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Notes for Contributors

The prime aim of Planning History is to increase an awareness of developments and ideas in planning history in all parts of the world. In pursuit of this aim, contributions are invited from members and non-members alike for any section of the bulletin. Articles should normally not exceed 2500 words, and may well reflect work in progress. Photographs and other illustrations may be included. Contributions submitted on a disc, with accompanying hard copy, are to be encouraged; please contact the editor for format details.

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Editorial

More than a decade ago, in September 1977, planning historians gathered in London for what was the first international conference in this field. It was a well-attended event with a wealth of innovative papers, many of which subsequently appeared in a series of three volumes published under the general heading of *Planning and the Environment in the Urban World*.

Three years later, in August 1980, a second international conference was held at the University of Sussex, with the event recorded in the form of another seminal volume, *Metropolis, 1890-1940*.

Yet, for all the continuing interest shown in planning history, it has been eight years before a new initiative has been taken to organise a third international gathering, this time to take place in Tokyo in November 1988. The venue is of great significance, and it is to be hoped that new light will be cast on the independent development and adaptation of planning ideas and practices in Asia. More than that, the experience of Asian planning history might encourage a reconsideration of a traditionally Western-centred approach to the subject.

No less significant in a different way is the location of Bournville for what will be the fourth international gathering (announced in the following section). Bournville has long been a mecca for international planners, and it is worth recording that the very first congress of the International Garden City and Town Planning Association included a visit in July 1914 to the model village. On that occasion fifteen nations were represented, "speaking different tongues and having different ideals and aims in life, but they were united in their desire to better the lot of the people, to see that the conditions under which they lived should be better, sweeter and healthier." The visit to Bournville was an emotional experience infusing the newborn planning profession with a shared belief in its own worth and fostering international friendship, and, on leaving, "earth seemed fairer and heaven nearer."

Dennis Hardy

Notices

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY CONFERENCE
First Notice
Bournville, Birmingham, United Kingdom :
3 - 7 September 1989

A fourth international conference of the Planning History Group is currently in the early stages of planning. It will be focused on the theme of the Garden City tradition in planning and urban development. The conference is being co-organised by the Bournville Village Trust to mark the 150th anniversary of George Cadbury's birth. It will also serve to commemorate the important 1901 conference of the Garden City movement held at Bournville. The 1989 conference will be held at Westhill College on the edge of the Bournville estate.

The programme, which is currently being devised, is expected to include a mixture of keynote addresses by invited researchers from several countries, workshop sessions, film shows and field visits. A general call for papers will be issued shortly and full programme details should be available by early 1989. A small steering group has been formed and the detailed organisation of the programme will be undertaken by Stephen V. Ward, PHG Meetings Secretary, School of Planning, Oxford Polytechnic, Headington, Oxford OX3 OBP.

F.J. OSBORN COLLECTION
Welwyn Garden City

New town researchers and others will be aware of the voluminous collection of papers and books relating to the works of Frederic Osborn. The collection is stored at the Central Library, Welwyn Garden City, and has been carefully sorted over the years by the Senior Assistant County Librarian, Michael Hughes (editor of the Osborn-Mumford letters, published in 1971). Thanks to a grant from the British Library the process of sorting can now be completed. An assistant is now in post, and it is intended that in 12-15 months the collection will be in proper order. A catalogue will be published, and details will be contained in *Planning History*.

NEW APPROACHES TO TOWNS, 100-1500
University of Birmingham: 14-16 April 1989

The conference will explore the themes of urban hierarchy, urban identity and the role of the church in towns. It will bring together archaeologists, geographers and historians with a common interest in the urban past in the late Roman empire and the middle ages. Most contributors will concentrate on towns in England, but there will be comparisons with the continent.

Speakers will include: G.G. Astill, N. Baker, R.H. Britnell, B.C. Burnham, J. Clark, A.S. Esmonde Cleary, H. Galinie, M.K. Hopkins, D.J. Keene, R.K. Morris, A.G. Rosser, T.R. Slater, B. Ward-Perkins.

For more details write to: Christopher Dyer, School of History, University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT

UTOPIAN STUDIES SOCIETY

Utopian Studies is a burgeoning but highly diverse field, ranging across literature, philosophy, sociology, politics, and planning, but there has been no organisation in Britain to bring this work together. Following the extremely successful international conference on utopianism at New Lanark, organised by the National Historic Communal Societies Association (based in the USA) and the International Communal Studies Association (based in Israel), it is obvious that there is a need for a more local network of utopian scholars in Britain and Europe. We are therefore setting up the Utopian Studies Society to meet this need. We hope to establish a regular series of meetings, and if possible an occasional newsletter. We are investigating the possibility of funding to support this as a European society, so would particularly welcome interest from outside Britain. If you would like to be kept informed of future activities please write to:

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Articles

Planning For Perth, Western Australia: An Account Of The First One Hundred Years

Barrie Melotte
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The Swan River Colony was the first British Colony in Australia founded for private settlement on land grants based on the capital value of assets and labour of the settlers, or for services rendered (Russell, 1980). "Conditions of Settlement" (Historical Records of Australia, HRA, 1923), issued early in 1829 by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, were intended to achieve three objectives - firstly, to minimise public expenditure; secondly to attract private investors as settlers; and thirdly, to ensure productive use of the land grants. These objectives were intended to ensure the Swan River Colony did not have the problems of dependence on the government, land speculation, and absentee land owners, experienced with the other Australian colonies.

The foundation of the Swan River Colony was the culmination of considerable effort by Captain James Stirling to have the Swan River location established as an alternative to the King George Sound (Albany) outpost established in 1826 to defend British interests in the Indian Ocean. Governor Darling of the Colony of New South Wales supported Stirling, but the British government initially rejected Stirling's proposed third Australian colony because of the financial toll of the Napoleonic Wars. A later investment proposal by the Peel Association to contribute funds influenced the adoption of land grant policies to establish a private enterprise colony with Captain Stirling as Lieutenant Governor (HRA, 1923, quoted in Statham, 1981).

The Colonial Secretary instructed Stirling: "Amongst your earliest duties will be that of determining the most convenient site for a town to be erected as the future seat Government..." (HRA 1923, quoted in Markey, 1979). Stirling was given more specific instructions: "In laying the foundations of any such town, care must be taken to proceed upon a regular plan, leaving all vacant spaces which in the future times will be required for thoroughfares, and as the sites of churches, cemeteries and other public works of utility and general convenience" (HRA, 1923, quoted in Markey, 1979).

Surveyor General Roe and his assistant surveyed the Perth town site between August 13-25th, 1829, whilst Stirling and his "Board of Counsel" drew up detailed regulations under which the town lots and rural land were available on September 5th, but only five were immediately claimed by the first settlers. These regulations were influenced by the town lots being larger than those in England. For example, Condition 4 required, "All houses are to be in the middle of each lot and the front of each building is to be thirty feet from the boundary of the lot on the street" (Ogle, 1839). Other conditions required were £200 minimum value of a dwelling on St. Georges Terrace, fencing of the lot, and restriction of tree clearing on lots without the permission of the Surveyor General. Consequently, a "cottage ornée" style, similar to the garden cottages of rural England evolved in contrast with the town houses of the English cities built in the other Australian colonial cities (Seddon, 1970).

The settlement of Perth by free people wanting self government may have influenced the early establishment of local government under a Town Improvement Act in 1838. The English legislation enabled a Perth Town Trust, whose members were the Justices of the Peace and the owners/occupiers of freehold land, to have responsibility for the Town's roads and footpaths. The first rate levied by the Town Trust was for a footpath in Hay Street which was to become a pedestrian mall 120 years later. Whitehall amendments in 1842 allowed the Trustees to elect an executive committee of five members plus a chairman to administer civic affairs (Phelps, 1969).

A major concern was the slow growth for the first twenty one years of private enterprise settlement of the Swan River Colony. Almost 2000 people had been attracted to the Colony in the two years ending in 1830, but only 5,254 people had settled by 1850; whereas South Australia, which had been founded in 1836, had attracted 52,904 people. Thus, convicts were introduced to assist the Swan River Colony, and even though it was contrary to the initial objectives of the new settlement, the first private enterprise colony in

Australia became the last official British penal settlement in 1850. The convict labour period from 1850 to 1868 significantly influenced the construction of roads and public works. Queen Victoria proclaimed Perth a City in 1856, giving it a bishopric, making it even more responsible for its own affairs, and less of a financial burden on the Crown. The Town Trust became Perth City Council two years later in 1858, but when transportation ceased and assisted migration was reduced, the economic wellbeing of the city was detrimentally influenced.

The Perth City Council now had legislative and administrative functions including town planning, control of water and lighting parks and reserves, and supervision of erection of buildings (Phelps, 1969). The passing of the Municipalities Act in 1871 enabled the City of Perth to be incorporated and hence raise funds for public works and improvements in an attempt to make up for the declining Imperial expenditure of the Colony. However, the rate base was very small because the population of the City was only 5,244, even though the population of the Colony had increased nearly five hundred percent by 1870 to reach slightly more than 25,000 (Crowley, 1956).

The gold rush era of 1890 to 1910 was a period of rapid population growth and intensive building activity. The population of Western Australia quadrupled in the 1890s, largely because of the development of the Eastern goldfields. Servicing the goldfields, augmented by the formation of State government in 1890 and the Federation of the Australian States in 1901, gave Perth a significant economic stimulus and reinforced it as the administrative capital of the State. Thus, the City of Perth population increased from 16,000 in 1891 to 61,000 in 1901, whereas the population of Western Australia increased from 50,000 in 1891 to 180,000 in 1901 (Freestone, 1985).

WG Brookman was elected Mayor in 1900 with the first public expression of the need for a "city plan" and his promise of an "ideal city and a model municipality". His election platform listed 15 objectives, including the need for Perth to have a "settled policy" for the future (Webb, 1979). Brookman only lasted six months as Mayor, but his part in the appointment of a new Town Clerk, W.E. Bold, was a significant contribution to the future of planning in Western Australia and the City of Perth. Bold, who was to remain for the next 43 years, later prepared "the first town planning report for Perth" and the first draft of planning legislation for Western Australia (Bold, 1930).

Bold presented a report on "Perth Improvement" in 1911 to a Joint Committee of a number of local government Councils considering amalgamation to form a Greater Perth Council, saying "it is of the highest importance that it shall be planned out .... on lines which will meet the needs of future generations" (quoted in Webb, 1960). In December 1911, the Principal Government Architect W.B. Hardwick published a scheme for the possible development of the Perth metropolitan area in the West Australian newspaper. Only some of the Councils joined in the Greater Perth Movement, and in 1913 the Perth City Council resolved to attempt to obtain a Town Planning Act from the government (Carr, 1979). Premier Scaddan agreed, but no action was immediately forthcoming (Boas, 1930b).

The fledgling attempts to consolidate and legislate town planning in Perth drew on the later activities of the American City Beautiful movement and the English Garden City movement (Clarke, 1969a & b). Bold noted that "the resolution passed in Perth is more on the American method...", but also recommended reorganisation of the Building Act and By-Laws (Bold 1911). In 1914 Bold was commissioned by the City of Perth "... to proceed to England to obtain information on Town Planning matters and report his impressions thereon" (Bold, 1930). He heard Raymond Unwin address the London Imperial Health and Town Planning Conference on "Town Planning"; heard Ebenezer Howard at the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association Conference, and undertook a tour of Garden Cities and Suburbs. Bold also saw the Civic Exhibition in Dublin and "studied the town planning exhibits under the guidance of Professor Geddes". Travelling in North America, the City Beautiful improvements, particularly in Kansas City, also impressed Bold (Bold, 1914). He had previously extolled the virtues and economic gains from civic improvements in the City of Cleveland in his 1911 report.

Bold (1914) reviewed what he had seen and heard, applying it to Perth in a comprehensive report to Perth City Council. He gave priority to a city plan saying, "let me commence with the City Plan, as it seems to me that this is the keystone of the arch of successful municipal effort" (quoted in Webb, 1979). Bold also noted under "Town Planning Legislation General Powers", "... I have obtained resumés of legislation in force in other countries, and the whole matter will require careful consideration when drafting the Statute" (Bold, 1914).

Charles Reade from the Garden Cities Movement, who was later to become the Government Planner of South Australia, was sent on a lecture tour to Australia by the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association of Great Britain. He visited Perth in October 1914 and attended a meeting with the Government Architect, the President of

the Institute of Architects, the Surveyor General, the Mayor of Perth and Bold to discuss the likely content of a Town Planning Bill (Stannage, 1979). After this meeting, a Town Planning Conference (consisting of representatives from Perth City Council, Architects and Surveyors Institutes, Chamber of Commerce and the Builders and Contractors Association) was formed with Bold as Secretary (Boas, 1930b). The Conference revised the Town Planning Bill drafted by Bold and submitted it to the Premier in 1915, requesting it be introduced in Parliament. "This Bill followed largely on the lines of the Town Planning Bill prepared by the Commission of Conservation, Canada, and which, in turn was based upon the then English Town Planning Act" (Boas, 1956).

When the government again did not introduce the legislation, the Town Planning Association of Western Australia was formalised "On March 31st 1916, its main object being the pressing of a Town Planning Act for the State" (Bold, 1930). "The first executive officers of the Association comprised Members of Parliament, Municipal Corporations, Roads Boards [and] Associations, Business and Professional men, so that practically all members of the community were well represented" (Bold, 1930). "The first work of the Legislative Committee of the Association was the drafting of a Town Planning Bill suited to the needs of Western Australia. Mr Bold's Draft Bill (founded on English and Canadian Acts) was made available and over a course of years it was redrafted seven times" (Bold, 1930). "The Premiers of four successive governments were appealed to by the Association to introduce the Town Planning Bill to Parliament. They were the Honorables, John Scadden (Labour), Frank Wilson (Nationalist), Sir James Mitchell (Nationalist), and Philip Collier (Labour). Many promises were given but were not fulfilled. Finally the Hon. A.C. McCallum, Minister for Works in the Collier Government, visited England and Canada and returned fully convinced that Town Planning was not a fad but a public necessity, and it was principally through him that the long desired legislation was attained" (Bold, 1930). "In 1927... the Town Planning Bill drafted by the Town Planning Association... with a few small amendments, was passed without opposition by Parliament..." (Bold, 1930). Hence, the Association had agitated for thirteen years before the Town Planning and Development Act (1928) was proclaimed in November, 1929.

The Town Planning and Development Act 1928 provided for Local Authorities to prepare planning schemes, a Town Planning Board to control the subdivision of land in the state, and a Commissioner of Town Planning who also chaired the Town Planning Board (Western Australia, 1929).

Mr DL Davidson was appointed Commissioner and Chairman on 30th July 1929. Primary evidence that Davidson continued the tradition of drawing on planning legislation from elsewhere, particularly England, is to be found in his 1922 copy of H. Aldridge, *"The Administration of the Town Planning Duties of Local Authorities"*.

In copperplate handwriting Davidson made additions and deletions to draft Regulations for the new Western Australia Act. These English Regulations set out in Aldridge (1922) were not only interpreting the English Housing, Town Planning etc Act, 1909, which was noted as one of the foundation Acts for the Western Australia Town Planning and Development Act 1928, but also the Housing, Town Planning etc Act, 1919, which is a later Act. But this legislative anomaly apparently did not concern the first Western Australian Town Planning Commissioner!

Thus, the "TOWN PLANNING PROCEDURE REGULATIONS (ISSUED MARCH 30, 1921), STATUTORY RULES AND ORDERS. 1921, No.373, TOWN PLANNING, ENGLAND THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH (TOWN PLANNING) REGULATIONS 1921, DATED MARCH 29TH, 1921, MADE BY THE MINISTER OF HEALTH, UNDER SECTION 56 OF THE HOUSING, TOWN PLANNING, &c. ACT 1909 (9 EDW. 7c44) AND SECTION 43 OF THE HOUSING, TOWN PLANNING, &c. ACT, 1919 (9 & 10 GEO.5,c.35) "were adapted to be drafted as the "TOWN PLANNING PROCEDURE REGULATIONS, TOWN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT ACT, 39 of 1928, (TOWN PLANNING) REGULATIONS 1930, [DATED] MADE BY THE MINISTER, UNDER SECTION 9 OF THE TOWN PLANNING & d, &c. ACT".

In the meantime, the pre World War One Greater Perth Movement was revived in 1926, and "at the request of the Local Authorities in the metropolitan area, the Collier Government introduced a Bill which became an Act entitled "The Metropolitan Town Planning Commission Act 1927..." (Bold, 1930). This Act proclaimed by Parliament in 1928, provided for a Commission of eight members, and had a novel "sunset" limitation of 31 December, 1930. The Commission which was inspired by the similar Commission already operating in Melbourne, and possibly the activities of the New York Regional Plan Association, had the following object: "The enquiring into and reporting on the present conditions and tendencies of urban development in the Metropolitan Area with recommendations with respect to the better guidance and control of such development and other varying broad and more detailed matters related [there] to" (Boas, 1956). The Commission's Report of 1930, by Chairman Harold Boas, was virtually a town plan for the City

of Perth detailing a new road network and civic facilities and drawing on many of the local and overseas ideas for Perth canvassed over the previous thirty years.

Themes which appear as continuous and intertwining threads in this one hundred year old historical fabric of planning development in Perth are: the need for a comprehensive plan; the need for appropriate legislation to give effect to that plan; the local interpretation and adoption of overseas legislation and planning principles; and the persistent and significant role of individuals and groups. At first it was Stirling, Roe and the Peel association; then it was the Town Trust followed by the City Council and the citizens of Perth; and finally it was Bold and the Town Planning Association of Western Australia in seeking and eventually obtaining Parliamentary approval of appropriate legislation.

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Promoting Holiday Resorts:
A Review Of Early History To 1921

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The encouragement and promotion of tourism has become an almost obsessional interest in post industrial 1980s Britain. As mining and manufacturing industries decline, dereliction is remodelled into heritage and new images of places are created to attract the tourist. For many places that have not traditionally been thought of as tourist venues, such experience is new, but the actual practice of promoting and marketing places for tourism has a long history. This article presents the early stages of an investigation of tourist-focused promotion and forms part of a wider study of place promotion. On earlier occasions I have highlighted the importance of local industrial promotion policies for planning and urban historians seeking to properly comprehend the true nature of urban policy.[1] This article begins to do the same for tourist place-promotion.

Blackpool poster/advertising card by John Hassall c1901

The Beginnings Of Promotional Activity To 1900

The earliest examples of attempts to promote and advertise the tourist attractions of resorts that I have uncovered seem to date from about the mid-nineteenth century. Thus the Official Catalogue of the 1851 Great Exhibition (itself an important tourist venue) contains advertising for Great Yarmouth, Bath and Harrogate. Other advertisements for Bath also exist, apparently dating from slightly earlier.[2] The sponsors of these appear to have been private interests within the resorts themselves, such as groups of hoteliers or proprietors of mineral spas. Such advertisements were clearly appealing to a holiday market that, though still narrow, was being widened to include the new urban middle classes of the industrial towns and cities.[3]

At about the same time, the railway companies also began to engage in a rather crude form of promotion associated with their entry into the day excursion market, which extended access to resorts much further down the social scale.[4] These were normally advertised by means of newspaper advertisements, letter press posters and handbills that said little about the character of the excursion destination. They were essentially promoting an activity rather than a particular place. However, combined with the generally boisterous and plebeian excursion experience itself, they did much to create early images of particular resort towns that were often important in establishing their 'social tone'.[5] Blackpool, for example, was an important excursion venue and, even in the 1840s, we find the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway advertising "Seabathing for The Working Classes" by means of Sunday excursion trains from industrial Lancashire to Blackpool and Fleetwood.[6]

Sabbatarianist sympathies restricted such activities for many years in most parts of the country. By the later nineteenth century, such moral restraints were easing, though the tendency for a shorter working week (enabling at least partial leisure use of Saturdays), more single holidays during the year, and increased real wages for the working classes, reduced their real significance as constraining influences.(7). By that time the numbers of agencies wishing to engage in promotional activity, and the media available to enable them to do so had both increased.

During the 1890s the railway companies began using the new medium of coloured pictorial posters. These were more costly to commission and produce and tended therefore to be less tied to specific excursions. The moving of detailed train

information with visual images was also problematic and attempts to do this could be difficult to read. Thus there was already a tendency for the normal pattern to combine a striking visual image with a few words to indicate the sponsors, identify the place and perhaps add a slogan or brief information. Thus there were early Great Western Railway posters promoting the Ascot Races in June 1897 (with much specific information that enables its accurate dating).[8] There were also contemporaneous posters for Wales, the Channel Isles and Cornwall that were more indicative of future developments.[9]

Meanwhile, however, the resorts themselves were developing into self-conscious holiday towns with organised local business networks and municipal institutions. They were no longer content to leave the destiny of their towns to the whims of railway companies, which could put up fares, cut excursion services or simply subordinate the interests of particular resorts within wider regional concerns. Even Blackpool found itself slighted by the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway in the early 1870s and this precipitated the council's entry into a municipal promotional policy.[10] By parliamentary oversight it was allowed a 2d publicity rate in its 1879 Local Act, and began using this power vigorously, initially to extend its catchment area.[11] This soon brought it into direct competition with other resorts, particularly since it took its poster campaign into their own streets. Not unnaturally they sought similar powers but found that the Local Government Board, by now awake to the implications of such competitive rateborne advertising, was in no mood to allow any repetition of such powers (incidentally defining a general policy stance of very long duration that was inherited by successor Ministries). A long list of resort Local Bills had publicity clauses struck out in the 1880s and 1890s.[12]

As later experience of industrial promotion also showed, the absence of legal powers was not always an obstacle. However, the alternatives were to use various financial subterfuges, temporary expedients, self-financing publicity ventures or voluntary subscription arrangements involving local business networks. Small scale ventures were more typical. In 1895 a Health Resorts Association was founded with the aim of advancing the interests of the resorts by means of "systematic, judicious and economical advertising".[13] The distribution of illustrated guides and booklets, the production and exhibition of posters, the publication of articles and notices in newspapers, magazines and periodicals were specifically cited. Its active members were municipal authorities and local business associations in the smaller resorts.[14] Its typical output was guides and newspaper notices and it produced nothing remotely resembling the scale of Blackpool's activities.

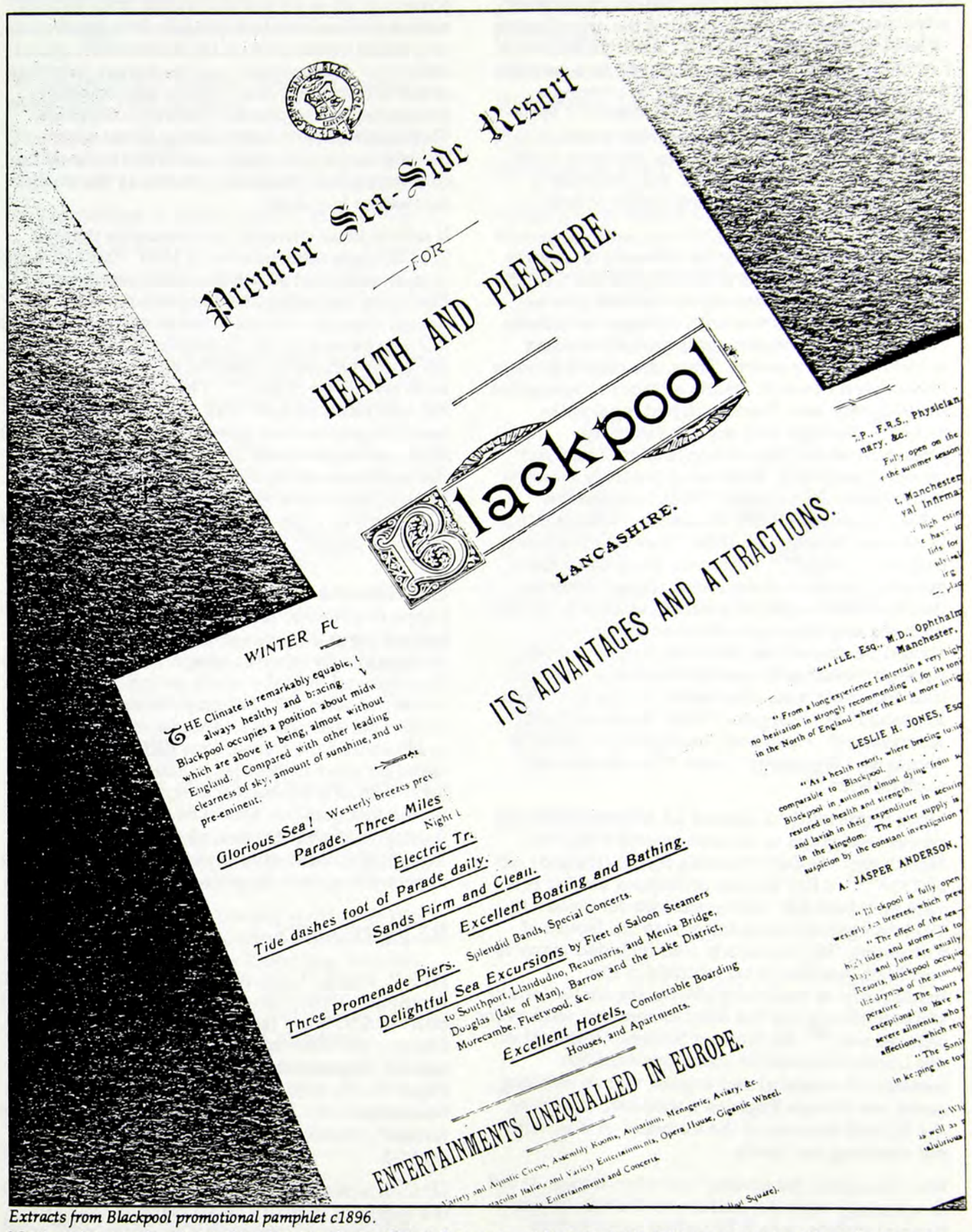
Significantly, the only real (non-railway) rival to Blackpool in the later 1890s was the Isle of Man, which was not subject to the normal legal restraints of mainland (or Irish) local authorities.[15] Commencing operations in 1894, by the early twentieth century, it had, like Blackpool, a permanent publicity department and a London office.

The Struggle for Legality 1900-1921

The first two decades of the twentieth century were very important ones for tourist promotion. The pace of activity intensified, reflecting the social widening of the tourist market and the growing tendency for the well-off to desert British resorts in favour of continental destinations (which were themselves often promoted by advertising in Britain).[16] Meanwhile the quality of promotional activity also increased, reflecting a growing understanding of the nature of advertising and the role of design and presentation.

There was a great amount of activity by the railway companies involving posters, booklets and pamphlets, often of high quality. Space does not permit a proper review here, though we should note that most of their activity was not directed towards single venues.[17] The promotion of holiday districts, groups of resorts, tourist themes or regions was more typical. Thus we find the London and North Western Railway in 1911 issuing 37 free booklets with titles like 'The Spas of Central Wales', 'The English Lakes', 'Scotland for the Holidays', 'The Castles of North Wales', 'A Tour of Shakespeare's Country' and, indicating an American target audience, 'Washington's and Franklin's Country'.[18] Many of these topics were also the subject of posters.[19]

Although such district or regional promotion was most typical, there were also many examples of named resort promotions. Thus by 1908 the Great Western Railway was issuing posters for Ilfracombe, Droitwich Spa, and New Quay (Cardiganshire).[20] The Great Northern Railway's famous John Hassall poster "Skegness is so Bracing", depicting a rotund fisherman frolicking on the beach, was also first issued in 1908.[21] However, these kinds of local promotion inevitably involved increasing links between locality and railway company. There were various motives for such links: the holiday towns might want the railway company to publicise their town, or have a voice in determining the nature of the promotional message, or simply to have a local contact address added to existing publicity. For their part the railway companies might want resorts to share (or take over) promotional respon-



Extracts from Blackpool promotional pamphlet c1896.

Notice the emphasis on the climate throughout the year. After its initial focus on extending the tourist hinterland, the town's advertising began to move towards prolonging the holiday season. Notice also the emphasis on the coolness of summers as a positive quality.

sibilities (and costs) or perhaps be interested in stimulating demand for advertising space on their stations. In some cases railway companies were instrumental in stimulating the organisation of local promotion. Thus the Cambrian Railways Company, which was heavily dependent on holiday traffic, played a central role in forming a Cambrian Resorts Association in 1909.(22) However, the case of Woodhall Spa, which was refused Great Northern Railway publicity without equal local commitments, was probably a more typical pattern of resort - railway relations.(23)

All this was intensifying the pressure on resorts to secure some long term and legal basis for undertaking promotion either on their own account or in conjunction with railway companies. However, many resorts continued advertising without formal powers. Thus, the Health Resorts Association listed 23 resorts as more or less active in 1904; only one, Blackpool, had legal authority.(24) But this was not a satisfactory arrangement and the attempts to get Local Act powers continued. Rateborne publicity was disallowed for Cleethorpes (1902), Hunstanton (1903), Appleby (1904), Ilfracombe, Llandrindod Wells and Whitby (all 1905), Hornsea (1911) and Brighton (1912).(25) However, there were also a growing number of successes, using a formula that specified a rate equivalent (usually 0.5d) but with the important proviso that the money should be drawn, not from the rates, but from various municipally provided holiday services like deckchair hire, admission charges etc. Thus Buxton (1904), Margate (1908), Brighton (1912), Aberystwyth, Hove and Southport (all 1913), St Annes and Weymouth (both 1914) all secured such powers.(26)

More importantly a general 1d *rateborne* publicity power was given to all Irish resorts under the Health Resorts and Watering Places (Ireland) Act of 1909.(27) After several attempts a similar private members bill was introduced for Britain in 1914 and gained wide support in the House of Commons. Its promoters, who included many resort MPs, justified it on grounds of the inadequacy of voluntary efforts, the limitations of railway efforts and the need to compete with overseas resorts.(28) Sir Herbert Samuel, President of the Local Government Board opposed the measure as wasteful and argued that advertising could not change England's weather. However, the Bill fell because of the outbreak of war, without reaching the Lords.

War disrupted the holiday industry, though it did temporarily stem the outflow of the rich to continental resorts, which benefited some British holiday towns. Peace obviously brought new uncertainties to those which had enjoyed this wartime business. These arguments were used by Llandrindod Wells in 1920, to secure advertising powers of up to 2d rate equivalent from holiday service profits, but if such funds were inadequate, they could be made up *out of the rates*.(29) Another new development was the known intention of the Government to introduce substantial restructuring of the pre-war railway companies. This created major uncertainties about whether the new larger groupings would show the same commitments to particular resorts as the smaller companies had done.

It was in these changed circumstances that the 1914 Bill was reintroduced in 1920. Familiar arguments were aired about the unfairness of Blackpool's position and the potential wastefulness of competitive rate home advertising, but the Bill was passed by the Commons.(30) However, the Lords refused to swallow advertising on the rates and threw it out.(31) The following year the Bill was reintroduced in an amended form that used the profits from holiday services formula up to 1d rate equivalent.(32) This was acceptable to the Lords and so the Bill became law as the Health Resorts and Watering Places Act 1921.(33) All resorts now finally had legal authority for promotional activity.

Conclusions

I hope in a further article to complete this review by looking at the years after 1921 and consider more explicitly how the imagery of tourist promotion changed over the whole period. This review of the period to 1921 has emphasised the contradiction between early awareness of the need to publicise and the tremendous difficulties experienced by most authorities in actually securing legal authority for such activity. In the post 1921 period this question was to be of much less significance, though the favoured position of Blackpool continued to give it special advantages in promoting itself to potential visitors.

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Research in Progress

Research In Urban Morphology

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Urban morphology, being the study of urban form, is a very large topic. As practised at Birmingham it is derived from the Central European tradition of study, which was introduced into England by M.R.G. Conzen, a planner by training who became Professor of Geography at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne. Conzen's pioneering work has until recently been little known, but four of his most significant papers have recently been reprinted with commentaries. Conzen was concerned with the development of towns from their origins into their modern forms. Building upon the ideas he produced, there have been detailed plan analyses of a number of medieval towns. Conzen's concept of the burgage cycle has been shown in operation, and methods have been developed that use both historical cartographic evidence and modern measurement of plots to show the persistence of medieval features in the modern townscape.

> *"Urban morphology, or in broader terms the study of townscape, has been largely unaffected by those changing or shifting paradigms which supposedly have dominated geographical methodology. Quantiative analysis merely brushed ineffectively the periphery of morphological studies, while the present destruction of buildings is not seen in terms of its welfare consequences but rather in its impact on the cultural inheritance. More recent considerations of the structure of socio-political systems and their determinant organisation of space have again had little impact other than on the most general of scales. Morphological studies have, therefore, remained outside the mainstream of urban geography constituting, to retain the metaphor, a backwater which if not stagnant was not subject to the currents and surges of the central flow".*
>
> Harold Carter, 1984

Further work developing ideas originally propounded by Conzen has resulted in the refining of the concept of urban fringe belts and related to this, the idea of cycles of development . Practical work in Scotland and many locations in England has shown their relevance. Most recently, attention has been focused on the agents of built fabric change in both town centres and residential areas.

An area of current concern to urban morphologists is the relevance of Conzen's concepts of morphology and townscape management, with especial reference to townscape conservation. This management aspect and its links with current practices of town planning is now receiving much attention.

Urban morphology thus links historical geography with modern urban geography and town planning. It may still be slightly outside the mainstream of urban geography, as Carter suggested, but it is rapidly increasing in popularity both here and abroad, and in other disciplines such as urban design.

The Urban Morphology Research Group

The Department of Geography at Birmingham University is the only major centre in the United Kingdom for research into all geographical aspects of urban morphology. The Urban Morphology Research Group is a small and informal group within the Department, and provides a means whereby close links may be maintained between all those working in various aspects of the subject at all levels Working within a group has particular advantages when researching in a relatively new and, as yet, little studied sub-discipline.

Discussion amongst researchers working in the same field is always particularly helpful in developing and assessing new ideas. The Group holds regular meetings at which informal working papers, drafts of papers for publication, aspects of current research and other matters of mutual interest are discussed.

This type of working environment has proved invaluable in the production of much of the work outlined below.

Members And Activities

At present, the full-time membership of the Group comprises two members of the Department's academic staff, Dr Jeremy Whitehand and Dr Terry Slater; one Research Fellow, Dr Peter Larkham; and three postgraduate students, Nick Pompa, Andrew Jones and Paul Booth. The Group also has some part-time members, including Mrs Susan Whitehand. Strong links are also maintained with previous postgraduate members, who include Dr John Luffrum, who moved to lecture at Swansea; Dr Robin Talbot, lecturing in Doncaster, Dr Richard Broaderwick, now teaching, and Dr Mike Freeman, now dealing with the property portfolio of a major electrical sales and rental group.

The group is also a means of making other useful contacts. Within this Department, Dr Colin Hayfield, working on archaeology and rural settlement analysis has worked with Terry Slater in an analysis of the medieval planned town of Hedon. Professor Gordon Cherry, Past President of the Royal Town Planning Institute and now Head of Department, is in touch with the Group's work on urban conservation and planning. Speakers from other universities have been invited through the Department's Research Seminar Series, which allows a formal research seminar to be followed by very useful informal meetings. Recent speakers have included Dr Deryck Holdsworth (Historical Atlas of Canada, Toronto), Professor Ron Johnston (Sheffield), Dr Paul McNamara (Oxford Polytechnic) and Dr Gareth Shaw (Exeter). We have also received visitors from other countries who are interested in our research, including Dr Ken Foote (Austin, Texas), Professor Marek Koter (Lodz, Poland) and Dr Joan Vilagrasa (Lleida, Spain). These contacts enabled members of the Group to present papers at conferences in Spain, Poland and New Orleans during 1986. Continuing contact has been maintained with historical urban geographers in Germany, particularly at Münster and Göttingen, following two conferences in 1981 and 1983.

Two major initiatives were taken in 1987. First is the launch of the *Urban Morphology Newsletter*, edited by Terry Slater. Wide interest has been expressed in this Newsletter from many countries. Secondly, a substantial volume of papers on *The Built Form of Western Cities* is in preparation. Also edited by Terry Slater, some 16 morphologists are contributing to the volume, which will be published by Leicester University Press in 1988.

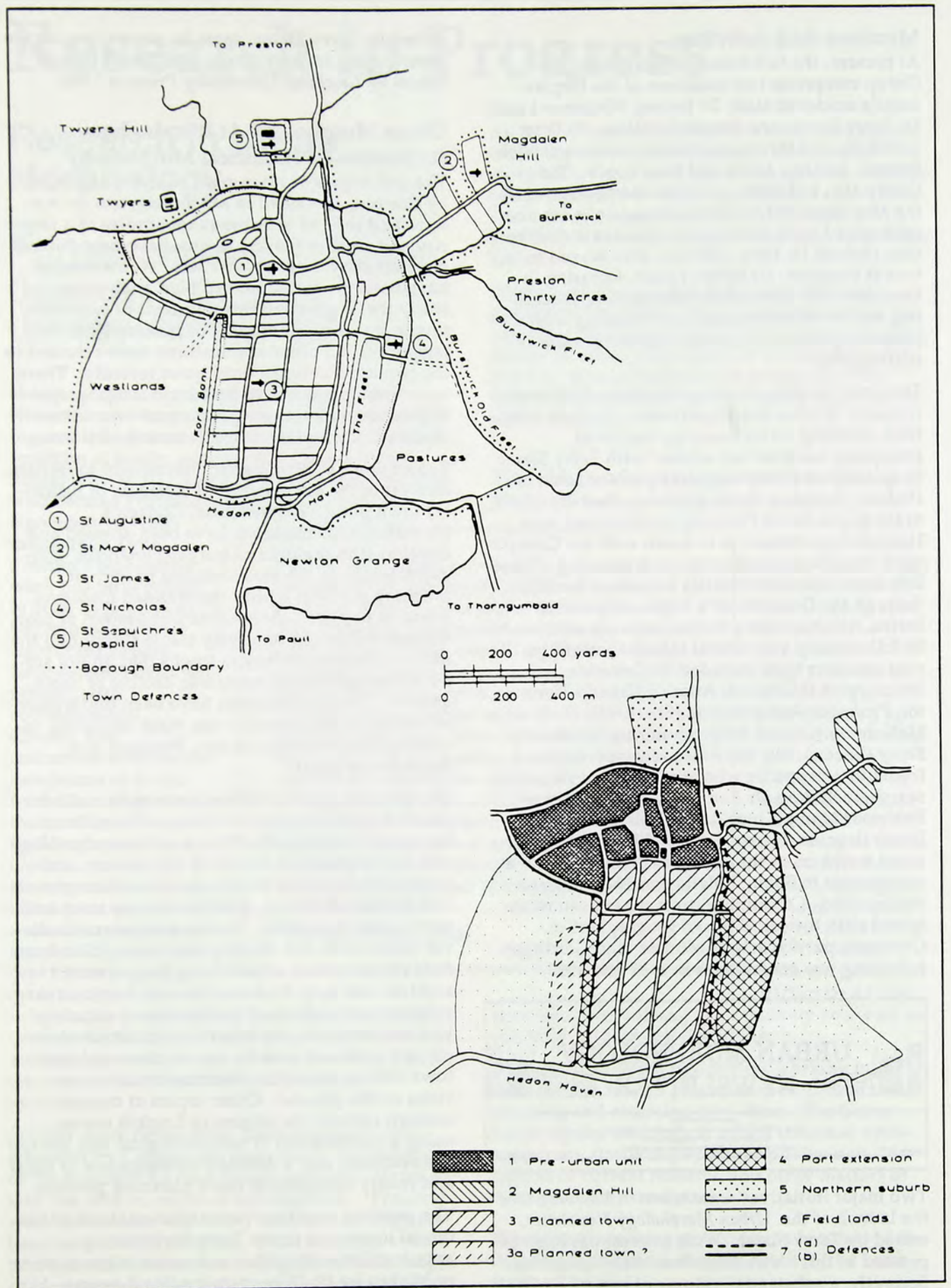
Urban Morphology At Birmingham: (1) Studies Of Historical Morphology

The techniques of town-plan analysis developed by Conzen, described in his monograph on Alnwick and refined in subsequent studies of a larger city and smaller market towns, have been further developed by other researchers. A few studies have used the techniques of plan analysis to study the origins and development of particular towns, but this application of plan-analysis has lagged behind other applications more relevant to the twentieth century until quite recently. There have been few attempts by historical geographers to provide wide-ranging comparative studies of medieval town plans since Conzen's own work.

Recent work at Birmingham has sought to initiate interest in the comparison of elements of historical town plans. In particular, Conzen's plan-analysis techniques have been applied and developed in the field of burgage analysis. Burgages make up the most detailed pattern of property division within the planned medieval town. It has been shown that this pattern of plot division remained relatively stable through to the mid-nineteenth century in towns that do not suffer either substantial economic decline or rapid growth. Detailed analyses have been undertaken in medieval new towns in the West Midlands, including Stratford upon Avon, Pershore and Shipston on Stour.

The plan-analysis work has been combined with detailed archaeological evidence. Terry Slater has worked with Colin Wilson on the archaeology and development of Stratford upon Avon, and with Colin Hayfield on the analysis of the growth and decline of Hedon, a medieval new town and port in east Yorkshire. Recent analyses of medieval urban form and development using data from field measurement of surviving burgages and archival and map evidence have included a reassessment of the form of Lichfield and a study of Wolverhampton. The latter is of particular interest as it demonstrates the use of plan-analysis in a town where very little historical evidence survives on the ground. Other topics of current concern include the origins of English towns, using a combination of morphological and boundary evidence, and a detailed investigation of ideal and reality in medieval town planning practice.

The growing expertise in the plan-analysis of medieval towns has led to Terry Slater being appointed as joint editor of a series of books to be published by Phillimore on medieval towns. His book on the history of Warwickshire has already



The development of Hedon: the harbour extension, and plan units.

been published by Phillimore. He has begun research for the volume covering the South-West and the West Midlands.

Terry Slater has also shown that a detailed knowledge of the origin and development of an historical town may be of considerable relevance to its modern management by planners. He has thus linked research in historical urban morphology with current work in modern morphology and planning.

Members of the Group have also worked on other historical topics. These include Broaderwick's detailed study of the origin and development of Birmingham's urban fringe, Slater's examination of family life-cycles and the development of Victorian ornamental villas and his work on landscape parks, and Larkham's work on medieval moated settlement.

Urban Morphology At Birmingham: (2) The Twentieth-Century Urban Landscape

Work in this field at Birmingham has been primarily concerned with identifying inter- and intra-urban regularities in the adaptation and renewal of the building fabric, looking firstly at groups of small towns and then a major city centre. The principal emphasis of these studies was on the long-term change during and especially since the nineteenth century. The main conclusions have emphasised the effects on the timing and location of redevelopment of population changes, the position of a town in the urban hierarchy, proximity to previous redevelopments, the introduction of functional innovations (including, for example, cinemas and department stores) and the tendency for different rates of building replacement to persist over long periods within different parts of the city centre.

This work has been substantiated and extended by a major study of the town centres of Northampton and Watford, and most recently of the centres of Aylesbury and Wembley. These studies have pioneered and developed the large-scale use of records held by local planning and building surveyors departments for detailed morphological studies. These have permitted accurate identification of the agents involved in each fabric change. This identification of the agents, together with a detailed study of the new buildings that they produced, has led to a particularly thorough and novel study of the styles and appearance of the urban landscape. Consideration has recently been extended to smaller suburban vilages and other conservation areas, and work on contrasting purely residential areas is in progress. These works appear to be further steps "in the academic appreciation of supermarkets and electricity showrooms and their protection for prosperity by conservation legislation"!

Some of the principal research questions addressed by these projects include:

(1) What is the incidence of different types of physical change to the townscape over time and space?

(2) What share of the major changes was initiated by different firms/organisations and how did this share change over time?

(3) Where were the initiators and architects of plans for changes located and how did these locations change over time?

(4) What were the proportions of major rebuilding undertaken for owner-occupation and investment, how did these proportions change over time, and how were the works of various types of developers distributed within town centres?

(5) To what extent were initiators of plans, architects, consultants, builders and specialised contractors active in more than one town and how did this vary over time?

(6) What was the distribution within town centres of the works of architects and builders from different parts of the country?

(7) To what extent are townscape management policies (particularly for conservation) affecting the townscape?

Work is now moving towards examination of the workings of the planning system. Having identified those active in townscape change, detailed interviews and case studies of planning application in several contrasting residential areas is being funded by a major grant from the Leverhulme Trust.

Planning History In Norway

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I am an art historian. My main subject as a student was about the rebulding of the town of Aalesund after a big fire in 1904. The burnt city consisted of wooden buildings, the rebuilt one of stone and concrete buildings. Aalesund is situated on the western coast of Norway, in the country of More and Romsdal. This work was finished in 1980 and published in 1981.

Later on I worked on a project on the reconstruction of Norwegian towns after the German bombing of 1940, with the town of Molde (More and Romsdal) as a special case. Among other aspects, it was of interest to me to find out why Molde got that kind of plan and architecture, if the plan of Molde and the other Norwegian war-damaged towns was based on national or international ideas and traditions, how the reconstruction work was organised, how the Norwegian planners cooperated with German planners during the war, etc. This project was finished in 1986, and it will be my work for a Ph.D. this autumn

During the last one and a half years my research project has been on the development (including national traditions and international influence) of Norwegian towns from 1920 to 1965. This work is still going on, and it is of great interest to me to learn of other researchers' knowledge and experience of related themes in other countries.

Reports

Historia De La Planificacion Urbana Jornadas de homenaje a Jose Luis Romero

University of Buenos Aires
4-8 April 1988

Anthony Sutcliffe
University of Sheffield

In April 1988 the University of Buenos Aires held a major international conference in memory of the distinguished Argentinian historian Jose Luis Romero, who died in 1978. Romero's varied interests were reflected in the conference themes. Jorge Hardoy (University of Buenos Aires) brought together a big panel on the history of urban planning, c.1850-1930, which met on six occasions during the conference. The resulting symposium was the first international planning history meeting to be held in Latin America.

The conference venue, Buenos Aires, was an excellent backdrop. Its original colonial grid was modified from the 1880s under Parisian influence. A number of new avenues provided sites for Beaux-Arts buildings, many built on a scale inconceivable in France. Giant monuments were set up to terminate the perspectives. Some of this work was still being completed in the 1930s, but by this time more modernistic influences were at work. Recent urban growth has been more anarchic and the city offers a fascinating combination of European and Third World townscapes.

Juan Rodriguez-Lores (University of Aachen) began the proceedings with a review of German city planning between 1875 and 1930. While acknowledging the high quality of German planning theory, which began as early as 1876 with Baumeister's planning textbook, he argued that practice fell far short of the ideal of social utility implicit in planning publications. A planning profession emerged early in Germany, and helped to generate the idea of a 'positive science', but there was always a tension between the overarching concepts of the city plan and the administration of new building through detailed ordinances. German technical practice was excellent, but the political basis of planning was very distorted, favouring the property interests excessively. Planning thus reinforced, Rodriguez- Lores argued, the forces of the land and housing markets. The result was an urban speculation process without parallel in Europe, with planning deliberately reducing the supply of urban land.

Throughout, Rodriguez-Lores emphasised the contradictions inherent in the German urban development process. He saw land as a monopoly, controlled by a dominant class within a 'bourgeois city'. Land rent was a social relationship. Implicitly following Foucault, he discerned a conflict between the traditional city with its irregularity (disorder), and the 'order' which planning could bring to the new, industrial city through its organisation of space on regular lines. With order and regularity came also segregation of both functions and social groups. In none of this however did Rodriguez-Lores diverge significantly from the critiques of Eberstadt and Hegemann, eighty years ago.

Anthony Sutcliffe (University of Sheffield) followed with a discussion of Paris as a major architectural and planning exemplar between 1850 and 1930, making some reference to its influence on Buenos Aires. He saw Haussmann's planning strategy for Paris as the unique product of State involvement in French railway development in the 1840s and urban development in the 1850s as the main elements in a national modernisation strategy, and the French national tradition of architecture and planning dating back to the early 1600s. Although Haussmann's achievement was incomplete and the object of growing criticism from the late 1860s, the resulting city form was very influential, particularly outside Europe where a number of new cities were growing rapidly from the 1850s as a result of the railway and steamship revolutions and the related growth of the world economy. By the end of the century alternative planning approaches were on the scene, notably German *Städtebau* and the British garden city/garden suburb, but Beaux-Arts architects such as Jaussely and Prost enjoyed spectacular successes in some of the big city plan competitions in the early 1900s. It was at this time that Bouvard produced his respected plan for Buenos Aires, which continued to influence planning in the city centre into the 1930s.

By this time Haussmann's approach had been largely discredited in Paris itself, and in the 1920s

and 1930s New York began to replace it as the exemplar of the modern city, with a very different aesthetic based on verticality and variety. However, Paris had reigned for eighty years as the dominant paradigm of the modern city, and this was a significant achievement for which Haussmann deserved much credit. In the discussion, however, Donatella Calabi (Venice Institute of Architecture) drew attention to the new planning thought generated by Hénard and Forestier in the early 1900s around the newly perceived need for parks and open space. Both had visited Buenos Aires and Forestier, in particular, had planned some parts of the city. The Haussmannic tradition was thus complemented by new thinking which may have been more influential than the older example. However, Jorge Hardoy pointed out that there was no thorough study of the involvement of European architects and planners with Buenos Aires, and this would be a first step towards assessing their influence. Marcel Smets (University of Leuven) questioned the strength of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, given that some of the most important contributions to Haussmann's Paris had been made by engineers. In reply, Sutcliffe bemoaned the lack of clear statements by the actors of Parisian planning on their objectives, and the many gaps in the archives. Confusing too were the practical differences between 'engineers' and 'architects', and between architects trained within and outside the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

Marcel Smets (University of Leuven) provided an introduction to the origins of Belgian planning through the work of Charles Buls, mayor of Brussels and founder of the 'art public' movement (1898) which was indirectly to influence the American City Beautiful movement. In a preview of his forthcoming biography he showed that Buls was more widely active and better known internationally than the existing literature suggests. As mayor of Brussels Buls undertook the restoration of the Grand Place and went on to designate areas for conservation and enhancement in a way which foreshadowed zoning. His concept of a coherent, harmonious townscape reflecting cultural traditions looked forward to Camillo Sitte, and was set out in a widely read book *L'ésthetique des villes*, in 1883. Smets thus saw Buls as one of the founders of turn-of-the-century town planning, and showed him moving from conference to conference in the 1890s, publishing widely, and undertaking consultancies.

Buls was opposed to pre-imposed schemes of design and layout on classical lines. In stressing the importance of the local context, Buls offered a clear alternative to the Second Empire tradition. Moreover, he was opposed in principle to large-scale urban redevelopment. The recent experience of Brussels reinforced his view. In 1867 the Belgian parliament had voted a very ambitious expropriation law which in contrast to most other European countries allowed extensive areal compulsory purchase. Buls's predecessor as mayor of Brussels, Anspach, had used the law on a large scale but the result had been a financial disaster. Buls thus offered a realistic urban renewal strategy at a time of depressed property values in the 1880s. It was also, Smets claimed, a petty-bourgeois strategy, which emphasised small-scale development and piecemeal intervention - a piquant contrast, this, with the subsequent presentation of South American urbanism during the same period as an elite phenomenon.

In the gradual evolution of Belgian town planning, Smets drew particular attention to the housing law of 1898 which allowed workers to borrow money on mortgage. The resulting commitment of Belgian workers to good quality housing, notwithstanding their low wages, was much admired by Seebohm Rowntree, and provided a strong foundation for the growth of interest in the planning of towns and cities. Progress in school design also made its contribution. The influence of Buls continued well into the twentieth century, with much new development seeking to recreate traditional patterns. Even after Buls died in 1914, his ideas lived on to achieve perhaps their greatest triumph in Belgian post-war urban reconstruction. Almost all the shelled towns and districts were rebuilt, not exactly as before , but in an enhanced historic form. Smets was too modest to say that he and a team of associates have told much of this story in a collective volume, *Resurgam*, published by the Crédit Communal de Belgique in 1984. However, he ended with some fascinating new material on the 'new villages' which formed the basis of rural reconstruction in the devastated frontal zone. These sought to recreate and enhance traditional village life by providing communal facilities in a setting of spatial enclosure.

As so often in the past, Smets modestly and implicitly drew the attention of an international audience to the extraordinary interest of Belgium for all students of the genesis of planning. Buls clearly had a much greater international role , and in more areas of urban policy, than we might previously have assumed. Sooner or later, the Belgian contribution must be incorporated into our syntheses.

With Donatella Calabi (Venice Institute of Architecture) attention turned to Italian planning, 1888-1930. As on previous occasions, Calabi argued that there was no planning as such in Italy in this period, but only a collection of interventions. From the mid-nineteenth century, many

cities prepared regulating plans, but these did little more than confirm the status quo. The extension plans which catered for growth in the few dynamic centres did little more than lay out streets. Water and sewer schemes, which played an important role in unhealthy cities such as Naples, were more or less coordinated with the extension plans. Street widening schemes were carried out in the central districts of the larger cities such as Florence, but usually without reference to the outer districts. Rivalry between Milan, Florence and Rome attracted all three into ambitious and even bombastic works justifying their capital status or their aspirations to it. Not until the 1920s did a concept of urban planning emerge, and even then it was largely the product of German influence. Fascist planning schemes looked back as much as they did forward.

Giorgio Piccinato (Venice Institute of Architecture) focused the discussion on *Roma capitale*. He emphasised that it is important to concentrate on interactions in planning rather than to seek monolithic situations shaped by exploitation or hegemony. Rome is not the pure product of speculation, as the Marxist would claim. To sustain his point, Piccinato examined Rome's acquisition of capital status, which was by no means determined on economic grounds. However, once selected as capital Rome had to be replanned, and Paris and Berlin were seen as the main examples. New public buildings were inserted in the centre, and new districts were laid out in a series of extension plans, beginning in 1873. These plans however did little more than confirm what was already happening, and the result was a large degree of continuity through into the period of Fascist rule. The overall planning approach had been determined before 1914, with not only street and open space networks but also a basic residential zoning strategy. Rome's status as national capital, and its competition with other cities, remained influential throughout. The big economic fluctuations also left their mark on the city .

Like Calabi, Piccinato based his arguments on a very demanding definition of town planning and urban policy. With recent work on American planning showing that public intervention usually tends to have a facilitating rather than a directive role, the Italian product of the later nineteenth century stands out in quite a favourable light. A considerable degree of 'order', as defined by Rodriguez-Lores, was achieved, and in the larger cities growth was marshalled to some effect even to the extent of regimentation.

Carlos Sambricio (Polytechnic of Madrid) reviewed the development of Madrid over the 1850-1930 period. As in the more famous example of Barcelona, the principal instrument of control was an *ensanche* (extension plan) published in 1851, nearly a decade before Cerdà's work. By 1910 much of Madrid was covered by functional zoning, and the detailed layout of new districts reflected new concepts such as the garden city.

In the 1920s regional planning came on the scene, with a strategy of satellite towns. Sambricio admitted that some districts had generated *Mietskasernen* (sic), but most of his audience must have been impressed by the sensitivity and sophistication of Spanish planning at the turn of the century. He ended with a review of some of the mass housing schemes of the 1920s and 1930s, the design of which strikingly reflected the political changes of the time. This excellent Madrid survey, the product of a major project, helped to set the noted Barcelona experience in much better perspective and allowed a glimpse of the national features of Spanish planning during a period of considerable interest.

With Gilbert Stelter (University of Guelph) attention switched to the northern extremities of the Americas. Canada, like Argentina, had been subject to European influences but most of these came via the United States. Following Mumford and Foucault, Stelter argued that cities reflect the culture of the broader, national society in which they evolve. In the late nineteenth century there were three 'visions of the city': the 'grand city', the 'healthy city', and the 'efficient city'. Cities were shaped by those who held *power*, and systems of government were important. A particular distinction should be made between countries whose cities were supervised by the central government, and those in which a regional tier of provinces or states intervened. The 'grand city' was a direct reflection of power, as at Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro, and also in the U.S. during the City Beautiful period. It was from here that Canada drew its own baroque style from the early twentieth century.

The 'grand city' had a great attraction for Canada. Better known was the arrival of the 'healthy city' idea with Thomas Adam in 1914, when 'garden city' concepts took root in Canada. The 'city efficient', too, was now well established in the U.S. and it was respected north of the border. Stelter argued that the'city efficient' was the work of bureaucrats and that in the U.S. these people were the servants of property. Thus Canadian planning, despite its humane dimensions, could not function independently of political and economic realities.

Canadians were a modest, quiet people but they suffered, somewhat like the Argentinians, from an identity crisis. In theory Canada should have combined the best that Britain, France and the

U.S. could offer, but the result was often the opposite. In Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and Ottawa 'grand' planning achieved only partial results. City Beautiful schemes designed to embellish the central areas of Montreal and Toronto were never put into effect, and the main achievement in Montreal was the creation of a City Beautiful suburb, Maisonneuve, by French Canadian businessmen. This reflected, paradoxically, the failure of the francophone bourgeoisie to penetrate the English elite who dominated the central area. Vancouver, on the other hand, carried out much of the plan prepared by Harland Bartholomew in the 1920s. This was a 'city efficient' plan but visually it had much in common with the City Beautiful, with a 'grand' civic centre.

Ottawa never fulfilled prime minister Laurier's boast that he would make it 'the Washington of the north'. Conflict between the city and the Federal government discouraged strong action, but a City Beautiful plan was drawn up by an American architect in 1916. In the 1920s and 1930s Mackenzie King used his long administrations to push forward a number of 'grand' schemes and he commissioned a new plan on Beaux-Arts lines before the war.

Attention now switched from European and North American examples to South American planning. Nestor Goulart Reis Filho (University of Sao Paulo) examined some aspects of the planning of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo between 1890 and 1920. Stressing the importance of economic change, he equated Rio in 1900 with the rapid growth of Sao Paulo today. Rio was reorganised very quickly at the turn of the century when a number of new avenues were built. European influence was considerable, including a plan by Alfred Agache. A similar process was already occurring in Sao Paulo, with Bouvard acting as consultant. Urban changes were a part of general social changes, particularly those affecting the owners of capital. Social contrasts were especially marked in Brazil, where slavery had survived into the 1880s, to be followed by an intractable poverty. The city plans served the interests of the rich, argued Reis, echoing Stelter's thesis.

Nicolau Sevcenko (University of Sao Paulo) discussed the rise of Sao Paulo, 1890 -1930. He stressed the city's rapid growth throughout the 1870-1930 period, reaching 1 1/4 million. The immigrant population was composed largely of ex-slaves and the result was discontinuity, a city which could only look forward because it had no past. The example of Paris played a big part in planning, but this was because of its simplicity, rather than its prestige associations. Urban projects were regarded as civilising influences. There was major speculation in real estate and there developed a marked residential segregation of rich and poor.

Jorge di Paula (University of Montevideo) examined the planning of the Uruguayan capital between 1860 and 1930. As in the other examples, heavy in-migration had sustained rapid urban growth. The beginnings of planning could be traced to the 1860s and 1870s, with measures such as the fixing of minimum street widths. Di Paula laid heavy emphasis on local and national politics, and on the role and influence of the masses. As in the other cities, proposals for new avenues emerged around 1900, and overall Montevideo appeared to conform to the general South American picture which was emerging from these papers. Mariano Arana (University of Montevideo) gave a second paper on Montevideo, concentrating on the central avenue schemes designed to vary the grid. French participation and influence were substantial. The planning of parks began in the 1890s and had some of the features of a park system on American lines. Although it was a much smaller city, the Montevideo approach to modernisation was similar to that of Buenos Aires, and a number of specialists worked in both cities. In 1911 an international competition was held for a system of avenues and parks, and the result was in effect a city plan, with hygienic considerations included. In the 1920s and 1930s the State increasingly played a direct role in the city, and the emphasis switched to urban rationalisation, with Le Corbusier proposing a radical scheme of reorganisation. Arana claimed, however, that Montevideo had emerged as a rational city in any case, with some very good residential areas created by private developers.

Armando de Ramon's (Catholic University of Chile) paper on Santiago de Chile also stressed the similarities with the other cities discussed. Rapid population growth had begun around 1850. There was almost no in-migration by the Indians, so the enlarged city was built entirely for Europeans. The population was nevertheless very poor for the most part and the result was a poor quality of tenement housing, followed in the twentieth century by shanty development. Shanty building took place on abandoned land and later on illegally occupied tracts outside the city. Efforts to legalise these occupations had a big impact on the city's politics, and policing was also an important issue. Government policy now aims to eradicate the shanties and resettle the people on the land, but there is a long way to go.

Jorge Hardoy (University of Buenos Aires) provided a sweeping review of South American urbanisation in the nineteenth century. He stressed the variety of European countries from which emigration took place and called for more

work on the censuses, following the example of his own team in Buenos Aires. A study of seaport features and functions would be especially interesting, given that the leading cities were all ports. One would expect the employment structure to be similiar in all these places. With low wages, a rapid increase in land values, and high construction costs, workers could not afford to buy a house, and the rent of one room could take up to a quarter of the average unskilled wage. Most of the immigrantxxx population, whether from Europe or from rural areas and small towns, was illiterate. These common features, objectively determined through work on quantitative data, reinforced the impression that the leading South American cities had much in common, and that their similarities derived mainly from their associated roles in the world economy of the later nineteenth century.

Margarita Gutman (University of Buenos Aires), an associate of Hardoy, discussed the scientific surveys undertaken in Buenos Aires from the 1880s, including building rates and the extension of the built-up area. Thus T. de Alvear, creator of the first avenues in the 1880s, was able to use an urban model, based on ornamentation and hygiene. However, this was a peculiar model and it was not used consistently. In the outer districts there was an emphasis on order. The administration became highly professional before the end of the century. Hardoy pointed out the continuing importance of the land speculators as shapers of urban growth, but Buenos Aires appeared overall as a modern, well-governed city.

Jorge Tartarini (National Commission of Museums, Buenos Aires) concentrated on the Bouvard plan for Buenos Aires, 1907-11. The city had seen a number of schemes by architects, engineers and politicians, many of which were to some degree political statements. Many included diagonal streets and avenues. None however was put into effect. When Bouvard came to the city as consultant in 1907 his status was more secure, but his plan was too ambitious and there was much criticism from other architects. The Bouvard plan was neverthless adopted, in 1912, and it had some influence. However, it rested firmly on the work of others and did not represent a completely new departure in the planning of the city.

Attention moved to smaller towns with Alberto de Paula's (Archive of the Bank of the Province of Buenos Aires) study of the urban expansion of Carmen de Patagones, 1854-1889. Part of a much larger book by Paula's team, the paper reviewed a pre-industrial process of town development in which the results were determined by competing interests. The use of a grid was not questioned, and the resulting town, far from being a disaster, is now a conservation zone with many listed buildings. Jorge Ponte (Argentine National Council of Scientific Investigation), in 'Mendoza 1850-1930', concentrated on planning after the earthquake of 1872. In this case a new city was planned alongside the old one. Interest in public health grew after 1879, when there was concern about the water supply. Development after 1900 included parks and other attractive facilities. There was some ' garden city' influence on housing development.

In the last session Juan Lombardo (Rosario/University of Aachen) drew the discussion together in 'The problem of the quality of space and the mode of production of the city since the nineteenth century'. He began with a summary of pre-industrial Absolutist planning, and went on to the process of division of land, using the example of Buenos Aires. He stressed that segregation was a result of the land market. The central area has been increasingly occupied in recent decades by tertiary employees with workers going to the outer suburbs. There was much self-build in these outer areas, and there was not much State intervention in planning here. Thus Buenos Aires had expanded since 1945 in response to market forces so its spatial quality was in the hands of speculators. Detailed building and planning regulations had little effect. The result was 'chaotic growth'. Finally, Lombardo presented a typology of contributors to environmental quality. This emphasis on the *quality* of the urban environment, judged according to objective criteria, was a timely one and foreshadowed further work by Lombardo on this neglected historical theme.

Jorge Hardoy plans to publish a volume of essays (in Spanish) based on the conference contributions. Its emphasis may differ from the original papers. The assumption implicit in the programme that European influence would be the main issue was not borne out in the debates. Instead, a distinctive South American urbanism emerged, beginning in the 1850s when European capital and migration began to flood into the continent. These inward movements, combined with the export of primary products, generated the rapid growth of a number of large seaports. With the Indian population and, in the former Portuguese territories, the bulk of the freed slaves remaining on the land, the cities became a European habitat. Transatlantic migration, combined with in-migration to the cities by Hispanic country dwellers, produced primate cities which accommodated a much larger proportion of their national populations than did their equivalents in Europe. Owing partly to the lack of manufacturing, real wages were very low by European standards, while a small trading and administra-

tive class dominated both the cities and their hinterlands.

The physical form of the large city was universally dominated by the colonial grid, which survived into the post-1850 period as an efficient means of subdivision. The Beaux-Arts concept of the avenue was thus both a persuasive planning alternative and a symbol of elite intervention into a city of small investors. European architects and engineers were less the harbingers of change than the representatives of domestic reform interests. Shanty towns on the urban fringe were not a feature of urban growth in the nineteenth century but they have grown up almost everywhere in the twentieth century as urbanisation has accelerated. Their political characteristics have discouraged ambitious planning intervention. Throughout, 'speculation' as perceived by the South American urban historians has been the major force in urban development, but a mature and practical planning has nevertheless emerged since before the turn of the century. This would suggest that rapid urbanisation and urban problems tend to generate planning, independently of foreign influences. However, the European origin of so much population and capital helped to make South America open to European ideas, and the employment of European consultants remains a common practice even today.

The meeting thus marked an important step forward in the understanding of South American planning and the urban experience in general. It is to be hoped that some of the South American contributors will pursue their suggestive research until a coherent picture of South American urbanism can be presented to the wider world.

Utopian Thought And Communal Experience
New Lanark July 1988

Colin Ward

The memorable thing about this conference was that it was held in part at New Lanark. The decision showed a great sense of historical imagination as well as considerable faith in the New Lanark Conservation Trust, for when the organisers made a reconnaisance in 1987, even though immense progress had been made since the Trust began its work of reconstruction in 1974, they were all too aware of the amount of work to be done before Mill No.3 could house an international conference.

Their faith was justified, thanks to the immense enthusiasm of Jim Arnold, the Manager of New Lanark (the same title that Robert Owen used 180 years ago). To anyone who saw the sorry state of the entire complex in the 1970s, the results are miraculous. Much of the housing has been restored and re-occupied, one of the mills functions as a visitors' centre, and the Scottish Wildlife Trust operates the Falls of Clyde Nature Reserve. In an area with over 20 per cent unemployment there are 240 people employed under the Community Programme.

It must have been a proud moment for guests and hosts alike when Clydesdale District Council entertained 200 people from all over the world at a full-scale banquet, with the McGibbon Ensemble playing music that could have been heard in Robert Owen's Institution for the Formation of Character. The Council's Convenor told us that this was a calculated move, since we would inevitably tell the world that New Lanark must not be missed. This I have done.

The conference itself was a joint venture by two bodies. Firstly the International Communal Studies Association, based in Israel and directed by Professor Yaacov Oved. Secondly the National Historic Communal Societies Association, based in the United States and directed by Professor Donald E. Pitzer. The organisers, Dennis Hardy and Lorna Davidson, were faced with the usual invidious problem of accommodating over 90 papers in dozens of sessions shared between New Lanark and Pollock Halls, Edinburgh, grouping them by guesswork and intuition.

An even rougher subdivision would divide them into six categories. First: those relating to the Israeli kibbutz, its history, evolution, contemporary problems, future, and its lessons for communal experiments in other countries. Secondly, those relating to 19th century communitarian ventures in the United States, the Owenites, Shakers, Rappites and dozens of others. Thirdly, those about dozens of 'utopian' communal experiments, old or new and throughout the world, which didn't fit in the first two categories. Fourthly, the particular role of women in all of them. Fifthly, the nature of 'utopian' thinking as such. Finally, the implications of all this for planners and for students of the history of planning.

In the present context I should confine myself to the last of these. John Gold of Oxford Polytechnic entertained us with the Modern Architectural Research Group's London Plan of 1942. The physical details of this total reconstruction of London are nowadays less interesting than the underlying assumptions that Dr Gold drew out of them. It was a plan for Public Man, scarcely for Public Woman, and not very much for their children, safe in their nurseries. Personal and private enthusiasms or idiosyncrasies were to play little part in the citizens' lives. The imagery is much like that of the famous pre-war film *Thing to Come* based on Wells's novel, and of course leads to yet another current in the analysis of what went wrong with post-war planning. The plan may have come to nothing, but the effects of the impositions of its technocratic assumptions on populations least suited for the MARS lifestyle are still with us.

An unexpectedly relevant paper came from Dr Ansi Paasi of Finland. When the boundary between that country and the USSR was redrawn after the last war it had a kink to take over the steel-making company town called Vartsila. Beyond the newly planted tree belt in the restricted zone, the former inhabitants can see the smoke and even hear the factory whistles of their one-time home. They romanticise their life there in pre-war days so that it is seen in retrospect as a utopia, which by any objective standard it was not. Later generations, needless to say, cannot understand what their elders are on about. His paper threw much light on the work of environmental psychologists on the phenomenon of "grieving for a lost home."

In the same session Andy Wood of the Open University presented an account of "Greentown: a case study of a proposed alternative community", summarising his paper of that name published by the Open University Energy and Environment Research Unit, and in one of the plenary meetings Tony Gibson described the TCPA's Lightmoor venture, urging that "Utopian schemes are valuable when they can be shown to be within reach of ordinary people; otherwise they are fairy stories. And they should be seen as working neighbourhoods that are part of the wider society, rather than as exclusive communities."

There were echoes here of a discussion that is at least 150 years old between those who sought to create "a cell of good living" and those who quoted Wordsworth's dictum (which I heard more than once at the conference) that

> "Not in Utopia - subterranean fields -
> Or on some secret island, Heaven knows where!
> But in this very world, which is the world
> of all of us, - the place where, in the end,
> We find our happiness, or not at all!"

I didn't actually meet anyone in Edinburgh or New Lanark who wanted to contradict him. I went in fact to a remarkable tape-slide presentation by Professor Ron Roberts of the University of Northern Iowa about "Lumpen communards: recent attempts at community by the homeless in the U.S."

Several themes continually recur in the discussion of utopian and communitarian ventures. One is the great Marxist put-down. For even though the young Engels declared that the wealth of such communities in 19th century America showed that "communism, the social life and work based on common possession of goods, is not only possible but has actually been realised," both he and Marx went on to see such activities as merely a petit-bourgeois diversion from the class struggle, and to dismiss all previous socialists - such theorists as Saint-Simon, Fourier and Proudhon - as mere utopians when compared with their own brand of "scientific socialism." Another is the tendency to discuss the success or failure of communities in terms of longevity.

Krishan Kumar, professor of sociology at Kent, and author of *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times* (Blackwell 1987), tackled both these issues. Surely, he argued, subsequent social history shows that nothing could be more utopian than Marxist theories about the future of human society, compared with which the despised utopians were models of good pragmatic common sense. He was even more challenging on the question of how long a communitarian experiment has to last to be considered successful by us prying outsiders and evaluators. "No organisations should last long," he declared. "They all begin to ossify from the moment they are set up."

For me there was a benign brooding spirit behind this assemblage of kibbutzniks on the one hand and academic community historians on the other. It wasn't so much that of Robert Owen, and his extraordinary achievements, even though our

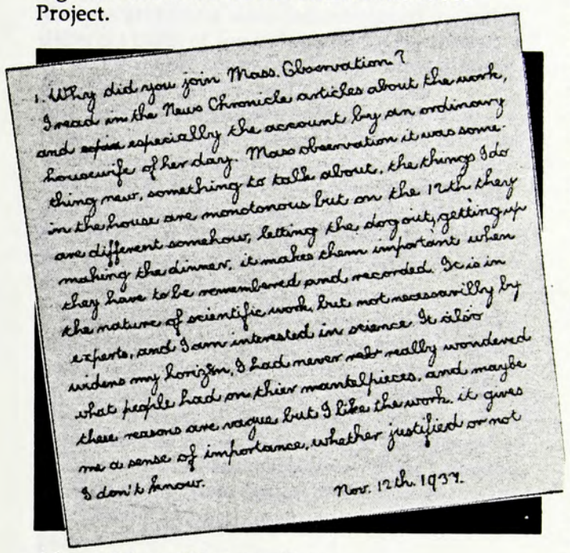
visit to New Lanark must have encouraged us to take another look at them. (Jim Arnold stressed that the place is today "far more democratic than in Owen's day.")

The brooding spirit was to my mind that of Martin Buber, who I did hear mentioned several times. In fact one kibbutz member confided to me his heretical view that "Buber was an old phoney". All the same, he did, in his book *Paths in Utopia* of 1949, make all those connections and uncover those buried interlinking traditions that by the end of our week in Edinburgh and New Lanark, we were just beginning to make for ourselves.

Sources

The Tom Harrisson Mass-Observation Archive

The papers resulting from the work of the social research organisation, Mass-Observation, have been housed at the University of Sussex since 1970. The collection covers the years 1937 to the early 1950s when the original Mass-Observation was active; it also now includes the work resulting from the Mass-Observation in the 1980s Project.


1. Why did you join Mass. Observation?
I read in the News Chronicle articles about the work, and again especially the account by an ordinary housewife of her diary. Mass observation it was something new, something to talk about, the things I do in the house are monotonous but on the 12th they are different somehow, letting the dog out, getting up making the dinner, it makes them important when they have to be remembered and recorded. It is in the nature of scientific work, but not necessarily by experts, and I am interested in science. It also widens my horizon, I had never read really wondered what people had on their mantelpieces, and maybe these reasons are vague but I like the work, it gives me a sense of importance, whether justified or not I don't honour.
Nov. 12th. 1937.

About Mass-Observation

Mass-Observation was founded in 1937 by Tom Harrisson, Charles Madge and Humphrey Jennings to create, in their words, an "anthropology of ourselves" - a study of the everyday lives of ordinary people in Britain. The earliest work was based partly in Bolton (the Worktown project 1937-40) and partly in London where studies were undertaken in the communities of the East End and during the West Fulham byelection of 1938.

Mass-Observation employed two distinct methods of collecting data. A team of paid investigators recorded people's behaviour and conversation in a variety of public situations (meetings, religious occasions, sporting and leisure activities, in the street and at work); at the same time a panel of volunteer observers around the country kept diaries and responded to monthly questionnaires. Information from both sources formed the basis for a series of 3,000 typed File Reports and for 25 books published between 1937 and 1960.

The peak of M-O's activities occurred during the Second World War and the resulting Archive is a unique record of how people lived under wartime conditions. Earnings from books, newspaper articles and radio broadcasts provided an important source of income for M-O. It was also paid by the Ministry of Information to monitor civilian morale during 1940-1. A number of other investigations were carried out for both government and business clients during this period although M-O always retained its independence and was able to combine this work with its own research. By the late 1940s, however, its focus had become primarily commercial and it was registered as a limited company in 1949. M-O (UK) Ltd exists today as a market research firm with no formal connection to the present Archive.

Mass-observation In The Eighties

Paper resulting from the new 'Mass-Observation in the Eighties' Project set up by Professor David Pocock in 1981 now also form part of the collection. Over 1,000 volunteer respondents have been recruited through the national and local press to record their everyday lives in diaries and in response to prompts or 'directives' sent to them 3 or 4 times a year by the Archive. David Pocock has used some of this new material (on eating habits and meal times) towards a new introduction to *Movable Feasts* by Arnold Palmer (OUP 1984). Funds awarded by the Nuffield Foundation in 1986 have ensured that this project will continue to run until at least 1989.

The Present Archive

The Archive now holds the papers generated by research carried out between 1937 and 1949 with a few later additions from the 1950s. This includes not only typed and written manuscripts but also photographs (taken as part of the Worktown Project in Bolton and Blackpool by Humphrey Spender), leaflets, pamphlets, newspaper cuttings, posters and other ephemera. Approximately a quarter of the collection comprises personal writing and wartime diaries. A number of new collections (chiefly diaries, letters and personal papers donated by individuals) have been added to the Archive since it was op-

ened in 1975. Handlists and indexes to these groups of papers are available at the Archive.

Of particular interest to planning historians will be the Topic Collection (relating to material from 1937 onwards), with the following indicative of what can be obtained:

- ***Demolition In London 1941***

  One file containing detailed reports written by an observer working for a London demolition contractor clearing bombed buildings.

- ***Holidays 1937-51***

  A collection of notes, observations, reports and questionnaires on attitudes to popular holidays and holiday pastimes. The Beveridge Holiday Questionnaire (1947) studied holiday hopes, habits and finance, and opinions of holiday camps (reports of which are also part of the collection). Questionnaire replies exist from Birmingham, London, York and Exmoor. Earlier material documents attitudes to the 'Holidays at Home' campaign (1942-43) and ephemera related to British holidays covers the whole period. Some parts of the collection are concurrent with M-O's Worktown project.

- ***Housing 1938-1948***

  Most of this material relates to the M-O publication *People's Homes* researched and written by Richard Fitter between 1941 and 1942. Additional material on pre-war housing issues and post-war reconstruction is included, with details of exhibitions and ephemera.

- ***Post-war Hopes 1944***

  A small collection of responses to an essay competition organised by the British Legion in 1944. Related analysis shows directions of interest and opinion under several group headings, including employment, education, economics and reconstruction. Related information may be found in the *Reconstruction* Topic Collection.

- ***Reconstruction 1941-43***

  A collection of papers representing public views and aspirations concerning future society and the measures proposed by various planning agencies to match them. The collection includes data from the M-O Reconstruction Surveys of 1941 and 1942, and questionnaire and directive replies on future hopes and expectations. Data are extensive in scope and include employment, politics, urban development and housing. Related material exists in the *Post-war Hopes* collection.

- ***Squatting 1946***

  Material consisting mainly of reports on post-war squatting in disused military camps.

Access To The Material

Access to the papers is available to all researchers provided that they comply with the conditions safeguarding the collection. Access is granted at the discretion of the Archivist on behalf of the trustees. Applications to consult the Archive should be addressed to:

The Archivist
The Mass-Observation Archive
The Library
University of Sussex
Falmer
BRIGHTON BN1 9QL
East Sussex
UK

Tel: 0273 678157

Planning History Practice

Silver End, Essex

Built between 1926 and 1932, the model village of Silver End in Essex exhibits a strange mix of nineteenth-century industrial paternalism and twentieth-century architecture. Its founder, F.H. Crittall, pioneer of metal door and window frames, and prospering from the interwar construction boom, invested in his own company village. "Should we not," he asked, "pioneer in pastures new and fashion for ourselves a completely new community?"[1]

Various architects were commissioned to design different parts of the village, and a contrast of styles emerged. Undoubtedly, the most distinctive legacy is that of the 153 flat-roofed International Movement houses - originally painted off-white and fitted with metal door and window frames. The modern style was not only a revelation at the time, in the context of predictable suburban variations on a garden city theme, but the square houses also sit oddly in a county that has since pioneered design guides based on more traditional motifs.

It is this distinctive style - "the only complete estate of modern movement houses in the country"[2] that is now recognised in a new planning policy for the village. The need for such a policy is explained in terms of the erosion of the unified appearance of Silver End through individual home alterations and extensions. With a view to protecting the basic design of the village, Braintree District Council has adopted a threefold policy:

- The designation of a Conservation Area to cover the extent of the original village, which has the effect of strengthening existing planning and listed building controls;
- The use of an Article 4 Direction to extend the limits of control to cover such critical features as alterations to front doors and windows;
- The preparation of schemes for environmental improvements such as the replacement of roadside trees.

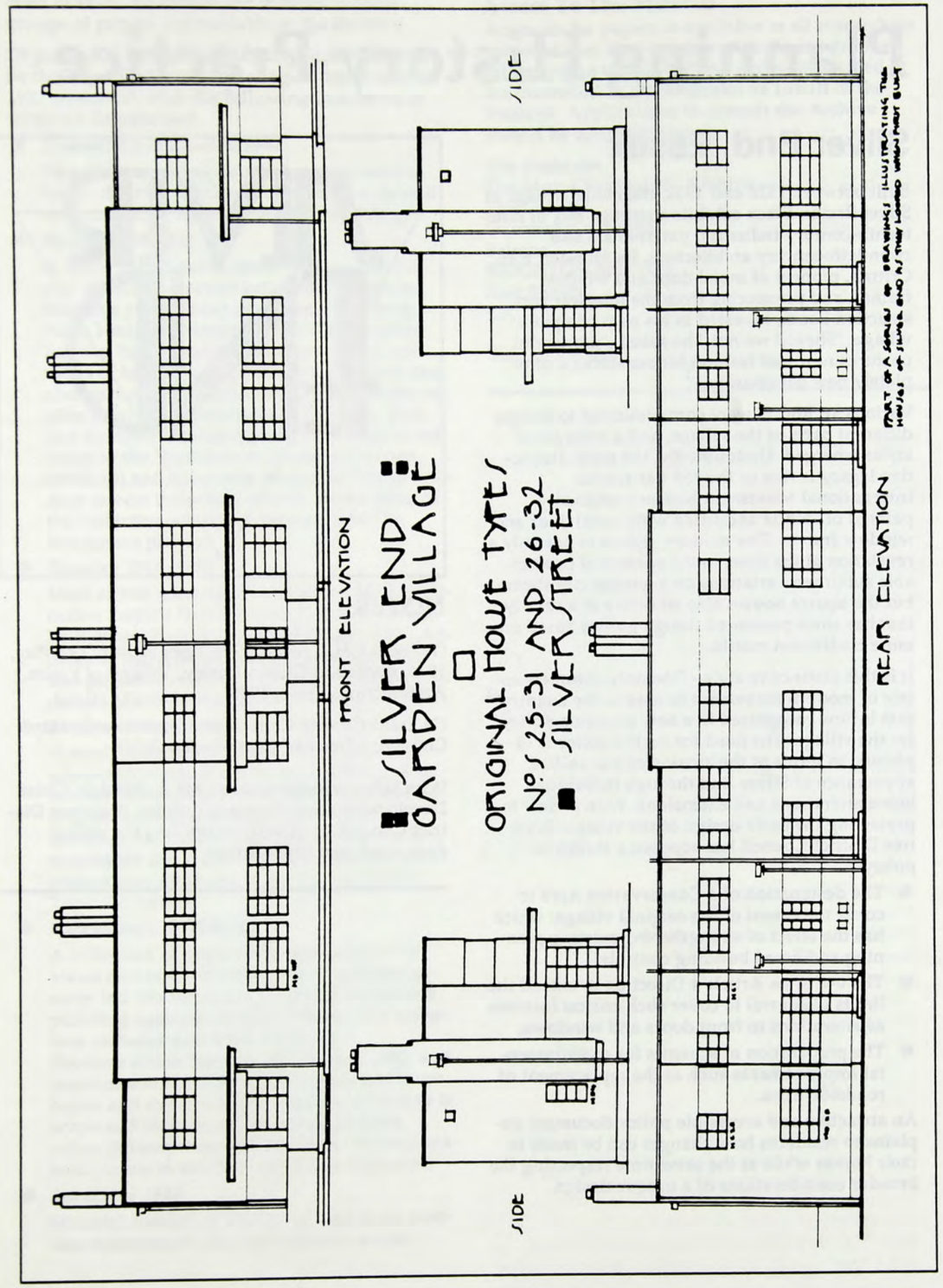
An attractive and accessible policy document explains to residents how changes can be made to their homes while at the same time respecting the broader considerations of a unique design.

NOTES

(1) From F.H. Crittall, *Fifty Years of Work and Play*, 1934, quoted in Gillian Darley, *Villages of Vision*, Architectural Press, 1975.

(2) Essex County Council and Braintree County Council, *Silver End Conservation Guide.*

With acknowledgements to Mr A. Butcher, Chief Development and Planning Officer, Braintree District Council, for kindly supplying the policy document and illustrations.



Networks

Construction History Society

The strong tradition for the history of building to concentrate on architectural history, the history of style, has resulted in the history of construction, the history of techniques and processes, being neglected.

It was the perception of this lack of investigation and study of construction that encouraged a small group of people in 1981 to found the Construction History Society. It was seen as the focus for those interested in construction history, where ideas could be explored and study encouraged. The Society was greatly helped by the support of the Chartered Institute of Building, which helped to publicise what was seen as a major task, the location and preservation of the records of builders and contractors; not only the records remaining from the last century, but also those of firms still in existence or who have only recently gone out of business. In furtherance of this aim the Society has arranged for some of its members to form a research group to conduct a pilot study to locate and catalogue a typical sample of builders records and to put the information on a data base that will be as widely accessible as possible.

The members of the Society, now numbering 200, come from all the construction industry professions, people in education and practice, and includes builders, contractors, historians and conservationists, not only from the United Kingdom, but also from Europe, North America and Australasia.

The Society holds a day long seminar each year - the themes of the last two being 'The Building Crafts and Conservation' and 'The Railway Builders'. The third issue of the annual refereed journal, *Construction History*, will be distributed in August, published by the Carfax Publishing Company of Oxford. Each year visits are arranged to buildings and archives of construction history interest, (the Foreign Office and the Palm House, Kew, were two recent trips) and a quarterly Newsletter is sent to all members. This year in the autumn it is intended to hold the first annual lecture, where a topic of wider interest can be presented.

Recent visits have included the vaults of Somerset House, the 1829 warehouse at West India Docks and the Greater Manchester Museum of Science and Industry. Future visits are planned to Chatham Historical Dockyard, Salisbury Cathedral and the archive of the Historical Monument Record.

To encourage the study of the history of construction and the preservation of primary source material the Society is always interested in contributions suitable for either the Journal, or shorter ones, suitable for inclusion in the Newsletter. Through its varied membership the Society is often able to publicise the results of research or locate information and help about specific construction history problems.

For further information about the Society contact the Secretary, Stan Smith, at the Chartered Institute of Building, Englemere, Kings Rise, Ascot, Berks, SL5 8BJ, United Kingdom.

Publications

Abstracts

John F. Bauman, *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920-1974.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987, 278pp., ISBN 0-87722-444-7, $34.95 cloth.

Bauman offers one of the most detailed and helpful examinations of the history of US public housing yet done. He not only discusses the various actors and policies that shaped the nation's early public housing but also looks at the impact of local politics and neighbourhood resistance in Philadelphia on the early public housing program. The second half of the book looks at the changing nature of public housing after World War II.

Robert Beevers, *The Garden City Utopia. A critical biography of Ebenezer Howard.* Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, 1988, 206pp, £27.50, ISBN 0-333-42375-5

A pioneer of town planning, Howard was first and foremost a social reformer, his garden city being just one step towards a new social and industrial order. The volume traces Howard's theories back to their origins in English puritan dissent and forwards to his attempt to build a new society in microcosm at Letchworth and Welwyn.

John Davis, *Reforming London: The London government problem 1855-1900.* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1988, 303pp, £29.50, ISBN 0-19-822937-2

Traces the process of reform that led to the formation of the London County Council as both local and national politicians wrestled with the economic, social and administrative complexities of what had, by the mid nineteenth century, become the largest city in the world. Traditional local rivalries deepened as previously separate communities were joined together by the spread of the city, and the contrast between rich and poor areas became even more stark.

Walter L. Creese, *The Crowning of the American Landscape: Eight great spaces and their buildings.* Princeton, N.J.:Princeton University Press, 1985, 320pp., ISBN 0-691-04029-X, $55.00.

This elegant volume examines in detail eight large-scale sites that represent the best of landscape design and their attendant architecture from the 19th and early 20th centuries. Besides lavish illustrations and detailed assessments of each of the cases, the author also offers important interpretive insights, noting in particular that the romantic designers whose work is explored in his volume were never able to organise a serious national movement to spread their works.

S.N. Eisenstadt and A. Shachar, *Society, Culture, and Urbanisation,* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1987, 392pp., ISBN 0-8039-2478-X, $35.00.

The authors provide a comparative analysis of the social, spatial, and temporal dynamics of urbanisation in an international context. In looking at the emergence of urban civilisations in major world regions and traditional societies, Eisenstadt and Shachar touch upon a number of important themes, including: the progenitors of urban economies, the emergence of social groups and classes, the role of economic, political, and social institutions, and the internal structure of cities. The book would be useful to regional geographers, historians, sociologists, architects, and planners.

Graham Hallett (ed), *Land and Housing Policies in Europe and the USA: a comparative analysis.* Routledge, London, 1988, 216pp, £27.50, ISBN 0-415-00511-6.

Examines the relation between urban land policies and the housing situation in the USA and a number of European countries, namely West Germany, the Netherlands, France, Yugoslavia and Great Britain. Among the topics covered are the main policy instruments for 'greenfield development' and urban renewal, the financial and distributional aspects of land policy, and the nature of 'the housing problems'.

Frank E. Joyce and Gunter Schneider (eds), *Environment and Economic Development in the Regions of the European Community.* Avebury, Aldershot, 1988, 154pp, £18.50, ISBN 0-566-05522-8

The volume comprises the papers given to a seminar organised by the Commission of the European Communities at Cambridge in 1984, focussed on 3 themes: the need for environmental improvement in the traditional industrial area, the need to preserve environmental quality and resources as a fundamental basis of sustainable growth, and the potential for integrated rural development. A series of practical examples of integration of environmental and economic development is given.

Christopher M. Law in association with E.K. Grime, C.J. Grundy, M.L. Senior and J.N. Tuppen, *The Uncertain Future of the Urban Core.* Routledge, London, 1988, 253pp, £32.50, ISBN 0-415-00464-0.

Assesses recent changes in the structure of urban areas, concentrating on the process of decentralisation and the consequences for the inner city. It reports on extensive research in North America and Western Europe, examines and evaluates current policies, and puts forward suggestions as to the future management of the city.

Herbert Loebl, *Government Factories and the Origins of British Regional Policy, 1934-1948, including a case study of North Eastern Trading Estates Ltd.* Avebury, Aldershot, 1988, 418pp, ISBN 0-566-95343-8.

To mark the 50th anniversary of the Team Valley Trading Estate, the first government-financed Trading or Industrial Estate in Britain, the author reviews its origins and early development against the background of inter-war depression in the North-east of England and emergence of a regional policy. The latter parts of the volume are devoted to the beginnings of development area policy during the war and the policy and changing role of the Trading Estate during the shortages and economic crises of the post-war years.

James L. Machor, *Pastoral Cities: Urban Ideals and the Symbolic Landscape of America.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987, 272pp, ISBN 0-299-11280-2, cloth, 0-299-11284-5, paper, $45.00 cloth, $12.95 paper.

This volume is not a history of city life, urban planning, or the process of urbanisation but an examination of a conception of the American urban environment. Using the literary record and other secondary sources, the author explores the concept of urban pastoralism that was so important to American cultural values in the nineteenth century.

Lynn F. Pearson, *The Architectural and Social History of Cooperative Living. Macmillan Press, London, 1988, 274pp, £33.00, ISBN 0-333-40620-6.*

Traces the social and architectural history of the cooperative housekeeping movement, which reaches its peak in the early years of the century, when connected with the Garden City and arts and crafts movement. With private rooms centred on a core of communal facilities, the cooperative home was intended to take the place of the private house, and thereby mark the start of a domestic revolution that would greatly improve the life of women.

Neil Wrigley (ed), *Store Choice, Store Location and Market Analysis.* Routledge, London, 1988, 358pp, £39.99, ISBN 0-415-00199-4.

Major restructuring of the UK retailing industry has taken place over the last 2 decades. Contributors to the volume present accounts of the development of new and original methods for retail analysis and forecasting purposes, laying stress upon practical approaches which will be accurate and robust and can operate with the type of data typically available to retailers.

Marc A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builder: The American real estate industry and urban land planning.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1987, 228pp, $30.00 cloth, ISBN 231-06504-3.

This volume focuses on the role of the real estate industry between 1890 and 1940 in creating communities in the rapidly expanding suburbs in American metropolitan areas. The large scale developers, rather than those who subdivided land without any planning, are the focus of the study. Weiss demonstrates that the community builders translated the techniques of private subdivision for the wealthy into a public policy for the benefit of much less affluent residents.

Bruce E. Seeley, *Building The American Highway System: Engineers as policy makers*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988, 315pp, $32.95 cloth, ISBN 0-87722-472-2.

By examining closely the words and actions of the engineers in the Federal Bureau of Public Roads (and its predecessors), Seeley shows that a political technical experts, rather than political leaders, determined America's transportation policy. He explores the role of leaders in the agency from 1899 to 1953, and provides an effective analysis of how the Interstate Highway System came about in the 1950s as the culmination of a half-century of initiative by the Bureau of Public Roads.

Francis Violich, with Robert Daughters, *Urban Planning for Latin America: The challenge of metropolitan growth*, A Lincoln Institute of Land Policy Book, Boston: Oelgesch- lager, Gunn and Hain, 1987, 435pp, $40.00, ISBN 0-89946-213-8,

Lisa Peattie, *Planning: Rethinking Ciudad Guyanna*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1987, 174pp, ISBN 0-472-10085-8, cloth $26.00, ISBN 0-472-08069-5, paper $13.95.

These two recent volumes on Latin American urbanisation offer varying perspectives on the region. Violich, who has spent a lifetime working and thinking about large cities in Latin America and what to do about them, has produced an encyclopedic treatment of the history of planning. Besides separate (and lengthy) chapters on urban evolution in the region and the influence of planning in that evolution, Violich includes four case studies of metropolitan planning, dealing with Caracas, Bogota, Santiago and Sao Paulo. Peattie's study is a follow-up to her now classic *View from the Barrio*, which was a critical account of the New Town, Giudad Guyanna. It shows that after thirty years, the highly touted utopia in Venezuela has the look and feel of any city in the country even though planning did make a difference and produce some significant amenities.

With acknowledgements to John Sheail and Christopher Silver for abstracts received

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Doctoral Dissertations

The Making of the Modern City: Los Angeles and the Automobile, 1900-1950 . Bottles, Scott Lee (Ph.D. 1984 University of California, Los Angeles) 384p.

The Changing Image of the City: Planning for Downtown Omaha, 1945-1973 . Daly, Janet Rose (Ph.D. 1987 University of Pittsburgh) 316p.

Against the Odds: Postbellum Growth and Development in a Southern Black Urban Community, 1865-1900. David, Dernoral (Ph.D. 1987 State University of New York at Binghamton) 315p.

Neighbourhood and Metropolis: The Origins of Modern Urban Planning, 1877-1935. Fairfield, John D. (Ph.D. 1985 The University of Rochester) 258p.

A Political Economy of Moshi Town 1920-1960 . Green, Allen Johnson (Ph.D. 1986 University of California, Los Angeles) 214p.

Urban Planning and the Underdevelopment of a Third World City: Meknes, Morocco, 1912-1956. Hoffman, Michael Louis (Ph.D. 1984 The University of Wisconsin - Madison) 247p.

Politics and Policy in a Developing Industrial City: Worcester, Massachusetts, in the Late Nineteenth Century. Kolesar, Robert J. (Ph.D. 1987 Clark University) 350p.

City Planning and Social Reform in Cologne, Frankfurt and Dusseldorf, 1866-1914 . Ladd, Brian Kenneth (Ph.D. 1986 Yale University) 295p.

Politics and Public Works: Baltimore Before Progressivism. MacDonald, Gerald Michael (Ph.D. 1986 The John Hopkins University) 261p.

Urban Iconographies: Signs of Change and Immigrants in the American City, 1880-1915 . Robin, Ron Theodore (Ph.D. 1986 University of California, Berkeley) 327p.

The Evolution of Nairobi, Kenya, 1888-1939: A Study in Dependent Urban Development. Smith, Earl (Ph.D. 1984 The University of Connecticut) 200p.

The Transformation of the Provincial City: Toulouse 1945-1975 . Wakeman, Rosemary Mangiaracina (Ph.D. 1985 University of California, Davis) 410p.

Source: University Microfilms International catalogue of doctoral dissertations, 1984-88 - selected by David Massey.

Review

Stephen V. Ward, *The Geography Of Interwar Britain: The State And Uneven Development* . Routledge, 1988, 272pp., £30.00,ISBN 0-415-004608

In recent years numerous academics, journalists, and politicians have drawn attention to the growing north - south divide within Britain. Invariably this is portrayed as a return to the 1920s and 1930s when one part of Britain prospered on the wealth created in the new consumption good industries while the other part suffered the social distress which accompanied the collapse of the export-orientated industries on which Britain's industrial fortunes in the 19th century had depended. Parallels are also drawn between the enthusiasm for the free play of market forces which characterises the present Conservative government's approach to economic policy and the stubborness with which successive inter-war governments clung on to the classical economic principles of free trade, balanced budgets, and the self-regulation of markets. As Stephen Ward himself has suggested, there is a sense in which "the 1980s do seem frighteningly like a sumptuous remake of an old film" (p.237), albeit with different characters and a modern setting. Thus, given these frequent comparisons between the present period and the inter-war years, Stephen Ward's detailed analysis of the role of the state in shaping the uneven spatial development of the 1920s and 1930s is especially welcome. More than anything else, it demonstrates the importance of interpreting geographical changes within the economic and political contexts of the time, thereby exposing the pitfalls of making hasty comparisons between different time periods.

Although Ward recognises the limitations of dividing Britain into two sharply defined parts, he nevertheless resorts to simple dualistic models in order to emphasise spatial differences. Thus in Chapter 1 he uses the notion of a dual economy to highlight the differences between those parts of the country specialising upon exporting sectors on the one hand and those dependent upon domestic consumption industries on the other. A core-periphery model is then suggested to draw attention to the emerging spatial separation of ownership and control functions from routine production functions which started during the inter-war period as a result of the growth of the large corporation. Finally, whilst studiously avoiding any reference to a north-south divide, Ward resorts throughout his book to making comparisons between inner (the south and much of the midlands) and outer (Wales, Scotland, and much of the north of England) Britain in order to avoid the discussion of geographical uneveness becoming too complex.

The focus of Ward's study is centred on the role that the state played in relation to capitalist processes. After outlining the changing pattern of state intervention in Chapter 2 and showing the dominant influence of the Treasury in resisting demands to increase state spending, Ward provides a thorough analysis of three areas of state involvement during the inter-war period. Each one is the product of painstaking historical research using original as well as secondary sources. Chapter 4 is devoted to Defence Expenditure and shows how the policy of concentrating the much reduced level of naval spending on the Royal Dockyards meant that it was the private sector yards in outer Britain which suffered most from the cuts. It was not until the rearmament programme of the late 1930s and the decision to place much of the increased spending by the army and the airforce in peripheral parts of Britain for strategic reasons that the economies of some of the distressed areas started to benefit from defence expenditure.

Similarly, in the chapter on industrial rationalisation, Ward's central point is that insofar as the state was drawn into the rationalisation of the older industries like iron and steel, the effect was to accentuate rather than challenge those processes leading to uneven development. For example, Ward takes Corby as a case study to show various ways in which the state facilitated the movement of the Stewart and Lloyds' steel-making capacity from Lanarkshire to Corby whilst at the same time supporting the initiatives by leading bankers to cut production capacity within the traditional steel-making areas. Even in the new industry of electricity generation, an unprecedented level of state involvement in the form of the Central Electricity Board is argued by Ward to have been used by the state to reproduce the existing spatial distribution of demand rather than to bring replacement investment to those industrial areas being abandoned by private capital.

The inter-war years of course are commonly remembered not just for high levels of unemployment but also for industrial unrest culminating in the General Strike of 1926. Ward devotes Chapter 6 to discussing the state's response to both of these aspects of the labour market. Although most readers will be familiar with accounts of the General Strike, the unemployment maintenance system, and the industrial transference scheme, Ward succeeds in bringing out some interesting geographical variations which are so often neglected. But once again, the key theme running through the chapter is the reluctance of governments to take any action which

would interfere with the free movement of labour. Thus the level of unemployment payments had to be sufficient to maintain social order, but low enough not to deter the unemployed from moving in search of work. And state intervention in the form of the industrial transference scheme is presented by Ward as a way of making the labour market operate more effectively from the point of view of capitalist interests.

Having examined in some detail the scale and form of central state intervention, Ward turns his attention in Chapters 7 and 8 to the local state. He views the inter-war years as "a plateau of municipal power" (p.156). By taking four constrasting towns in different parts of the country, he shows the relative importance of different pressures on the level and form of spending in different kinds of community. However, he also detects the beginnings of central state control over local government expenditure in the form of the Ministry of Health's loan sanction powers. This, he argues, provided another means by which the state reinforced the capitalist led development process through encouraging municipal spending in buoyant areas and limiting spending in the most depressed parts of outer Britain.

Throughout his analysis of the various forms of state intervention during the inter-war period, Ward makes explicit use of the various radical theories of the state which he introduced in Chapter 3, albeit in what he confessed was a somewhat exaggerated and oversimplified way. After a fairly orthodox presention of the empirical details of his research in the first part of each chapter, Ward then attempts to explain the state's role using capital-logic theories, class conflict theories, or managerialist theories, and sometimes a combination of all three. Given the abstract and ahistorical nature of many of the theories, it is not surprising that he finds no direct equivalence between any one theory and the realities of a particular example of state intervention. Consequently, the result does appear rather contrived and forced at times. In the concluding chapter, Ward singles out the capital-logic theories as being the most relevant for understanding state actions during the inter-war period. Thus the state is seen as intervening in support of the mechanisms of capitalist restructuring, and frequently in harness with banking capital rather than industrial capital. Moreover, the state is also seen as using the growing influence of the mass media to promote the acceptance of capitalist values and ideals within society as a whole.

The danger with interpreting everything from the standpoint of the structural logic of capitalism is that the processes of change can appear too deterministic, with the state being driven down a predestined path. Although Ward frequently highlights the tension between different fractions of capital (i.e. banking versus industrial capital; small versus large capital), he is apt to overlook the debate about alternative paths of capitalist development which gathered pace during the inter-war period. Arguably one of the weaknesses of the book is its neglect of the growing opposition to state policies during the late 1920s and 1930s from Keynes and other Cambridge economists who were making the case for a more interventionist, state-managed form of capitalism which would balance pure capitalist objectives against moral and social objectives. In the penultimate chapter Ward does document the growing pressure of the need for a spatial policy during the late 1930s following the 'gesture politics' of the Special Areas Act. But again this is presented in terms of the need for the reproduction of capitalist relations of production under the logic of the capitalist system rather than as a growing preference amongst those influencing policy for a more egalitarian, balanced pattern of spatial development within an overall capitalist framework.

Reviewed by David North
School of Geography and Planning
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PHG

Election of Executive Committee 1988-90

We have a new Executive Committee. There were five retiring U.K. members. Four nominations were received and all are elected: Pat Garside, George Gordon, Helen Meller, Mervyn Miller.

There were seven retiring non-UK members. An equal number of nominations was received and all are elected: Blaine Brownell, Eugenie Birch, Larry Gerckens, Roger Montgomery, Chris Silver, Shun-ichi Watanabe, Teresa Zarebska.

The Executive for 1988-90 is therefore:

U.K. Members

G.E. Cherry (Chair)
Patricia L. Garside (membership secretary)
George Gordon
D. Hardy (ex offico, Editor PH)
D.W. Massey (ex offico, Treasurer)
Helen Meller
M.K. Miller
J. Sheail
A.R. Sutcliffe
S.V. Ward (1989 Conference Convenor)

Non U.K. Members

B.A. Brownell
Eugenie L. Birch
J.B. Cullingworth
R. Freestone (Editor, PH, Pacific)
L.C. Gerckens
R. Montgomery
C. Silver
M. Smets
S. Watanabe
M. Weiss (Editor, PH, America)
Teresa Zarebska

Our constitution suggests an Executive of 24, equally split, U.K. and non-U.K. There are therefore **two vacancies on the UK side** and **one vacancy on the non-U.K. side**. I am open to receive suggestions for cooption. One U.K. cooption I would like to make quickly (your suggestions soon please) is for a person who would agree to serve as Meetings Secretary (Stephen Ward acts in that capacity until someone is found).

Pat Garside and David Massey have agreed to continue to serve as Membership Secretary and Treasurer respectively. This has been intimated previously and I have received no objections, so I hereby confirm them in office.

Stephen Ward has agreed to take on the onerous duty of 1989 Conference Convenor.

As for myself I am willing to act as your Chair for a further two years - but after that, I am sure it will be high time for me to move on!

Our Executive keeps tenuous (but valuable) links by post. It is possible for U.K. members to meet occasionally in Britain. With a resumption of international Conferences I hope that opportunities for the Executive as a whole to meet will arise.

The PHG leaflet, which also acts as an application form for membership, will be redrafted towards the end of the year and copies sent to all members via *PH*. A number of copies will be sent to all Executive members for promotional purposes.

The Third International PHG Conference will be held in Tokyo in November this year : let me extend a big thank you to Shin-ichi Watanabe and his colleagues in Japan for all their efforts towards this event.

The Fourth International Conference will be held in Birmingham, England in September 1989 (3rd to 7th); supported by the Bournville Village Trust It will be known as the Bournville Conference, and will focus on the Garden City tradition. Stephen Ward will be the Convenor.

Gordon Cherry
Chairman PHG

Planning History Group

The Planning History Group, inaugurated in 1974, is an international body. Its members, drawn from many disciplines, have a working interest in history, planning and the environment.

Chairman

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Membership

Membership of the group is open to all who have an interest in planning history. The annual subscription is £10 (currency equivalents available on request).

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Professor Gordon Cherry is Joint Editor with Professor Anthony Sutcliffe of an international journal concerned with history, planning and the environment: **Planning Perspectives.** There is a link between **Planning History** and **Planning Perspectives** and members of the Planning History Group are able to subscribe to the latter journal at very favourable discount rates.