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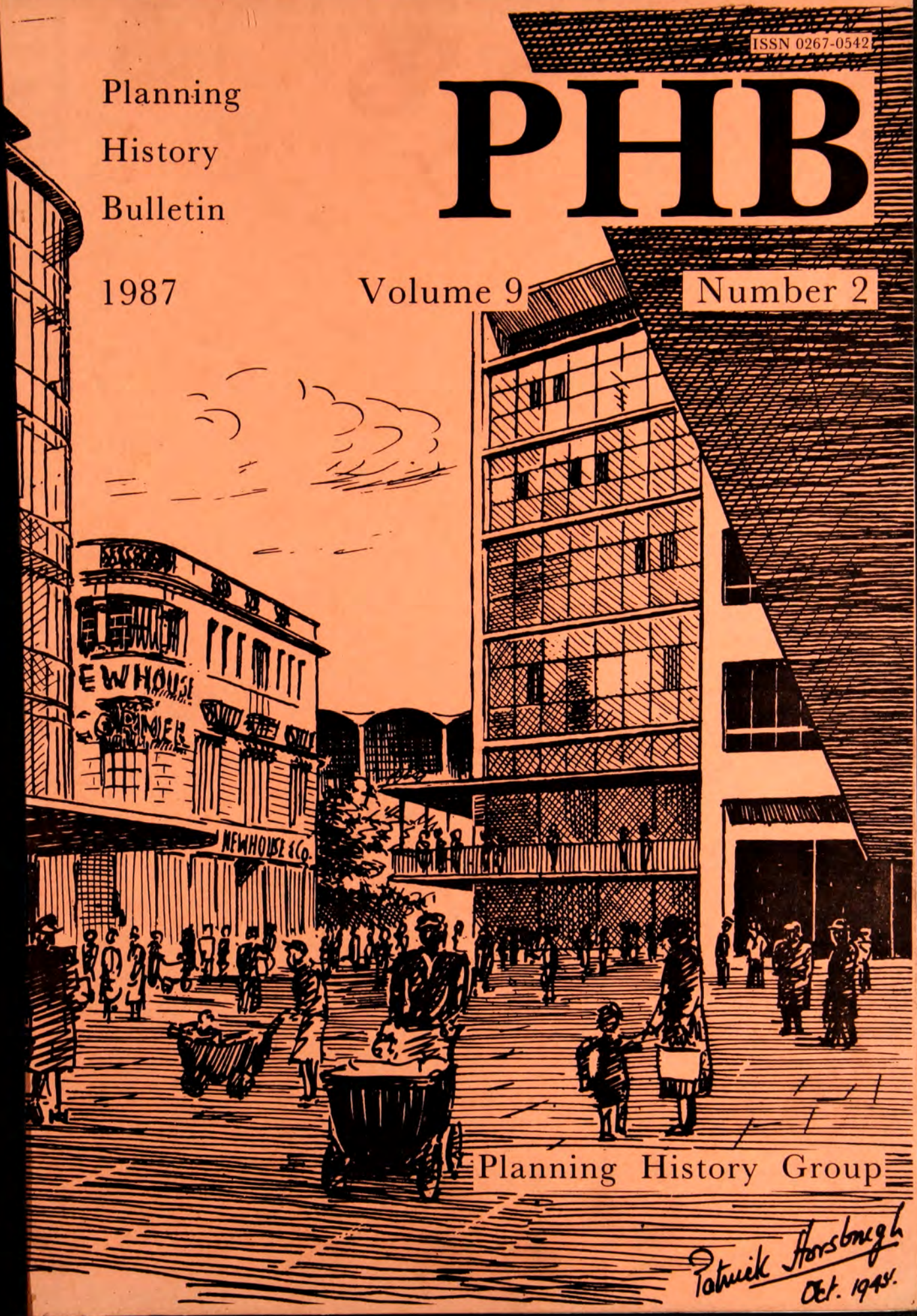

Planning History Group

Patrick Horsbrugh
Oct. 1987.

CONTENTS

COVER ILLUSTRATION
see "Max Lock Returns to Middlesborough"

CHAIRMAN'S COMMUNICATION

It is with great pleasure that we observe the success that has attended the launch of the Society for American City and Regional Planning History. The second National Conference on American Planning History in Ohio in September 1987, co-sponsored by the Society and Ohio State University, indicates vigourous growth by SACRPH, as does the publication of the first Newsletter, Planning History Present. Eugenie Birch (President), Donald Kreukeberg (Vice President) and Marc Weiss (member of the Board of Trustees) are all long standing members of PHG and it is good to have this relationship with the Society from the onset.

It is not surprising that the need for such a Society has been felt. Planning history is a growing field of academic endeavour, which will require from time to time a variety of agencies or vehicles of one kind or another which encourage initiative and provide opportunities for research and joint collaboration. There will be groups, societies and associations; journals, bulletins; newsletters and publishing ventures; and conferences, seminars and colloquia. There is an internationalism to all this and my hope is that world-wide contacts can be maintained.

There is obviously a good deal going on. But there are a number of 'dead' areas in the world where it has proved very difficult to tap any planning history vein. USA, Canada, Britain, Germany, Italy, some other European countries, Australia and Japan have consistently contributed to the planning history scene. But in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, the Indian sub-continent, South East Asia and Eastern Europe it has been very difficult to make meaningful contact with planning history; the planned regulation of the urban environment over the last two centuries presents its fascination in all cultures and political and social settings, whether Lima, Harare, Teheran, Calcutta, Manilla or Kiev. It is only through widening our international scope that the full depth and breadth of our subject will be realised.

Gordon Cherry

EDITORIAL

Well, we are catching up with our schedule. My thanks to all contributors to this biographically-oriented issue of the Bulletin, to John Sheail for providing abstracts of recently published books, to Angela Barnes for typing and administration, and to Derek Gunby who produced the magnificent artwork for our cover and Jane Pugh who prepared it for printing.

Michael Hebbert

Planning History Group ACCOUNTS FOR 1986

Balance Sheet as at 31 December 1986

	£	p
Bank Accounts		
Giro Account	12.11	
General Fund Current Account	147.72	
General Fund Deposit Account	3063.43	
Seminar Fund Current Account	3.54	
Seminar Fund Deposit Account	240.99	
	£3467.79	
Represented by:-		
Accumulated Funds at 31.12.85	2506.66	
Excess Receipts or Payments	961.13	
	£3467.79	

Receipts and Payments Account for the Year Ended 31.12.86

Receipts	£	p	Payments	£	p
Subscriptions: 1985			Bulletin Production Costs	1333.24	
UK	1097.00		Membership Mailing	227.94	
Overseas	1296.29		Administration Charges	183.46	
	2393.29		Seminar Account Expenditure	43.36	
less: Refunds	(26.00)				
	2367.29				
Subscriptions: Other Years	77.48				
	2444.77				
Distribution of Publishers' Leaflets	90.00				
Back Issues:					
Income 133.57					
Expenditure 65.20	68.37		Excess Receipts		
Interest on Accounts	145.37		over Payments	961.13	
	2740.13			2749.13	

AUDIT REPORT

I have audited the accounts of the Planning History Group. In my opinion, the accounts which have been prepared on a receipts and payments basis, give an accurate record of the bank balances at 31 December 1986 and of the transactions for the year ahead.

M Yorysz
5 September 1987

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1986

1. In comparison with 1985 the Group's receipts for 1986 have held up well, with minor variations being experienced in UK subscriptions and fees for distributing publishers' leaflets (down), and, in subscriptions for other years, bank interest and the net proceeds of back issue sales (up). The availability of back issues is a new venture for the Group and I commend it to Members and to new institutional subscribers who want to establish a complete run of issues of the Bulletin.

2. On the expenditure side, the 1986 Bulletin production and membership mailing costs are not directly comparable to the figures for previous years as they include some expenditure relevant to 1985 (as mentioned in my last report), and do not include other production and mailing costs which had been incurred in 1986, but were not invoiced by the end of the year. Administrative costs were up on 1985 (largely reflecting Executive Committee expenses) and the Seminar Fund underwrote the abortive costs of a proposed meeting which had to be cancelled.

3. Although there was an excess of receipts over payments to be carried forward to 1987, this sum was largely earmarked for the payment of 1986 expenditure not yet invoiced. In this sense the Group is just about covering its current level of expenditure. Unexpended balances are held in our Bank's Deposit account, and the Executive Committee has authorised the opening of a building society account in order to obtain some advantage from higher interest rates.

4. Once more I would like to express the Group's appreciation to Mrs M Yorysz for acting as Hon. Auditor.

David W Massey
University of Liverpool

NOTICES

AUSTRALIAN PLANNER: SPECIAL BI-CENTENNIAL PLANNING HISTORY ISSUE

1988 marks 200 years of white settlement in Australia and there will be many Government and private occasions to highlight it.

Robert Freestone and Alan Hutchings are co-editing a special issue of Australian Planner as one of the initiatives of the Royal Australian Planning Institute. Planning History is the theme and a number of papers and brief communications have been commissioned from a wide range of academics and practitioners. They include, among others, Gordon Stephenson, Martin Auster, Ray Bunker, Peter Harrison, Karl Fischer, Ray Brindle, David Wilmoth, Phil Heywood, Phil Day and Peter Spearitt.

Themes will be chronological and also deal with specific subject areas such as planned communities, planning processes, product development and the profession. Among other things, the editorial will explore the relationship between planning history and urban history as well as its relevance to planning practice and improving performance. An up-to-date bibliography will be included.

In a more modest way, it is hoped that the issue will catalyse interest in the field as did the inaugural International Planning History Conference in 1975.

Projected publication date, September 1988.

* * *

SUNBELT CITIES AND RECENT URBAN AMERICA

Such is the theme of the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures for 1988, to be held on March 17th at the University of Texas at Arlington. The lecturers will be:-

Zane Miller (University of Cincinnati)
Carl Abbot (Portland State University)
Roger Lotchin (University of North Carolina)
Robert Fairbanks (University of Texas at Arlington)

The Lecture Committee is chaired by Stephen Maizlish of the Department of History at Arlington.

* * *

ANNUAL LUNCHEON, NEVADA USA

The Seventh Annual Luncheon of the Planning History Gorup will be held on Saturday, March 26, 1988, at Noon in Bally's Hotel in Reno, Nevada. The luncheon is beng held in conjunction with the meeting of the Organisation of American Historians. Carl Abbot, Portland State University, will present a paper entitled, "New York of the South or Paris of America? Economic Strategies in Washington DC Since 1890". Carol A O'Connor, Utah State University, will chair the session.

Tickets will be available as part of the pre-registration package for the OAH meeting or at the OAH registration. As the number of tickets is limited, purchase through pre-registration is encouraged. For additional information, contact:

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or

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Houghton, MI 499931

* * *

OBITUARY: PROFESSOR R E WYCHERLEY (1909-86)

The death occured in April last year of Ronald Ernest Wycherley, Emeritus Professor of Greek, University College of North Wales, Bangor. Suprisingly, no appreciation of his life's work has appeared to date, other than a short obituary in the Annual report 1986-87 of the British School at Athens. Accordingly, it is fitting to record here his contribution to the town planning history of ancient Greece and the topography of Athens.

Professor Wycherley's name was known to generations of architecture and planning students, as well as to scholars on both sides of the Atlantic, through his much-praised book How the Greeks Built Cities (1949), which is still the only comprehensive general work in English on the history of Greek town planning. Having been reissued in a revised edition in 1962, it subsequently appeared in paperback (1967), and in translation.

R E Wycherley followed a Cambridge double First in Classics (1930) with the Diploma in Classical Archeology (1931), and thereafter became a Student at the British School at Athens. In rural Greece he got round the main ancient sites by bicycle, laying down the basis of his lifelong interest in ancient topography, architecture and town planning - a field which he made very much his own.

The groundwork of his topographical and architectural studies was laid the publication of his companion volume to Pausanias' Description of Greece in the Loeb series (1935), and there followed many articles on the identification of buildings and aspects of city-planning, in classical and architectural journals. An early article on Greek town planning appeared in the Royal Institute of British Architects' Journal, October, 1938. "The Market of Athens: Topography and Monuments", Greece and Rome , March, 1956, pp2-23, was an early study of the Agora in the light of literary evidence from ancient authors and post-war discoveries by the American School of Classical Studies, whose excavations had resumed in 1946.

Post-war, Professor Wycherley's ties were closer with the American School than with the British School at Athens. He was for many years associated with the study and publication of the American excavations

of the ancient Agora at Athens, and that led between 1951 and 1967 to three periods as a visiting member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. This cooperation resulted in the publication of two volumes in the series of final reports on the Agora excavations: Volume III, Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia (1957) and Volume XIV, The Agora of Athens: the History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Centre (1972). The latter was co-authored with Professor H A Thompson, Director of Agora Excavations 1947-67, an old friend and colleague.

The outline of the ancient Agora had been established before the end of the war, and most of the area opened up. After the war field-work was resumed with the object of clearing the whole area down to the level of classical antiquity, and this second series of campaigns extended from 1946 to 1960, by which time the most important civic buildings had been excavated. Architectural restorations of these were made, the remaining buildings were excavated, and the plan of the Agora at various dates established. The Agora of Athens (1972), thus presents the state of knowledge at the end of fourty years of exploration, and chronicles the architectural evolution of the Agora from the Archaic period down to late roman times. It also provides the definitive studies of the individual buildings.

Down to the 2nd century BC the Athenian agora retained an irregular and somewhat archaic character, the product of organic growth, and the plan looks essentially the same in 200 as it did in 400 BC. However, in the 2nd century the appearance of the site was transformed by the addition of very long stoas on the eastern and southern sides. In effect, the site was 'squared up', and was divided into two roughly rectangular areas, separated by a stoa aligned east-west. In this Hellenistic comprehensive redevelopment of the Agora can be seen the application of principles of planning and design which were typical of the Ionian agoras, in the Greek colonial cities of Asia Minor, where the agoras tended to a peristylar form - with colonnaded stoas running round all four sides of the rectangular civic space. Eventually, complete enclosure was achieved, as at Magnesia, and the architectural forms of the Hellenistic agora and the Roman forum almost merge - the only point of difference being the location of entrance points. Miletus, Priene and to a lesser extent Magnesia, may be regarded as examples of the true Ionian agora, for less regular agoras still continued to be built. It was within the rectangular street system of the Hippodamian town plan, where the town was designed as a unity, that the agora assumed its most perfect peristylar form.

The clearest illustration of the Hippodamian system of planning is probably Priene, and this is well-illustrated by Wycherley in How the Greeks Built Cities by the model in a German museum and by plans and drawings from the original archeological publication of the site. Miletus is the other example of the Hippodamian system much illustrated in textbooks, and excavations have continued there in recent times. Most interestingly, Archeologiacl Reports for 1964-65, p16, reporting on excavations at Miletus in 1959, 1961 and 1963, stated that "These have established that the archaic city extended well to the east and north-east of the temple of Athena ... It is striking that the arcahic streets seem to correspond to the later Hippodamian system". This would seem to be clear evidence that Hippodamus was working within a much older tradition of orthological planning, and was not the inventor of the so-called Hippodamian system. Hippodamus is generally taken as being a 5th century figure; the archaic period covers the 8th to 6th centuries BC.

This interesting note appeared too late to be incorporated in the revised edition of Wycherely's book (1962). In his preface to the second edition he referred to the valuable Archeological reports published by the Hellenic Society and the British School at Athens, and to particular reports as being "especially full of interest for the history of the art which can best be described by the modern Greek word poleodomike" (= town building/urban development).

Although the phenomenal renewal of archeological investigation in Greek lands in the 1950s had thrown much new light on the antecedents, origins and prototypes of the Greek city, and for the later periods had produced a mass of new illustrative material, Professor Wycherley found no need to rewrite the book completely when he came to revise it for the second edition (1962). How the Greeks Built Cities still has no equal in English; its only Continental counterpart is R Martin, Urbanisme dans la Grece Antique (1956, 1974).

After he retired from University teaching in 1974, Professor Wycherley devoted himself to his final book, The Stones of Athens (1978). This is a survey of the buildings of ancient Athens and other constituents of the city plan. The monuments are interpreted against the background of ancient textual evidence and modern archeological discovery; the chapter on the circuit walls is the history of the expansion and contraction of the city in its successive phases of growth and decline.

The Stones of Athens provides a fitting climax to a lifelong study of the city, but it is his first book, How the Greeks Built Cities, which will probably remain the best known outside the world of archeology and classical scholarship. Its uniqueness lies in the integration of architectural and planning history, illuminated by the author's command of the archeological evidence and ancient literature and his first-hand experience of the sites. We can be fairly sure that as long as ancient Athens and Greek urban history continue to be studied, Wycherley will be read.

H C S Ferguson
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REPORTS OF MEETINGS

"The Built Form and Cultural Research"
University of Kansas, November 1986

Historians have tended to view buildings as the products of particular societies. Such a deterministic approach represents monumental form, for example, the Acropolis, Forum of Palace of Versailles as the epitomy of a specific society. Conversely, sociologists, anthropologists and social scientists generally have demonstrated that the built environment influences behavioural patterns whilst some design theorists argue further that buildings are likely to alter users' behaviour in accordance with the intent of the designer. The casual direction - whether built forms determine behaviour, or, whether form is the result of behavioural patterns - remains an open question and a central concern in architectural theory. This interactive view itself represents a departure from an earlier approach to vernacular architecture in which design fitted form to context in a self-correcting process which ultimately produced some kind of equilibrium. Behaviour was generally viewed as a constant to which the designed building was altered until it conformed; only rarely was behaviour an acceptable object of modification.

Since the acknowledgement of an interdependent behavioural dimension in the built environment, to which Amos Rapoport's House Form and Culture (1969) made a significant contribution, innumerable disciplines, not to mention authors, have examined potential influences on both culture and the built form. This has been undertaken in the context of peasant and mass (vernacular) housing and "high-style", indigenous and international influences, monumental and residential construction. Buildings have also been interpreted from the standpoint of symbolism and phenomenology. The built form itself, therefore, captured considerable interpretive attention but it was socio-cutural influences on the built environment which gained primacy during the 1970s and early 1980s. A point of departure for many studies was to stress the house as a social unit of space in which the physical environment was adapted to suit the cultural setting. Physical form and organisation were thus accorded dependant status; cultural factors achieved a primary role. However, the proliferation and generality of such cultural factors as religion and ritual, kinship, art, language and education threatened to undermine their explanatory contribution. Paradoxically, anthropological research also attracted criticism because case studies of cultural influences on the built environment were regarded as geographically or temporally proscribed and consequently lacking in analytical rigour.

Rapoport's basic hypothesis, 'that form is not simply the result of physical forces or any single casual factor, but is the consequence of a whole range of socio-cultural factors seen in their broadest terms,(1) was like a blank cheque to undertake research on cultural topics and relate them to the physical fabric. Not suprisingly this new academic magma, argued by some as a formative new discipline at the conjunction of built form and cultural studies, erupted with volcanic force and introduced socio-cultural perspectives to architects, designers and planners previously unyielding to such interpretations. This stream of research stimulated a meeting at the University of Kansas in 1984, and was the basis for a further international and interdisciplinary conference on "Built Form & Cultural Research",

jointly sponsored by the School of Architecture and the Hall Center for the Humanities at the University of Kansas, 5-8 November, 1986 (2). More than 140 papers of immense diversity were presented. No synthesis is attempted here. What follows is a selection of those papers in which the historical dimension was most firmly rooted and in which the cultural influences on building were clearly demonstrated. Individually and collectively this synoptic approach cautions against the mechanistic determinism of economic or spatial models, often criticised as barely connected to the 'real world' of construction, and replaces them with an array of cultural influences on buildings.

Socio-cultural influences were critical to an understanding of built form in Thailand. DETLEF KAMMEIER (Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok) explained that as most of the urban population of Thailand is Chinese, not only do they dominate the economy but the housing form has evolved along Chinese lines. Accordingly the Chinese 'shophouse' is the 'ubiquitous' form. His paper, 'The Chinese shophouse in Thailand - origins, evolution and adaptation' explained that physically the shophouse is a mixed-use type of row-house of almost uniform width and from two to four storeys. Normally the ground floor was occupied by all types of commercial uses, and the upper floor including a roof garden were for residential purposes. The construction of shophouses was dominated by small and medium sized developers who erected clusters of ten to twenty units. Construction was, therefore, virtually standardised, with internal arrangements customised for individual owners. As a result the built form was monotonous. Rows of shophouses exhibited almost identical features of roof shape and building materials and this basic type of accomodation has remained essentially unaltered over a hundred years presumably because it is such an efficient, multi-purpose, high-density form, albeit rather anonymous.

Fourteenth century Kyoto was the scene for "Place and Being" an analysis by N B Johnson (North Carolina - Chapel Hill) of the influence of the Chinese philosophy of Feng Shui or garden design in which human well-being depended on personal, architectural and spatial considerations. The design response was to create Zen gardens to fulfill the conflux of natural and cultural forces. The pervasive interaction between cultural context and built environment was also stressed by RINA SWENTZELL in a different cultural setting. Her paper, "Health and healing through the built environment", argued that the healing and regenerative powers of Pueblo housing were essential cultural ingredients in New Mexico. Houses were raised from the earth, were fed and rejuvenated (healed/repaired) periodically, and were endowed with energies (spirits) which intimately affected human existence.

A cultural setting of a different kind applied where local authorities in nineteenth century Britain intervened to provide parks. Such municipal initiatives had important environmental implications in the context of building densities in rapidly expanding mid-Victorian cities but beneath this lurked an ulterior motive: to alter working class behaviour through the educational and recreational functions of the parks. HAZEL CONWAY (Leicester Polytechnic) analysed this civic interventionism in the built environment and behavioural adaptation to it in her paper, 'The municipal park: design and development 1840-80'. London excepted, early park development (1845-60) was mainly located in the industrial centres of the north-west, subsequently proliferating into resorts and small towns. The processes by which the parks were

established, and their design and use, demonstrated that they were perceived not only in physical terms but in social and political terms. Imperialism, for example, was exhibited in the sanctuary of the municipal parks, and approaches to working class recreation were deliniated by the nature of meetings, sports and music permissible in the parks. Different social classes might intermingle, but on clearly defined terms, determined by the ruling elite. Victorian values thus influenced the nature and development of the built form which in turn was used in an attempt to amend the behavioural characteristics of a specific section of British society.

The distinction between private and public space, recently resucitated in British Victorian cities, was examined by BOBBY WILSON (Alabama-Birmingham) in his paper 'The street as public space in the black community'. Community interaction outside the home was the principal socio-cultural perspective of the paper. Noise invited community participation and though some domestic activities spilled into the street it was clear which were participatory. Wilson treated the issue of public and private space along the lines of 'social control' arguing that cities were places of exciting streets, not just of lanes and roads, but that in twentieth century American cities at least, the increasingly self-contained 'autonomous' nature of block buildings diminished their inter-relationship with streets. So for black Americans particularly, large scale housing developments contributed to the destruction of the street as public space with injourous consequence for the meaning of community. Just beneath the surface of this analysis, therefore, was the issue of whether qualitative improvements in the built form subverted neighbourhood organisatoins and political consciousness, and whether they were designed to do so, ie form adapting cultural behaviour. Block buildings of the largest variety were the subject for MONA DOMOSH (Virginia State). Her paper, 'Architectural aberrations or stylish symbols? Designing New York's first skyscrapers' dealt with the period 1875-1910 in which these towering palaces were often thought of as curios. Skyscrapers served as effective symbols for the new mercantile and entrepreneurial class of late nineteenth century New York who were seeking material expression for their new wealth and power. Corporate imagery and personal status were translated into tall structures. One of the most powerful statements was the new building for Joseph Pulitzer's paper, the New York World, completed in 1889. This sixteen storey building towered six stories above anything else in New York and its gold dome assured its distinctiveness. It was no mere commercial advertisement however, for its classical style and ornamental detail indicated that the World was a form of public enlightenment and legitimated the newspaper as a public institution.

ALBERT LARSON (Illinois-Chicago) argued that through the 3044 county courthouses in America it was possible to view the spatial and temporal contexts of American architectural history. His paper, 'From vernacular through high-style: the ubiquitous American county courthouse' contended that 'from the Georgian of colonial times to the modern structural functionalism of today, courthouse styles help us to understand the variations and dynamics of Maerican culture'. Virginia brick courthouses reflected the intended permanency of colonial administration; republican reactions sponsored classical designs for the 'temple on the hill'; Romanesque followed c.1880-1900s; and finally Art Deco designs became associated with skyscraper construction, and later with a 'scraped skyscraper' style reflecting the austerity of the depression years. Larson certainly rehabilitated courthouses and

reminded historians of the importance of non-residential construction.

In her paper, 'The metamorphasis of culture and built forms in colonial Kenya', FIONA FITZGERALD (Nairobi) explained that apart from the obvious transformation of traditional settlements c.1899-1963, colonisation brought distinct urban forms because of the nature of imperial administration, housing requirements for British settlers, and company housing policies, particularly those of the railway companies. Each contributed to the urban form, influenced the accomodation available for the Asian population and bequeathed a physical legacy. These were themes which re-appeared in a paper by K L HILTON and B KAZIMEE (King Faisal University) 'Changing patterns of housing in Saudi Arabia'. Climate and limitations on building materials had been the dominant constraints on Saudi housing which had developed within a strict Islamic framework, but after the discovery of oil in the 1930s new building principles, materials and transport requirements had introduced conflicts into Saudi urban form. The establishment of twin settlements representing the native city and European reserved areas was also noted by OMOTAYO ADEOLU (Lagos) in a survey of Nigerian urban form over the last century. Fear of malaria was one factor which encouraged Europeans to locate their dwellings 'at least three-quarters of a mile from native dwellings'. This led to stagnation in the native towns with some development taking place in the gap between the settlement areas. After independence in 1960, residential segregation was perpetuated as native elites replaced European elites in the reserved areas. The colonial influence on the built form also had an effect in Algerian urban development, explained NAIMA CHABBI (Newcastle) in 'Culture: a dimension in design', for French occupation had influenced the housing system and was at least as important as climatic, physical, kinship and customary laws in twentieth century Algeria. BILGI DENEL (California State) explained in his paper, 'From the maxims of the vernacular to a new tradition of housing' that the evolution of vernacular architecture in the Ottoman Empire was left undisturbed for 600 years before the Reformation Edict of 1839. Thereafter, forced westernisation replaced indigenous development and distanced the people from the cultural origins of their housing. This process continued for about 100 years before a return to regional styles and vernacular building traditions was attempted. However, police action prevented it; housing was repeatedly pulled down if it did not accord with officially sanctioned designs and accordingly squatter housing became the norm in Turkish cities. In each of these papers concerned with the built environment in the developing world the tension created by the imperial architectural legacy between indigenous and western cultural influences on building design, construction methods and materials, and spatial arrangements was conspicuous.

Two papers examined underutilised sources of interest to construction historians. In 'Trade catalogues and the diffusion of vernacular architecture', HERBERT GOTTFRIED (Iowa State) explained that for the period 1870-1940, catalogues offer a rich source for the comprehension of system building in American cities. Pattern and stock books, and the records of the railroad companies which distributed the actual materials thus give important clues to the ways in which popular design was modified and disseminated. KENNETH FOOTE (Texas-Austin) in 'Photography and symbolism in the architecture of a Victorian city' examined the significance of 120 photographs published by the Society for Photographing Relics of Old London. The Society was disturbed by what it saw as the desecration of the city and between 1875 and 1886

sought to record London buildings. A neglected dimension seemed to be a study of this middle class Society itself, and of the tension between the pessimistic view of the consequences of urban expansion on Victorian life and the optimism of conservation opportunities.

Victorian parks, council housebuilding in Britain, New York skyscrapers and US courthouses, Turkish squatter communities, twentieth century tensions between modernising and traditionalist factions in developing nations, and the superimposition of an imperialist presence through architectural forms surfaced frequently as areas where architecture was far from being politically neutral. Yet few papers explicitly confronted this dimension. One which did was on 'Hannes Mayer and a socially-committed architecture' from WILLIAM RICHARDSON (Wichita State). Richardson argued that Meyr (1889-1954) held uncompromising political and social beliefs which were reflected in his architectural and city planning ventures. As director of the Dessau Bauhaus (1928-30) and active in the cooperative housing movement in western Europe in the 1920s, Meyer was concerned to fulfill the needs of the labouring population through low-cost architecture. In Moscow in the 1930s this political philosophy underpinned the construction of new industrial towns, as it did finally in Mexico City in the 1940s.

The harmony, indeed the inseparable cultural elements in Asian, African and native American design and construction were convincingly demonstrated. But they also exposed crucial temporal and methodological issues. Architectural and cultural forms, like many others in these pre-industrial worlds, were largely static; at least, the reorganisation of physical space was essentially gradual. The empathy of the cultural context and built environment was, consequently, both more complete and capable of incorporating marginal alterations. Built form was more fully and harmoniously integrated with the cultural setting than under conditions of rapid change. In a static world the cultural dimension of the built environment stands out. In a complex, modernising world it is less obvious which cultural influences are significant. This is an enduring problem of historical analysis - as it is of marketing, financial and other areas of corporate decision making - namely, the distinction between changes of a short term or temporary nature and those of long term significacne. One justification for historical scholarship on cultural factors and the built environment is, or ought to be, to distinguish what tends to be a significant cultural influence on the built form. Different temporal and societal frameworks are thus essential to test the frequency and impact of specific cultural factors and evolve robust statements about their general relevance under varying conditions. There will always be bizarre cultural influences on design and built form; what behavioural science methodology attempts is to isolate those and identify the central influences. Only then will it be possible to state which precise cultural factors interact with the built environment, and how. If Cultural Studies and the Built Environment is a distinct discipline this much must be attempted. Otherwise we can all produce our own lists of potential cultural influences on the built form. The result would be both counterproductive to an awareness of the socio-cultural dimensions of the built environment and intellectually sterile.

Richard Rogers
Dept of Economic &
History
University of Leicester

Footnotes

1. A Rapoport, House Form and Cultural (Englewood Cliffes, N J 1969), 47

2. I should like to acknowledge the assistance of the Conference Organiser, David Saile, School of Architecture, University of kansas, in making papers available to me and for his illuminating discussion.

* * *

"LOCALITY AND POLITICS IN INTERWAR BRITAIN"
14TH APRIL 1987

About 25 people attended the spring meeting of the Planning History Group, which was co-organised with the Department of Geography at Queen Mary College, University of London. The seminar addressed a period with which planning historians are very familiar, but linked them with theoretical questions about locality and the local state, somewhat less familiar territory for planning historians. Nor was the unfamiliarity just at the level of theory. The empirical focus of most of the papers was on health care, an area that although sharing much common ground in planning's early development, has subsequently diverged. However, as the papers and particularly the discussions showed, there remained much that researchers of each have in common in terms of method, approach, interpretation and explaination.

This last point become immediately clear with the first paper on "Women and Urban Politics" by **Jane Mark-Lawson**, a sociologist from the University of Lancaster. Drawing on the considerable body of work on locality undertaken at Lancaster, she sketched out the main theoretical traditions of locality studies and rejected structuralist interpretations as something defined and shaped simply by the changing movements of capital. She argued that local culture and political activity, though linked to the economic sphere, was not determined by it. In turn this cultural tradition and local political activism was something which played an important part in determining the real nature of locality.

She developed the argument mainly in the context of maternity and child welfare policies in two towns. Nelson was a rather depressed north east Lancashire cotton weaving town while Luton was one of the manufacturing boom towns of the period, its population growing rapidly in line with the expansion of its automobile and consumer electrics industries. Yet these contrasts between decline and dynamism in the economic sphere were rather at odds with the pattern of local government action, particularly on maternity and child welfare. Despite pressures for cutbacks, a high level of service was sustained in Nelson, while Luton was characterised by rather poor municipal provision, with local enthusiasm for cutbacks and a reliance on voluntarism. She explained this partly in terms of the strength of the labour movement, but more specifically as an outcome of the strength of women's political organisation both within local government and more generally local institutions such as trade unions. Thus Nelson had a strong labour movement in which women were actively involved, while in Luton the labour movement was weak and working class women were largely excluded from the political process. (These features did not incidentally derive simply from the level of female participation in the local wage economy; this was high in both towns). Overall

therefore she argued that it was substantially local political and cultural processes that produced local variations in service provisio

All this made a fascinating contrast with the paper by **Elisabeth Peretz** of the Wellcome Institute, University of Oxford, on very similar topic. She also compared maternity and child welfare provision in two areas, Oxford and Tottenham, but in a rather differe way to the previous speaker. Peretz showed how Tottenham, a large metropolitan urban district, was very much a model authority in the provision of maternity and child welfare. By contrast Oxford, like Luton, was dominated by voluntarism and traditional poor law conceptions of welfare provision. In explaining these differences, sh noted economic and social factors. Both were comparatively prosperou areas though socially and culturally rather different. Oxford had a large leisured middle class population, but until the car industry began to expand rapidly in the 1930s, lacked a cohesive working class population and had quite serious problems of poverty at the lower end of its social scale. By contrast Totenham's population was more homogenous working class dominated by skilled workers. However she seemed to place rather more emphasis in explaining the extent and quality of service provision on the nature of the municipal organisation that had been created. Thus Tottenham developed a large and more fully professional organisation that looked forward to fully comprehensive health care services, while Oxford's reliance on voluntarism was associated with a more old fashioned and less efficie organisation. Though her paper was less explicitly theoretical, Peret was in effect offering a managerialist interpretation of variations i local provision.

Predictably perhaps, a good deal of questions and discussion aros from these first two papers. Peretz for example was asked about the role of women in the local economy and the political process in her t case studies. There were also suggestions that Mark-Lawson's case studies were perhaps too different to properly isolate the operative processes. Others wondered about the professional and administrative context in Luton and Nelson, and the role of local rivalries and networks in the health services.

Before lunch **Steven Ward** of Oxford Polytechnic provided some visual documentary evidence of locality change in the period by showi the film "Housing Problems" (1935). His introduction high-lighted th emergence of new political alliances in the 1930s that were creating consensus approach to comprehensive slum clearance and rebuilding, increasingly in flatted estates.

The film, set in nearby Stepney, was directed by Edgar Anstey an Arthue Elton for the British Commercial Gas Association and was an important example of thirties documentary cinema. It was innovative a the time because it showed real slum life, complete with bugs, and pioneered the 'vox pop' approach with real East Enders talking to camera about their housing conditions, though this frankness was mixe with a curious coyness about how slum conditions had arisen. A livel discussion ensued about the film and more generally about housing an locality changes between the wars and after.

After lunch the emphasis remained on east London as **Gillian Ros** of Queen Mary College looked at what lay behind a particularly notabl series of incidents in central-local state relations in the 1920s. Sh examined the nature of locality in Poplar, whose name became synonymou

with local government defending the local community in defiance of the central state. The theoretical location was in the Gramscian concept of civil society and, like Mark-Lawson, she rejected the economic determinism of much recent work about locality change. Poplar was certainly the poorest borough in the East End, but Poplarism was no knee-jerk political reaction to the economic system that generated poverty. What made it a locality rebellion rather than simply a class response reflected the more complex nature of local civil society. She noted the strong working class community ties of street and neighbourhood in the borough and the bonds of common employment (and unemployment) experiences. But there was strong emphasis on other dimensions of local life. The nature of local religious, charitable and philanthropic activity was identified as being of particular importance. Thus radical Christian Socialism was a powerful motivating force amongst Poplar's political leaders, most notably George Lansbury. Together with other social and political movements such as ex-serviceman's associations this produced the local basis of decisive political action.

Thus far there had been little consideration of the locality within a wider frame of reference. Little was said for example about the central end of the battles with Poplar. However, the emphasis began to shift in the last two papers, which considered local authorities on this larger scale. Jonothan Bradbury of the University of Bristol looked at the importance of the 1929 Local Government Act and its influence on local administration. He showed how it was conceived as a major development in central-local relations, offering an administrative means of overcoming the perceived problems and inadequacies of local government. Its most significant single innovation was the block grant, which, at a stroke, replaced a clutch of grants for specified services. Its allocation was determined according to a formula which, rather crudely, took account of variations in local needs and resources. It was intended to combine central control with local freedom and a degree of equity in allocation. Like the more sophisticated rate support grants that followed inner Local Governments Acts after 1945, it did not, however, work in the ways intended. The onset of severe depression and the 1931 cuts in state expenditure blew it off course and the grant formula was insufficiently powerful, especially in the early years of the Act's operation, to cope with the acute problems of poor and severely depressed localities where needs greatly outstripped local resources. These early weaknesses meant that old inequities in grant allocations were perpetuated in the early thirties and only gradually diminished. Nevertheless Bradbury's paper showed how a recognisably modern system of central-local state relations was emerging during the interwar years and was becoming a critical pathway in locality politics and aspirations.

The final paper by **Charles Webster** of the Wellcome Institute on the politics of hospital regionalisation was essentially a discussion of the failure of municipal action between the wars to develop a viable alternative to the National Health Service created in the 1940s. Large sections of hospital provision before 1939 were in municipal hands and were accordingly organised within the spatial framework of local government. There was also a sizeable voluntary sector. The internal priorities of a proper hosptial service were, however, demanding a larger scale of spatial organisation than could normally be provided by a single authority or agency. The need for regionalisation was long recognised but actions towards that end were rather limited. Webster

showed that local authorities exhibited little real enthusiasm for regionalisation, though some steps were taken in London, where the London County Council was an authority operating on the sort of scale that was increasingly seen as necessary. Such moves, limited though they were, were sufficient to indicate a potential framework of hospital provision that was rooted in locally accountable administration, and kept the idea alive in the Ministry of Health into the 1940s.

Overall these last two papers made an interesting contrast with those focused more specifically on particular localities and local political processes. Thus although several sets of theoretical ideas had been aired and discussed in relation to the political process within the locality, there was really a high degree of unity about the validity of locality as a concept. The real problem area remained in the relationship between the local political process and larger frameworks of authority and interest. The last two papers had begun to address this question empirically, but they lacked the theoretical grounding of the earlier papers, so that it was difficult to make useful generalisations on this basis. However in fairness we should note that this is indicative of a wider problematic recognised by social researchers. Significantly the discussion did not really take hold of this as an issue, and questions largely focused on specific aspects of the papers. Perhaps someone will be prepared to take up this challenge and organise a future seminar of the politics of centre-locality relations?

Stephen V Ward
Oxford Polytechic

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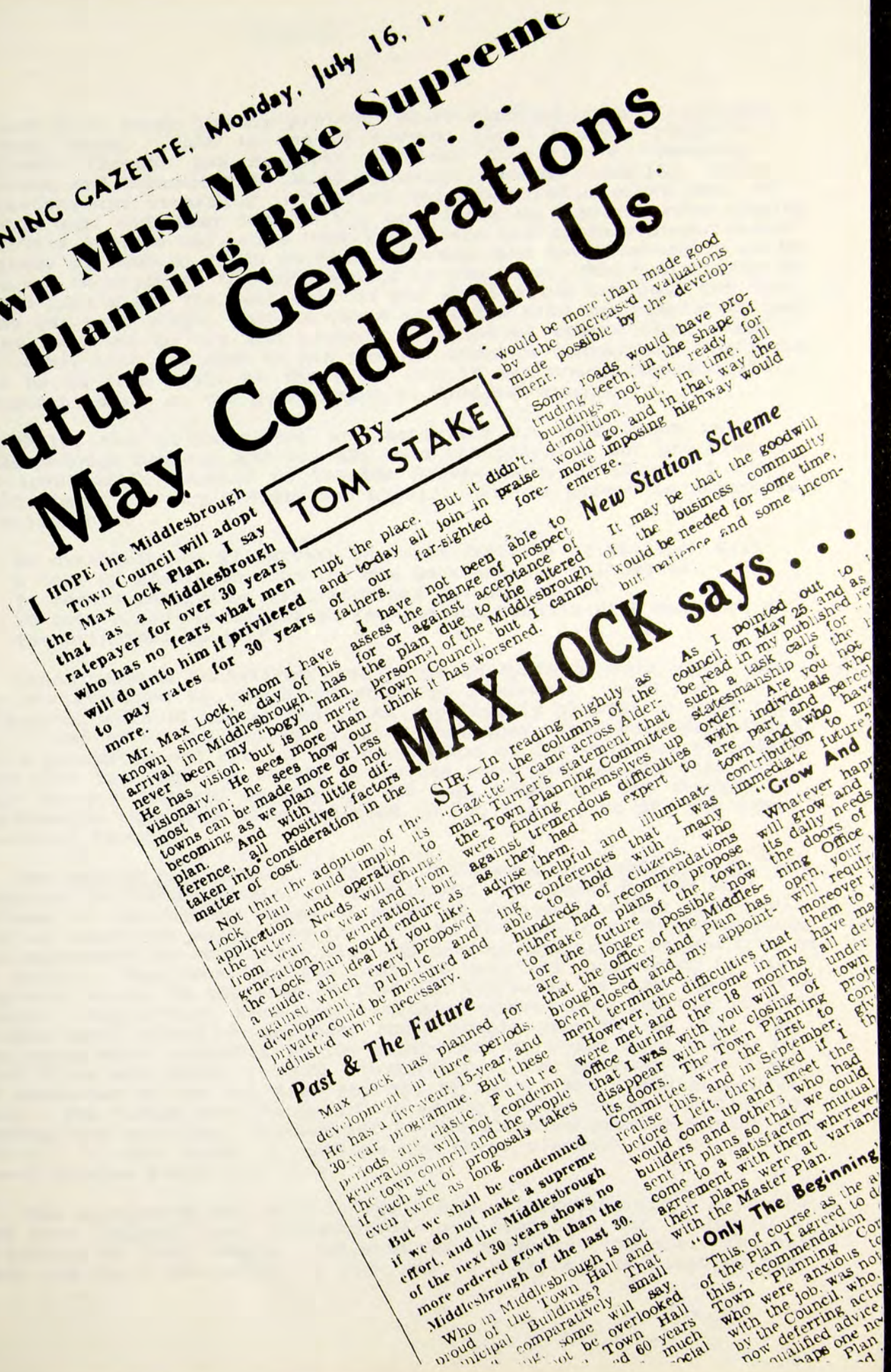
"MAX LOCK RETURNS TO MIDDLESBOROUGH"
April, 1987

Max Lock, architect and town planner, is perhaps best known for his planning schemes of several British cities undertaken during and just after the second world war. These exhibited a strong preference for Geddesian type surveys and a belief in popular, democratic planning. His work reflected the aspirations of many in the 1940's who sought a new, reconstructed Britain based on social-democratic ideals.

One of Max Lock's most comprehensive and thorough schemes was that which he undertook for Middlesborough Borough Council between 1944 and 1946. The Middlesborough Survey and Plan, as it was called, provides a model of the 'survey, analysis and plan' method and included bold proposals for social and physical redevelopment. Lock assembled a large team which combined several young dedicated and enthusiastic architects, planners and sociologists with some distinguished figures such as Ruth Glass the sociologist and Arthur Smailes, the geographer. Assistance with the Social Survey was also provided by the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction (Jaqueline Tyrwhitt) and the Ministry of Information's Wartime Social Survey (Dennis Chapman).

Earlier this year Max Lock and some of his orignial team, namely Jessica Albery, Griselda Rowntree and Barbara Sutton returned to Middlesborough to participate in a retrospective look at the Middlesborough Survey and Plan. The idea for such an event arose from



EVENING GAZETTE, Monday, July 16, 1

Town Must Make Supreme Planning Bid—Or . . .

Future Generations May Condemn Us

By TOM STAKE

I HOPE the Middlesbrough Town Council will adopt the Max Lock Plan. I say that as a Middlesbrough ratepayer for over 30 years who has no fears what men will do unto him if privileged to pay rates for 30 years more.

Mr. Max Lock, whom I have known since the day of his arrival in Middlesbrough, has never been my "bogy," man. He has vision, but is no mere visionary. He sees more than most men; he sees how our towns can be made more or less becoming as we plan or do not plan. And with little difference, all positive factors taken into consideration in the matter of cost.

Not that the adoption of the Lock Plan would imply its application and operation to the letter to year and from year to generation, but from generation to generation, as the Lock Plan would endure as a guide, an ideal if you like, against which every proposed development, public and private, could be measured and adjusted where necessary.

Past & The Future

Max Lock has planned for development in three periods. He has a five-year, 15-year, and 30-year programme. But these periods are elastic. Future generations will not condemn the town council and the people if each set of proposals takes even twice as long.

But we shall be condemned if we do not make a supreme effort, and the Middlesbrough of the next 30 years shows no more ordered growth than the Middlesbrough of the last 30.

Who in Middlesbrough is not proud of the Town Hall and municipal Buildings? Buildings, comparatively small though some will say, not be overlooked. That Town Hall and 60 years ago was much

rupt the place. But it didn't, and to-day all join in praise of our far-sighted fathers.

I have not been able to assess the change of prospect for or against acceptance of the plan due to the altered personnel of the Middlesbrough Town Council, but I cannot think it has worsened.

would be more than made good by the increased valuations made possible by the development.

Some roads would have protruding teeth, in the shape of buildings not yet ready for demolition, but in time, all would go, and in that way the more imposing highway would emerge.

New Station Scheme

It may be that the goodwill of the business community would be needed for some time, but patience and some incon-

MAX LOCK says . . .

SIR,—In reading nightly as I do the columns of the "Gazette" I came across Alderman Turner's statement that the Town Planning Committee were finding themselves up against tremendous difficulties as they had no expert to advise them.

The helpful and illuminating conferences that I was able to hold with many hundreds of citizens, who either had recommendations to make or plans to propose for the future of the town, are no longer possible now that the office of the Middlesbrough Survey and Plan has been closed and my appointment terminated.

However, the difficulties that were met and overcome in my office during the 18 months that I was with you will not disappear with the closing of its doors. The Town Planning Committee were the first to realise this, and in September, before I left, they asked if I would come up and meet the builders and others who had sent in plans so that we could come to a satisfactory mutual agreement with them wherever their plans were at variance with the Master Plan.

"Only The Beginning"

This, of course, as the author of the Plan I agreed to do. this recommendation. Con Town Planning was not who were anxious to with the job, was not by the Council, who, now deferring actio qualified advice one ne haps Plan

the work of a local history project called Middlesborough, 1939-1945 - The Home Front. This is one of several local history projects undertaken through the Manpower Services Commision's Community Programme and sponsored by Middlesborough Borough Council. This interesting and rewarding initiative has assembled a great deal of valuable oral and other data on the experience of Middlesborough during the 1930's and the war. The Home Front team had already investigated the issue of bombing raids on Middlesborough and moved naturally on to the moves to organise the re-planning of the town. Their discovery of the Max Lock plan, the fact that he was still alive and well and that it was (at that stage) just 40 years since the Plan was completed, led to the decision to try and arrange a series of events that would involve Max Lock and such of his team as could be contacted. The focus would be to look again at the Plan, how it was undertaken and its subsequent impact on the development of Middlesborough.

Whilst the prime movers and activists in this event were Middlesborough Council and its MSC team the planning and preparation also involved Dr Leonard of Teeside Polytechnic, Dr Chase of the Teeside Local History Society and myself. It was agreed to undertake the following:-

- An exhibition to illustrate the main features of the Lock Plan
- A tour of Middlesborough for Max Lock and his colleagues
- To record interviews with Lock and his colleagues
- To hold a day conference at Teeside Polytechnic with Max Lock as the principal speaker

These various activities took place in April of this year. The tour was arranged by the Middlesborough planners. Lock and his colleagues declared themselves to be suprisingly pleased by what they saw. Those of us who had anticipated that they might be disappointed by the pragmatic and partial implementation of the original proposals found that Lock and the others could see much that was in line with their ideas. Perhaps we are apt to lose sight of the overall improvements that have been achieved in, at least some of, the large industrial towns.

The exhibition, called, like the Conference, A People's Plan, was staged at the Dorman Museum, Middlesborough and opened by Max Lock. It featured an interesting range of material culled from the archives. Original pamphlets explaining the Plan to the people of Middlesborough were reproduced as were large blown-up photographs taken at the time of the Survey. Max Lock recalled that the original exhibition of his proposals staged in the town on 1946 had attracted no less than 20,000 people. Whilst this, more modest affair, proved less popular it did attract local attention and many local people came to see it. The interviews were conducted in the exhibition hall and were filmed by Siren Films and Video, a local co-operative. Two sessions were taken, one conducted by the MSC team and one by myself and Councillor Dave Walsh. The latter session sought to explore wider themes of planning ideology and political involvement in the planning process during the 1940's. It also sought to explore how these planners of the 1940's viewed changes since that time.

The Conference was held on April 4th. Approximately 120 people took part, mainly local professionals and academics but including a sprinkling of local people and some who remembered the era. The main event was the presentation by Max Lock of a slide/talk based on that

which he had given over 40 years previously to members of Borough Council, complete with the same slides. This illustrated in great detail how the Survey was assembled and analysed. This had been preceded by a talk by myself which sought to place Lock's plan within the perspective of town planning in Teeside since the First World War. After lunch a short film called Ironborough, was shown. Made in 1946 it was in essence a documentary on the making of the Middlesborough Survey and Plan. It featured Max Lock and several of his team and was an interesting insight into the ideas on town planning in this period. This was followed by a slide presentation by Tony Noble, the Chief Officer responsible for town planning in Middlesborough, looking at Middlesborough 40 years on from the Max Lock Plan. The day concluded with a general discussion involving all the speakers and the audience.

COUNTY BOROUGH OF MIDDLESBROUGH

The Chairman (His Worship the Mayor, Councillor R. Ridley Kitching, J.P.) and Members of the Middlesbrough Reconstruction Committee have much pleasure in inviting you to the Official Opening by

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, K.G., P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. (*Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding of Yorkshire*),

of the

EXHIBITION OF THE MIDDLESBROUGH SURVEY AND PLAN.

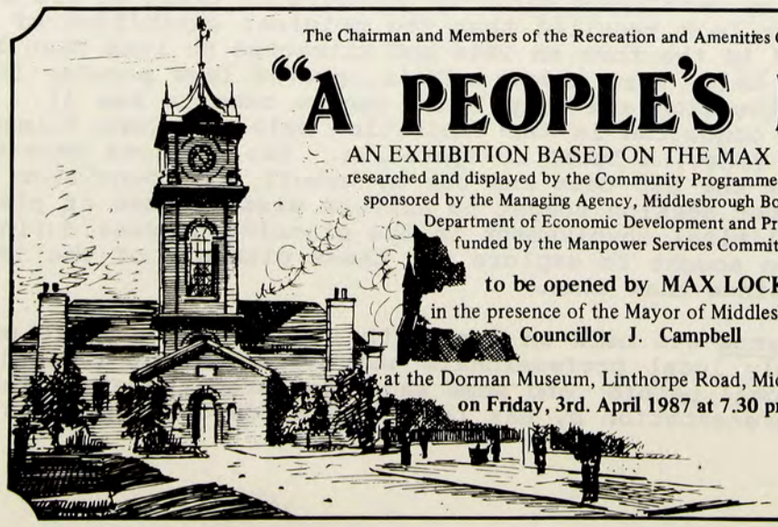
Directed by Mr. Max Lock, A.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I., Consultant to the Middlesbrough Corporation,

on MONDAY, 16th JULY, 1945, at 11-15 a.m.,

in the TOWN HALL.

Mr. G. L. PEPLER, C.B., P.P.T.P.I. F.S.I., Chief Technical Officer of The Ministry of Town and Country Planning, will also speak.

The Exhibition will be open from the 16th July to the 3rd August, from 10 a.m.—8 p.m. weekdays; Sundays 2—5 p.m.



The Chairman and Members of the Recreation and Amenities Committee invite you to

"A PEOPLE'S PLAN"

AN EXHIBITION BASED ON THE MAX LOCK PLAN

researched and displayed by the Community Programme History Projects; sponsored by the Managing Agency, Middlesbrough Borough Council, Department of Economic Development and Property; funded by the Manpower Services Committee

to be opened by MAX LOCK

in the presence of the Mayor of Middlesbrough **Councillor J. Campbell**

at the Dorman Museum, Linthorpe Road, Middlesbrough **on Friday, 3rd. April 1987 at 7.30 pm.**

RSVP.
G.G. Watson,
Chief Recreation and Amenities Officer.

EVENING GAZETTE, Friday, December 7, 1945.

MIDDLESBRO'S VISION PRAISED

THE SURVEY and plan of Middlesbrough, directed by Mr. Max Lock, consultant architect to Middlesbrough Corporation, was on view when an exhibition containing, in addition to a model plan of the town of the future, many sectional maps, was opened in the Town Hall to-day by the Marquis of Zetland.

Church, business, commerce, and schools interests were represented in a large gathering at the opening ceremony. In addition to Lord Zetland, The **Mayor of Middlesbrough, Who Presided**, there was present **Mr. R. R. Kitching**, Mr. G. L. Coun. Pepler, Chief Technical Officer of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. Mr. Lock, declared that this would go down in the history of Middlesbrough as a red letter day.

"Great Era Beginning"

There are a number of points I would like to make about this event.

1. The use of MSC schemes to undertake valuable active research into local history projects could be more widely adopted. They can be used to illuminate areas of planning history.

2. There is a need to record the thoughts and reflections af a generation of architects, planners and others involved in the development process now before it is too late

3. There may be possibilities in re-kindling popular interest in town planning through what may initially be a nostalgic trip

4. Exercises such as this one can assist in assembling research material that may have a wider application. Those who may be interested in receiving more information about this project should feel free to get in touch with me. The Siren Film and Video Co-op are putting together a 40-60 minute tape which uses material from Ironborough and the interviews we did with Max and his colleagues. Transcripts are also available of the interviews. Such material may have both an educational and research use.

It is possible that a follow-up event may take place next year. Max Lock and his colleagues found it very stimulating and desired to explore certain themes in greater detail. Other members of the original team are still alive and well. There is, therefore, scope to develop this work and it would seem to offer benefits to all participants.

Derek Gunby
Cleveland County Council
Economic Development Division

"British Regionalism 1900-2000"
A Joint Conference of the Planning History Group and the Regional Studies Association held at the University of Salford, Lancashire, on September 10-11th, 1987

The proceedings opened with a message of greeting from the "Europe of Regions" Conference, which for the past decade has brought together regionalists from all over the Continent for an annual reunion in Copenhagen. Here at the outset was a timely reminder that the ideas and efforts to be discussed by the forty or so participants at Salford have their parallels throughout the western world. There is nothing uniquely British about regionalism. Whether there is anything British about it, was what we sought to discover.

Michael Burgess, a declared Euro-Federalist working in 'isolatd militancy' at Plymouth Polytechnic, launched the gathering with an iconoclastic paper on "The Progress and Significance of the Federal Idea in British Government and Politics 1870-1918". Not only is the United Kingdom not a unitary state, he argued, but its political tradition has at certain times involved a vigorous and explicit federalism. He traced the evolution of the federal idea through Lord Rosebery, Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Milner, Austen Chamberlain and (unexpectedly) Winston Churchill, showing its appeal as a means of accomodating the two dominant concerns of late-ninteenth and early-twentieth century English politicians, the Empire and Ireland.

Though his narrative ended with Lloyd George shrinking back from practical federalism at the end of the First World War, Michael Burgess did point out the continuing strand which was to lead, through the revived Federal Union movement in late thirties, to Gaspar Altieri who read and was inspired by its literature whilst imprisoned by Mussolini and went on to translate Anglo-Saxon precept into a practical federalist militancy with ultimate European integration as its aim. Where "regions", particularly the regions of England, fit into the federal project for either Europe or the United Kingdom was a question left hanging by this speaker, as it had been in 1926 by the parlimentarians of the Speaker's Conference on Devolution. As in the 1920s, attention shifted instead to a different sort of regionalism that had its roots not in the problems of the unitary nation-state but of the 1,500 or so local government units within the United Kingdom.

"Regionalism and Local Government Reform 1900-1960" was the title of **Johnathan Owen**'s absorbing paper, based on his doctoral research in the Department of History at Bristol University. The point of the title was that no local government reform occured in Britain between 1900 and 1960 (or indeed, outside London, between 1889 and 1973). Almost a century of population growth, economic expansion and physical suburbanisation had to be accomodated into the 1888 structure, with its background pattern of Municipal and Rural Districts under County Councils punctuated by autonomous County Borough Councils for the late nineteenth century cores of the larger towns and cities. The mismatch between functional and administrative patterns guarenteed endemic inter-governmental friction and jealously, and paralysis of action at the territorial margins. That was why H G Wells didn't get electricity laid on to his new house on the south coast and became one of the earliest and most persuaaive converts to regionalism as a solution to the local government problem; remove the conflicts at root, he argued, by creating larger units corresponding to the real structure of modern

urban areas. Though a cry for regional reform of local government was to become a common theme of the Webbs and the Fabians, and of successive academic commentators such as G D H Cole at Oxford and William Robson at the London School of Economics, the regionalists always found it easier to agree on the general need for reform than to specify the shape and functions of their preferred units. Owen showed how successive waves of regionalist reform - especially the Royal Commission of Local Government in the Tyneside Area (1937), and the National Association of Local Government Officers' Reconstruction Committee on the Reform of Local Government Structure (1943) - broke on the rocks of the small print. Regionalism, he concluded, was more of an intellectual reflex to the problems of the 1888 structure, than a politically viable substitute for it.

Perhaps the people best able to transcend that structure were the drawing board professionals, architects and engineers, commissioned as consultants to prepare regional advisory plans for groups of small local authorities struggling to get a purchase on the modern, low-density urbanisation straggling across the patchwork quilts of their areas. **David Massey** of the Department of Civic Design at Liverpool, presented a richly-illustrated paper on this "Experimental Era of Regional Planning, 1909-1939". He showed how these planning regionalists, or rather regional planners, tackled their task, highlighting both their intellectual debt to the work of Patrick Geddes (with its emphasis on the importance of preliminary regional survey to give empirical and policy substance to cross-boundary planning efforts) and the sheer elegance and aplomb of their plans. Participants unfamiliar with British planning history might have been suprised at the important roles of a few key individual such as Sir George Pepler at the Ministry of Health and Sir Patrick Abercrombie, doyen of the consultants, in the highly successful promotion of regional planning in this period. Dr Massey illustrated the growing coverage of regional plans, from 14 in 1923 to 105 in 1931, covering almost all parts of Britain subject to urban development pressure. Here was an antidote to the previous paper's emphasis on local jealousy and cussedness. But on the other hand, the advisory regional plans did not challenge the fragmented status quo. When presented, as they sometimes were, in leather bindings with gold tooling on the spines, they may even have conferred a touch of dignity and credibility upon it.

There is no dispute that during the 1940s a fundamental policy shift occured, making possible a much more directive style of strategic physcial planning than had been conceivable before 1939, manifested itself especially in strictly enforced green belts around urban areas and a public programme of new town construction. In a paper on the emergence of this strong conception of regional planning, which so influenced the geography pf postwar Britain, **Dennis Hardy** of Middlesex Polytechnic traced the part played by one London-based reform group, the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, later renamed the Town and Country Planning Association. From single-minded late-nineteenth century beginnings as an idealistic experiment in the construction of an alternative urban community, the Association developed in the interwar years into a modern-style pressure group, lobbying government and business to promote its concept of a regional balance between town and country. Such thinking indisputably became, and still to some extent remains, a government orthodoxy in Britain, but Hardy, who is the official historian of the TCPA, was guarded in claiming credit for the policy shift. Several contributors to the subsequent discussion echoed this caution, citing (among other factors which contributed to awareness of a regional-scale approach to town-planning problems) the

importance of European example, and of highway engineering interests. Lord Milner, exponent of Imperial Federation before the First World War, put in an unanticipated reappearence in the proceedings when it was pointed out that it was he who with the Archbishop of Canterbury invited Patrick Abercrombie to prepare for the newly expanding East Kent coalfield one of the earliest and most influential regional planning schemes in the 1920s.

We stayed with voluntary movements at the start of the second day of the Conference, when Professor **Michael Wise** (London School of Economics) presented his initial research into the hitherto undocumented "Origins of the Regional Studies Association". The roots of the Association were traced back from its foundation in March 1965 to the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction (APRR), set up during the Second World War by research-minded architects to train manpower for the reconstruction according to the philosophies of Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford. The APRR connection was shown to lead, a decade later, to the seminal First International Conference on Regional Planning and Development held at Bedford College, London in September 1955 with participants from over 40 countries. That led in turn to the founding and work of the International Centre for Regional Planning and Development, based in Brussels. Lastly Professor Wise explained how the English and Scottish branches of the Brussels organisation broke away to found their own Regional Studies Association, which flourishes to this day. With the privileged insight of a participant historian, he revealed that in 1962-4 they had contemplated merger with, amongst other organisation, the Town and Country Planning Association, the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning, and Walter Isard's fast-growing Regional Science Association, but decided for independence so as to keep both a specifically regional focus and the right (denied to Regional Science Association branches) to comment on policy and influence legislation.

Not everyone shared the Geddesian vision of comprehensive regional planning as a framework for resolving conflicts between town and country, new and old, rich and poor. A healthy dose of scepticism was injected by the next paper, from **Patricia Garside** of the University of Salford. Under the title, "The Failure of Regionalism in 1940s Britain" she offered a London history, telling how the broad regional planning philosophy for the metropolis of consultants such as Patrick Abercrombie unsuccessfully challenged tried and tested approaches favoured by London County Council politicians and officers. Regional planning theory wanted bold schemes of population redistribution across the region regardless of anachronistic local authority boundaries; municipal practice, scrupulously boundary-respecting, rather took the form of limited and localised intervention, chiefly via slum clearance and housing projects, in areas known to politically amenable. Dr Garside's bald title, without a question mark, belied a subtle analysis of the interaction of these two antagonistic conceptions of policy. Regionalism initially "failed" in the early 1940s in the sense that Sir Patrick Abercrombie's grand plan for London was used cynically but successfully by the LCC leadership as a lever with which to win (in the 1944 "Blitz and Blight Act") stronger powers for its own more limited ends. However, regionalism was to have a last laugh when the incoming Labour government of 1944 brought to the Ministry a former LCC member, Lewis Silkin, who had been inspired by the Abercrombie plan and appalled at its municipal subversion, and legislated accordingly. In the ensuing discussion Professor **Gordon Cherry** (University of Birmingham) pointed also to the key role of the young and brilliant technical staff within the Ministry of Town and Country Planning in

preparing the ground for Silkin, a point echoed by **Bill Pearson** (recently retired from the Department of the Environemt), who had been one of them.

The civil service connection was sustained in the following paper, by **Diana Pearce** (Department of the Environement, Northern Region), "The Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council 1965-1969". Moving the Conference onward to a practical regionalist experiment within living memory of all present, she offered a vivid insider's view of one of the nine Regional Economic Planning Councils established in 1965 to participate in a Labour Governments's National Plan and abolished soon after Mrs Thatcher's first election victory in 1979. Her paper analysed the composition of the Council, its working methods, its relationships with other agencies (those with local authorities were generally strained), and its shifting policy concerns. It had been, in the words of its Chairman Sir Bernard Cotton "the best club in Yorkshire", offering a meeting ground to many otherwise segregated interests; but, she concluded, mere policy deliberation without either powers or resources proved in the long run an insufficient basis on which to sustain a regional body. In splendid contrast, Professor **Urlan Wannop** (University of Strathclyde) then presented "The Planning Case for Regions and Its Vindication in Strathclyde", the story of the one region where a synoptic planning approach in the 1940s - Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Geddesian Clyde Valley Plan - had matured, via local government reorganisation in the 1970s, into an established and powerful regional authority. For the achieved progress of the regional idea, which encountered in Glasgow Corporation a civic enemy every inch as dogged as the London County Council, he gave particular praise to Sir Robert Grieve, "by far the most distinguished regionalist in Britain". With Jean Mann, Sir William White and other enlightened Glasgow administrators and politicians, Grieve was to shown to have bridged that gap between regionalism and municipalism discerned in so many earlier contibutors.

Wayne Parsons (Queen Mary College, University of London), as befits a political scientist, lifted the final session of the conference back onto the plane of high politics with a paper that traced the tenuous course of the regional idea in the national arena from the 1930s to the present. He demonstrated how under Britain's uniquely feeble tradition of territorial politics "regional" had served as little more than a code work for "economically depressed", and "regional policy" a rhetorical device employed with remarkable continuity by postwar governments as a palliative for unemployment. Since the mid-1970s, a new vocabulary based on "the inner city problem" has been supplanting this traditional policy concern for problem regions. The collapse of the previous bipartisan consensus on regional policy, he concluded, did at least open an opportunity for the Labour Party to embrace an entirely new territorial code, based upon concepts of decentralisation and regional autonomy rather than central resource transfers to problem areas. However, he was not optimistic that the leopard could change its spots.

The task of taking the conference forward to its end-date of 2000 fell to **Michael Hebbert** (London School of Economics) in a paper entitled "British Regionalism and European Integration - a Prospective View". He traced the trend of decentralisation amongst the United Knigdom's southern neighbours, highlighting the development of regional autonomy in Italy, Belgium, France and Spain, and offered a summary analysis of the failure of constitutional reform in Britain to follow a similar course during the 1970s. Turning to the future, he discussed

the interaction of European integration with regional decentralisation, pointing out elements of latent paradox between the two concurrent trends. He concluded bleakly that the United Kingdom, having missed Europe's decentralist tide in the past decade, would find a far less hospitable environment for regional experiment in the next, "supposing a government were returned with the steely political will to attempt it".

Happily, the proceedings were not allowed to end on such a minor cadence. **Mr R V Hughes**, a vetran who had spent many decades fighting for regionalism in the North West, proclaimed his hope and confidence that a regional assembly would before too long be meeting in Manchester. He soundly reprimanded speakers for their talk of "failure". At the end of a conference that, for all its interest, had perhaps given undue weight to the technical and administrative difficulties of the regional idea, here was a salutory reminder that successful regionalism has to be a political movement, rooted in conviction and pursued with militancy. It was an ending to send half the delegated home with their fire rekindled and the other half confirmed in their suspicions that regionalism never has properly fitted the British case and perhaps never will.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Johnathan Barnett, The Elusive City: Five Centuries of Design, Ambiti and Miscalulation, New York: Harper & Row, 1986, 210 pp., ISBN 0-06-430377-2, $23.50

The volume deals with urban design from the Rennaissance to the present, although it focuses extensively on 20th century issues. Th author identifies and explores four successive but persistent desig conceptions: the monumental city, the garden city, the modern city a the megastructure. Barnett writes as an urban design practitioner rather than as an historian. Historians may be troubled by the conflict of aims in this book, a conflict between criticism and history. The volume has much to offer as a textbook, however, especially for design students engaged in studying the uses and misus of historical prototypes at an urban scale.

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Michael Bateman and Raymond Riley (eds), The Geography of Defence, Croom Helm, London, 1987, 237 pp., £27.50, ISBN 0-7099-3933-7

Contributors review the influence of defence requirements on urb morphology, the social geography of the areas affected, and other for of land use, with case studies of the impact of military and naval la use on Portsmouth, the specialised military town in the nineteenth century, the naval shipbuilding firm of Vickers at Barrow-in-Furness the demographic aspects of married quarters in England and Wales, an the types of conflict that have arisen where military training areas are located in the British national parks.

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Hans Blumenfeld, Life Begins at 65, Harvest House, Montreal, 198 pp 326

At the age of 96 Blumenfeld has much to tell about himself, the world and his professions, both architecture and planning. During th 1920s he worked on architectural assignments in Germany in Austria. Between 1930 and 1937 he worked in the Soviet Union and moved into to planning practice. After that he settled into city planning work in Philidelphia. Moving to Canada he worked with the Metropolitan Toron Planning Board from 1955-61. At the age of 70 he took up certain academic duties at the University of Toronto. The biography is a fascinating insight into 20th century political and environmental movements.

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Joseph J Corn, ed, Imagining Tomorrow: History Technology and the American Future, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1986, 237 pp., ISBN 0-262-03115, $17.50 cloth

The ten essays in the volume are carefully constructed records of the "future that used to be". They explore past fascinations with the technological future, including that of the urban sphere, and the limitations of those perspectives. The anthology has value for planners, those professionals who see their special mission as guiding the future. However, Corn and the contributors all define the future in the narrow terms of technological advance.

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Seong-Kyu Ha (Ed), Housing policy and practice in Asia, Croom Helm, London , 1987, 197pp., £25.00, ISBN 0-7099-4711-9

Provides an overview of housing policy and practices, considering for Hong Kong, India, Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Vietnam and Thailand the nature and scale of the problems, national and local policies, and the effectiveness of policies.

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Sheila Harvey, Reflections on Landscape: the work of six British landscape architects examined, Gower Technical Press, Aldershot, 1987, pp 155

The transcripts of five interviews, carried out between 1983 and 1985 by Ian Laurie and Michael Lancaster, have been converted into a continuous narrative by Sheila Harvey. The five landscape architects were Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe, Dame Sylvia Crowe, Sir Peter Shepheard, Brian Hackett and Peter Youngman; a piece on Brenda Colvin, who died in 1981, has also been added. The history of the development of the profession (founded in 1929) since that first gathering at the 1928 Chelsea Flower Show, is still to be written, but the book has some nice anecdotal reminiscences.

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A E Holmes, Housing Policy in Britain. A History, Croom Helm, London, 1987, 489pp., £30.00, ISBN 0-7099-3789-X

In tracing the development of policies from the early 1900s until the end of the 1970s, detailed accounts are given of the housing situation, the policies pursued, their rationale, owner-occupation, and privately owned rented housing, with particular emphasis on the financial and economic aspects and impact of the national economic situation. The growth in population and number of households are discussed.

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William Issel and Robert W Cherny, San Francisco, 1865-1932: Politics, Power and Urban Development, Berekley: University of California Press, 1986, 294 pp., ISBN 0-520-05263-3, $35.00

Issel and Cherny have added an important volume to the San Francisco bibliography, although it does more than just fill a gap in the chronology. In looking at politics and development in the period from 1865 to 1932, the authors demonstrate how the business community dominated local politics and placed city-building at the top of the agenda. The classic concerns of planning history, thus, are treated as episodes or growth projects of the growth coalition.

* * *

Don S Kirschner, The Paradox of Professionalism: Reform and Public Service in Urban America, 1900-1940, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986, Contributions in American History, Number 119, 195 pp., ISBN 0-313-25345-5, $32.95

This volume focuses on the history of three "service professions" that developed out of the Progressive movement, including social work, public health and city planning. It explores these three professions during their formative years as they sought to address an array of community concerns and simultaneously nurture professionalism. The two objectives did not always coincide, which represents the "paradox" that constitutes the book's central theme.

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Ronald Lawson, editor, The Tenant Movement in New York City, 1904-1984, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1986, 289 pp., ISBN 0-8135-1158-5, $35.00 cloth, $15.00 paper

This volume offers a significant departure from traditional accounts of the origins of social change and social planning in US cities. It offers "the first history of an urban social movement studied through the entire length of the twentieth century in a particular setting". Lawson and the five contributors demonstrate convincingly that there has been a relatively continuous grassroots tenant movement in New York City since the New York Rent Protection Association was formed in 1904 as a community organisation to combat rent strikes and evictions.

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Edward Relph, The Modern Urban Landscape, Croom Helm, London, 1987, 279pp., £30.00 hardback, ISBN 0-7099-2231-0, £10.95 paperback, ISBN 0-799-4270-2

In tracing the interconnections between the changes that have occurred in architecture and aesthetic fashions, planning and economic and social conditions, attention is focused on the emergence of modern town planning, ordinary landscapes of the first machine age, modernism and internationalism in architecture, landscapes in an age of illusions, the significance of the segregated city, corporatisation and modernist cityscapes and post modernist trends.

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Christine Meisner Rosen, The Limits of Power: Great Fires and the Process of City Growth in America, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 395pp., ISBN 0-521-30319-2 $39.50

The volume examines how three American cities, Chicago, Boston and Baltimore, attempted to rebuild their cities following great fires in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It examines those factors that stymied the efforts of decision makers and prevented them from achieving desired changes in the city plan and improvements in the public infrastructure. The author concludes that one of limitations in the redevelopment process was the broad distribution of power in American cities which made it difficult for anyone to accomplish what was required to adapt the urban environment to changing needs. It offers an illuminating portrait of the American city building process.

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George Sternlieb, Patterns of Development, Centre for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, New Jersey, 1986, 289 pp

This is an informative and compelling collection of essays about American metropolitan cities - in particular, the nature of contemporary change in central cities, in housing and the national economy. The argument is familiar: that American cities are moving from manufacturing to services and that the coming age of exurbia will dominate the future, combining to more than compete with the central city. There are lessons for planning history here: planners have some urgent rethinking to do on metropolitan strategy if they are to have much influence on urban policy in the future.

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Jon C Teaford, The Twentieth Century American City: Problem Promise and Reality, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986, 192pp., ISBN 0-8018-3094-X, $20.00 cloth; ISBN 0-8018-3096-6, $8.95 paperback

The author has written a deft survey of modern metropolitan development that focuses in particular on the urban problems as they have been defined by progressives and urban liberals since 1900. Enquirers into the origins of urban policies, particularly housing and neighbourhood renewal since the New Deal, will find this book a useful, quick orientation. However, city planners may feel slighted by Teaford's casualness toward their profession. Beyond a brief treatment of the City Beautiful and the congestion studies early in the century, he provides almost no discussion of the planners' contribution to evolving urban policy.

ARTICLES

Thomas Hayton Mawson (1861-1933): a biographical note

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Thomas Mawson was born near Lancaster in May 1861. At the age o 12 he was apprenticed to his uncle in that town as an office boy to learn drawing, building and horticulture, and before long his career settled in favour of landscape gardening. From 1877 he was working i London as an horticulturalist, but by 1885 he was back in the Lake District with a flourishing landscape gardening practice at Windermere A succession of commissions largely in the northwest of England established his early reputation.

In 1900 his book The Art and Craft of Garden Making appeared, published by Batsford. It ran to four editions in twelve years, and sixth by 1926 jointly with his eldest son Edward Prentice Mawson, providing a sound platform for a developing career. Requests to writ articles and to lecture were accompanied by the demands of a growing practice, with important commissions throughout the country. As association with Patrick Geddes in the development of Pittencrieff as public pack at Dumfermline, Scotland, brought him into contact with town planning and led to commissions many years later for the replanning of towns overseas, notably Canada and Greece.

During the first decade of the 20th century when the new practic of town planning was taking definitive shape, Mawson was well placed through personal contacts with influential clients to take advantage o his technical skills in advancing the new discipline. A long friendship with William Lever (later Lord Leverhulme) proved particularly important, as indicated in Mawson's commission for a 400-acre park at Bolton in 1906.

Without abandoning his private landscape gardening engagements, Mawson moved into the field of 'civic art', typified by the redesignir of Lord Street Gardens, the Marine Lake, Park and Promenade for Southport Corporation in 1907 and the layout of the Peace Palace Gardens at the Hague 1908-10, the result of winning an international competition. His book Civic Art: Studies in Town Planning, Parks, Boulevards and Open Spaces (Batsford) followed in 1911.

An American lecture tour in 1910 led to contact with key people i Canada, particularly Earl Grey, Governor-General, and later the Duke o Connaught, his successor, to whom he suitably dedicated the fourth edition of his book The Art and Craft of Garden Making. A succession of North American visits led ultimately to a report in 1914 to the Cit Planning Commission of Calgary, Calgary, Past, Present and Future and the preparation of schemes for Vancouver, Regina and Banff.

Travel to Australia in 1913 provided the opportunity there to advise the Government on town planning legislation and scheme preparation. Meanwhile, his son Edward was working on the design for the royal gardens in Athens; contact with the King, the Prime Ministe and the Mayor of Athens enabled reports to be written on the replannir of the city.

The World War broke the rhythm of a busy practice (by now the Mawson office at Lancaster had grown to thirty assistants), with commissions curtailed. Mawson toyed with the idea of industrial villages for disabled servicemen but influential support was difficult to obtain. His broader vision, however, found expression in town planning both at home and abroad. Six lectures delivered under the auspices of the Bolton Housing and Town Planning Society, Bolton as it is and as it might be, published by Batsford in 1916, and a further publication Bolton, a study in town planning, in the same year, were perhaps modest, but the invitation to participate in the replanning of Salonika, Greece, after the disasterous fire of 1917 attracted greater attention.

After the war a variety of planning and design commissions came Mawson's way, increasingly from public authorities. One of his best known schemes was for the South Shore extension at Blackpool and the lay out of Stanley Park, 1922-6. By now Mawson was in his 60's and prestigious positions were accorded to him. In 1923 he was elected President of the Town Planning Institute, his Presidential Address unsurprisingly titled, The Art and Craft of Landscape Architecture and its relation to Town Planning. When the Prime Minister approved the setting up of the Fine Arts Commission in 1924, Mawson was one of its eight members. In 1930 he became the first President of the newly formed Institute of Landscape Architects.

Mawson died at the family home near Lancaster in November 1933 and was buried at nearby Bowness Cemetary. His autobiography The Life and Work of an English Landscaspe Architect had been published six years earlier, in 1927. This simple and highly abbreviated narrative hints at the richness of a full life, and the circumstances of Mawson's professional contribution to landscape architecture and town planning are worthy of further study. Untutored, he was the author of many written works which take their place in early 20th century planning history. A landscape gardener by training he widened his practice into landscape design. He specialised in civic art, which was an early integrating force in the town planning movement. He was perhaps outshone by his contemporary Raymond Unwin, yet he played his part in bridging the gap between architects such as Lethaby and Lutyens and the visionary strategists such as Adams, Unwin and Abercrombie to follow. It is truly remarkable (and it says something for the sheer creativity of the early planning pioneers) that someone like Mawson with his journeyman background could flower into an urban designer of such significance. His place in the early years of town planning has been neglected.

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Sir Dudley Stamp 1898-1966

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Recent years have seen growing interest in the evolution of environmental planning policies in Britain. Attention has been focused on both the role of interest groups and the influence of such major figures as Ebenezer Howard, Sir Partick Abercrombie and Sir William Holford, but analysis has been limited by our very imperfect understanding of the way in which the public policy-making process works. The problem is that environmental policy, like many other policies which do not involve pressing political issues, tends to evolve in an incremental fashion over a considerable period of time. This means that major policy innovations are usually the culmination of a lengthy process of negotiation and debate, so that it is difficult to separate the various influences which operate together to shape policy.

One approach to this problem that has been recently suggested is the identification of a "policy community" which is primarily responsible for both the formulation and implementation of policy. To some, this policy community is the natural outcome of the partnership between key interest groups and the relevant organs of government (see for example, Cox, Lowe and Winter, 1986), while to others it is composed of all the specialists in a particular policy area (Kingdon, 1984). These specialists are found both inside and outside government and may include not only politicians, civil servants and members of statutory bodies but also consultants and other advisors, academics and representatives of interest groups. The essence of this approach is that, within the constraints imposed by the contemporary political environment, public policy is seen as emerging from the interaction of the members of the policy community, some of whom are primarily concerned to promote the interests of the groups they represent while others are motivated by more abstract considerations.

Individuals within this policy community but outside the formal machinery of government may influence policy in a number of different ways: through membership of Royal Commissions and Committees of Inquiry, some of which represent major landmarks in the evolution of policy; through appointment as consultants or external advisors to government departments; through membership of standing advisory bodies or departmental committees; through the activities of interest groups, including professional associations and societies; through lectures and conference papers; through publications and the use of the media; through teaching those who become policy-makers; and through interaction with other influential members of the policy community. The majority of individuals who seek to influence policy are active only in some of these ways, but one of the characteristics of those who are regarded as the most influential figures is their presence in most of the arenas where policy is discussed. Indeed, it is likely that, other things being equal, the influence that any individual has may be related to the number of areas in which he is active as well as the length if time over which the influence is exercised.

In the field of environmental planning a good example of someone who, while perhaps not being one of the major figures, was able to exercise significant influence on policy over a considerable period of time is the late Sir Dudley Stamp. Stamp is probably best known for his work within the academic discipline of geography, but his influence can be traced in many other aspects of environmental policy. Like other geographers of his generation, Stamp trained initially as a physical scientist, taking a first in geology and botany at the age of 19. After service in the first world war, he returned to teach at King's College, London where he took another first (in geography) in 1921 and at the same time was awarded a DSc for his geographical work, some of which had been carried out while on army service in France. He then spent 18 months as a field geologist for an oil company in Burma before being invited to become the first Professor of Geology and Geography at the University of Rangoon, a post he held for three years. This early training and experience did much to mould his later approach too environmental problems. In particular, he developed a firm belief in the importance of systematic survey and analysis as an integral part of the planning process and in the need to disseminate the results of his research as widely as possible.

Stamp returned to England to take up a Readership in Economic Geography at the London School of Economics in 1926. Already his writings revealed an awareness of the complexity of environmental problems and the need to adopt an ecological approach to the management of natural resources, yet the project that was to make him an influential figure was relatively modest in scientific terms if ambitious in scope. This was the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain begun in 1930 which recorded the use every piece of land in the country at a scale of six inches to the mile. The survey work itself was carried out at the local level by an army of geographers, including school teachers and their sixth formers, with Stamp himself checking the results on a sample basis. The organisation of such a survey at the national scale was a major task, while the publication of results imposed a heavy financial burden on the Survey. This latter problem, which was a constant source of anxiety, was solved partly by the use of the London School of Economics and other sponsors and partly by the generosity of the royalties from the numerous geography textbooks which Stamp continued to write. As a result, land use data for the whole of Great Britain was eventually published in the form of a series of maps at a scale of one inch to the mile, were supplemented by a series of "County Volumes" which described the pattern of land use in each administrative county. An analysis of the results at the national level was published after the second world war under the title The Land of Britain: Its Use and Misuse (Stamp, 1948).

The value of the data base that was being assembled was not recognised by the government until it was made apparent by the planning needs of the wartime economy, although by the late 1930s the survey results were already being used by Sir Patrick Abercrombie and his associates in the preparation of local planning schemes. At the request of Sir Montague Barlow, Stamp also prepared a special land classification map of England and Wales for use by the Royal Commission on the Geographical Distribution of the Industrial Population. Nevertheless Stamp's formal work for government did not begin until 1941 when he became a member of a short-lived "Consultative Panel" of advisors set up by Lord Reith who had just taken over as Minister of Public Buildings and Works. Almost immediately he was invited to become vice-chairman of the Scott Committee on "Land Utilisation in

Rural Areas" and has been described as its most important member (Wibberley, 1985). Not only did he provide much of the information on which the Committee based its deliberations but he undertook the drafting of the Committee's recommendations which, with their emphasis on the importance of a prosperous rural economy and the need to protect agricultural land from development, were to prove so influential in the introduction of comprehensive town and country planning in the post=war period.

As the Scott Committee was finishing its work in 1942 Stamp was appointed on a part-time basis as Chief Advisor on Rural Land Use to the Ministry of Agriculture, a post he was to hold until 1955. Here he was involved in the establishment of the Central Planning Branch and was responsible for initiating the preparation of the land classification maps which were used in the post-war years to protect high quality agricultural land from urban development. As part of the formal machinery of government he also served on various committees, including the Research Committee of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, and towards the end of his period of office became involved in discussions of world food and agricultural problems culminating in an FAO conference in Rome in 1955 when he led the United Kingdom delegation. After his retirement from the Ministry of Agriculture he continued to serve government in various ways. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Common Land from 1955-7 and was responsible for the 60,000 word appendix to its report which analyses the geographical distribution of common land. In 1958 he became a member of the nature Conservancy and in 1963 was appointed chairman of its Committee for England. Also in 1963 he was appointed chairman of the Natural Resources Advisory Committee of short-lived Ministry of Land and Resources. This long period of service to government was formally recognised by the award of his CBE in 1946 and his knighthood in 1965, both of which were given for services to land.

These bare facts of Stamp's public service, extending over a quarter of a century, clearly suggest that he was a figure of some influence, yet it remains remarkably difficult to evaluate his role in any systematic way. It is not just that the available records about the evolution of agricultural and rural policy in the 1940s and 1950s have not yet been fully explored; in any case, much of what takes place within the machinery of government goes unrecorded. The problem is that, like other influential members of the policy community, the most important manifestations of Stamp's influence were the changes which his views brought about in the ideas and attitudes of others. Similarly he used a variety of methods to disseminate his views and the impact of these resulted more from a cumulative process of persuasion than from any dramatic changes of opinion.

The most lasting record of Stamp's influence is seen in his numerous publications. While still a relatively young man he recognised the urgent need for good textbooks in the expanding discipline of geography and embarked on a prolific publishing career that was to last over 40 years and to make him one of the best-known names in schools not only in Britain but throughout the English-speaking world. At the same time, he produced a constant stream of academic papers, books, reports and monographs in which he set down his views about the planning of land use and other resource problems. Even his numerous book reviews were frequently used to raise issues that particularly concerned him. His influential book of The

Land of Britain has already been mentioned, while shortly after the second world war he joined the Editorial Board of the Collins "New Naturalist" series that did so much to encourage an appreciation of Britain's countryside and to further the cause of conservation in the post war years. Not only was he apparently an active editor but he wrote four of the volumes himself, which reflected his varied interests. These were Britain's Structure and Scenery (1946), Man and the Land (1955), The Common Lands of Britain and Wales (with W G Hoskins) (1963) and Nature Conservation in Britain (1969). He also produced a widely read Penguin Book on Applied Geography (1960), which set down his views on the essential relationship between geography and planning, and Our Underdeveloped World (1953), published in a much revised form as Our Developing World in 1960, which stimulated an awareness of population and resource problems at the world scale.

Stamp was also a popular lecturer who was frequently an invited speaker at special meetings and conferences organised by professional associations and other bodies, which often provided a valuable opportunity to promote the implementation of the polices which he recommended. For example, he travelled widely during the second world war to explain the findings of the Scott Committee to local authorites and other bodies, including addressing a parlimentary group in June 1943. One of his main concerns at this time seems to have been to convince both individual ministers and the government as a whole of the need for physical planning. He was also an enthusiastic user of the media to promote his views. He began writing on resource matters in the serious press during the 1920s, while his collection of press cuttings shows that his lectures were widely reported, not only in Britain but in the numerous other contries which he visited. Similarly he was a regular contributor to the pioneer schools broadcasts of the 1930s and he continued his broadcasting career in the post-war years with appearances ranging from the Brains Trust to Desert Island Discs.

Another way in which Stamp was able to explain his views to others was through his teaching. During most of his career he was an active university teacher and several generations of students, some of whom went on to become significant figures in public life came under his influence. He was appointed to a Chair at the London School of Economics in 1946 and was made Professor of Social Geography two years later, a post that was regarded as a research chair to free him to fulfill his other numerous commitments, although he continued to do some teaching, especially in the field of applied geography. His international reputation also meant that he attracted graduate students from all over the world to LSE, particularly from the Indian sub-continent and the Far East. Many of these returned to become influential figures in their own countries.

Throughout his life Stamp was an enthusiastic and active member of numerous professional associations and societies, attending their conferences, serving on their committees, writing in their journals and, in several cases, being elected as their president. Not only did these bodies bring him into contact with others with a professional interest in environmental questions and provide him with a platform from which to disseminate his view but they could also act as a mechanism by which he could give advice to government. For example, on 15th November 1938 he appeared twice as a witness before the Barlow Commission, once as the Director of the Land Utilisation Survey and once as a representative of the Royal Geographical Society.

A common feature of many of these areas of activity is that they brought Stamp into frequent contact with other influential figures of the day. Indeed one of the main characteristics of the policy community is that there is regular interaction between its members, most of whom know each other very well. From an early age, Stamp seems to have known people important in public life, particularly through his elder brother Sir Josiah (later Lord) Stamp who was Chairman of the LMS Railway and a person of some eminence in the inter-war period. His appointment at LSE also came at a time when there was growing interest in the social sciences and public policy was becoming a matter for serious debate in academic circles. He was keenly aware of the value of involving other influential figures in his enterprises and the Advisory Committee to his Land Utilisation Survey, for example, included Sir Patrick Abercrombie, Sir William Beveridge, Sir E E John Russell, Director of Rothamsted Experimental Station, and the Director of the Ordnance Survey, as well as his elder brother, a Director of ICI and representatives of the Land Agents Society and the County Councils Association. His few surviving papers also suggest that he corresponded regularly with such figures, as well as meeting them in various contexts.

This brief review of Stamp's career leads inevitably to the conclusion that he played an influential role in several of the overlapping policy communities that were responsible for the introduction of environmental planning in Britain, yet it is difficult to present concrete evidence that this was so. Certainly, the report of the Scott Committee, which guided countryside policy for over 40 years, remains a lasting memorial to his work, while his promotion of land classification as a land management tool clearly had a significant impact on the post-war development of town and country planning. Yet it is equally clear that his influence was also felt in many other areas where its impact is less readily apparent. It has already been suggested that whatever influence he had stemmed from his use of persuasive argument based on solid research results to change the views of others. This occurred as a result both of the public dissemination of his views and the informal contacts, both inside and outside government, which he had with other members of the policy community. Such contacts did not take place in isolation but were part of a constant process of interaction that involved a large number of individuals. Those within the policy community interact with each other frequently and in various ways, but most of this interaction is not recorded, except in the diaries of participants. Stamp's unpublished autobiography records that, together with Lord Justice Scott, he gave informal advice on the definition of developed land (which was apparently not taken) to Mr Justice Uthwatt, who was then Chairman of the Expert Committee on Compensation and Betterment. Similarly, he notes attending a conference in the Lake District with John Dower in 1942, but gives no indication of what they discussed. All this suggests that if we are to understand the evolution policy in Britain, more work needs to be done on both the delimination of the policy community and on its internal workings. In particular, we need o devise techniques for disentangling the influence of its individual members from what is an extremely complex pattern of relationships.

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M R G Conzen and the intellectual parentage of morphology

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M R G Conzen takes exception to the use of the term 'Conzenian' to describe the distinctive school of urban morphology that has belatedly stemmed from his work (1). The antithesis of the academic entrepreneur, Conzen has only with difficulty been persuaded to publish even the most exhaustively researched aspects of his work. Until the reprinting of a selection of his papers by the Institute of British Geographers in 1981 (4), few of his writings had appeared in the most prominent academic serials. Furthermore, Conzen's unusual degree of detachment from the introspections of the English-speaking world and its intellectual fashions has located him at some distance from the mainstreams of his academic discipline, geography. These same characteristics have also greatly reduced the chances of his ideas reaching the planning profession, of which he was for some years a practioner, despite the pertinence of parts of his work, especially on townscape management, to practising planners. Now eighty years of age, Conzen and his work are the object of increased interest among scholars concerned with the historical development and management of the urban landscape. As an aid to an assessment of his work, this note provides a thumbnail biographical sketch of Conzen, emphasising the major influence upon him of the central European intellectual environment of the inter-war years.

The son of a sculptor, Conzen was born in Berlin in 1907. He began his training in the Geographical Institute in the University of Berlin in 1926, one year before the retirement of Albrecht Penck and at a time of increasing intellectual ferment in urban geography. It is important to appreciate how different this millieu was from that provided anywhere in the English-speaking world. Already there existed in central Europe a generally sympathetic environment for settlement studies well beyond the universities. Some of the earlier academic work on settlements produced in disciplines such as geography, history and architecture had filtured through to the schools and the general public in a variety of publications. The comparatively early and sustained interest within the German-speaking countries in the town as a physical entity should be viewed in this light. A further general consideration is the breadth of perspective that German-speaking geographers were capable of bringing to bear on their research. This

is germane both to an understanding of Conzen's early intellectual development and to an explanation of the fundamental nature of the contributions to urban morphology that emanated from central Europe during the first four decades of this century. Hans Bobek, for example, whose study of Innsbruck, published in 1928, would not have seemed conceptually out of date if it appeared 30 years later in the English-speaking literature (3), also undertook extensive research in geomorphology, ecology and the geography of agriculture (4). This was not an eclecticism stemming from an original training in another discipline, for, unlike the English-speaking countries, it was already normal in the 1920's for young geographers in central Europe to have undergone a university training in geography; rather it was a more integrated view of the discipline than was prevalent in Britain and America. Thus it was not an anachronism that Herbert Louis, a contemporary and colleague of Bobek in the Geographical Institute in the University of Berlin in the early 1930s and subsequently internationally renowned as a geomorphologist, should have published a paper in 1936 that sowed the seed of an idea that was later to be developed by Conzen into a foundation for theoretical work on the development of the physical form of towns and cities (5).

As a student in Berlin, Conzen attended the lectures and field seminars of, among others, Penck, Norbert Krebs,. Carl Toll, Louis and Bobek, and was thus able to experience the full intellectual vigour that characterised the Geographical Institute in Berlin at its zenith. In this general context, he soon came to acquire a special interest in Otto Schluter's morphological approach to Kulturgeographie, the analogy in geomorphology, particularly in terms of the search for processes and the forces underlying them, having been well demonstrated to him by Louis's research excursions. He became interested in the morphology of the cultural landscape, increasingly concentrating his attention on settlements (6), and ultimately towns, stimulated in particular by Bobek's field seminars. Attendance at the seminars in historical geography held jointly by the historian Vogel, the local economic historian Hoppe and the geologist Solger ensured an interdisciplinary perspective. This intellectual inheritance was fundamental to the type of urban morphology that Cozen was later to introduce into Britain.

Conzen's formative years in central Europe ended abruptly in 1933. Propelled to Britain by political events in Germany, his geograpical career had of necessity to be interrupted. But the opportunity arose to train for a career in town and country planning at the University of Manchester. This led to a spell of four years as a practising plannner in north-west England. Having responsibility for the day-to-day work of a planning consultant's office and being in charge of a planning staff of from eight to twelve people, he dealt with, or supervised, the planning treatment of the continuous stream of building applications over a diverse area. But his interest in theoretical questions that had been stimulated in Berlin was by no means lost. He was much concerned with what was to him an appalling lack of any coherent conceptual or theoretical foundation for planning at that time. He attempted to devise a framework for the organisation of planning science (7). This exhibited his concern for concept formulation and the systemisation of relationships. Both characteristics stemmed naturally from his training in Berlin and were reflected at a more obvious level in the quest for terminological precision.

When the Second World War brought town and country planning to a halt, Conzen returned to Manchester University for simultaneous part-time work in the temporary Research Group on Rural Planning, set up by R A Cordingley, and in the Department of Geography. For the former his work included the translation of excerpts from Christaller's monograph on the central places of southern Germany. In the latter he held a temporary lecturing appointment whilst simultaneously preparing his MA thesis on the early historical geography of East Prussia with emphasis on the medieval German colonistaion. The sensitivity to topographical detail, and particularly to the historical layering in the landscape, that were brought together in an integrated cartographic expression in this paper were to become hallmarks of his work. A map showing the progress of German colonisation (8) by means of what he termed 'isostades' (lines of equal stage) is of particular methodological interest.

During this period Conzen began to familiarise himself with the form of the British town by a series of standardised reconnaisance surveys of individual towns that were small enough to enable him to carry out complete plot-by-plot surveys single-handed in one or two days. In each case the record comprised land and building utilisation, building type of the plot dominant or dominants, building materials of walls, building materials of roofs, and a number of storeys. The results for each town were represented on five maps, four of them polychrome and one monochrome, at the scale of 1/2500. The towns surveyed during the war were Frodsham, Conway and Ludlow. To be followed during the late 1940s by Newton Stewart, Wigtown, Whithorn and Pickering. Some of this map material has been incorporated in monochrome form in later publications, but most of it has never been published.

After the war Conzen moved to the Geography Department at King's College, Newcastle (later to be the University of Newcastle upon Tyne) where, apart from visiting appointments abroad, he was to spend the rest of his professional career. The surrounding area became his laboratory. In 1949, in association with a paper on settlements in north-eastern England, he published a map of settlement types over the whole of that region (9). This showed symbolically the complete range of morphological types from isolated farmsteads to subdivisions of urban areas (involving several thousand settlements in total) classified by form and period characteristics. This has been without parallel in the English-speaking world. Its direct antecedent is Conzen's Staatsexamen map of 1931 (10).

Conzen's continuing interest in the link between geography and planning in the 1950s was reflected in his Geographie und Landesplanung (11), but it received its most developed expression in A Survey of Whitby, published in 1958. Here he made a major contribution to an investigation undertaken in order to provide a basis for an integrated plan for the town of Whitby in Yorkshire (12). The result was both a unique record of the building types and land and building utilisation of a whole town, and a demonstration of how a detailed elucidation of a town's physical development can form the basis for townscape conservation.

Key features of the Whitby study are two large maps, one of building types and the other of land and building utilisation, in which a number of cartographic innovations were made possible by the rare opportunity of being able to print in six colours at the large-scale of

1/2609. These maps were a great advance on much earlier ones produced by Hassinger (13) and Geisler (14). For subsequent work that is at all comparable in terms of its morphological purpose it is necessary to look again at central Europe, notably to Bobek and Lichtenberger's major study of Vienna (15).

As well as being an important contribution to urban morphology, the study of Whitby suggested a number of bases for a strategy for townscape conservation. Pride of place was given to the role of the townscape in providing a community with a sense of continuity. In Cozen's words, the townscape

> 'is an educational asset capable of introducing the younger generation into the life of its own community by one of the most impressive methods, the visual one. It put's the present generation and its work into an historic context and in the material residue left in the townscape by the labours of the past, provides object lessons in achievements as well as in failures. Thereby it helps to create a sense of that humanity which cares for the efforts of others and has a thought for future generations when shaping its own work'. (16)

It is salutary to realise that this statement immediately pre-dated the main wave of post-wave central redevelopment in British towns and cities that was to damage irreparably a major part of that country's townscape heritage.

In spite of this work the mood in geographical urban morphology in the 1950s outside the German-speaking countries was not conducive to a through-going morphogenetic approach. In America urban morphology scarcely existed as a research field, except in the form of land-use studies. In Britain a concern with the descriptive classification of existing townscapes tended to hold sway (17). The appearance of Conzen's classic monograph Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study in Town-Plan Analysis in 1960 was therefore a singular event (18). Its achievements can be summarised under five heads: first, the development of a framework of principles for urban morphology, including the now widely accepted threefold division of the townscape into town plan, building forms and land use; secondly, the adoption of a thorough-going evolutionary approach; thirdly, the recognition of individual plots as the fundamental units of analysis; fourthly, the use of detailed cartograpical analysis, employing large-scale plans in conjunction with field survey and documentary evidence; and fifthly, the conceptualisation of developments in the townscape. The German academic tradition from which the study sprang is manifest in each one of these respects, yet in what is achieved the study goes far beyond any previous investigations in this field in German, or any other language.

Conzen's conceptualisation of the town plan have a variety of derivations. Occasionally a concept, of a term used to describe it, can be related directly to earlier German studies. The term 'urban fallow', derived from Hartke's Sozialbrache (19) is a case in point, as is the fringe-belt concept, which Conzen developed out of the Stadtrandzonen identified by Louis in Berlin (20). The burgage cycle, relating to the progressive building over of the principle plots within medieval towns and their ultimate clearance prior to redevelopment, was a new concept, though consistent with the German research tradition in which Conzen grew up.

The plan units identified by Conzen in Alnwick and subsequently in other urban areas, including central Newcastle upon Tyne (21), are not only crucial for the elucidation of the town plan but also, as became clear in two later papers on applied townscape analysis, in the search for a theoretical basis for townscape conservation (22). By combining plan units with units based upon the building fabric and the pattern of land utilisation, Conzen identified morphological regions: an approach having its antecedents in extensive discusions among German-speaking geographers on the theory of regionalisation. Conzen's method, namely deriving a hierarchy of morphological divisions from the degree of boundary coincidence between the three basic form complexes of the townscape, is the same in principle as that employed by Grano in his experiment on a much larger regional scale (23). The recognition of morphological regions according to academic criteria became for Crozen a practical device for establishing guide-lines for townscape management. Fundamental to this perspective is the concept of the 'objectivation of the spirit' of a place, derived from studies of the philosophy of culture by German philosophers such as Freyer and Spranger (24). Applying this concept to the form of urban areas, and developing a theme introduced in his Whitby study, Conzen observed that townscapes embodys not only the efforts and aspirations of the people occupying them at present, but also those of their predecessors. This enables individuals and groups to take root in an area. They acquire a sense of the historical dimension of human experience, which stimulates comparison and encourages a less time-bound and more integrated approach to contemporary problems. Landscapes with a high degree of expressiveness of past societies exert a particularly strong educative and regenerative influence in this way. It is in his consideration of the intellectual benefits of the objectivation of the spirit and how the historical expressiveness of the landscape may be assessed that Conzen's practical contribution is particularly important: these two aspects constitute fundamental prerequisites for a proper strategy for townscape conservation. Conzen showed how in this context morphological regions can provide a link between morphological concepts and planning practice.

Though he retired from the University of Newcastle upon Tyne some 15 years ago, Conzen still spends long hours in his study. As ever, it is rare for him to be persuaded to commit the fruits of his labours to print (25). But the body of work founded on his perspective is now sizeable. It is well illustrated in the town-plan analyses of Slater (26). Nevertheless, the appreciation of Conzen's (27) work has suffered from a lack of understanding of its central European intellectual parentage in a world dominated by Anglo-American perspectives. It is hoped that this biographical note will provide a background against which his work can be better understood. A fuller account, from which much of this note is drawn, is provided in a Special Publication of the Institute of British Geographers devoted entirely to Conzen's work. More recently a video-recording has been made of an interview with Conzen about his life and work. It is being shown and discussed at the Annual Conference of the Institute of British Geographers at Loughborough in January 1988 and will shortly be available on loan (28). It will make accessible to a wider audience the career if an exceptional scholar whose work is not only of major significance in itself but provides a rare entree into an intellectual tradition that is comparatively unknown in the English-speaking world.

Footnotes

1. Parts of this paper are based on personal communication with MRG Conzen, especially in 1980 and 1981. Where this is the case separate footnotes are not provided.

2. JWR Whitehand (ed) The Urban Landscape. Historical Development and Management Papers by MRG Conzen, Institutes of British Geographers Special Pulication No 13 (london, 1981)

3. H Bobek, Innsbruck: eine Gebirgsstadt, ihr Lebensraum und ihre Erscheinung (Stuttgart, 1928)

4. RE Dickinson, The Makers of Modern Geography, (London, 1969), 167-168

5. H Louis, "Die geographische Glisderung von Gross-Berlin", Landerkundliche Forschung Krebs-Festschrift (1936), 146-171

6. MRG Conzen, "Landliche und stadtische Siedlungsgrundrisse in der Mark Brandenburg", unpubl. Staatsexmen map (1931) (with explanation 26pp) MS map collection, Geographical Institute, University of Berlin

7. MRG Conzen, "Towards a systematic approach in planning science: geoproscopy", Town Planning Review, 18, (1938), 1-26

8. MRG Conzen, "East Prussia: some aspects of its historical geography", Geography, 30, (1945), 1-10

9. MRG Conzen, "Modern Settlement", in PCG Issac and REA Allen (eds) Scientific Survey of North-Eastern England, (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1949)

10. Conzen, Staatsexamen map, op cit (note 6)

11. MRG Conzen, Geographie und Landseplanung in England, Colloquium Geographicum, 2 (Bonn, 1952)

12. MRG Conzen, "The growth and character of Whitby", in GHJ Daysh (ed), A Survey of Whitby and Surrounding Area, (Eton, 1958), 49-89

13. A Hassinger, Kunsthistorischer Atlas vin Wien, Osterreichische Kunsttopographie 15, (Vienna, 1916)

14. W Geisler, Danzig: ein siedlungsgeographischer Versuch, (Danzig, 1918)

15. H Bobek and E Lichtenbergr, Wien: Bauliche Gestalt und Entwicklung seit der Mitte des 19 Jahrhunderts, (Graz, 1966), see also E Lichtenberger, Die Wiener Altstadt: von der mittelalterlichen Burgerstadt zur City, (Vienna, 1977) Kartenband

16. Conzen, "The growth and character of Whitby", op cit (note 12), 78

17. For example, AE Smailes, "Some reflections on the geographical description and analysis of townscapes", Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 21, (1955), 99-115; MB Stedman, "The townscape of Birmingham", Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 25, (1958), 225-238

18. MRG Conzen, Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study in Town-Plan Analysis, Institute of British Geographers Publication No 27 (London, 1960)

19. W Hartke, "Die soziale Differenzierung der Agrarlandschaft in Rhein-Main-Gebiet", Erdkunde, 7, (1953), 13-22' W Hartke, Die Sozialbrache als Phanomen der geographischen Differenzierung der Lanndscahft", Erdkunde, 10, (1956), 257-269

20. Louis, op cit

21. MRG Conzen, "The plan analysis of an English city centre", in K Norborg (ed), Proceedings of teh IGU Symposium in Urban Geography Lund 1960, (Lund, 1962), 383-414

22. MRG Conzen, "Historical townscapes in Britain: a problem in applied geography", in JW House (ed), Northern Geographical Essays in Honour of GH Daysh, (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1966), 56-78; MRG Conzen, "Geography and townscape conservation", in H Uhlig and C Lienau (eds), Anglo-German Symposium in Applied Geography, Giessen-Wurzburg-Munchen, 1977 (Giessen, 1975), 95-102

23. JG Grano, "Reine Geographie: eine methodologische Studie beleuchtet mit Beispielen aus Finnland und Estland;, Acta geographica Helsinfors, 2 (1929), 1-202

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Conservation and Evolution: The Pioneering Work of Sir Partick Geddes in Jerusalem, 1919-1925

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Patrick Geddes (born 1854, died 1932) dedicated his life to discovering and nurturing the best trends in social evolution (1). Since his early studies in the natural sciences under T H Huxley, he had become fascinated by the problems involved in utilising the biological concept of evolution as a basis for the study of the social sciences. His aim was not so much to find an overarching philosophical theory, as to discover a guide to practical actions to meet modern needs. He believed that the greatest challenge of the twentieth century was to respond to the social implications of the concept of evolution. As science and technology were transforming man's control over his environment (and Geddes belonged to the first generation who experienced mass urbanisation and the growth of a modern world economy), ways of adapting to these changes became ever more crucial. The outcome could either be the greatest step forward humanity had ever taken or the most catastrophic disaster. The evolutionary message was quite clear.

The problem was where to begin. What Geddes set out to do was to find new ways of seeing and thinking about the world and to bring those who would listen to him to a new perspective on present problems. He believed that goals of contemporary politics were too short term. He had lived through the period of the 1880s and 1890s in Great Britain when capitalism had appeared to be failing and the great debate between the relative values of capitalism and socialism. He wrote a number of articles suggesting the debate was largely irrelevant, able to flourish on an abstract level which had little to do with key practical problems such as how to apply modern knowledge for the maximum benefit of humanity, present and future (2). In the aftermath of the First World War, Geddes lost patience with politics altogther. For years he had been working to achieve the necessary new perspective with his Cities and Town-Planning Exhibition and his work for educational reform. He saw a way to encouraging the most favourable evolutionary trends in the subtle interaction of environment/organism/function by developing studies of geographical regions. He wanted a reform of University education which would produce young people willing and able to undertake reconstruction work in cities and their regions. He became a campaigner for Civic Reconstruction and Regional Survey (3).

This approach proved to be an inspiration to a number of people: in Europe, America and the East, who were striving in different ways to apply modern knowledge. Geddes' work was to become a reference point for the modern town-planning movement: in 1913, his exhibit at the so-called First International Congress of Town-Planning and City Life at Ghent won the Gold Medal; in 1919, he played an important part in the morale-boosting 'Exposition de la Ville Reconstituee' held in Paris. But Geddes' ideas were not always easy to grasp, partly because the task he had set himself was so huge, partly because he was not able to express himself clearly. During the war, however, he had been invited to India with his Cities and Town-Planning Exhibition and this had led to a number of commissions to undertake planning schemes. Geddes was able to put his ideas across much more clearly in the context of his planning reports. In the most detailed of these, his plan for Indore of 1918, Geddes included not only his plans but also his social philosophy and detailed discussion for a new university of

Indore which incorporated his controversial evolutionary ideas for University reform. In 1918, the Zionist Commission was looking for expert help with the project for a Hebrew University at Jerusalem. David Eder saw the Indore report, was impressed by it and convinced his colleagues that Geddes was the man they needed (4). Thus, at the age of 65, Geddes began the association with Jerusalem and Palestine which he belived was, potentially, the most exciting of his life.

He was particularly delighted about the prospect of working in Palestine because as an evolutionist, Geddes was a cultural planner. The objective of Regional Survey and Civic Reconstruction was to find ways of adapting modern techniques and knowledge within the framework of existing culture (5). The most favourable evolutionary trends for the future were the best cultural traditions of the past, reinterpreted in a modern context. What Geddes sought was to find the means of enabling those within a specific cultural tradition to reach their fullest potential development whilst at the same time living in harmony and unity in a multi-cultural environment. He believed an understanding and love for city and region was the means for doing this. Jerusalem and Palestine provided him with one of the world's richest cultural regions and one where the prospects for peaceful cultural coexistence were most difficult. It was a challenge which elated him.

Geddes travelled to Palestine in the late summer of 1919 in the company of Dr Weizmann who had joined the ship at Marsailles. They spent the time together in passionate discussion about the problems of the Hebrew University and the problems of regional development in Palestine (6). Furthermore, there was the future of Jerusalem. Since the British had become responsible for the Mandate in Palestine, a military government had administered the city. Its first actions had been laudable. The military commander in Jerusalem, General Storrs, had set army engineers to improve the water supply to the city and to introduce a sewerage system. In April 1918, the famous bye-law was instituted which forbade the use of any other building material than the local stone (7). In 1919, Storrs had invited Mr McClean, the municipal engineer in Alexandria and Cairo to submit a town plan for the city's future development. This plan, however, exhibited at the Royal Academy in London, had been greatly criticised especially by H V Lanchester, former Vice-Pesident of the Royal Institute of British Architects and experienced town-planner. Lanchester had been working in India with Geddes over the past five years and was a spokesman for the Geddesian approach (8). Whilst Geddes had been invited to Jersalem by the Zionist Commission, Storrs was willing to commission him to comment on and amend the McClean Plan.

Geddes' method of working was to start with the history and geography of a place (9). He collected all available material on these subjects and was especially interested in juxtaposiing old maps alongside new ones. In the case of Jerusalem such an exercise was for him a deeply emotional experience. He had written in a letter to a friend in 1913: "the great example, the classic instance of city renewal (beyond even those of ancient Rome and ancient Athens) is that of the rebuilding of Jerusalem; and my particular civic interests owe more to my boyish familiarity with the building of Solomon's Temple, and with the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, that to anything else in literature. Jews probably know more or less how the Old Testament has dominated Scottish education and religion for centuries; these were above all the stories which fascinated me as a youngster; and though I lapsed from the church of my fathers well-nigh forty years ago, I still

feel these as the great example for the Town Planning Exhibition!" (10). Geddes found his emotional response more than matched by the members of the Zionist Commission and this gave him great hope. He believed that the path to the new perspective he wanted people to adopt had to be based on emotional commitment. As a student of the evolution of the human mind, Geddes was convinced that new truths had to be felt before they could be understood. The rapport he achieved with Dr David Eder was to some extent based on Geddes' deep interest in the new sciences of psychology of which Eder was the first practitioner in England. Geddes felt that his doctrine of Civic Reconstruction could draw on the emotional commitment of the Zionist movement for the benefits of all concerned.

Geddes thus approached his work in Jerusalem with a great respect for the city's culture and heritage. On arrival, he stayed with the Eder family and he spent most of his first few weeks just roaming around the city, touching a stone here, looking down an alley there. He dragged the Eders from their beds at dawn to view the city in the special light of day break. He inspired all he met with his entusiasm, knowledge and energy (11). His appreciation of the key importance of culture in social evolution made him particularly sensitive to the problems of conservation. He was also convinced that clumsy handling of the urban fabric would not only destroy the city's heritage, it would also destroy the hope of peaceful social evolution in the future. This was why he believed that town-planning and reconstruction was such an important task. Geddes' response to the McClean plan for the city was two-fold. He wanted to reinforce those elements of the plan which conserved the old city and he wanted to ensure that the new suburbs should be laid out according to the natural contours of the site with a proper regard for the climatic conditions and the cultural aspirations of the prospective inhabitants. McClean's suburbs had been planned on a model which might have been appropriate to the new suburbs of, for example, Chicago, with little regard to the special nature of Jerusalem. As for the old city, Geddes wanted the first step to be an accurate exploration of the ancient sites, especially the buried city of David which he wanted to have excavated. Always practical, he suggested the soil, when removed, should be taken down to the valley to improve the prospects of establishing parks and gardens. The old city should be cleansed and restored with as little alteration as possible (12) and he endorsed McClean's idea to place a park around the walls to make a clear distinction between old and new.

Geddes completed his report on "Jerusalem Actual and Possible: a preliminary report to the Military Governor of Jerusalem" in November 1919. He was not able to follow up his work because of his commitments in India. He had just been made the first teaching Professor at the newly recognised University of Bombay and one of the first professors of social science in India. He had a special arrangement with the University which committed him to teach for only four months each year to leave him free for his Civic Reconstruction work. Yet this did not leave him free enough to take the post of Civic Advisor, first to the Pro-Jerusalem Society and then to the Jerusalem Town-Planning Committee set up by the Civil Administration under Samuel. These posts went to C R Ashbee who, whilst sympathetic to Geddes' ideas, was more interested in reviving and reestablishing ancient Arts and Crafts in the city, such as the Armenian potteries, devoted to producing tiles for the restoration of the Mosque of Omar (13). When Geddes returned again to Palestine in 1920 and 1925, he devoted his time, apart from the University project, to planning the growing settlements and colonies at Haifa and Tel-Aviv, Jaffa and Tiberias. For him, civic

reconstruction was not a mere matter of town-planning alone. The city and its entire region had to be seen as an integrated whole and the Zionist Commission's responsibility for Jewish settlements gave him a chance to work on a regional scale.

The work which he valued, however, above all else, was the planning of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In the extremely delicate political situation in the aftermath of the First World War, the Zionists were constrained in all their actions and the project of the university became a talisman of their dedication to their cause (14). The enormous problems of an unsettled politcal future, few resources, language difficulties and uncertainty as to the kind of institution most appropriate to these circumstances, did not deter Dr Weizmann and his strongest supporter, Dr Eder from going ahead with this project. The foundation stones had been laid. Such evidence of faith appealed to Geddes and he was undeterred by the uncertainties. He saw this project as the ideal opportunity of a life-time: a chance to test his life-long campaign to recreate universities as the spearhead of the twentieth century response to social evolution in an experimental cultural environment. His imagination was fired by the proposed site for the University on Mount Scopus and he set to work to produce a plan which would do justice to the site, would embody his ideal of a modern university and which would make economical use of the resources available whilst allowing for maximum flexibility for future development.

Geddes' view of a University was different from the conventional one in three main respects. He wanted students to undertake practical work alongside their book learning as modern theories of the learning process stressed the importance of observation and experience in furthering new knowledge. Secondly, he wanted the range of subjects studied to be wide, to include not only the arts, sciences and medicine, but also the social sciences and practical subjects such as Engineering, Architecture, Agriculture, Forestry, Medicine (for the health of the people) and his own subject, Civics (for the health of the community). Thirdly, he wanted the university to be an integral part of the life of the city. He wanted to build a village to house the staff and a dormitory village for students. The practical expertise that would be found at this new style university would generate industrial villages and workshops. Geddes suggested printing could be established (especially in view of the need to create an academic library in Hebrew); there would be engineering workshops: units producing scientific instruments and pharmeceutical goods; and workshops for craftsmen engaged in reconstruction work. Such activities would provide a much needed stimulus to the city's economic life, whilst the city could contribute to the cultural environment needed to nurture an institution of higher learning. The relationship between town and gown was a symbiotic one of mutual advantage to both.

The site chosen on Mount Scopus had problems as well as possibilities. The summit had only a restricted area of level ground and the perimeter of the proposed university had to be contained within the boundaries of the old house, Gray Hill House, and its estate leased by the Zionists under special arrangements with the owners (15). Geddes wanted his university to both inspire the city of Jerusalem and be part of it. He sought to do this through design, function and organisation. As far as design was concerned, he immediately engaged the services of the engineer to the Zionist Commission to produce accurate contour maps of Mount Scopus. He had brought his architect

son-in-law, Frank Mears, with him from Edinburgh and he endlessly discussed with him how the design might reflect the best drawings of his life joining Geddes over the next decade in all the vicissitudes of the university's inception and development, fighting to get at least some of their plans realised.

The major problem which confronted them at this early stage was how much of the proposed university should have detailed designs. Geddes decided it must be the entire campus, not because this was realisable in the near future, but because this was to be a new project and it was important to establish the spirit of the institution right from the start. His argument was that his design did not preclude a much more modest start which could be made with existing buildings (Gray Hill House and its outbuildings). He was also anxious that the grand design should not be seen as a blueprint for the future. Future needs may demand modifications both great and small. But Geddes wanted this university to be a mobilisation of intellectual and educational forces upon the fullest scale: he suggested the setting up of a University Bureau to collect and annotate the developments taking place in universities all over the worls. He had, however, already decided on the organisation and function of the university. It was to provide the skilled man-power to revitalise city and region. Everything about the plan was intended to convey this message, both symbolically in design and in the practical arrangements made for different studies. Some buildings, such as the Medical Institute, were located not on the Mount Scopus site but in the city close to the people and the existing hospitals.

On the Mount Scopus site itself, however, Geddes' imagination was allowed full rein. He placed the academic buildings on the summit of the hill and villages for staff, dormitory villages for students and industrial villages for workers and craftsmen on the lower slopes. The academic buildings ressembled in the form an echo of the old city of Jerusalem, secure within its walls. They were grouped around a central feature, a great hall. The sciences were together in one wing to aid the process of fruitful academic interaction and Geddes wanted facilities for subjects which were still in their infancy as well as the more established one. His plans included chemistry, physics, mathematics, mechanics, physiology, experimental psychology, anatomy, bacteriology, botany and zoology. The humanities wing included not only a library for the study of the creative arts, history and languages but also educaional museums designed to promote the practical exploration of cultural evolution within different societies. At the apex of the plan were the departments of philosophy and sociology disciplines, which in Geddes' view, drew upon and coordinated all the rest. The key to the future of modern knowledge which would cross-fertilise the developments in separate disciplines.

The symbol of these ambitious aspirations was to be an architectural feature, a great dome, raised over the roof of the university's central hall. For Geddes, the great dome was the most exciting and significant part of the whole plan. The dome was designed to be the biggest in the world at that time; a feat made possible by the judicious use of the new material, ferro-conctete, which had only begun to be used extensively as a building material during the First World War. Geddes was passionately committed to the idea of a great dome as opposed to a tower which he considered totally inappropriate on both cultural and aesthetic grounds. He wanted to stimulate a new school a new school of Palestinian architecture in harmony with the old, yet using modern techniques and fulfilling modern demands. Geddes

envisaged that under the dome would flourish the informal life of the university. People would meet in the great hall as they met in the quadrangles of Oxford and Cambridge. It would be cool in summer and warm in winter, perfectly suited to the climatic conditions. Formally, it would be used for the great academic occasions and for concerts of music. Whilst its formal and informal role in university life was to nurture the intellect and spirit, underneath the hall Geddes planned to nurture the body. There was to be a lower floor devoted to a gymnasium and swimming bath which would not only contribute to the physical well-being of the academic community, it would also raise up the dome even higher off the ground and make it more visually dominant.

The great dome was to be echoed by a number of smaller domes on other buildings, the whole aiming to provide a spectacular skyline to Mount Scopus. Geddes had a great block of local stone shipped to London to be made into a model of the whole university by a Jewish sculptor. Photographs of this model appeared in architectural magazines and drawings were taken to America by Dr Weizmann in 1921, on his delicate political mission to the American Zionists (16). Geddes' and Mears' designs provided him with the most tangible part of his schemes for the future at a critical moment in the propaganda campaign. Although fully occupied with these problems, Weizmann always hoped that the funds would be forthcoming to build the great dome. But the money never materialised, and the development of the university continued in a piecemeal fashion. Geddes was very disappointed when he came back to Jerusalem in 1920 to find not only the optimism over the whole project flagging but also considerable wasteful expenditure on the old house expressly against his recommendations. He concentrated his engergies instead on town-planning activities, preventing the building of military barracks on two prime sites in Jerusalem and working in the small town of Haifa (17).

The problems surrounding the founding of the university had become extreme. There was not only the political uncertainty of the Mandate and rioting in the area, there was also deep divisions between the Zionist supporters of the scheme. A central issue was language which was part of the larger debate about the cultural function of the university as the preserver and continuator of Jewish cultural traditions. Weizmann became estranged to some extent from the governing board of the university and Geddes and Mears found themselves trying to please many masters with ever decreasing success (18). Geddes was invited back to the opening of the university by Lord Balfour in 1925. It revived his hopes about the great dome. But the first proposal after the official opening was for a library to supplement the first three insitutes of chemistry, medicine and Jewish culture. The work of Geddes and Mears was passed over on the grounds that they were not Jewish. To overcome this problem, Mears went into partnership with Benjamin Chaikin who was sympathetic to the Geddes/Mears ideas of creating a modern version of old established architectural forms and was prepared to supervise work in the absence of his British partners (19). On the strength of this support, Mears' plan for the library was accepted and built, the only part of the original plan ever to be realised.

The result of all Geddes' work, hopes and enthusiasm was thus minimal. Geddes and Mears did not accept defeat readily and hopes flickered intermittently of achieving more over the last years of the 1920s. They were finally extinguished only by the Wall Street crash of October, 1929 and the onset of world economic depression. Geddes was deeply disappointed but generally undeterred. The prospect of a new

Jerusalem and a new Israel had drawn him like a magnet, not only because of the historical and cultural context but also because of the emotional commitment of the Zionist pioneers. Much of his work in the West Indies and India had gone unrewarded as he had never been able to get what he wanted from his audiences and fellow workers, that emotional responses would open their eyes to the inmportance of the work of civic and regional reconstruction. But he recognised just this kind of commitment in the Zionist movement. It was like balm to him in the mood of general disillusionment with ideas of peaceful progress to the future brought by the aftermath of the First World War and the world-wide economic and political problems. The aim of the Zionists of applying modern knowledge to the economic and social problems of a Middle Eastern country was exactly what Geddes meant by reconstruction doctrine. His life's work and experience uniquely fitted him to help in this task. As Geddes wrote to David Eder: "You would be amused by the way in which one of my many affirmations of Zionism turns the flank of some of your enemies - when I explain Zionism as turning from (or rather getting beyond) recent and present Jewish leadership in science, finances and politics etc., etc., to that of Regionalism - as antidote to the Statist and Imperialist centralisation from which great capitals ruin their provinces. The Holy Land, the Sacred City are not these, unless they can be got into harmonious progress, the Eutopia of Man today? And the true after-war campaign ... " (20).

Footnotes

(1) For a brief survey of his life, see Helen Meller "Patrick Geddes 1854-1932" in G Cherry (ed) Pioneers in British Planning (London), The Architectural Press, 1981

(2) Some of Geddes' early pamphlets containing arguments along these lines include: "John Ruskin, Economist", (1884); "Conditions of the Progress of the Capitalist and of the Labourer", (1886); "Cooperation versus Socialism", (1888); "Education for Economics and Citizenship" (1895)

(3) The Regional Survey Association of Great Britain developed from some lectures held at Geddes' civic museum, the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh, in the last years before the First World War. Geddes tried unsuccessfully to get the Regional Association affiliated to the League of Nations in 1919. He was able to influence Lewis Mumford, Benton McKaye and other Americans of the Regional Association of America

(4) Letter from M D Eder to P Geddes 11th May 1919. Central Zionist Archieves, Jerusalem. Ms Z4/1721

(5) An early effort to state his position clearly is to be found in his address to the first two conferences of the British Sociological Society in 1904 and 1905, "Civics: as applied sociology, Parts I and II", reprinted in Helen Meller (ed) The Ideal City (Leicester) Leciester University Press, 1979

(6) Letters in Geddes Collection, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Ms 10516

(7) "The basis of building and town planning control dates from a Public Notice No 34 of April 8, 1918 in which it was forbidden to demolish erect, alter or repair the structure of any building in or near Jerusalem without my permission in writing ... This was shortly

followed by another forbidding the use of stucco and corrugated iron within the ancient city. Both these materials were and are inexcusable. Jerusalem is literally a city built upon a rock ... A third Notice absolutely prohibited advertisements ... " R Storrs Orientations (London) Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1937, p363

(8) He had been appointed the first Town Planning Officer to the Madras Presidency in 1915 and had set up an architectural practise in Lucknow

(9) He explains this most clearly in his account of his work in Edinburgh: "Edinburgh and its Region, Geographical and Historical" in the Scottish Geographical Magazine vol 18, 1902 p302

(10) Quoted in A Defries The Interpreter Geddes: the Man and his Gospel (London) Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1927 p260

(11) Confirmed in an interview in 1971 with the now late Lord Norman Bentwich

(12) The technique he described as "conservative surgery". It meant cleansing, paving streets, lime-washing and repairing all but the totally derelict property which should be removed, leaving small open spaces

(13) For an excellent account of Ashbee's work in Jerusalem see A Crawford C R Ashbee: Architect, Designer and Romantic Socialist (New Haven, Yale University Press 1986) pp173-195

(14) In his speech at the laying of the foundation stones, Dr Weizmann spoke of the University project as 'the Jewish Dreadnought' Official History of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

(15) Under the terms of the British Mandate, the Zionist Commission was not allowed to purchase land. This became a serious matter in the late 1920s when the original lessors of the Gray Hill House estate became advanced in years and the university had no leagal secturiy over the land

(16) Although elected President of the World Zionist Organisation in 1920, Weizmann was at loggerheads with the leading American Zionist, Brandeis on the question of how the funds raised for the Jews in Palestine should be properly used. The University project offered some neutral territory and received some American support

(17) He was pleased to have been able to prevent the construction of two military camps on prime sites, one on Mount Scopus and one on the Bethlehem road from Jerusalem. He suggested his visit in 1920 was worth it on that score alone. Letter from P G 4th Jan 1921, Geddes Collection, Edingurgh Ms 10516

(18) Dr Magnes, the American Zionist, was appointed secretary to the Board of Governors of the University and Geddes and Mears found that his views on their work differed considerably from those of Dr Weizmann

(19) Letter from Geddes to Van Vriesland, July 1 1925, suggesting that Chaikin be made a partner in the firm set up by Mears. Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem. Ms A114/12

(20) Letter from Geddes to Eder, 17 November 1924, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem. Ms L12/39

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