rivals." The author's enthusiasm is contagious, and this book will interest planning professionals, educators, and students alike. Simpson has woven a highly-readable, well-documented narrative in the context of the early twentieth century. But he is not timid in criticizing some of Adams' design work, which he finds less inspired than Unwin's, for example, and reflecting on his personal philosophy. Above all, there is admiration for a planning pioneer who "was acknowledged by his peers as a giant in his times."

Dennis Hardy writes:-

Strangely, perhaps, planning historians have been slow to record the life and times of Thomas Adams, the man who, when he died in 1940, had done probably more than anyone else to put environmental planning on a firm footing. His obituary reads like a roll call of major developments on both sides of the Atlantic in the first forty years of this century. Adams was in his time the first paid planning official in Britain as Secretary of the Garden City Association, the first Manager of First Garden City, the first full-time British planning consultant, the first Town Planning Inspector, the first national Town Planning Advisor, and the first President of both the British and Canadian Town Planning Institutes. He was also a co-founder of the American City Planning Institute, the creative inspiration behind the British landscape architecture profession, the initiator of the Town and Country Planning Summer School, the progenitor of the Planning School at M.I.T. and the instigator of planning research at Harvard.

Perhaps it is this very wealth of achievements (not to mention the fact that their source is scattered widely in archives in Britain, Canada and the United States) that has hitherto daunted erstwhile biographers. It is inevitably, a complex story that calls for a firm grasp of the wider history of this period, coupled with an unusual ability to sift through voluminous and widely-scattered source material. Now at last this major work has been completed, and the task could not have been done more skilfully. Michael Simpson has produced a scholarly work that will be of interest to historians on both sides of the Atlantic. Far from being overwhelmed by the material, he has produced a text that is outstanding in its clarity and a sheer pleasure to read.

Simpson traces the career of Adams chronologically, from his upbringing in a farming region within reach of Edinburgh, through to his involvement in the pioneering years of the town planning movement in Britain before 1914, and then on to Canada and the United States in the 1920s, before Adams returns to Britain as one of the movement's elder statesmen. It was, without doubt, an exceptional career. So what, one must ask, was Adam's secret?

Certainly, the magic ingredient does not seem to have been that of innovation. Adams was not an original thinker, and many of his plans, it has to be said, were not especially imaginative. But he was, undoubtedly, an outstanding organiser, a committed advocate of his cause, and he certainly knew a good idea when he saw one. Garden cities, American-style parkways, regional plans, and landscape planning on a grand scale were all concepts which he adopted, refined and applied with skill and enthusiasm. He was, above all, a superb synthesiser. Coupled with a consistency and soundness of approach, Adams was also a gentle but effective persuader. His admirable qualities of charm and patience were to yield their own rewards as the cause in which he so fervently believed became, in his own lifetime, a part of the conventional wisdom.

Above all, perhaps, if one wishes to explain his success, there is an important sense in which Adams was simply in the right place at the right time. He found his way into an embryo profession at the turn of the century, and by 1914 had already emerged as a leading practitioner, with an enormous range of experience in the private and voluntary sectors and, through the Local Government Board, in the public sector too. The fact that he did not qualify as a chartered surveyor until 1913 seems not to have been an obstacle. Experience counted for more than qualifications

at that time, and there were really few around to match what Adams could offer.

Simpson pursued this question of achievement, concluding that it is at least arguable that between 1914 and 1930 "Thomas Adams was the greatest figure in planning, if not in the world as a whole, at least in the English-speaking part of it." At the same time the author acknowledges that the secret of success may have more to do with circumstances (the impelling reasons for environmental reform) than with outstanding personal qualities. "It may well be that the British, American and Canadian planning movements would have progressed in much the same way and perhaps at the same pace without his presence, for they were subject to complex forces beyond the capacity of one person to change in any drastic fashion."

Planning historians will be familiar with this kind of debate, as to whether we should explain events more in terms of personalities or processes, and the Adams evidence offers fascinating new material with which to stir the controversy.

Such a career could no longer be repeated. And yet we can fruitfully look back on it, not simply out of respect and admiration for the part that Adams played in developing our profession, but because (as is so often the way with pioneers) some of the ideas and principles which sustained Adams seem remarkably topical and appealing today. One can imagine, for instance, that his belief in 'associated individualism' would win many followers in the 1980s. Avoiding extremes of too much intervention by the State on the one hand, and free market forces on the other, Adams preferred instead a mixture of individual freedom and voluntary cooperation. Social justice was to be achieved without recourse to a collectivist bureaucracy, class warfare or the subsidising of one class at the expense of others. The garden cities he championed were to be founded on just such beliefs.

Some of the richness of planning history is precisely this - that it is not simply about the past, but it is, no less, a source of ideas about the present. Simpson's excellent biography is to be commended for both these reasons. It fills an obvious gap in our knowledge, and it also encourages thoughts about where planning has journeyed since the death of Adams in 1940.

RESEARCH REPORTS

British Fire Insurance Plans

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It is rather surprising that so little attention has been given to Fire Insurance Plans (FIPs) in Britain. This short note will provide, firstly, a basic introduction to British FIPs between c. 1885 and c. 1970 and, secondly, a quite brief guide to the literature on the wider subject.

The Goad FIPs

Whereas a number of extant FIPs exist from the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, this note will direct our attention to the Goad FIP productions of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In fact the Goad FIPs were first produced for centres within the British Isles in 1886. Within ten years the central parts of the major towns and cities were covered and by 1970 fifty-three centres had been surveyed by Goad.

Goad's areas of particular interest for the FIP productions included the central business districts of the major urban areas, the major commercial and industrial districts, particularly relating to factories, warehousing and transport termini, railways, ports and canals. The most complex coverage within the British Isles are those for London, Manchester, Glasgow and Liverpool.

A set of FIPs of a specific area would be contained within one atlas volume, and the large-scale plans depict by means of colour and symbol a considerable deal of information on, for example, land use, internal and external building construction, building height, street widths and names, property numbers and property lines.

The plans were normally updated every five years but for the larger and more complex centres this was biennially or even annually. The amount of information on the evolving centres, both in space and through time, is thus seen to be particularly prodigious.

While, as stated, fifty-three centres were covered in the British Isles, one hundred and twenty six area-atlases were produced with London (23 volumes), Manchester (7 volumes), Glasgow (6 volumes), Liverpool (6 volumes), Leeds, Leicester, Nottingham (3 volumes each), Belfast, Birmingham, Bradford, Bristol, Dublin, Dundee, Hull, Thames Valley (2 volumes each) being covered by more than one atlas-volume.

The Goad FIPs were published in full colour and each volume of the FIPs commences with a key plan of the area covered which identifies and delimits the specific areas covered by the individual plans within the atlas. The general but not universal plan scale adhered to was 40 feet to 1 inch (1:480).

Brief introduction to literature

Two types of literature will be referred to here. The first is that on North American FIPs and the second is on the British material. The initial reaction is that Canadian and U.S. workers have paid for greater attention to their FIPs.

This may be explained in part, at least, by the relatively shorter history of cities and hence a shortage of related materials within North America, but this is not considered a satisfactory explanation. Three individuals are considered to be of especial importance here: Walter Ristow and Robert Wrigley for the U.S., and Robert Hayward in respect of Canadian sources (Wrigley, 1945; Library of Congress, 1981; Hayward, 1975 and 1977). The Library of Congress volume was overseen and is introduced by Ristow. This volume, indeed, is not only an informative source but a finely produced work which at \$29.00 would appear to have been quite heavily subsidized for the paper quality and colour illustrations of individual FIPs are superb.

For the British Isles the base reference and guide is Rowley (1984), although earlier references were made to the FIPs in Rowley and Shephard (1976).

Certain illustrated and detailed papers are also being published by Rowley in Archives (October, 1985) and Industrial Archaeology (later 1985). The search for further extant material continues.

Concluding remarks

This quite brief note has been written to publicize a little utilized but most valuable source of information that is of base importance in urban historical research in its own right but also in providing a particularly important base to link up with, for example, census and rating materials (see Rowley, 1973).

Finally, it is intended that continuing enquiries on and publicity for the FIPs will engender a deeper, most profound interest in Britain's urban and industrial heritage and especially, in the internal form and reality of the great Victorian cities that were to be so dramatically affected by depression, war and redevelopment.

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Town Planning Laws and Decrees in Italy: First Reflections

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1. Introduction

Town planning literature has frequently stated that central government interest in this area during the period 1865-1914 was limited and restricted to a few important cities. These conclusions derive from the fact that there was no single town planning law for the whole country, the government's habit being to issue laws, orders and decrees for single problems and single cities or towns. Because researchers' attention was focussed only on large cities it came to be thought that only they had plans (1). In reality, a multiplicity of planning frameworks existed for cities large and small (2). In this article I analyze the numerous laws and decrees issued by the Italian government from 1865 to 1914. I have been collecting these, for the first time in Italy, in an international research project on the development and construction of European towns (3).

2. The Rules of Town Planning Acts

After unification of the State (1861), implemented under the leadership of the Kingdom of Piedmont, an organic town planning law was never issued. Instead, urban planning projects proceeded under two pieces of legislation: Act no.2359 of 1865 and Act no.2892 of 1885. The first, the Expropriation Act, introduced two main types of plan, the Piano Regolatore Edilizio (redevelopment plan) and the Piano di Ampliamento (expansion plan). The second law, the Naples Act, was a special act for the city of Naples issued after the cholera epidemics of the early 1880s, subsequently extended to the whole country (4). Common to both measures was the public utility declaration, which permitted the municipal authority to commence expropriation proceedings even if no urban plan had been prepared. This legal device played a fundamental role in facilitating numerous urban modifications and redevelopments in late nineteenth century Italy. Altogether the government issued more than 1200 local laws, orders and decrees. It is possible to divide these into two main types: the laws, which number 50, which were a specific acts relating to single cities, these are important because they changed the general law by the introduction of a specific provision for each city; and the decrees, legislative acts which did not change the general law, but extended the declaration of public utility to whole municipalities.

Decrees are the more important for two reasons: first, because many of the smaller and medium sized towns asked for the declaration of public utility so as to start urban modifications or expansions; secondly, because the number is far larger than is generally recognized in the town planning literature.

In this article I do not consider the quality of the plans, but only their use. In fact, there were as many plans that made provision for new sanitary systems and new alignments of major streets, or the rehabilitation and enlargement of squares, as there were for new urban expansion. The plans, therefore, concerned only parts of the cities or towns and only occasionally

the whole of cities or towns. It is necessary to remember that often the sanitary or rehabilitation plans hid the real goals, which were those of gentrification and modification of social structure through urban restructuring.

During this period Italian governments passed 36 redevelopment plans for large cities, 19 for medium sized cities and 32 for smaller towns. In addition, 52 expansion plans were passed for large cities, 39 for medium sized cities and 86 for smaller towns. In addition to these plans, during the same period, the government passed 730 plans for sanitary schemes, road re-alignments, square enlargements, etc. Of these legislative acts, 122 related to large cities, 134 to medium cities, and 474 to smaller towns. Interestingly, the majority of urban improvement schemes - if we exclude the major northern cities - turn out to be in Southern Italy.

What were the main objectives of urban improvement acts? As noted, they were mainly single projects such as enlargements of town squares or the building of new ones; road re-alignments or sanitary plans. Thus, these were small projects, affecting limited areas and small numbers of landowners. The purpose of legislation was to eliminate obstruction by individual property owners and to ensure the viability of schemes, which were largely financed by private investment. All landowners included in the plan were forced to contribute to the implementation of the public projects. Many Acts established the possibility of expropriation of landowners who delayed the execution of public projects by two or three years from the date they were formally passed. A betterment provision was generally incorporated to make landowners who benefitted from public works pay a contribution towards their costs. This contribution amounted to 50% of the increased value of the lands or houses (5), though the exact basis on which betterment was assessed and levied was different in every act. For example in the Turin Plan Act (1908), the levy was assessed at two different rates, according to whether property did or did not border the new roads or squares; while in the Genoa Plan Act (1867) the levy was similar for all landowners.

Whether and how these rules were actually administered by local authorities has yet to be investigated.

3. Conclusion

The city or town was seen by politicians as being one of the main areas of concern in their creation of a modern State. Cities and towns had to be capable of meeting the new demands and pressures that the State was to place on them. The master plan was seen as the instrument capable of breaking the isolation of the cities and opening them to liberal economic forces, as a 'propelling element' of urban vitality:

"among the benefits arising from the unification of the State, is that of the competition amongst local authorities for the improvement of their cities, the provision of regular means of communication, larger squares and market places, and the other facilities required for good business to flourish, to improve sanitation, and the needs of the community, and of society in general, which are a requirement of modern civilization" (6).

When the local authorities drew up a master plan, or other similar documents, this meant that the city was in the process of changing, it was "modern".

The goals were the same everywhere: to adjust and remodel old cities - primarily through road-building - in line with the needs

of the future so as to initiate the process of investment in the urban areas. Yet, the 'Italian future' was in public administration and business. In this aspect the Italian case is very different from other European countries. In fact the master plan which in developed European countries began as a means of coping with the effects of the industrial revolution, was for Italy a mechanism for initiating the modernization of the urban economy. In this sense, the words of an Italian Minister of Works, Mr. Gada, are very significant. Presenting the plan of Florence to Parliament, he said:

"the goal of these modifications are those of increasing the value of many houses which, by means of these structural transformations, will have a good position for both business and trade; at the same time, land value will increase in the areas to be developed rendering them attractive for housing speculative investments" (7).

Therefore, if it is possible to speak of urban policy in post-unification Italy this policy is addressed towards a 'forced adaptation' of cities to the new demands of economic development. At the same time, there is a desire to create formal landscapes, images, and signs of the new direction that Italy, under Piedmontese leadership, was taking. But if it is not possible to talk of single and organic change, it is possible to speak of the existence of single response by local authorities: this response is the use of the master plan or of single urban legislative measures to revitalize cities and towns. Whether it was an expansion plan or an improvement scheme, it had the same goal: to start to mobilize the processes of urban income generation in preparation for the arrival of the Italian Industrial Revolution.

Notes

1. For all see: CALABI D. (1984), "Italy" in Planning and Urban Growth in Southern Europe, edited by WYNN M., London: Mansell, esp. pp. 43-9; and CAROZZI C. & MIONI A. (1970) L'Italia in formazione, Bari: De Donato, chapter 4.
2. DE LUCA G. (1985), "Leggi e decreti di provvedimenti urbanistici in Italia: 1865-1914", in: Storia Urbana, vol. 9, No.30.
3. The title of this research project is: Disciplina urbanistica e costruzione della città europea. The Director is G. Piccinato, see: Planning History Bulletin, vol. 7, No.1, p.22.
4. For a specific analysis of these two Acts see MIONI A. (ed) (1977), Sulla crescita urbana in Italia, Milan: Angeli. For a Town Planning instruments in Italy in this period see: CALABI D. (1980), "The genesis and special characteristic of Town Planning instruments in Italy, 1880-1914" in: SUTCLIFFE A. (ed), The Rise of Modern Urban Planning, 1880-1914, London: Mansell.
5. Expropriation Act no.2359 in 1865, art.78.
6. Ministry of Works, Order no.12 to Prefects of the Kingdom, July 4, 1873.
7. Mr. Gada, Minister of Works, Introduction at the Florence Plan in Parliament, Act no.5810, 1870.

State Housing in Ireland
c. 1890 - 1932

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I am currently preparing a thesis, under the supervision of Adrian Forty and Dr. Mark Swenarton, that examines the history of early state housing in Ireland, its ideas and forms, within the general context of British policy for governing Ireland and the ending of that rule in 1922 with independence and partition. By 1932 Irish local authorities had built some 60,000 dwellings, approximately two-thirds in rural areas and one-third in urban areas (Dept. of Local Government White Paper, Housing: Progress and Prospects, 1964, pp. 35-36). The large proportion of rural housing reflected the dispersed nature of society and the success of nineteenth century Nationalism in achieving land reforms - in this case, the series of Labourers Acts from 1883 which gradually introduced the first housing subsidy. Widely perceived to be a successful remedy for the provision of agricultural labourers' dwelling, these acts had little bearing on urban conditions save as an illustration of the efficacy of state aid. Instead it was the housing crisis in the towns and cities that came to be seen as, in the words of one Irish MP in 1913, "admittedly the most pressing social question at the present time". It is this urban problem, centred on Dublin, that focusses the main area of this study.

It was in Dublin that, in the period before World War I, the British Government faced the strongest pressure to take a decisive role in working-class housing in cities. Urban housing in Ireland had already received special provisions under the 1908 Housing (Ireland) Act, particularly through an albeit nominal subsidy from Irish sources for loan repayments. But this sum was soon found to be insufficient to meet demand from new schemes, and as a result a powerful lobby from Dublin MP's and the Association of Municipal Authorities of Ireland began to demand Treasury aid to solve what they felt to be "an Imperial question". This demand, at a time of severe industrial unrest, was further fuelled by the findings of the 1913 Irish Local Government Board Inquiry into Dublin's housing conditions. This showed the dramatic extent of hardship amongst the capital's tenement dwellers, even though the Corporation could claim that despite its financial disadvantage it had built more houses in proportion to its population than any other city in the UK. The Inquiry's recommendation that 14,000 additional dwellings should be built with state aid was seen in Ireland as only part of their share of the new housing strategy that the Liberal Government were expected to introduce, until was intervened.

The whole climate of opinion about housing and town-planning in pre-war Ireland, involving leading experts such as Geddes and Irish pressure groups (see M.J. Bannon, The Emergence of Irish Planning 1880-1920, 1985), was also an integral part of the wider debate on the state's housing role. The Irish Administration was itself placed in a difficult position because the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Aberdeen, and Countess Aberdeen were both active promoters of housing reform. Up-to-date solutions, mainly from Britain, were propagated in Ireland through events such as the 1914 Dublin Civic Exhibition and Town Plan Competition, and exercises like the Geddes/Unwin housing report for the Dublin Corporation in the same year. But this climate of opinion was also determinedly international, and in keeping with their strong traditional links,

ideas were sought from the USA. John Nolen was enlisted as exhibition manager and as one of the judges for the town plan competition. And Abercrombie's winning entry for this competition included many elements from American as well as continental planning, showing the formal concerns favoured by the "Liverpool School". Indeed it would appear that this latter group, with its emphasis on axial/geometric planning and the neo-Georgian style, was an important influence on post-war housing schemes in Ireland. As state involvement increased, and Irish architects took a more central role in housing design (the President of the Architectural Association of Ireland noted in 1915 that "I feel sure that we will see and take part, as architects, in many schemes of the kind in future"), so the low-density garden suburb orthodoxy began to replace the inner-city flat blocks and plain brick rectilinear terraces built by local authorities in the pre-war period. This change was supported by the Irish Local Government Board, and in 1981 their Inspector commented on Dublin Corporation's latest estates that these "show a great advance on earlier schemes" even though they still fell short of the ideal promoted by housing experts.

During the First World War the provision of urban housing continued to be proscribed by government policy and remained a key political issue. At points of high unemployment and civil unrest the Dublin Corporation was able to obtain limited Treasury loans to sporadically continue its new schemes. In 1916 the Chief Secretary, H.E. Duke, described the capital's housing problem as "one of as great a magnitude as faced any statesman in modern times" (quoted in J.V. O'Brien, Dear Dirty Dublin, 1982, p. 155). A year later the Prime Minister, Lloyd-George, assured the Nationalist Party that urban housing in Ireland would receive favourable financial settlement under any new Home Rule agreement. For the British Government's post-war initiative a target of 50,000 houses was envisaged for Ireland, despite the Local Government Board declaration that "the task in Dublin is colossal, immensely greater proportionately than that of erecting 300,000 houses in England and Wales". But although Chief Secretary Macpherson stated that "I am anxious to get the Housing Scheme in Ireland under weigh at once", the unfavourable subsidy terms applied by the 1919 Housing (Ireland) Act and deteriorating relations between local authorities and the Administration meant that little was actually achieved. Further disruption of the housing programme was caused by rebellion and then civil war after 1922, but the new provisional Government in Dublin still granted an emergency sum of £ 1,000,000 to help local authorities build some 2,000 dwellings (mainly suburban estates in the Dublin area). During the 1920s policy in the Irish Free State shifted towards incentives for privately built middle-class houses, but then the 1932 Housing Act began an ambitious slum-clearance scheme once again in line with developments in Britain and Northern Ireland. It is at this point, with the consolidation of the Irish state's role in providing working-class housing, that my account will close.

THE BRITISH ISLES' FIRST MAJOR HOUSING
PROGRAMME

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Historians of early modern planning in Britain have described how public concern for the housing of the poor slowly grew in the latter half of the 19th century with no major response from government until after the First World War when large-scale urban housing schemes were initiated. The exceptional experience of Ireland, however, where a major rural housing programme commenced in the 1880's, is invariably overlooked. Under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, from 1883 to 1919, the rural local authorities in partnership with the state rehoused a substantial proportion of the agricultural labourers and their families, approximately 1/4 million people. The primitive, one-roomed 'cabins', roughly built of poor materials, in which labourers had traditionally lived were replaced by neat, solid and simple 'cottages' of uniform size and style which are still a striking element of the rural landscape especially in the lowlands of the south and east. Building operations virtually ceased during the First World War but by 1921, when the British administration in Ireland ended, almost 50,000 dwellings had been provided. Each had an allotment of an acre or half acre and was let at an average of 1/6 per week, an amount well within the means of the average labourer. Neither was this the full measure of public provision, since the Congested Districts Board, established in 1891, built or substantially improved many thousands of houses in the poorest eareas of western Ireland.

The building of labourers' cottages in rural Ireland appears to have been the first major public housing programme in the British Isles, certainly the first to be conducted on a national scale. Irish farm labourers, whose deep poverty and inferior housing had no parallel among the working classes in England, were rehoused by methods well in advance of contemporary practice. In Irish cities and towns, on the other hand, large-scale provision of housing for the poor was slow to get underway; as in most British urban centres, little of a substantial nature was achieved until

the inter-war period.

Ireland's pioneering housing enterprise in rural areas had very beneficial social consequences and the success influenced thinking on housing policy in Britain. It had of course long been accepted that Ireland was a special area whose material conditions compelled the state to exert itself in a more extensive and enterprising way than in England. British governments emphasised that because Irish conditions were exceptional, legislation for Ireland did not set precedents for England, but since there was officially a complete union this argument was not always wholly persuasive. Those concerned to improve rural housing in England, for example, referred to the labourers' cottages in Ireland to support their case for public initiatives. The comparison between the countries was striking: by 1900, for example, only 14 cottages had been provided by the rural local authorities in England as compared with Ireland with almost 15,000 local authority cottages. The success of the Irish Labourers' Acts and of the Congested Districts Board was used after the First World War as an argument for the British Board of Agriculture's plans to settle ex-service men on smallholdings with cottages at state expense through the county councils.

The origin and evolution of the Labourers' Acts were influenced by numerous forces, not all confined to Ireland. In particular, the legislation was closely linked to the Irish Land Acts which from 1870 onwards progressively transferred ownership of land from the landlords to the tenant farmers. The land tenure system, the alleged rapacity of the landlords and their indifference to improvements were widely held to be the explanation for Ireland's poverty, economic inertia and social discontent. Modern scholars have shown the inadequacy of the land tenure theory of economic development but the idea was widely held and effectively exploited for political ends. Moreover, British governments, and especially Liberal administrations, were inclined to believe it and, in the face of well-organised and orchestrated agrarian unrest, introduced a series of important legislative acts which destroyed the land-owning class and made the tenants proprietors. Although directly concerned with the relations between landlords and

tenant farmers, the Land Acts so profoundly affected the total ordering of rural society that further government interventions were needed to protect the position of landless labourers. Government intervention thus led on, in the classic Myrdalian sequence, to further regulatory action in other spheres.

Since the chief grievance of the labourers was inadequate housing, any attempt to ameliorate their lot naturally focussed on the provision of improved accommodation. Moreover, substantial state funds had already been used to facilitate the transfer of land ownership from landlords to tenants and hence the use of public funds for housing was made easier to accept and introduce than in England. The reform of landlord/tenant relationships and housing for the rural poor thus early became political issues and objectives of public funding. While the urgent needs of the towns were ignored, the tenant farmers of Ireland obtained, first, security of tenure and, subsequently, ownership of the land. Concurrently, the Labourers' Acts enabled the rural local authorities to rehouse a substantial proportion of the labourers (perhaps 50% of those in Leinster and Munster) in much improved conditions.

The Labourers Acts cannot be seen merely as a corollary or by-product of the Land Acts but must be viewed in the context of overall government policy in Ireland and especially of the emergence of 'constructive unionism' in the 1880's. Masterminded by Arthur James Balfour (Irish Secretary, 1887-91, Prime Minister 1902-5) and Joseph Chamberlain (who argued for the application of Birmingham's municipal socialism to Ireland) this policy aimed to transform the Irish economy through state-aided development programmes conspicuously large by contemporary British standards. They included, for example, the setting up of the Congested Districts Board which attempted, in what was surely the first example of comprehensive regional planning in the British Isles, to rehabilitate the poorest western parts of Ireland through co-ordinated programmes of land reform and the development of industry, fishing and modern road, rail and sea communications. Constructive unionism was disliked by nationalists as undermining the demand for Home Rule and distrusted by unionists as placating and encouraging the spirit

of nationalism; nevertheless the policy had important consequences for the life and landscape of rural Ireland. Broader currents of change and reform were relevant too, such as the decline of laissez-faire ideology and the noticeable growth of concern with the health and housing of the poor in the 1880s, and also the "back-to-the-land" movement which saw rural reconstruction as a means of checking rural depopulation and, thereby, a solution to urban ills.

The Labourers' Acts form a long and complex series in which early defects were slowly corrected and financial resources enlarged. Early acts were in the conciliatory spirit of mainstream Liberal reform in Ireland, later legislation in tune with the more expansive and purposeful spirit of constructive unionism. Responsibility for the implementation of the acts lay with the local authorities; in the first place these were the Rural Sanitary Districts administered by the Poor Law Guardians and later, after the 1898 Local Government Act, the Rural Districts. Initially, loans were advanced by the Irish Board of Works and repaid from the local rates. Only in this way could the cottages be let at rents which the labourers, with their very limited means, could afford. The whole burden of loan repayment fell on ratepayers; no state assistance was forthcoming until 1891 when a modest but encouraging contribution was made to the rural councils from what was called the 'Exchequer Grant'. This financial system and the elaborate and costly administrative procedures laid down by the acts imposed limitations on the amount of building activity. Control of the Boards of Guardians was exercised by the newly-created peasant proprietors who were unwilling to burden the rates, especially when their own housing was so unsatisfactory, indeed often little or no better than the new labourers' cottages provided at their expense. In addition, farmers were generally reluctant to give plots of land even though well paid for them by the local authority and many of the plots were given directly by the landlords. Nevertheless, almost 15,000 cottages had been built by the end of the century.

Following in the wake of the revolutionary 1903 Land Act (Wyndham Act) a new Labourers' Act was passed in 1906 which transformed the situation. Earlier procedures were altered and a new,

enlarged and improved financial scheme introduced with state funding on a significant scale. £4.25 million was provided, with the state contributing 36% of the charges on loans. Thereafter the quantity of building increased, although regionally it was always, for various reasons, highly uneven. Especially in Connaught the acts had little effect, since the small farmers there employed few labourers, and as landholders could not benefit themselves. The legislation was most used in Leinster and Munster where the large farms were concentrated and a substantial number of labourers was required.

A further Labourers' Act in 1911 provided funds to continue the building programme and by 1914 43,700 cottages had been built. Wartime economies markedly reduced building operations. In 1919 the new act was passed but political problems, financial stringency and increased building costs prevented a return to pre-war building levels. The average cost of building a cottage had risen from £180 in 1914 to £450 in 1920. By 1921 47,966 cottages had been provided and several thousand more authorised. Two thirds of those built were in Leinster and Munster. Owing to the Labourers' Acts and also to sustained emigration from the countryside the problems of housing rural labourers were well on the way to solution. Cabins had virtually disappeared, save among squatters and in a few remote places, and what was virtually a 'social revolution' had been relatively quietly achieved. One significant consequence of the new housing was that the labourers no longer wandered around the country seeking employment and accommodation but became a fixed stable element of rural society. It is clear, however, that labourers' wages and conditions of work often continued to be unsatisfactory and largely dependent on the will of the farmers until the 1930's when conditions were fixed by law.

There was much discussion of the financial economies that might be achieved by nucleation but most of the cottages were scattered singly or in small groups along the roadsides so that labourers could be close to their work and to ease access problems to the dwellings. Cottage designs varied over time and from one district to another, but model designs provided by the Local Government Board and directives laid down for health, sanitary

and financial reasons ensured much similarity. The most widespread form had two ground-floor rooms with two attic bedrooms above, gable ends, a slated roof, and a small adjoining piggery. Features of traditional houses, such as the central hearth and lobby entrance arrangements, were sometimes deliberately perpetuated, but the cottages are almost always readily distinguishable from truly vernacular forms where asymmetrical arrangement of the facade elements was characteristic and an absence of any ornamentation. In most areas the new cottages were solid and durable and are still inhabited, although extensions have frequently been added especially in the last two decades of unprecedented rural prosperity.

Several factors account for the relative success of the Labourers' legislation. The financial provision was better than any available to the urban public authorities: state funds supplemented local before the end of the 19th century and after 1906 were material. In the towns no significant state aid was available until 1919. In Ireland the only assistance given to urban housing took the shape of small grants under the Act of 1908, commonly known as the Clancy Act. Rural land and building costs were also conspicuously low relative to the towns. Procedures under early acts were costly and cumbersome but they were later reformed. Moreover, the L.G.B. had general oversight of the implementation of the legislation and was given powers of intervention if the local authorities failed to act. In urban areas early housing built by public authorities invariably served better-off artisans and could not be built cheaply enough for the very poorest people. But the labourers' cottages in the rural areas could only be built for and rented by qualified applicants from a specific employment category and below a defined income level. Emigration from the countryside also relieved the housing situation and old insanitary cabins could be demolished without exacerbating a housing shortage. In towns, where the population was growing and the poor congregating, urban authorities were often reluctant to use the Cross and Torrens Acts because of the increase of overcrowding which evictions caused and the need to depend on private developers, especially model dwelling associations, to erect new dwellings.

Under the Free State the housing problems of Irish urban areas were eventually tackled but with no marked expedition. Support for rural labourers' housing was continued and, following a commission of inquiry in 1932-3, a system of vested or limited ownership of cottages was introduced. The commission maintained that freedom and security of ownership was "a basic and essential principle in any Christian state" and that when tenants became owners of their cottages they would improve and beautify them. Moreover, maintenance of the cottages was a growing burden on the ratepayers; especially around the cities and towns the cottages were increasingly let to tenants who were not agricultural labourers; and many of the tenants were anxious to purchase. However, there was a fear that the cottages might be sold by the tenants and pass into the possession of the non-agricultural labourers, thus creating anew a housing problem in the rural areas. The Labourers Act of 1936 obliged housing authorities to formulate schemes in respect of all cottages provided under the Labourers Acts. Tenants were enabled to purchase their cottages and plots by small annuities, but the vesting orders given to cottagers contained provisions against alienation during the period of repayment to any person except a member of the cottagers' own family or to another agricultural labourers.

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CONTEXTUALISM, HISTORICISM AND THEIR TACTICAL ADVANTAGES

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In 1965 the people of Rome became aware of a strange new building in their midst, designed by Vincenzo, Fausto and Lucio Passarelli. The lower part was in the Miesian idiom, with a smooth glass skin aligned with the street; the upper part was brutalist, with protruding terraces in reinforced concrete deviating from the site contour line and forming deep, shadowy recesses. It looked like two buildings, one sitting on top of the other. The idea was simple, almost diagrammatic: the building contained stores and offices at the bottom, living apartments at the top. Each section was rendered in its conventional imagery, and the outcome honestly expressed the dual nature of the program. The project, however, caused an uproar because it challenged current urban design principles. Why is it acceptable to place a Miesian tower and a brutalist building face to face but not on top of each other? Why is fracture of the architectural idiom according to a horizontal plan any worse than fractures along vertical plans between city lots, typical of the urban fabric?

The impact of the building was due to its talkability. There was something to talk about, an issue raised, a tickle that straight Miesian towers or brutalist buildings no longer provided, although they once had. Talkability is one of the ingredients of success.

On July 4, 1985, The Washington Post announced in a front page headline "CAPITOL FLAWS ARE RETAINED". The writer of the article explained, in disbelief, that George M. White, the architect in charge of the ongoing restoration of the U.S. Capitol's west front, was committed to restoring the facade "exactly the way it was before" - literally, including the replication of minor irregularities reflecting differences among the many stone carvers and masons who had done the original in the 1820s. The contractors were quoted as saying, "There's no two of the carvings alike and they're insisting we make 'em just like they

were... They even want us to duplicate the mistakes... Now, can you tell if a column is an inch too wide when you are looking up 80 feet?" Like the Roman project, this one was also highly talkable. But there was an important difference: the building in Rome was readable. Anybody with some sensitivity for architecture would react to its strong accent. In the case of the Capitol, the reverse was true: readability was near zero, and that is what made the idea talkable.

The Madison National Bank in Georgetown, Washington D.C., by Martin and Jones, literally blends into the neighboring structures. The facade along M Street zestfully continues the classical entablature of the adjacent Biograph cinema theater; along 29th Street, the bank facade slopes down to connect with the two-story residences of the block, mimicking their bracketed cornices. By playing in the keys provided by the environment, the building is augmenting the richness of the setting.

Formally, the bank speaks of continuity rather than contrast, and to that extent it is diametrically opposed to the Rome building; in another way, however, the two are kin, because both critique the disconnectedness of the urban fabric. Both are eminently talkable, and the subject matter they raise is the same. But the approaches differ in terms of their repeatability. It is difficult to see how the idea in the Rome building could be used again; once the pun has been made, it dries out. The strategy of the bank, on the other hand, can be used in a variety of circumstances: whenever there is a known context, the architect can pick up its dominant lines, shapes, or motives and build them into the design. It can be done at any scale, from the city to furniture and equipment. It is a powerful design tool because it reduces the level of uncertainty: rather than facing an empty slate, the designer can build on an existing vocabulary.

Readable, repeatable design strategies deserve a name, and the name for this one is Contextualism. Contextualism is teachable, which is an advantage in a profession with more students than practitioners. Contextualism is identifiable: some buildings, past and present, can be recognized as contextualist. Thus the idea is useful not only in the design studio, but also in the

history classroom. Even architects can be branded (or brand themselves) that way: the new president of the Architectural Association in London introduced himself as a contextualist. The label will work as did others in the past (modernist, postmodernist), as long as the ratio between those who use it and those who don't remains below a critical threshold.

Talkability, readability, repeatability, teachability, identifiability are tactical advantages, and important ones at that. It is difficult to see how architectural ideas can be propagated without these characteristics. Although contextualists often claim otherwise (more about this later), there is nothing intrinsically superior about contextualism. In fact, there are two areas in which contextualists often find themselves on the losing side. One is adaptability to change: What will happen to the Madison Bank when the adjacent buildings are torn down? Will the architects of the new neighbors continue the game, deferring to the shapes and motifs of the bank? Another frequent victim of contextualism is clarity of expression. The blending of the bank and the movie theater in Georgetown requires both to sacrifice a bit of their individuality; from the expressive standpoint, the building in Rome fared better. Whether architects like it or not, the capitalist city is, by its very nature, discontinuous and fragmentary. The jumbling of ordinary streetscapes reflects its character more adequately than the controlled transitions of contextualism.

Advocates of the contextualism often cite the psychology and physiology of perception when arguing for the consideration of physical surroundings in designing buildings. They note that laboratory experiments prove that perceptual context influences the evaluation of sizes and colors and the interpretation of shapes. Their conclusion may be stimulating, but the premise is wrong. Exciting buildings may result from considering the environment as a starting point; most people, however, do not let context strongly influence their perceptions of architecture. The psychologist's lab is not the same as the real urban environment; and the gap between the two must not be overlooked.

I have been researching for years the ways in which people interpret architecture and have collected voluminous records of the responses of articulate and sensitive people to architecture. I chose as my subjects the most influential critics and historians of our time; my corpus is the architectural literature itself. The evidence proves that the physical surroundings of buildings are seldom a major consideration in their interpretation: most often, context is not even mentioned in the texts.¹ This does not mean that buildings are interpreted atomistically, one-by-one. On the contrary, they are always considered against the background of other buildings: other buildings with a similar program or similar stylistic features or by the same architect or by his mentor. None of these buildings are next door, and few of them are even in the same city. The context against which architecture is interpreted is in the repertory of images and experiences that viewers carry in their memories.

Imagination and memory can take us from reality to fiction. One of the most powerful urban fantasies in America is recapturing the quality of life of the preindustrial city. This is reflected not only in the strength of the preservation and restoration movement, but also in the fascination with European tourism and with amusement parks that mimic old, pedestrian, small-scale urban environments. In his building at 2000 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington D.C., John Carl Warnecke played on this fascination. He preserved the outer skin of a row of charming old town houses, carved out their interior, and continued the project in a taller modern block rising behind. In contrast to the strong texturing and coloring of the facades of the houses, the mass of the new block is smooth and so unobtrusive as to almost fade away; at night, an imaginative lighting scheme reinforces the effect. The intention is to conceal the mismatched top and bottom; the success of the building, unlike the building in Rome, depends upon making the mismatch unreadable.

Fascination with the past - historicism - converges with contextualism, which is centered on the present. Both share an appreciation for the particular rather than the general, for the enjoyment of the environment, the sense of place. The Madison

Bank captures and fulfills the formal possibilities of the spatial dimension of the environment; 2000 Pennsylvania recovers and preserves the echoes of its temporal dimension. But in spite of this philosophical affinity, the buildings have antithetical effects: the charm of the town houses of Pennsylvania Avenue is based on the contrast and variety that results from fracture between the lots - the very discontinuity questioned in Georgetown.

Warnecke's building is talkable, but hardly repeatable: the strategy can be followed only in historically dignified urban environments. But there is a related strategy - sort of a poor man's equivalent to historic preservation - that can be used anywhere: large residential and commercial projects, designed and built at once, can be camouflaged with changes in roofline and in surface treatment of the facades to simulate the results of piecemeal, step-by-step growth over the years. The practice has swept through the country like an epidemic, proving its repeatability. Historically, it can be traced back to Portmerion, a charming mock Italian hillside village built in Wales during the 1920s. But Portmerion was the work of a sensitive architect who knew how to play with space, mass, and streetscape and who had the courage to challenge accepted conventions - neither of which can be said of the typical American developer. By contrast, the current version of the strategy reinforces people's expectations and conventions, and it demands a low level of design ability. Playing the contextual games of the Madison Bank requires ingenuity and creativity; building still one more pseudo-Italianate shopping center does not. Repeatable as it is, the strategy is not teachable: there may be nothing to teach about it.

'Historicism' is a very imprecise term. It can be used to refer to the exact preservation or replication of earlier forms, as in the case of the Capitol, or it can allude to an approximative re-creation of what was there before, as in 2000 Pennsylvania Avenue. Then again it can be used for the construction, on empty land, of an environment that supposedly has certain attributes of older designs, like the developments just mentioned. It can refer to the re-creation of an entire environmental imagery, as

in all three examples just mentioned, or to the use of isolated elements of past formal vocabularies, articulated in new combinations, as in the oversized Georgian windows and dormers on the M Street front of the Madison Bank. The latter is the type of historicism prevalent in the work of postmodernist architects; it requires a considerable degree of sophistication both from designers and their audiences.

Design strategies can have one more tactical advantage - conventionality. Our social and cultural framework is based on a series of expectations and conventions. The newspaper article on the Capitol cited earlier was published on the fourth of July - not a day earlier or later - because when John Doe opens his paper that morning, he expects to encounter issues with patriotic and historic overtones. He also has very definite expectations about his architectural and cultural environment. He may be willing to applaud the Rome building (which itself plays on conventional images of what offices and apartments are expected to look like) if faced with it in a magazine or a lecture. But don't expect him to approve of such a project for Pennsylvania Avenue. This most important artery of the nation's capital calls for dignity, seriousness, and decorum. Wittiness may be admissible in Georgetown, a historical place indeed, but also a fashionable nightspot. To be acceptable, even the challenge to conventions must be conducted in the manner and place prescribed by the conventions themselves. At home, let's stay with false Georgian.

URBAN DESIGN: CONTEXT, STYLE AND HISTORY
IN THE POST-MODERN ERA
Design

Brian Goodey
Reader in Urban
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'The most important accusation that could be made due to the fact that it has gone to the most grotesque limits within my own island, would be the case of Arrecife (Capital city of the island) with a town council made up of a series of incompetent persons... with an urban plan which quite simply has to be seen to be believed. In the case of Arrecife, planning en masse has reached its lowest limit, and deterioration and the pollution of its beautiful seascape couldn't be worse. It has grotesquely high new buildings in tiny streets, adorned by horrible materials which are totally foreign to the style and harmony predominant in the rest of the island. All of this has been conceived and is the product of an ignorance incapable of understanding the image the world has of Lanzarote or the unfavourable reputation which could result.'

In this brief quotation from an essay by a Canary Island critic and designer the implicit remit for urban design is identified. Seldom an identifiable profession, urban design is concerned with an intermediate three-dimensional environment, larger than the building focus of architecture, yet smaller than the district scale of the planner; with grouped building characteristics, the quality of public spaces, landmarks and imagery.

In the absence of any effective theoretical discussion concerning urban design in most cultures (with Italy as one obvious exception, see Samuels, 1985) proposals for appropriate methods have been accretive of ideas and techniques. Little is discarded or even revised. Thus the 'townscape' school of the 1950's (see Whistler & Reed, 1977) was little damaged by Maxwell's incisive critique (1976) and Cullen's work continues to be applied, evaluated (see Rock, 1985 on the Ware experience), lauded (Burney, 1985) and diffused. Whereas, in the British context, we may see subsequent publications by say, Lynch, Alexander or Krier, as modifying the approach of Cullen's Townscape, it was interesting (and sobering) to see Brazilian students drawing very different contemporary implications from the recent availability of Townscape in that country, more than twenty years after publication in the U.K. Whereas the major issues in planning theory now seem to have a truly international forum, local agendas for debate in urban design, whilst still relying on the

printed word much more than the evaluated product, reveal few common tendencies.

However, urban design ideas have taken a noticeable shift in recent years. Even though both Cullen, and Lynch (see What Time is this Place? 1972) may be drawn into current discussions, it is the work of Rob and Leon Krier and the morphological concepts adopted by Italy from Germany, and subsequently spread throughout the latin world, which demand attention where urban design is taught and practised in much of Europe and elsewhere. The following is a description of Rob Krier's teaching methods which shows a purpose and language similar to that of our course at Oxford (see Bentley et. al, 1985):-

'Krier described the exercises he sets for his first-year students in order to make them alert to urban morphology: the scale, proportions and forms of public spaces, the dimensions and character of the buildings, etc. From their very first designs onwards the students are required to follow a number of basic rules jointly agreed upon: urban structure, volumetrics, site dimensions and some principles relating the materials and colour scheme thus form the web of coherence on which each student may transfer the variety of "contents" and tastes to the second level of planning. Single-object architecture gives way to one which forms an integral part of a structured urban concept. The architect relinquishes individualism to become involved in co-operation on more extensive projects.' (Barthelemy, 1984, 99).

The core of urban design instruction and thought have thus moved from an inconclusive reliance on the expressed concerns and activities of the city user, to what is clearly recognised by many architects as a more reliable foundation in the evolving form of the city:

'There is no doubt that this rediscovery of a historical context has acted as a liberation for designers from the immediate past with its methods and preoccupations. The test of a building's appropriateness is no longer simply its capacity to fulfil a function but also its ability to contribute to the qualities of its content - the building typology must reinforce the urban morphology' (Samuels, 1985,9).

and, as Maitland (1983,80) has observed in one of the best recent accounts of urban design concerns:

'Although there may be little consensus about the preferred form of the city, there is a new and widely shared conviction among thoughtful designers about the importance of context as a

determinant of good design.'

This concern for context may focus on contemporary forms (as Maitland shows in his illustration from Stirling's scheme for Derby market place), on a sensitivity towards human use of building context (MacCormac's 'Urban Reform' 1983) or on the systematic and rigorous analysis and classification of past forms as a sequential context for present interventions (see Aymonino, 1985, 97). Clearly a slavish adherence to contextual rules derived from the past is likely to inhibit the creativity implicit in urban design and already Rossi (1985, 101) has warned against 'creating new myths, as functionalism did or as typo-morphological analysis runs the risk of doing.'

Hand in hand with this increased concern for, largely historical, context there has been a much more evident reaction against the 'Modern Movement' and all manner of related, and totally unrelated, characteristics of post-war development. Our journals have become clogged with the glossy polemic of a message which may be summarised as "out with the old new and in with the new old". In terms of the development of urban design it is salutary to note that the vast majority of such commentaries have been concerned with superficial aspects of architectural aesthetics (e.g. Time 1979: Sudjic, 1982, Jencks, 1982, Januszczak, 1982, Sudjic, 1982) rather than with any urban context which the new 'isms' might inhabit.

The most evident and popular sign that the 'new old' had arrived was in the locust-like invasion of Essex Design Guide styled housing (see Smales & Goodey, 1985 for the literature of the period) over the face of Britain, and with correspondingly superficial replication of vernacular features in many other European countries (Silver, 1979: Meades, 1979: see also Games, 1980). As was appropriate for an architectural culture that had largely lost its ability to see further than the nearest building, the urban design principles at the heart of the Essex Design Guide were seldom discussed (for an exception see Stansfield, 1981, 902 on the Basildon Noak Bridge scheme). The same is true of nearly all the eclectic examples of architectural historicism reviewed by Buchanan in his collection of

"Architecture Now" (1982) - classicism, collage, high-tech, humanist housing, organic architecture, neo-vernacular, structural rationalism, commercial packaging, participation, Dutch 'functionalism' and rationalism - with only the work of the Dutch and Italians showing an appreciation of the importance of urban form.

In very large part the relationship that presently exists between architecture and history is that of the plunderer and the robbed treasure house. Continuing preoccupation with building novelty and the absence of any evident political or community concern for public space, have served to endorse an introverted pursuit of graphic delights. Consider, for example the 1985 competition for the Grand Buildings site between Charing Cross and Trafalgar Square in central London. Latham (1985) and the Architects' Journal (1985) have illustrated many of the more than 250 failed submissions for the Trafalgar Square site and the reader is invited to review these as evidence of British architectural awareness of the urban design context - the A.J. notes that 'the standard of entries on display was depressingly low..'. Although the game of 'spot the plundered feature' may provide professional pleasure (and for another round see Amery's Tomorrow's Architecture? 1985) it is fairly clear that few of the entries reflect the nationally significant context of Trafalgar Square and the opportunities for creating with history offered by the site.

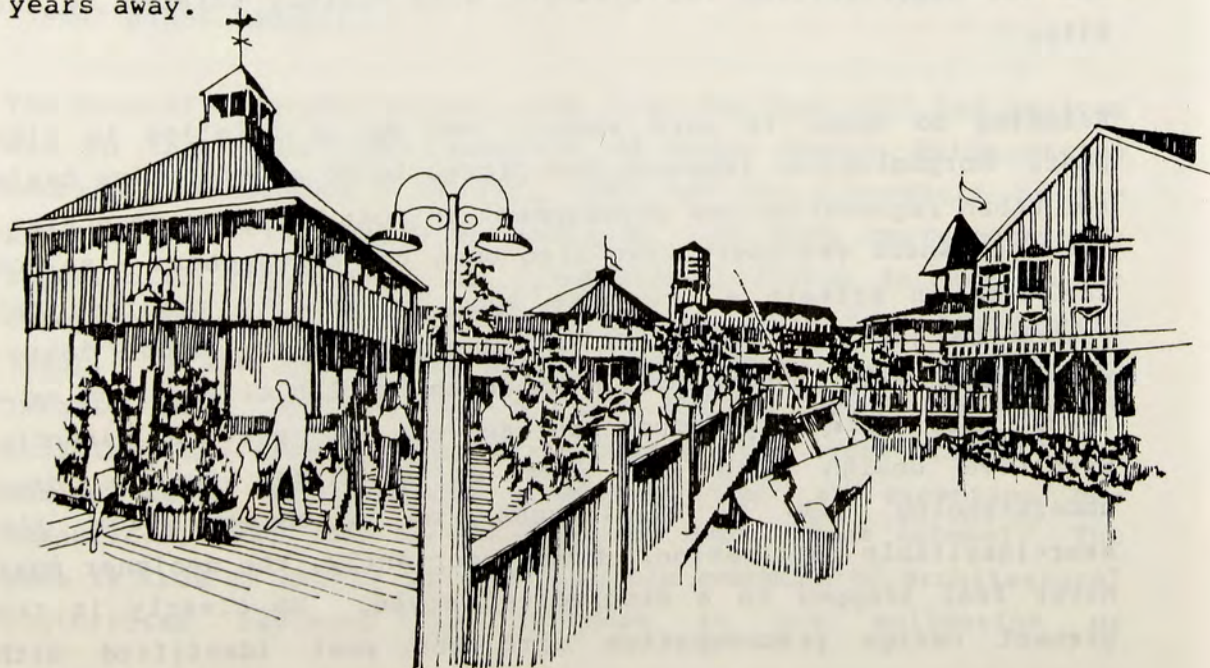
Relating to space is hard work... and so is relating to time past. Morphological research has proved to be an effective basis for urban regeneration and development in most European countries, but even where designers have also been the researchers - seldom the case in Britain - the site specific enquiry required can seldom be justified in terms of time and fees. Urban design projects usually involve public space and public clients and as a result are seldom proposed in an era of private finance. Sensitive design with the past as a guide involves deep understanding yet a willingness to disengage from the near-inevitable replication. Most importantly, the designer must never feel trapped in a discredited style. So clearly is the present design preoccupation with the past identified with

political conservatism and a deterministic return to traditional social values (see Sullivan, 1985 for evidence and Wright, 1985a for comment), that any significant political change may see a rejection of 'history' and a reassertion of 'progress'. If this is the case then historians and urban designers, embracing both architecture and planning, will have failed to seize the moment. As Lipman and Harris (1985) stress, 'problems of architectural style, aesthetics, are bound up with the question of how we live and how we might live' and with regard to the role of history in the life of a community or a place the essential new arguments are only just being formed in the recent dense texts by Wright (1985) and by Lowenthal (1985).

In the latest of many such warnings concerning the British retreat to the past, Murray (1985) concludes:

'As the Honda motorcycle worker on his well-earned European holiday approaches England across the Channel Bridge, a monument to the long-gone Thatcherite era, in the opposite direction the local peasants plod to Calais in their donkey carts to stock up at a hypermarket. As the car approaches the classical passport control booths, the in-car announcement systems warns: "Turn your watches back one hour and your minds two hundred years."

Such a situation might be avoided if a few more designers - and politicians - were made more aware of the social condition, rather than the 'far-place' snapshot image of that place two hundred years away.



OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

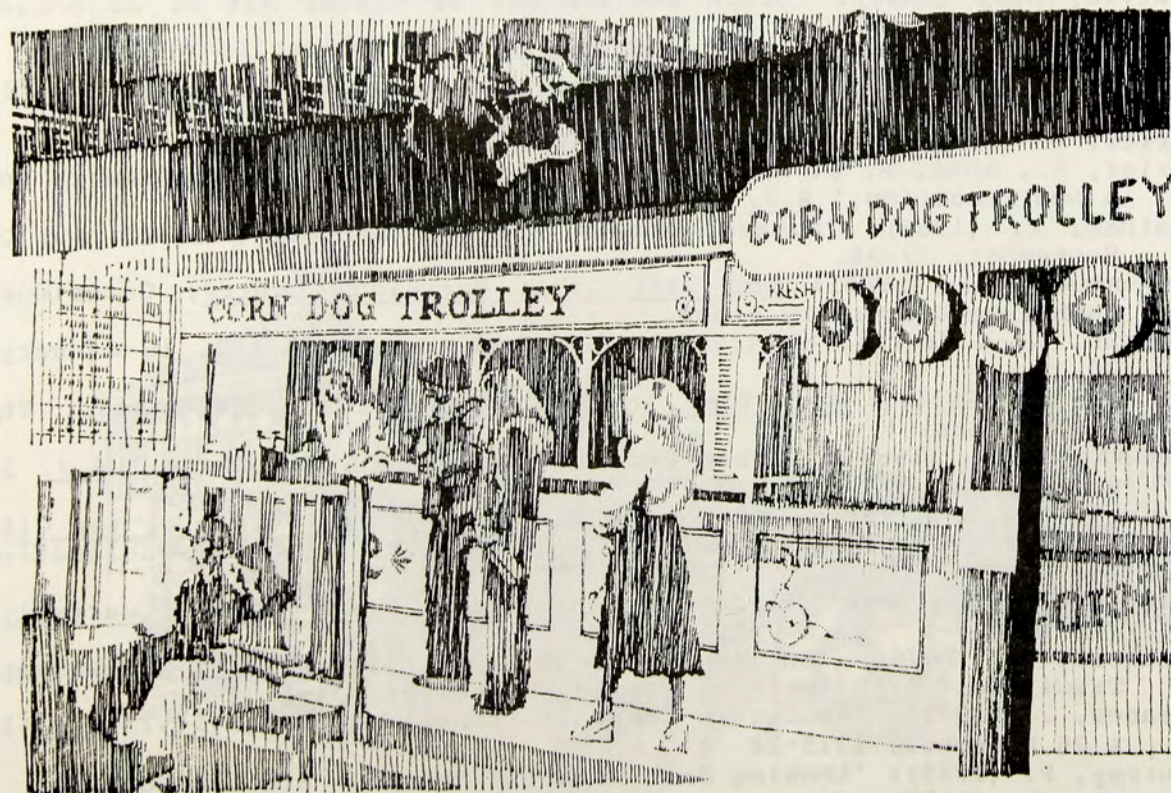
Jack London's wharf: a 1980s leisure development in 19th century nautical costume.

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A.J. = Architects' Journal. B.D. = Building Design



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