

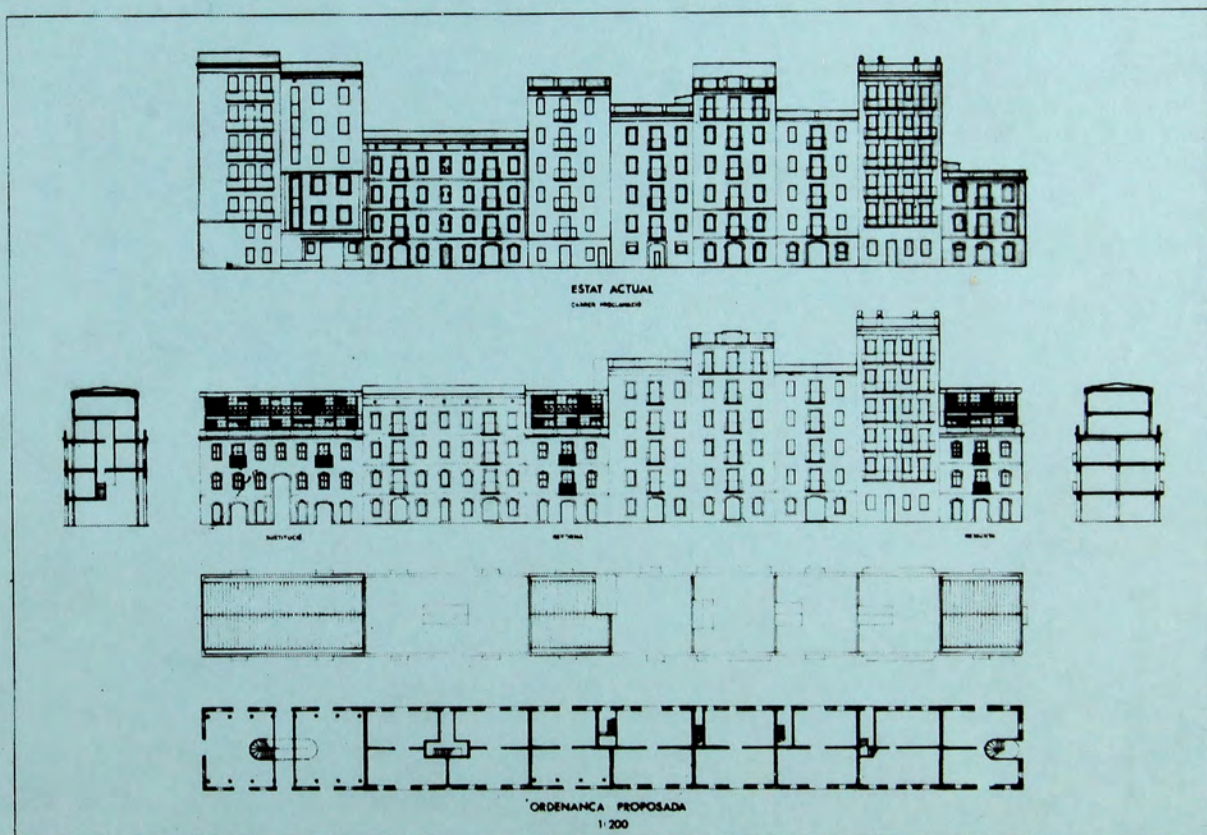
Planning
History
Bulletin

PHB

1986

Volume 8

Number 3



Manuel de Sola - Morales: proposals for rehabilitation of tenements in La Barceloneta
(See Javier Cenicacelaya's paper within)

Planning History Group

CHAIRMAN'S COMMUNICATION

At the start of the year two matters of PHG concern have come to me: one is rather introspective and relates to the affairs of the Group as a whole, the other is simply a gesture of faith and an act of enthusiasm of the kind out of which our activities began.

Your Executive was much exercised last year by the difficulties now being encountered in arranging for conferences and meetings of one kind or another. Our early years were highlighted by some very successful and well attended meetings, including international gatherings. In the very recent past these have proved much more difficult to arrange. Where have we all gone? Has the Group lost its head of steam? Do we need another transfusion of ideas? If nothing else were happening in our field we might be justified in feeling gloomy, but the fact is that other spheres of activity are very buoyant, particularly in relation to publications. New titles flow in the Mansell series 'Studies in History, Planning and the Environment'; Planning Perspectives has had a successful launch; PHB is full of material; and there is ample evidence of academic curiosity about planning practice and achievements in the post war world, let alone other periods. Planning history is therefore a field of growing academic reputation. So perhaps the Group is a rather different being from that of earlier days: do I detect that our international network now demands different things and expresses its interests in different ways? This, of course, is not to argue that meetings and conferences are unimportant, rather to say that our members may currently be more intent upon writing up their work and it is this phase of expression and academic contact that is in most demand.

The second matter is a piece of welcome news from Australia. I learn from Alan Hutchings of the South Australian Planning Commission that an embryo Australian Planning History Group is being formed, to operate within our PHG network. Enthusiasm seems unbounded from a hard core of a dozen and we wish them well. I was a visitor to Adelaide in September, and I recommend anyone to go there - provided he is armed with a copy of With Conscious Purpose (ed. Hutchings and Bunker) which is a splendid history of town planning in South Australia. We can but hope that cells like this will reproduce in other quarters in 1987 and the years to come.

All good greeting for the new year that has begun.

Gordon Cherry
Chairman
January 1987

EDITORIAL

The last part of Volume 8 of the Bulletin which should have been distributed at Christmas is being mailed at crocus time the following spring, accompanied by profuse apologies from the editorial desk. These are pressing times in the universities and I am afraid it is often the more pleasant and diversionary activities that take the squeeze. Possibly the Bulletin has become slightly more burdensome than it need be by evolving into a fifty page publication with artwork and extended articles. The availability of Planning Perspectives as a quality journal for planning historian does open up the option of downgrading the Bulletin without loss of face into a more rough and ready desk-top publication. At any rate, that is the course of action that your Editor proposes to pursue in 1987 in an attempt to salvage the publication schedule. Cutting back on the lengthier contributions makes it all the more important that the remaining contents should be up to date, informative and newsworthy. If you have publications or events to publicize, or meetings to report, let the Bulletin know about them.

Michael Hebbert

TREASURER'S REPORT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE : 1 JANUARY TO 1 DECEMBER 1986

<u>Income</u>		1985
Subs for 1986		
UK	1077.00	1180.00
O/S	1249.40	1268.06
0 Years	57.48	—
	2383.88	2448.06
Less Refund	(20.00)	68.15
	2363.88	2379.91
District leaflets	90.00 ⁽¹⁾	205.62
Bank interests	71.51 ⁽²⁾	117.80
Bank issues (net)	91.00	—
Seminar (net)	—	55.29
t o t a l	£ 2616.39	£ 2818.62
<u>Expenditure</u>		
Bulletin Publ. Cost	1333.24 ⁽³⁾	910.13 ⁽⁴⁾
Membership Mailing	277.94 ⁽⁵⁾	479.60
Admin. + Committee	120.46 ⁽⁶⁾	114.42
Seminar (net)	43.36	—
t o t a l	£ 1775.00	£ 1504.15

Notes

- (1) Outstanding invoice for \$ 85.00
- (2) Further receipts due
- (3) Includes 3 issues to date; does not include Vol 8, No.2
- (4) Includes 2 issues only
- (5) Does not include Vol. 8, No.2
- (6) Does not include Committee costs for 3/12/86 nor membership clerical costs.

1/12/86

NOTICES

LOCALITY & POLITICS IN INTER-WAR BRITAIN
A one day seminar at Queen Mary College, London E1
Tuesday 14 April 1987, 9.30 - 5.00

Roger Lee (QMC) and Stephen Ward (Oxford Polytechnic) announce the following programme of papers:

- Women and urban politics
Jane Mark-Lawson (University of Lancaster)
- Poor mothers in prosperous areas: maternal and infant welfare in Oxford
Elisabeth Peretz (University of Oxford)
- Housing problems 1935
Stephen Ward (Oxford Polytechnic)
- Central-local relations in East London
Gillian Rose (Queen Mary College, London)
- The implementation of the 1929 Local Government Act
Jonathan Bradbury (University of Bristol)
- The politics of hospital regionalization
Charles Webster (University of Oxford)

A registration fee of £10 will include the cost of lunch and refreshment.

The seminar will be held in the Department of Geography and Earth Science, Queen Mary College, Mile End Road, London E1 4NS

Tel. (01) 980 4811, ext. 3600.

Further details from Jacqui Crinnion at the above address.

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BRITISH REGIONALISM 1900 - 2000

University of Salford September 10th - 11th 1987
A joint two day conference of the Regional Studies Association
and the Planning History Group

Great Britain shares with other European countries a tradition of regionalism stretching back to the early years of the century. As elsewhere it has been less a single reform effort than a complex of distinct and at times contradictory movements, motivated variously by demands for political autonomy and decentralization and by functional concerns for territorial planning and administration.

While the region has become progressively established in law and policy elsewhere in Europe as an intermediate level of government, in the United Kingdom it remains "the furtive tier" and its history, one of frustration and failure. However, the recent trends of discussion within the Labour Party and the SDP-Liberal Alliance suggest that regionalism has not vanished from the political agenda. Perhaps its prospects are better than ever before.

The purpose of the conference British Regionalism 1900-2000 is

twofold: first, to recount the history of regionalism and regional reform, from the early development of the regional idea by C.B. Fawcett, G.D.H. Cole, Patrick Geddes and H.G. Wells, through the pre-war and wartime experiments in regional planning and administration, to the cul-de-sac of the Kilbrandon Commission and the Regional Economic Planning Councils. And second, as the title implies, the conference will analyze the nature of regionalism and its continued potential as a principle for reform within the United Kingdom, in order to look forward to emerging forms of government for Britain at the end of the century.

PROVISIONAL PROGRAMME

Thursday September 10th

Session I

Professor Derek Urwin (Warwick) British Regionalism - the constitutional and political context

Prof Brian Robson (Manchester) British Regionalism - the geographical and economic context

Dr. Michael Burgess (Plymouth) The Progress of the Federal Idea in British Politics 1880-1940

Session II

Dr. Ray Hudson (Durham) Regionalism and the Politics of Modernization in the North East 1930 - 1980

Dr. David Massey (Liverpool) Regional Planning 1909-1939 : the "Experimental Era"

Dennis Hardy (Middlesex) Regionalism in Interwar Britain - the role of the Town and Country Planning Association

Friday September 11th

Session III

Michael Hebbert (LSE) Regionalism, devolution and local government reform 1900-1960

Dr. Pat Garside (Salford) The Failure of Regionalism in 1940s Britain

Prof. Michael Wise (LSE) The Origins of the Regional Studies Association

Session IV

Prof. Michael Goldsmith Regionalism, Devolution and
(Salford) Local Government Reform,
1960-1985

Diana Pearce The Yorkshire and Humberside
(DOE) Economic Planning Council
1965 - 1979: from the regional
dimension of the National Plan
to "Preparing for Tomorrow's
World"

Prof. Urian Wannop The Planning Case for Regions
(Strathclyde) and its Vindication in
Strathclyde

Session V

Dr. Wayne Parsons The Regional Idea in British
(QMC) Politics

Dr. Yvo Peeters Scotland, Wales and the English
(Brussels) Regions from a European
Perspective

Dr. Michael Keating British Regionalism and European
(Strathclyde) Integration - a prospective view

Poster Sessions Participants not giving papers who would
like an opportunity to display and talk
about their work are invited to contact
Pat Garside who is arranging poster
sessions near to the bar during the
conference breaks.

Publication We are discussing book publication of
the proceedings with Mansell.

Conference Management Management and publicity of this
conference are being handled by Laureen
Roberts of the University of Salford's
Conference Office (tel 061-736-5843 ext
449). Salford are distributing full
details and booking forms in March 1987.

Any queries concerning the programme and arrangements for British
Regionalism 1900-2000 should be addressed to :-

(Programme matters)
Dr. M. Hebbert
LSE,
Houghton St.,
London WC2 2AE.

(Administrative matters)
Dr. P. Garside,
Environmental Sciences,
University of Salford,
Salford M5 4WT.
or
Sally Parkinson,
Regional Studies Association
29 Great James St.,
London WC1N 3ES.

8TH ANNUAL CHAUTAQUA IN MISSISSIPPI - "CIVIC ARCHITECTURE IN THE
SMALL TOWN AND THE CITY" - OCTOBER 9-10th 1987

The School of Architecture and Center for Small Town Research and
Design at Mississippi State University wish to invite papers for
the above symposium "CIVIC ARCHITECTURE IN THE SMALL TOWN AND THE
CITY", to be held October 9-10th 1987 at the School of
Architecture.

Two page (Maximum) abstracts or completed manuscripts must be
received by April 15th, 1987.

Please direct correspondence to: Michael Fazio
School of Architecture
P.O. Drawer AQ
Mississippi State University
Mississippi State, MS 39762

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HISTORIC PLANNING RECORDS MICROFORM PROJECT

As Convenor of the Historic Planning Records Working party, it gives
me great pleasure to announce that we are now cooperating with a
microform company, Altair Publishing, on a project to film twentieth
century British planning records - both those of the major
institutions in planning and related field and the papers of pioneers
of British planning. Fruitful discussions have been held with
custodians of records and it is hoped to commence filming in the
spring of 1987, provided that a market survey indicates a
satisfactory sales potential. Leading scholars have agreed to advise
on specific parts of the project and it is intended to appoint an
Academic Editor to oversee the project in conjunction with Altair's
professional microform editors, who have, incidentally, long
experience in microfilming historic records. Members who have
suggestions of records which might be included in the series should
write to me at the address below:

Michael Simpson
Department of History
University College of Swansea
Singleton Park
Swansea SA2 8PP

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PLANNING HISTORY IN DENMARK

Denmark's Byplanlaboriet was founded in 1921 as a pressure group
bringing together architects, reformers and others concerned to
promote the cause of town planning and has accumulated a substantial
historical archive in more than sixty-five years of activity in the
field. A group has been formed within the Byplanlaboriet to research
planning history and, among other ventures, is currently engaged in a
programme of interviews with veterans.

Anyone with an interest in Danish planning history since 1920 is
welcome to write to:

Byplanlaboriet
Peders Skrams Gade 2B
DK-1054K Copenhagen
Denmark

But the leading authority on Denmark's urbanism before the First World War, and informant for this notice, is the political scientist

Tim Knudsen
Institut for Samfundsfag og Forvaltning
Rosenborggade 15
DK-1130 Copenhagen
Denmark

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AUSTRALIAN PLANNING HISTORY GROUP

At the recent World Planning and Housing Congress, Alan Hutchings canvassed the possibility of forming a group of people to promote the study of the history of planning in Australia. He received an enthusiastic response and it was decided to initiate a loose Australia-wide association of Planning History Group members. A contact has been established in each State and also two have offered to co-ordinate interchange around the country. The State contacts are:

Victoria:	Ray Brindle, Australian Road Research Board
Western Australia:	Barry Melotte, W.A.I.T.
Queensland:	Phil Hayward, Q.I.T. and John Brannock, Ipswich City Council
A.C.T.:	Kelvin Enright, Canberra, C.A.E.
South Australia:	Alan Hutchings, S.A. Planning Commission
New South Wales:	Robert Freestone, Wellings, Smith and Byrne
Tasmania:	Barry Shelton, Tasmanian C.A.E.

Co-ordination of interchange and liaison with the International Planning History Group will be undertaken by Kelvin Enright and Alan Hutchings.

All enquiries please to: Alan Hutchings
South Australia Planning Commission
G.P.O. Box 1815
Adelaide
South Australia

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IN MEMORIAM JOHN TRAVLOS (1908-1985)

The death occurred last year in Greece of John Travlos, Professor of Architecture in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and for many years architect to the excavations in the Athenian Agora conducted by the American School since 1931. Professor Travlos was also restoration and reconstruction architect for the rebuilding of the Stoa of Attalos as the Agora Museum 1953-56. This second century B.C. colonnaded market building gives a vivid impression of the

architectural effect and character of the long Hellenistic stoas which framed the agoras of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, such as Miletus and Priene. Travlos devoted a lifetime to the elucidation of the plan of Athens, and though a major figure in Greek archaeological circles, was not well known outside the world of classical scholarship. As no appreciation of his work has appeared in any English-language architectural or planning journal, this short account of his work as architect, archaeologist and town planning historian is timely.

The excavation of the Athenian Agora is now more or less complete, the last building to be uncovered being the Painted Stoa, in 1981. Travlos served as excavations architect from 1935 till his retirement in 1973, and his maps and plans of Athens and the Agora, and his architectural restorations drawn over the years, are to be found in the Guide Books to the site, the definitive volume in the buildings by H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens* (1972), and in *Hesperia*, the journal of the American School. His plans and drawings have found their way into the secondary literature on the history of town planning, and it would now be difficult to pick up a textbook on urban history without finding an illustration with the initials "J.T." in the Greek section.

The picture of the ancient city of Athens which we have today may be regarded as complete. Most of the monuments known from ancient authors have been identified, while the extent and, in more general terms, the elements that went into the formation of the ancient city have been ascertained. In 1971 Travlos published his *Bild Lexikon der Topographie des Antiken Athen*, which appeared simultaneously in English as *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*. This had 722 illustrations, and dealt with all buildings of which remains existed. The normal entry comprises photographs, drawings, a brief descriptive text, and a generous bibliography. This encyclopaedic work, a publication of the German Archaeological Institute, won a prize from the Academy of Athens.

In 1960 Travlos published *Poleodomike Exelisis ton Athenon* (the Urban Development of Athens); this is built around a series of twelve period plans covering the whole sweep of the settlement's history from 3500 B.C. to A.D. 1959, though the last period 1833-1959 was not dealt with in great detail. The development of Athens in the 19th century was later covered in *Neo-Classical Architecture in Greece* (1967), which appeared in English and French editions. In this largely photographic essay Travlos charted the early development of the modern city by reference to the original plans of Kleanthes and Schaubert (1832), Klenze (1834), and the modified plan by Gaertner (1836), and examined the architectural history of the Athenian public buildings designed mainly by Munich architects brought in by the newly-established Bavarian royal household of King Otto. The book also surveys neo-classical architecture outside Athens, on the islands and in urban centres elsewhere in Greece.

Travlos's *Poleodomike...* (1960) was not published in English, though a translation by Professor R.E. Wycherley exists in typescript form. It was originally envisaged that the University of Chicago Press would publish an English edition, but in the event a modified version appeared in French, with increased coverage of 19th century developments: *Athènes au fil du temps* (1972).

The city of Athens had grown continuously since 1830, with development

accelerating after 1833 when the city extended to incorporate the inner part of Piraeus harbour, with the creation of the first carriageway connecting Athens with the port. Migration from the other parts of Greece to the new centre accelerated, particularly after the designation of the city as the capital. Of the original plan for Athens only a few segments survive, notably in the area of the Academy, University, and Library. The clear-cut intentions apparent in the first plans for Athens disappeared in the revised and extended plan for the Athens area of 1864, which legalised the existing situation - one of largely unauthorised, badly developed areas which had grown organically as Greeks from abroad or from other towns within Greece had converged on the capital and built houses in a completely uncontrolled way.

One of the proposals in the Kleanthes-Schaubert plan of 1832 had been for the creation of a large archaeological zone round the Acropolis, but due to adverse public opinion at the overall cost of the plan and the extent of expropriations involved the plan was rejected. It was replaced by the 1834 plan by Klenze, which created a much-reduced archaeological zone north of the Acropolis. Athens was rapidly rebuilt after 1834, and by the mid-nineteenth century the area of the ancient Agora was part of a residential district, and remained covered by houses until the excavations by the American School was commenced in 1931. The uncovering of the Athenian Agora by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens has been one of the great triumphs of urban archaeology of modern times; as a result, our knowledge of the topography of the ancient civic centre is virtually complete.

Unlike most of the great sites of Classical antiquity, the Agora was only recognised relatively recently, though its general location had been known to archaeologists since the nineteenth century. It was only in 1934 that certain identification of the Agora became possible, when the American excavators uncovered the distinctive round form of the Tholos and the Altar of the Twelve Gods, followed in 1938 by the discovery of a boundary stone still in place. Today all the known buildings of the Agora have been excavated; the last to be discovered was the Painted Stoa, in 1981.

With the exception of the War years, the American School of Classical Studies has been excavating in the Agora continuously since 1931. In all, over a hundred buildings and 180,000 objects have been identified in the course of the excavations carried out over more than fifty years.

John Travlos began his association with the American School in 1931, when, still a student, he served as architect-draughtsman on the joint Greek-American exploration of the Pnyx, including the ancient assembly place, a great stretch of city wall, and the Monument of Philopappos. Soon thereafter Travlos was appointed Architect of the Agora Excavations (1935-40), subsequently Architect of the School's Excavations (1940 to retirement 1973), and then Honorary Architect of the School.

Because of his own modesty, Travlos's name figures little in the publications of the School's excavations, but his simple initials and the date may be found on an amazing number of the drawings that illustrate the books and articles relating to the Agora, the Pnyx, and Corinth.

Another major contribution made by Travlos as architect of the Agora excavations was in connection with the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos. Having prepared a complete architectural restoration of the Stoa in the light of definitive excavation of the building 1949-53, Travlos supervised the actual work of reconstructing the building on site 1953-56. The dimensions of the stoa (length 116m, breadth 20 m.) and the nature of its plan (two-storied double colonnade with twenty-one shops on each floor) had been known since Greek Archaeological Society excavations of 1859-62. The two-storeyed variety represents the ultimate development of the stoa as an architectural type, and was especially favoured at Pergamon. The Stoa of Attalos was a gift of the city of Athens from Attalos II, king of Pergamon (159-138 B.C.), and was the most splendid of the buildings involved in the Hellenistic remodelling of the Agora. As rebuilt, the Stoa is a near facsimile of the ancient building, correct in all its external details.

While on the staff of the American School, Travlos found time to take an active part in the exploration of several other Athenian sites of major importance: the Sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, and environs, the Academy of Plato, the Asklepieion, the theatre of Dionysos, the Library of Hadrian. He also worked with Professor G.E. Mylonas at Eleusis, a collaboration still active at the time of his death.

In the period 1974-76 Travlos supervised the restoration of the Vouros mansion in Klafthmonos Square which now houses the Museum of the City of Athens which focuses on the history of the city from the Frankish period up to the present. One of the first displays set up in the Museum was a model made under the direction of Travlos to illustrate the city as it was in 1842. A model of the whole city of ancient Athens was made under Travlos's supervision for the exhibition mounted in the Stoa of Attalos to celebrate 1985 as the year of Athens as the Cultural Centre of Europe. On hearing of Travlos's death on 28.10.85 the Minister of Culture, Miss Melina Mercouri, decreed that the exhibition "Athens; Prehistory and Antiquity" should remain open for a further year in tribute to Travlos, who had inspired it.

Latterly Professor Travlos served on the Commission for the Conservation of the Acropolis (1975-81), and as Vice-President of the Archaeological Society of Greece. He was twice elected a Visiting Member of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Shortly before his death John Travlos had his manuscript for a companion volume on the monuments of the whole of Attica, similar in plan to the Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens, accepted for publication by the German Archaeological Institute; this is in press and will appear under the Wassmuth imprint.

H.C.S. Ferguson,
Arvanitakis Partnership,
London and Athens,
3 Wigmore Place, W.1.

REPORTS OF MEETINGS

ACSP HISTORY OF HOUSING SESSION

Concern with the origin of American public policy regarding postwar public housing and urban renewal was the central theme of three papers presented at the history of housing session of the 28th annual meeting of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in October, 1986.

In "Slum Clearance and Housing: An English Ideal, An American Adaptation", Eugenie L. Birch, Hunter College/CUNY traced the British roots of two intrinsic features of the American slum clearance and rehousing formula first embodied in legislation in 1937 and later extended in 1949. She showed how two features, financial arrangements including land value write downs and long term capital loans with insistence that tenant rent cover operating costs and a design vision known as large scale development, took on their own American form due to political and economic constraints in the United States.

In "Planners, Tenants and Neighborhood Renewal in New York City, 1937-1953", Joel Schwarz, Montclair State College, contributed a new dimension to the explanation of how decision making in the early period of urban renewal (1947-1963) became centralized. He argued that while liberal interpretations rightly portray the role of pro-growth coalitions (politicians, bankers, developers and journalists) they neglect the compliance of the political left in supporting the programs. To address this failure, he outlined the supportive positions of organized tenant leagues and the liberal intelligentsia represented by foundations, philanthropic reform groups and union leadership.

In "Public Housing Sales in the United States and Great Britain, A Historical Perspective", Hilary Silver, Brown University, argued that today's public housing sales are not the product of current conservative initiatives by the Thatcher and Reagan governments but the results of the continuation of a long tradition of halfhearted commitment to shelter programs. She also asserted that while American housing policy had long emulated progressive British programs, contemporary British policy is adopting regressive aspects of the United States practices.

Commentary by Peter Marcuse, Columbia University and a lively discussion led by moderator Marc A. Weiss, University of California, Irvine, concluded the session.

Eugenie L. Birch

American Collegiate Schools of Planning 28th Annual Conference, Milwaukee Wisconsin, October 10-12 1986

There were 20 people in attendance at the "History of Neighborhood Planning" session chaired by Marc Weiss, University of California-Irvine. The session included three papers, Zane Miller, University of Cincinnati, "Comprehensive Planning in Cincinnati's Over-the Rhine, 1925-1960," Bruce Tucker, University of Cincinnati, "Social Planning in Over-the-Rhine, 1960-1985," and Patricia Stach, Antioch College, "Deed Restrictions and Subdivision Development in Columbus, 1920-1970." Christopher Silver, Virginia Commonwealth

University, provided the commentary.

The Miller and Tucker papers examined the changing approaches to planning in a Cincinnati, Ohio neighborhood that has traditionally served as a staging ground for the city's large immigrant population. Miller argued that the city's Master Plan of 1925 offered a strategy for the neighborhood based upon the removal of the Over-the-Rhine and its replacement with new commercial development. The failure of that strategy, coupled with the neighborhood's continued deterioration, led to a new strategy in the 1948 Master Plan based upon conservation and renewal, and an acceptance of Over-the-Rhine as a necessary community to accommodate the city's poor blacks and whites. Tucker explored the efforts to develop an anti-poverty strategy for the neighborhood in the 1960s that recognized the distinctive problems of poor neighborhoods. Yet as both Miller and Tucker noted, competing views of what the neighborhood should be (especially competition from the middle-class who saw Over-the-Rhine as an untapped source of houses for renovation) limited the effectiveness of neighborhood planning aimed at incumbent upgrading.

Stach's assessment of the use of deed restrictions in Columbus from the early 1900s through the 1950s demonstrated how large residential developers in Columbus, Ohio effectively dictated the social composition of many urban neighborhoods to reflect their own perceptions and values. Her paper maintains that planners generally relinquished control of the neighborhood development process to the private community developers. Deed restrictions proved an effective tool to maintain the social and economic integrity of neighborhoods in the face of ongoing demographic changes in the city as a whole.

Professor Christopher Scher
Virginia Commonwealth University

RECENT AND FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

Donald Johnson and Donald Langmead (1986) The Adelaide City Plan - Fiction and Fact, Adelaide: Wakefield Press, ISBN 0 9588 272 06. \$15.95

Readers of the Bulletin enjoyed an advance preview of the Johnson and Langmead thesis, based on work in the Public Records Office and the Post Office archives in London, which is that the founding and planning of Adelaide South Australia are misattributed by posterity to the flamboyant Colonel William Light when the true credit is due to his Deputy Surveyor-General, George Strickland Kingston. A fully illustrated large-format paperback is now available from Wakefield Press at

PO Box 588
Cowandilla 5033
South Australia

Michael Bruton and David Nicholson, Local Planning in Practice, Hutchinson, 1987, pp.452, £12.95 (paper).

Planning historians need to be well informed on matters of contemporary planning practice, as well as the past. For some years now we have been kept up to date through such well respected tomes as Town and Country Planning in Britain (Cullingworth, nine editions to date) and An Introduction to Town and Country Planning (Ratcliffe, Two editions). Bruton and Nicholson now complement these with a thoroughly comprehensive review of local planning practice. It is a text which will surely be well received; indeed one can scarcely see it being surpassed such is its research-based authority. It will appeal not only to professional planning students in Britain but also to curious overseas observers of the British planning scene, anxious to be updated on aspects of contemporary change relating to plan preparation, development control and such features of environmental management as housing, conservation and urban development and regeneration. Well over 400 references testify to its scholarly presentation.

In the same excellent series ('The Built Environment') we have a revised, updated, and expanded second edition of Peter White, Public Transport: its planning, management and operation, Hutchinson, 1986, pp.222, £12.95 (paper), formerly (1976) titled Planning for Public Transport. It is particularly useful for its review of changes in transport organisation and research findings over the last ten years

G.E.C.

Some recent references on Australia planning history

In Vol. 4, No.2 (1982) of the Planning History Bulletin a short and selective bibliography of papers, books and theses dealing with the history of urban and regional planning in Australia was published. A more comprehensive guide, concentrating on the formative years of modern town planning, is R. Freestone (1983) 'The development of urban planning in Australia 1888-1948: A bibliography and review', in P. Williams, ed. Social Process and the City (George Allen and Unwin), pp.175-204. I have not tried to rigorously revise or update this bibliography but it is now hard to avoid various titles which are to some extent informed by the rising international tide of 'new' planning history. Some of them are listed and described briefly below. There is still far more than could and should be done. As Margo Huxley Flett and J. Brian McLoughlin concluded in their review of the Australian literature on urban studies and planning, published recently in Progress in Planning, the 'historical evolution' of 'urban and regional planning in practice' is still a major gap.

N.A.W. Ashton (1984) Sydney: Village to Metropolis. A brief review of planning in the Sydney Region. Background Paper. Sydney: Department of Environment and Planning. 16 pp.

Written by a former Chairman of the New South Wales State Planning Authority 1964-74, this brief monograph concentrates on the post world war two period when the most significant statutory and policy advances were made.

M. Auster (1985) 'Co-operating in the Country: the forgotten place of rural communitarian thought in the history of town planning'. Australian Planner, December, pp.5-7.

Drawing on Australian and British examples, shows how rural cooperatives and the writings of reformist theorists 'played a part in the emergence of the town planning idea'.

Martin Auster (1986) 'The Regulation of Human Settlement: Public Ideas and Public Policy in New South Wales', Environmental and Planning Law Journal, March, pp.40-47.

Sketches of the impress of various independent government policies - decentralisation, closer settlement, town and country planning etc. - on the landscape of NSW.

Neil Burdett (1984) 'The development of a local planning profession in N.S.W.' Australian Local Planner, No. 1, July, pp.65-69.

Charts the development of the planning profession at local government level in the state of New South Wales through its ups and downs from the 1940s to the 1980s.

K.F. Fischer (1984) Canberra: Myths and Models. Forces at work in the formation of the Australian capital. Hamburg: A Publication of the Institute of Asian Affairs. 166 pp.

There is no shortage of information on Canberra, much of it published by the National Capital Development Commission, the statutory body founded by the Commonwealth Government in the late 1950s to plan, develop and construct the national capital for which Walter Burley Griffin had supplied the original and

brilliant master plan before the first world war. Understandably, the NCDC has not been known for self-criticism. Early in 1986 it published a glossy illustrated history of Canberra 'from Limestone Plains to Garden City'. It meets a certain need but Fischer's book is the major piece of recent planning history. It not only charts the physical development of the city over its 7-odd year history but evaluates the various planning exercises along the way. An excellent synthesis of information and appropriately illustrated. A significant work.

- R. Freestone (1986) 'The conditions of the cities and the response: Early garden city concepts and practice', in Ian Burnley and James Forrest, eds. Living in Cities: Urbanism and society in metropolitan Australia. Sydney: Allen & Unwin and the Geographical Society of NSW, pp.13-27.

Against a background of urban growth and problems in the nineteenth century, looks at various images of the modern garden city idea in early social thought and the beginnings of planning in the garden city tradition to the early twentieth century.

- A.W.J. Hutchings (1985) 'The Development of Comprehensive Town Planning in South Australia: 1915-1930. Its Successes and Failures. Master of Planning thesis, University of Adelaide. 180 pp.

Examines the early history of community and metropolitan planning in South Australia and particularly Adelaide up to the Great Depression. The work chronicles many failures and the dashed hopes of Charles Compton Reade, Government Town Planner 1916-20 but concludes optimistically that 'town planning ideas are persistent and many of these early initiatives came to pass decades later into the post world war two era'. Reprints a number of 'lost' plans which illustrate the impact of garden city precepts on the evolution of site planning standards.

- Alan Hutchings and Raymond Bunker, eds. (1986) With Conscious Purpose: A history of town planning in South Australia. Adelaide: Wakefield Press in association with the Royal Australian Planning Institute (South Australian Division) 122 pp.

A major work. The first substantial book on a facet of Australian planning history since Leonie Sandercock's pioneering Cities for Sale (1975). Well illustrated and nicely designed, the book has eight chapters which essentially take a chronological approach surveying the history of planning from the earliest days of Col. William Light through the Reade era and beyond the present to 'metropolitan Adelaide and its future'. Proof that planning history can appeal to a wide audience.

- Paul A. Johnson (1982) The Original Sydney: A geometrical and numerical analysis of Phillip's plan. Architectural History Research Unit, Graduate School of the Built Environment, University of New South Wales. 50 pp.

A fascinating and pathbreaking study. It takes what little information is known about Governor Arthur Phillip's original plan for Sydney and extrapolates its primitive gridiron form into the grander but mythical town of 'Albion'. Geometrical analysis produces different alternative morphologies. The author has made

a similar analysis of the first plan of Parramatta, entitled The Original Parramatta. Both are working papers drawn from a doctoral thesis then in progress, and now completed: 'The Phillip Towns: Formative influences in towns of the NSW settlement from 1788 to 1810, Ph.D. thesis, University of New South Wales.

- Donbald Langmead (1985) 'George Strickland Kingston: Pioneer and Architect', PhD thesis, Flinders University of South Australia.

Standing conventional wisdom on its head, the thesis illustrates the hitherto overlooked role of Col. William Light's Deputy in the original plan of Adelaide, the capital city of South Australia. A short article by the author was published in Vol. 7, No. 2 (1985) of the Planning History Bulletin.

- John Paterson (1981) Sydney's Great Experiment Goes into Mass Production. National Monograph Series, Monograph No. 6, Australian Institute of Public Administration. 35 pp.

Originally presented as a paper to a conference of the Royal Australian Planning Institute, this substantial monograph version provides 'an organisation theoretic analysis of the history of state and regional policy development, regional planning and its statutory implementation in New South Wales 1945-1980'. Critical and iconoclastic.

- J.M. Powell (1986) 'The cabbage garden and fair blank sheet: an historical review of environment and planning', in A.G.L. Shaw, ed. Victoria's Heritage. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, pp. 56-83.

A readable and wide ranging essay taking in theory and practice, city and country from the foundations of settlement through to the present day. A sub-text urges the need for a more informed citizenry on environmental matters.

- Peter Spearritt and Louise Martin (1983) 'How it happened', in Quay Visions. A publication for the CAA/RAIA Conference, Sydney, June 1983, pp.7-13.

Circular Quay (nee Sydney Cove) was the birthplace of modern Australia. Its subsequent planning history has been a 'checkerboard affair' according to the authors. Their paper 'traces the potted progress through proposals and reality, grand schemes and modest achievements'. A companion paper in the same volume by Brian Wilson entitled 'What it might have been' looks at the ideas and impacts of two major enquiries in 1908-09 and 1937 dealing with the Circular Quay area.

- R.D. Spencer (1985) 'The development of strategic policy planning in Victoria, Town Planning Review, Vol. 56, No. 1, pp. 42-69.

Describes and examines the history of land use planning in the state of Victoria from the 1940s to the present, with major case studies of the evolution of strategic metropolitan planning in Melbourne and environmental planning for the Westernport Bay area, where conservation and industrial progress values collided in the early 1970s.

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RESEARCH REPORTS

HISTORY OF THE TOWN AND
COUNTRY PLANNING ASSOCIATION

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Embarking on a history of the T.C.P.A. is quite a daunting task. Dating back as it does to 1899, and still going strong, there's a lot of history to research. But at least continuity has its own rewards, and the core of the Association's history is contained in bulging files, minute books, periodicals and reports, photo albums and ephemera in the T.C.P.A.'s own offices. Inevitably, moving from one office to another over the years, and without an archivist to care for what remains, the records are incomplete. But there is not, overall, a shortage of source material, and the project enjoys the support of the T.C.P.A. as an official history of the organisation.

Some valuable preparatory work in locating just what does exist was completed in 1978 and 1980. In 1978 Martin Stott undertook the task of sorting and listing the hitherto dispersed records within the office ('Material in the Archives of the Town and Country Planning Association', October 1978). This pioneering work was followed by another valuable archival search, that of Philippa Bassett ('A List of the Historical Records of the Town and Country Planning Association', August 1980), as part of a research project funded by the S.S.R.C. Together, these two exercises offer a starting point for a search which will embrace, not just the T.C.P.A. offices, but also related specialist collections (like the Garden City Museum at Letchworth, and the Frederic Osborn papers), Government records, personal interviews and various research libraries.

But if it is a daunting task it is also very stimulating, and the attraction of the project is threefold. For a start, there is the basic attraction, common to so much historical research, of simply trying to piece together the records and to make sense of what has happened over the years. In purely empirical terms, the record of an institution that was formed at the end of the Victorian era and which continues to play a role in modern Britain will, inevitably, be full of interest and discovery.

A second source of attraction is to see what a history of the T.C.P.A. can contribute to our understanding of the wider development of town and country planning in this century. The history of the T.C.P.A. is closely interwoven around the history of the broader planning movement, and it is to be hoped that the Association's records might reveal new and interesting insights into policy formation and implementation. Its sustained campaign for the State to support the creation of new towns will alone lead the researcher into an intriguing world of political lobbying, of letters and internal memos, of private dinners and public promises. And beyond new towns, the T.C.P.A. has confronted a range of official policies - regional planning, green belts, inner cities, public inquiries and community involvement - all of which will cast a particular light on the development of planning as a whole.

Finally, in conceptual terms, the T.C.P.A. raises some general questions as a case study of an environmental pressure group. What is of particular interest about the T.C.P.A. is the fact that it has been campaigning for good planning over a long period. The creation of Letchworth and Welwyn, and the 1946 New Towns Act were important landmarks, but by no means the end of this campaign. If longevity alone is an indicator, the record of the Town and Country Planning Association is undoubtedly impressive.

But there are, of course, other criteria, of which effectiveness is especially telling. In short, how effective has the Association been in achieving its aims? Are there particular periods in its history when it has had a significant impact on events? And how does one account for its effectiveness or otherwise? Is this a product of key figures in the Association, of helpful Government ministers, or of the support of other groups? Or should we turn to the broad tides of social and economic history, to the overwhelming sweep of events, to explain the factors of influence? Either way, is longevity simply a function of effectiveness, or should we be looking for different reasons.

Evaluating the influence of pressure groups offers a fascinating line of enquiry, but it is also deceptively difficult. A rich literature on the role of pressure groups (including some valuable sources on environmental groups) offers insights but does not, in itself, solve basic problems of explanation. Even if the aims of a pressure group are achieved, how can one isolate the impact of a group's campaign from all the other factors that played a part? More fundamentally, a pressure group fits most comfortably into a pluralist framework of explanation, and it follows from this that critics of pluralism inevitably cast doubt on the utility of pressure groups as such. Competing perspectives will play their part in assessing whether the Association has been effective or not, whether effectiveness is in any case the most important factor, and what can be learnt from the experience.

In terms of organisation, the project will be divided into two parts, one dealing with the period from the formation of the T.C.P.A. in 1899 through to the New Towns Act in 1946, and the other from 1946 through to the present. For the first period the work will be undertaken by me, as a personal research programme (registered for a Ph.D. with Michael Hebbert at the L.S.E.) In contrast, research on the second period will be supported by the E.S.R. C. funding (a grant of £11,100 to be available from April 1987). This funding will enable the employment of part-time researchers to undertake specific tasks. It is intended that the findings from the two periods will be brought together into a joint publication in a couple of years.

THE EXPERIENCE OF MODERNISM

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There are few subjects about which there are more assertions but less analytical study than the history of the future city in the twentieth century: the history of those visions of the future of the recent past — dreams and nightmares, pragmatic schemata and architectural fantasies — that are so interwoven with the very development of contemporary town planning and architecture. As part of a study provisionally entitled 'The Experience of Modernism', I have set out to identify and analyse the nature of the inter-war English Modern Movement's ideas about the future city and to identify possible lines of influence that such ideas have had on the post-war reconstruction of English cities.

So far, the study has had two main elements: analysis of documentary records and depth interviews with the major surviving modern architects who practiced in the years 1930-50. The former component of the study, alas, has demonstrated the remarkably fragile nature of the available records. For the most part, the available papers of key individuals and institutions remain in private hands and often do not fare well at the hands of executors. Nor do those records given or loaned academic institutions necessarily far much better. In this respect, the minutes and papers of the MARS Group — perhaps the best known of the early grouping supporting modern architecture — provide one particularly poignant example. In the early 1960s, these papers were lodged, for safekeeping, with a respected library. Some time between 1963-67, they were mysteriously 'lost', presumably assigned to the local authority's dustcart. With this singular act of neglect, disappeared the principal documentary records of the growth of the English Modern Movement in architecture during the inter-war years. Those fragments that are left do little more than tantalise, since those papers that would have dealt with key moments in the Group's history — such as the 1938 exhibition at the New Burlington Galleries or the publication of the 1942 London Plan — are invariably missing.

The series of depth interviews that I have carried out are partly intended but, more positively, seek to reach an understanding of what it meant to be 'modern' in the 1930s and 1940s. So far I have tape-recorded over 40 hours of such interviews dealing with matters pertaining to the nature of inter-war thought about the form of the future city and the shape of future urban society. After completing these interviews and analysis of the transcripts, the findings are to be published in monograph form.

ARTICLES

A PREFACE TO PLANNING HISTORIES

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I first called this paper a "prolegomenon," hoping that the pretentious term would lighten my critical tone with an aura of self-mockery.

No such luck! Several people who heard the first draft liked the word and I immediately decided to change from a Greek to a work-a-day Latin root. This second version is simply a "preface" continuing a conversation (with myself as much as with anyone else) about the relationship between the construction of planning histories and planning theories.

In our positivist moment — difficult to locate but central to accounts of intellectual development "in our times" — we all understood the differences between historical and theoretical statements. Philosophers who insisted on the unique logic of narration certainly could distinguish between the ideal forms of historical and social scientific discourse. Those who argued on the other side that narratives depended upon covering laws (albeit in the primitive form of "explanation sketches") had no trouble disentangling the element of particular texts. Theory statements were general and abstract, built from the rigorous stuff of explicit assumptions, logical derivations and experimental refutations. Historical arguments, in contrast, were time-bound, literary and densely descriptive.

Beyond style, we also thought we understood the sequence and role of history and theory. In practice, we often observed people using theories as preliminary tools in the construction of narratives. Those stories then were employed to guide action: establishing the existence of entities and the claims of membership, teasing out latitudes and limits, simplifying the acts of choice. We, however, knew better. Such practices were expedient but merely temporary. In a literal sense, they were unprincipled. Tomorrow or the day after we would organize our knowledge of the world into theories which would guide the future.

The waters have gotten very muddy. We now look at any fuzzy field and presume that there are many and often conflicting ways of setting its boundaries, describing its past, anticipating its dynamics and acting within it. We are accustomed to ask of every construct: What are its purposes? How are positive and normative forms linked? What is the shape of other worlds, theories and histories? Above all, we ask these questions of the ways we define ourselves as knowers and actors. How are we and how are our worlds altered by the acts of explication?¹ Seen through these pluralistic and dynamic eyes, it is hard to believe that social reality will ever be frozen by an ultimate theoretical triumph. As the dream of theory as the goal of social inquiry fades away, it becomes harder to dismiss stories as temporary or primitive bridges between experience and action.² Even the rhetoric of history and theory now defies the old simple distinctions: we have added the traditional devices of theory to our histories and historicized our abstract orders.³

Muddy waters aren't everyone's cup of tea. Many of us - I count myself in this group - have struggled to free planning theory from the glop (a little bit of history and a dash of theory) which dominated introductory courses and the professional certification examination. I'm wary of proposals to "return to history" which threaten to raise the level of obscurity in planning conversations.

Historical argument is, of course, not necessarily obscurantist: a catch-all rubric to reduce unexplained variance in otherwise well-specified equations. We are accustomed to apply a sophisticated intellectual armory to the design of models, the testing of hypotheses, the formulation of axiomatic theories and the validation of synchronic measures. The same sophistication can and should be applied to archetypal stories, figurative speech, the construction of narratives and the measurement of change over extended periods.

This preface is, however, devoted neither to profound issues of methodology nor to the details of applied historical method. Instead, I address the substance of what I take to be the conventional way of imagining the history of city planning in the United States. My intention is not to improve this account in its particulars nor even to replace it with another more compelling narrative. I only want to

persuade that the conventional account is flawed and that even at its best it is only one among many valid planning histories. If we accept the plurality of histories and theories then we can sort out the relations between argumentative forms applied to planning without insisting that one is subordinate to the other.

The conventional history of city planning in the United States elaborates upon an assessment of large city growth in the late nineteenth century as "out of control". The planning movement and the organization of "the profession" are interpreted as attempts to discipline the barbarian social form. Looking backward from the generative moment, the conventional history seeks roots in activities which anticipate the professional style; looking forward, it follows the fortunes of professional planners and the "planning ideal".

The conventional history is robust. It can expand to rescue suburban planners from the neglect or scorn usually reserved for the children of darkness. It can accommodate serious criticism of both the narrow social base and imagination of the movement and of the self-deception in some of its hallowed commitments to comprehensiveness or rationality. Consider, for example, Richard E. Foglesong's new book, Planning the Capitalist City: The Colonial Era to the 1920's.⁴ The symbols of intellectual affiliation (from title to final page) all point to the left: Claus Offe, Louis Althusser. David Harvey, "the tendencies of advanced capitalist societies". The focus and even the substantive argument are, however, thoroughly conventional, telling us very little that we do not know from Mel Scott's account. Even the brief chapter on the colonial period is only intended to frame in a familiar way the "imbalance between private purposes and social need in the organization of our cities".⁵

The conventional account is part of what Christine Boyer (after Foucault) calls the "discourse" or the organized profession.⁶ It describes a past which planners hope will socialize new recruits and justify professional claims to respect and resources.

A distinguished group of planning academics and practitioners (only some of whom are historians by initial trade) have recently sought to revive planning history, arguing that its role is undervalued and underplayed; that practitioners suffer from a crisis of identity which

is exacerbated by professional amnesia.⁷ I'm not absolutely persuaded but let me accept the diagnosis for the sake of argument. How did this state of neglect come to pass? Is planning history rather like a public good which is highly valued by individuals but is subject to collective under-investment? Is there an inner clash between the forward looking perspectives of planners and the emotional claims of historical arguments? Has there been a break in the line of transmission as disciplinarians who had not been schooled in the tradition entered planning faculties?

All of these questions may be answered positively without diminishing the force of a critical assessment of the limitations of the conventional history. It is not necessary - only narcissistic - to assume that a history for the profession (as if it were one entity rather than a loosely connected gaggle of disparate marching bands) will be a history of the profession. Novices may want heroes - perfect, flawed or perversely villainous - but we should encourage a more sophisticated conception of exemplary action. Fogelson's account is conventional because he describes and criticises the thought and behavior of our putative professional ancestors rather than constructing an account of change and stability in the processes of planning which would allow us to assess the implications and plasticity of alternative procedural designs.

Take cities! Most of us suspect that the organization of nations into sub-units influences the way in which urban preferences are shaped and articulated, alternatives imagined and searched, options chosen and implemented. We are engaged by both synchronic and diachronic accounts which help us figure out how much and in what ways the authority of sub-national units matters. What does it matter if there are few or many units, or, indeed, if there are none at all if they closely match distinct local economies or ecological regions or if they are quite arbitrary in respect to particularly dense interactions? How do cities as planning systems change over time?

The winds of conflict flow fiercely and in quite unusual patterns around and about these questions. Social theorists of both the left and the right - as Gordon Clark demonstrates - have attached themselves for quite different reasons to "city autonomy".⁸ On another tack: Jane Jacobs has presented a tortured but intriguing

account of the economic implications of the relations between cities and nations.⁹ Anthony Sutcliffe has suggested that in the United Kingdom planning through open and competitive city politics encouraged an over-investment in public facilities at the expense of the private sector.¹⁰ Ira Katznelson has proposed that city trenches - that is planning by cities in systems of cities - explain the peculiar weakness of class-based socialism in the United States.¹¹

This set of related issues, these controversies and the alternative histories linked to them are only dimly represented in the conventional planning history. We are fascinated by the ideal of politics whose boundaries match those of labor markets, economies, cultures or ecosystems. We have, however, stigmatized more than studied the historical process of adjustment and the dynamics of inevitable mis-matches. We are similarly fascinated by the emergence of a national image of the "urban problem" and its checkered fate from Our Cities to the Reagan (and, indeed, late Carter) devolution. We have not, however, been much interested in the role of states - rather than urban settlements - as planners and the play between city, state and nation.

This indictment may seem wrong to some and beside the point to many others. City planning history in the conventional form usually deals with "city" as the instrument or object of planning not as a planning process.¹² It is, however, very difficult to speak coherently of objects or instruments without implicitly specifying the attributes of a generative process. Oliver Zunz's remarkable account of inequality and spatial segregation in Detroit,¹³ for example, implies (by the analysis of its outcomes) the existence of a process which unequally distributed public resources, differentiated residential space and stratified opportunity across generations. He doesn't, however, tell us very much about that process so that we can't fairly assess its plasticity or potential. Might the process have been altered to generate a competent development strategy in Detroit (by Detroit!) which would have provided equal public facilities in every area and inhibited the emergence of fine-grained income segregation? What happens when we flesh-out this scenario? Christine Rosen, for example, has recently argued that the "limits of power" prevented nineteenth century cities from redressing the rapid obsolescence of their central business districts and infrastructure.¹⁴ Would cities

which were competent to democratize basic social patterns have been tempted instead to raise money through regressive taxation while focusing resources on frequent renewal? Would they, in effect, have raised the ante in inter-city competition?

Many professional historians and both radical and conservative historicists may reject this counterfactual poking at the past. A profession concerned with the guidance of events should, however, always want its histories to probe counterfactual possibilities¹⁵ in order to encourage a skeptical attitude towards necessity and a restless search for latitude. In that sense, for every planning narrative we construct there is always at least one relevant other.

In the conventional account of city planning in the United States, the most salient other is a world (within the grasp of our predecessors if only they had been wise enough to reach out for it) in which cities and regions would have been (variously) rational, democratic or (as if process implied particular product attributes) simply planned. In Foglesong's work, for example, professional planners appear as semi-autonomous managers of "contradictions" between private property and collective needs, and between capitalism and democracy. While there is change over time within this managerial history, the relevant other is the potential to transcend the contradictions so as to extend the "principle of democratic decision making" to the "realm of the built environment".¹⁶ What would have been required, he encourages us to ask, to create that alternative world in 1920? What would it take tomorrow?

The utopian counterfactual which informs the conventional account is not, it seems to me, well-served by the narrative of the past as it was. The mismatch stems from several limitations in the conventional account which are so closely connected that they may, indeed, be one. With mansions for the poor or hovels, with open cesspools or with sewers, with parks or without - all cities are planned. Not more, not less - just differently! All public orders encompass and manage contradictions. Indeed, as Hendrik Hartog has demonstrated in his study of the New York City corporation, conflicting domains often depend upon one another. The emergence of competent public governance in New York required the articulation of a private realm; the city was strengthened as a polity by the assumption of power by the state.¹⁷

The conventional history which looks backward from the beginning of the "movement" to the "unplanned" nineteenth century city fails to develop an appreciation of the dynamics of institutional and technological change. Put simply: the conventional account starts too late and is too narrowly focused. Ignoring the development of capital markets and public bureaucracies, judicial control, taxation, civil engineering, and information systems - to choose bits and pieces gleaned from Harold Platt's splendid history of nineteenth century Houston¹⁸ - the conventional narrative encourages an image of planning as an act of heroic individual will. The hero, more than ordinary mortals, cannot be understood in or through an historical context. Launched on a quest, the heroic actor overcomes environmental obstacles or is tragically overwhelmed by them. Encouraged to think of themselves in this way, ordinary professionals must often seem themselves as warriors without horses, knights waiting for an errand which never comes.¹⁹

I have argued elsewhere that a complete general theory of planning is impossible. We are inevitably struck with many valid but incommensurable propositions about the relations between planning processes, settings and outcomes.²⁰ The same pluralist argument applies to histories. We may, however, choose our pasts and it behooves us to choose wisely so that ideals, purposes and remembered experience illuminate one another. I may be guilty of undervaluing the history of the profession and I may have caricatured the conventional account. (I certainly have not provided a close reading of particular texts). I hope, nevertheless, that the pluralist conception will not offend the advocates of an historical revival. In its defence, the notion of many histories breaks out of the sterile battle about the relations between history and theory. Instead, it allows us to imagine an array of symbolic forms which play different roles within planning arguments. We should employ a pragmatic test of the relevance and meaning of a constructed past but a practical sensibility doesn't necessarily imply a presentist concern with only the recent past.²¹ I faulted the conventional account, you will remember, because it started too late.

Notes

1. For a recent discussion of the symbolic construction of reality and the work of Nelson Goodman, see Jerome Bruner, Actual Minds, Possible Worlds (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986).
2. Compare the discussion of archtypal and "real" stories in Thomas J. Kaplan, "The Narrative Structure of Policy Analysis," Journal of Policy Analysis and Management 5 (1986), 761-778, Ian I. Mitroff, Stakeholders of the Organizational Mind (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Boss, 1983) and Michael Walzer, Exodus and Revolution (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1985).
3. Christopher Lloyd, Explanation in Social History (Oxford, U.K.: Basil Blackwell, 1986), Mark Gottdiener, The Social Production of Urban Space (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1985) and Charles Tilly, Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons (New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984) illustrate the philosophic and rhetorical interpenetration of modes.
4. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968).
5. p.257
6. M. Christine Boyer, Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983).
7. See the "Symposium: Learning from the Past - The History of Planning".
8. Judges and the Cities: Interpreting Local Autonomy (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1985).
9. Cities and the Wealth of Nations: Principles of Economic Life (New York, NY: Random House, 1984).
10. In Search of the Urban Variable: Britain in the Late Nineteenth Century", in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe, etc. The Pursuit of Urban History (London, UK: Edward Arnold, 1983), 234-263.
11. City Trenches: Urban Politics and the Patterning of Class in the United States (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1981).
12. I have elaborated these distinctions in "What is Philadelphia? The City as Policy", Cities 1 (1984), 274-282.
13. The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development and Immigrants in Detroit, 1880-1920 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
14. The Limits of Power: Great Fires and the Process of City Growth in America (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
15. Seymour J. Mandelbaum, "Historians and Planners: The Construction of Pasts and Futures", Journal of the American Planning Association 51 (1985), 185-188. 16. p.257.
17. Public Property and Private Power: The Corporation of the City of New York in American Law, 1730-1870 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1983).
18. City Building in the New South: The Growth of Public Services in Houston, Texas, 1830-1915 (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1983).
19. I think this is a fair reading of Howell S. Baum, Planners and Public Expectations (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1983).
20. Seymour J. Mandelbaum, "A Complete General Theory of Planning is Impossible," Policy Sciences 11 (1979), 59-71
21. On this presentist bias see Philip Booth, "The Teaching of Planning History in Great Britain", Planning History Bulletin 8 (1986), 21-27.

Manuel de Solá-Morales
Planning historian and practitioner

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Manuel de Solá-Morales is a leading contributor to the debate around the nature of the city and territory and his work has had a major repercussion in the Spanish cultural milieu. As Professor at the School of Architecture in the University of Barcelona, he has been a deep and articulate critic of urban policy since the sixties during a particularly difficult period for Spain, not only in a political sense, but more fundamentally in terms of the reigning liberalism in the world of urban planning. Alongside this academic work, he has developed a practical career, putting into effect many of the theses sustained from his chair as Professor of Urbanism, always adjusting theoretical formulations to reality and so building up a vital and still-evolving educational 'corpus'.

In 1969, Solá-Morales founded his 'planning laboratory', the Laboratorio de Urbanismo de Barcelona, (L.U.B.). It is a Centre of Studies which provides practical consultancy services as well as issuing its own publications and translations into Spanish of texts on urban theory that are considered relevant for the enrichment of the debate, and the improvement of technique. For example, the Laboratory's monograph series has covered topics such as: marginal settlements in Barcelona, the minor 'ensanches' (suburban developments) in the region of Barcelona, the forms of urban growth, etc.

Solá-Morales has also served as advisory editor in building up the 'Science of Town Planning Collection'. The collection includes contributions from such authors as: L. Quaroni, D. Lewis, P. Ceccarelli, C. Aymonino, G.F. Chadwick, M. Castells, F. Mancuso, and many others, amounting to more than twenty books over the past decade. In 1974, he also launched the collection 'Urban Materials' (Materiales de la Ciudad), a series of books presenting specific projects and focussing on urban form and urban architecture. Examples are the works on "The Eastern Sector of Barcelona", by Solá-Morales himself, and his team; on the policy and methodology of restoration in historical centres, based on the case of Bolonia, by L. Cervellati and R. Scannavini; on the urban transformation in Cuba, with the case of La Habana, by the School of Architecture of La Habana; on medieval urbanism in Mallorca by G. Alomar; on the production of the 'grands ensembles' in the Parisian region, by E. Preteceille; and on the proposal of urban spaces for Stuttgart, by Rob Krier. More recently G. Gili have undertaken the publication in Spanish of important historic texts on urban theory such as C. Sitte's The Art of Building Cities and Raymond Unwin's Town Planning in Practice.

In all his manifold activities the root preoccupation of Manuel de Solá-Morales seems to be the importance of architecture in the city. Without denying other elements in the construction of the city, Solá-Morales emphasises the value of physical forms for what he terms an 'urban urbanism'. This importance accorded to the physical forms in and of the city can also be extended to the wider spatial relationships of territorial area.

At the urban scale his greatest labour has been the analysis of the late nineteenth century suburban expansion of Barcelona planned by Cerdá (the 'ensanche') covering all sort of aspects, from ? to the

detailed typology of dwellings and houses, including as well all aspects of public intervention in concrete matters. Solá-Morales' knowledge of the city of Barcelona has involved him as consultant in various contemporary projects, notably the rehabilitation of 'La Barceloneta', and the 'opening' of the city onto the sea, in the "Moll de la Fusta" of which more later.

At the regional scale, Solá-Morales emphasises the relevance of the forms, or traces, which are of importance such as territorial routes and paths, rivers, canals, railways, topographic features, or the pattern of land holdings, together with detailed analysis of urban land parcelling, bringing out in a formal and graphic manner, the links and connections between these territorial features, whose reading is generally difficult, if not confusing, in a conventional map.

This area of interest, developed over more than ten years, has led him to elaborate a series of plans (from the maps), of Catalonia which have been collected in an Atlas entitled The Identity of the Catalan Territory. Another later study of great interest is "Les trace dels carrilets gironins. Propostes d'aprofitament" ("The tracks of the Gironian railways. Proposals for their re-use"), published in 1982. This study covers the possibilities of reusing the network of narrow-gauge railways in the province of Girona, recognizing their value not only of physical linkage between urban and rural centres but also as collective memory in the region.

Probably the most significant project bridging the worlds of planning history and current policy is Solá-Morales' work as consultant in the rehabilitation of Barcelona's extraordinarily high density seaward suburb "La Barceloneta", developed after the construction of a break-water pier, to the east of the port in 1753. From an original lay-out of five streets, the settlement grew rapidly as sand accumulated behind the break-water. The housing increased its height, creating a densely populated buffer between the old shoreline promenade of the city of Barcelona and the sea.

From 1878 onwards, the original sea wall was gradually demolished. The promenade was lost, and with it the definition of a clear edge, creating an indeterminate expansion zone for the infrastructure of the adjacent port. Once the city had lost its facade onto the sea, the planning efforts of Barcelona became concentrated on an inland expansion, the celebrated Cerdà Ensanche. The seaward edge was relegated to a suburban status and La Barceloneta progressively deteriorated, its dense grid of narrow streets being multi-occupied at densities more typical of Hong Kong than southern Europe, with more than 70% of flats measuring no more than 32 square metres.

Manuel de Solá-Morales had long been preoccupied by the situation of such an important sector within the city of Barcelona. He proposed to the Municipality a three-branched strategy intended to clarify the internal structure of the quarter and its origins in the baroque and neo-classical urbanism of the eighteenth century. The elements were to be:

1. A study of the possibilities and costs of the rehabilitation of dwellings, in order to double the average size of flat. It was estimated that rehabilitated units could be provided at a cost no higher than half of that of a new flat.

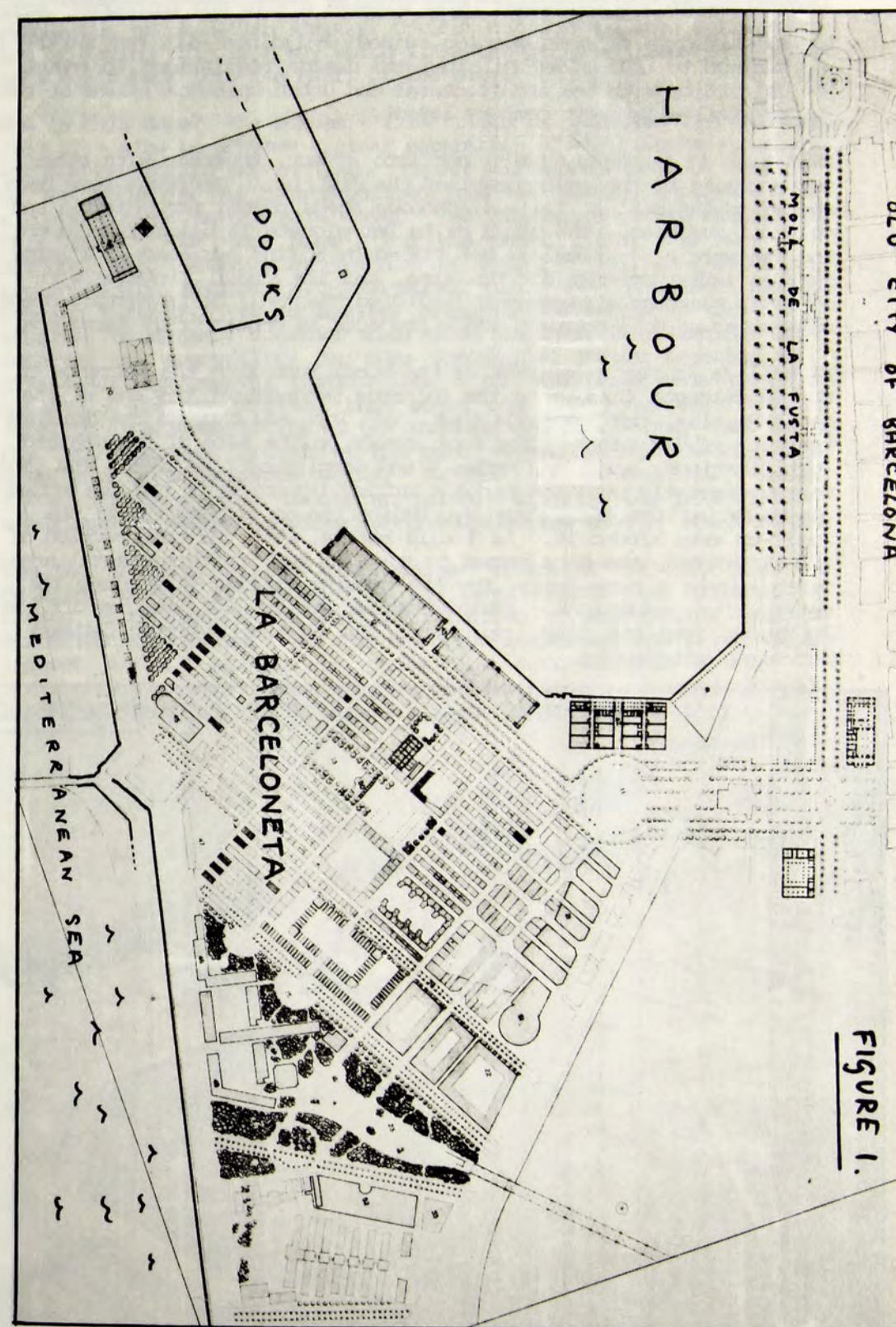
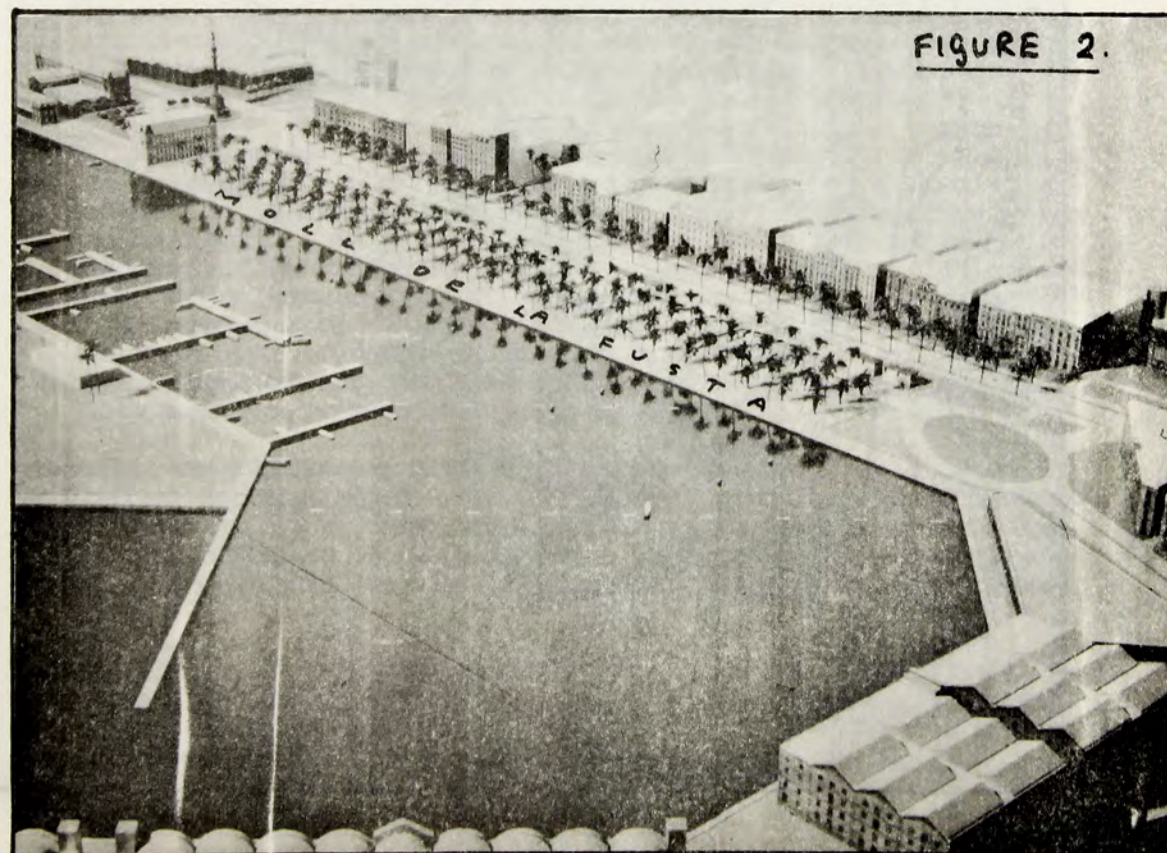


FIGURE 1.

2. Restoration of the streets of the quarter; renovation of facades, painting and finishing, paving and converting back streets, and historical and artistic conservation of eight listed buildings.
3. Substitution of obsolete (or ruined) buildings with new infill subject to obligatory building and design regulations to ensure uniformity with the architectural and urban characteristics of the original eighteenth century layout.

This plan is currently being put into effect, together with other improvements to the environment of the district. The docks have been opened to the public, their diaphanous sheds reused for creative and cultural purposes. The beach of La Barceloneta is being cleared up, and the margin of Barcelona beautified by a fine promenade. A large park is being created for the area, and its visual linkages with adjacent quarters strengthened, including the 'Moll de la Fusta', scene of another of Solá-Morales' major projects in contemporary Barcelona.

El Moll de la Fusta (or Dock of the wood) runs from the entrance to the Barceloneta through to the Columbus monument at the end of the great Ramblas, the promenade that leads into and through the heart of the city of Barcelona. The dock stands on the site of the seaward fortifications, built by Charles V and demolished from 1878. The land was subsequently used for harbour infrastructure which had the effect of isolating the city from the Mediterranean and devaluing the built-up area around it. As I said before, with the construction of the 'Ensanche', the city seemed to turn its back on this coastal area, which became a mere artery for the growing traffic flow along the metropolitan waterfront. Administrative regulations, sealing off the docklands from the city, reinforced the physical barrier between Barcelona and the sea.



The past year has seen the first stage completion of a scheme by Solá-Morales that brilliantly reconciles the multiple demands of the site, reopening the city's seaward axis, restoring the former coastal promenade, accomodating through traffic and dock-related activities, and achieving this in a way which links the peripheralized Barceloneta once again back into the heart of the city.

How is this done? The scheme - illustrated in plan (Fig.1), and model (Fig.2) - aims to achieve a clear separation of the diverse functions, without neglecting any of them. First, the service road to the front of the buildings has been separated from the through traffic by an elegant line of mature palm trees. Two thoroughfares are defined in this manner, one more urban, and the other faster and more metropolitan. Running in parallel is a palm-tree-lined pedestrian promenade with elegant cast-iron street furniture. Beyond it one can descend through a row of smaller palms to the extensive and now repaired dockside. Together with these measure, Solá-Morales has reserved the possibility for more fundamental future measures to divert through coastal traffic into a cut and cover underground highway. Another proposal that would complement the waterfront facelift is the demolition of the landward end of the quay that sticks out into Barcelona harbour at the point where the Moll de la Fusta ends, and La Barceloneta begins. Suppressing its link with 'terra firme' the quay would become an island, allowing the palm-lined waterfront promenade to extend around the entire edge of the harbour.

The two projects express Solá-Morales' attention not only to the detailed aspects of design - in the rehabilitation of individual houses, for example, or the specification of appropriate lamp standards and benches - but also to urban morphology and design on the largest scale. And at all scales, his work combines a bold contemporary vision with a scholarly understanding of architectural and urban tradition, or in short, a sense of planning history.

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