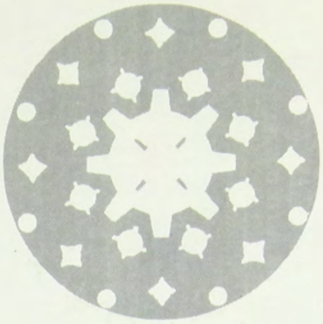
Planning History



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Editor

Professor Dennis Hardy
School of Geography and Planning
Middlesex Polytechnic
Queensway
Enfield
Middlesex
EN3 4SF

Telephone 01-368 1299 Extn 2299
Telex 8954762
Fax 01-805 0702

Associate Editor for the Americas

Dr Marc A. Weiss
School of Architecture and Planning
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Building 4-209
Cambridge, MA 02139
USA

Associate Editor for the Pacific

Dr Robert Freestone
DC Research
Design Collaborative Pty. Ltd.
225 Clarence Street
Sydney NSW 2000
Australia

Production

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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

Anniversaries necessarily have a special meaning for historians. It is less that the arbitrary passing of milestones along the avenue of time has any meaning in itself than the opportunity provided to pause and re-examine. Past events are put under a microscope and new insights can be gleaned from the fresh perspective of our own society. Each generation is enriched by a legacy of cumulative scholarship, and reinterprets past events in the light of new priorities and areas of interest. Seen in this way, anniversaries themselves become a stimulus to fresh scholarship rather than a ritualistic recognition of the past.

So what does 1989 bring for the planning historian? The year began with a special issue of *The Planner* (the journal of the Royal Town Planning Institute), marking the fact that 75 years have passed since the professional organisation was formed. Another pioneering event will be recalled in the June issue of *Town and Country Planning*, acknowledging the 90th anniversary of the formation of the Garden City Association (which from 1941 has been known as the Town and Country Planning Association). Together, the professional planning body and the garden city pressure group have made their mark on twentieth century planning, and by no means just within Britain.

Significantly, the Fourth International Planning History Conference will be held at Bournville, within the metropolitan boundary of Birmingham, a city which along with other major cities and county councils is celebrating its centenary this year. It was in 1988 that Britain's local government system, overtaken by the far-reaching population and employment changes of the previous century, was overhauled, with legislation in that year establishing the new authorities from April 1889. An item in this issue, in the section on Planning History Practice, notes the record of one county council in this context.

Planning History offers a means of bringing together news of events such as the above from around the world, and members are encouraged to use the bulletin to inform the rest of us of comparable events and of special publications, conferences and research initiatives that come about as a result. The editorial team is very keen to strengthen the comparative coverage of the bulletin, and welcomes material of this sort.

Dennis Hardy

Notices

GRANT FOR BRITISH ARCHITECTURAL LIBRARY

The British Architectural Library at the RIBA has been awarded a grant of £82,000 by the Headley Trust. The grant will be spread over three years and will fund the completion of the catalogue of all the Library's pre-1841 books.

The Early Works Collection consists of approximately 4,000 volumes and is generally regarded as one of the finest in the world relating to the history and practice of architecture.

Treasures include over 50 editions and issues of Vitrivius' *De architectura* and a magnificent collection of Piranesi prints. The Collection's British holdings include the major works of every important architect and architectural writer of the period, beginning with the first British book on the subject, John Shute's *The first and chief grounds of architecture*, 1563 and including works by or on Inigo Jones, Wren, Vanburgh and the Adam brothers.

The catalogue, available on-line and in printed form, is also expected to provide a wealth of information on the hundreds of artists and draughtsmen who contributed to the book, and gives unprecedented access to the period's architectural illustrations.

The catalogue Editor, Gerald Beasley, anticipates that the catalogue will become the standard guide to early books for architects, art historians, collectors and the general public.

Since 1978 the project has been funded by the British Architectural Library Trust, and more recently by the J. Paul Getty Trust. Publication of the catalogue is planned to begin in early 1991 and will be completed by 1992.

ROBINSON PRIZE COMPETITION FOR 1989

The Joan Cahalin Robinson Prize encourages the efforts of young and new scholars in the history of technology by rewarding excellence in verbal communications skills. It is awarded for the *best presented* paper at the annual meeting of the Society for the History of Technology, USA. Eligibility is restricted to persons who have not reached 30 years old by the last day of the meeting, to be held 12-15 October 1989 in Sacramento, CA. Scholars who are over 30 years old will be eligible if they are presenting their first paper at a SHOT meeting and if they are accredited graduate students or candidates for a higher degree. Presenters holding a Ph.D. are not eligible unless they are under thirty.

Candidates for the prize must submit written papers, complete with footnotes, to the Prize Committee one month before the annual meeting. Written papers should be limited in scope to what can be reasonably presented in the time allotted for oral presentation at his or her session. Members of the Prize Committee read the papers before the meeting and hear the presentations. The Committee decision rests on the quality of historical research and scholarship, the clarity of organization and coherence of argument, audibility and interest of voice, relevance and clarity of any visual or auditory materials used, rapport with the audience, ability to deal politely and informatively with questions, and adherence to the limits set in advance by the chair of the session.

The Robinson Prize consists of a certificate and a check for $250.

To be eligible for the prize, presenters must send a copy of the paper to each member of the Prize Committee by 15 September 1989. For further information, contact Mark H. Rose, Committee Chair at Michigan Tech, Houghton, MI 49931, USA, or call (906) 487-2115.

EUROPA NOSTRA'S AWARD RESULTS

Europa Nostra has named 45 winners of their coveted 1988 awards for Europe's most successful architectural and natural heritage conservation projects.

Of the top 8 silver medal awards, two go to city-centre regeneration programmes, and the others go to restoration programmes on individual buildings:

The Butchers' Hall inner city area, Antwerp, Belgium: a major programme including the restoration of 16th-, 17th- and 19th-century houses, new buildings and the creation of pedestrian areas.

Haus Backs, Bad Salzuflen, Federal Republic of Germany: restoration of a 16th-century house.

Clemenswerth Castle, Sogel, Federal Republic of Germany: restoration of an 18th-century baroque castle.

Saint Gwennole Abbey, Landevennec, France: preservation of the ruins of a 6th-century abbey and a display of its history.

The White Tower, Thessaloniki, Greece: restoration of a 16th-century tower and its conversion to a museum.

Utrecht, The Netherlands: the restoration of five city churches over a period of 20 years for religious and cultural uses.

Tuthill Manor and gardens, Therfield, England: the rescue of a manor house due for demolition and its 27-year long restoration.

The Merchant City, Glasgow, Scotland: a regeneration of the Merchant City through an ongoing programme of city centre housing.

Diplomas of merit go to 37 projects in 17 countries, including one in an Eastern Europe country. Hungary, which submitted two entries, wins a diploma for a community centre in Apostag. The diploma-winning countries are: Austria (1), Belgium (2), Cyprus (2), Denmark (2), the Federal Republic of Germany (6), Finland (1), France (3), Greece (1), Hungary (1), Ireland (2), Malta (1), The Netherlands (3), Norway (1), Spain (1), Sweden (1), Turkey (1) and the UK (8).

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES FOR BRITISH CITIES

An Urban Geography Study Group Conference - Birmingham 1989

In 1988 the Urban Geography Study Group of the Institute of British Geographers initiated a series of conferences to focus upon the experiences of individual British cities and the challenges that face them into the 1990s. The proceedings of each conference are to be published as a series of the UGSG.

The first of these conferences is to be held at the University of Birmingham during the city's centenary year. The two-day programme is designed to form an introduction to the series, and uses field seminars, discussion sessions and formal presentations as well as a number of pre-circulated papers to illustrate the challenges for Birmingham and the West Midlands region.

Birmingham 1989 is to be held at the School of Geography, University of Birmingham between Thursday 31st August and Friday 1st September 1989. The conference fee, including accommodation, all meals and field seminars, is £65.00. A non-returnable deposit of £25.00 should be paid by Friday March 31st 1989.

For further information and a programme for *Birmingham 1989* please contact Peter Larkham on 021-414-5518. Booking enquiries and deposits should be forwarded to Andrew Jones on 021-414-5551. The address for all correspondence is Birmingham 1989, The School of Geography, University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT.

MAX LOCK PAPERS

The School of Planning, Polytechnic of Central London, is providing accommodation for the papers of Max Lock, who died last year. The papers, at present uncatalogued, include diaries, plans, correspondence and photographs. The School is in the process of seeking funding to both catalogue the collection and mount an exhibition, and the intention is to sort the papers into a form accessible to researchers into planning history.

Further information is available from Dr Peter Newman, School of Planning, Polytechnic of Central London, 35, Marylebone Road, London NW1 5LS (tel: 01-486-5811).

Articles

Permanence And Change In The Built Environment: Boston, 1870-1930

Michael Holleran
M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning, USA

Continuity in the built environment is today taken for granted as a shared value. Neighbourhood stability and historic preservation are universally approved as principles, and in practice become controversial only when they conflict with one another or other interests.

The situation in the mid-19th century was profoundly different. The whole culture of planning and building was based on continual change. Real estate investors anticipated ever-denser use, and residential property was valued and developed with an eye to its eventual conversion for commercial purposes. Subdivisions were often replatted during the development process to accommodate denser building. Neighbourhood deterioration, if unwelcome, was accepted as inevitable. The cycle from fashionable new residential areas to commercial or slum use could take as little as ten or fifteen years.[1] Homeowners caught in such areas, whatever their feelings, for the most part joined in the spirit of the times and tried to make money from the process.

Old buildings were regarded with distaste. Historically significant ones were treated as symbols rather than artifacts; thus citizens of Boston could seriously propose in 1826 that the revolution be commemorated by tearing down the Old State House, an "incumbrance" on a symbolic site, and erecting a statue of Washington in its place.[2] Though old buildings might be preserved as "ancient monuments", in North America as well as in Europe, the actions of their preservers have in retrospect often been called vandalism.

Around the end of the 19th century, all these things changed: Increasingly complex infrastructures, more elaborate and expensive building types, and the considerable social and economic costs of continual reconstruction and relocation lent increasing attractiveness to what Marc Weiss calls "building for permanency."[3] Deed restrictions imposed legally what subdivisions attempted spatially - establishing permanently the form and use of the urban fabric. Real estate thought, the main normative theory of urban form during this period, underwent a subtle but fundamental shift from a speculative outlook to one focused on stability of investment and permanence of value. Beginning in the 1890s, building height and land use regulations - the predecessors of modern zoning - imposed on existing areas the same kinds of restrictions being put into deeds in new areas. For the first time, American cities explicitly sought to avert change in their patterns of land use and built form. The impulse received its clearest expression in the preservation movement, which began, as an urban phenomenon, in this period.

Other examples of the search for permanence can be drawn from fields progressively removed from urban planning. The "perpetual care" cemetery movement aimed to secure an earthly durability corresponding to spiritual eternity.[4] In architecture, the Colonial Revival style began in the 1870s, encouraging preservationism and at the same time creating the potential for a permanently established community architectural identity. The same period saw the first movement to forever set aside wilderness areas as national and state parks, and the beginning of efforts to preserve the archaeological remains of pre-Columbian settlement.[5]

Approaches to environmental stability changed so thoroughly and along so many parallel lines that the changes appear in retrospect as a single phenomenon. How did attitudes towards environmental continuity change at the end of the 19th century? Why did permanence become a goal for people dealing with so many different parts of the built environment? How did they try to achieve it? What kind of groundwork did their efforts lay for 20th century planning, preservation, and perception of American cities?

Permanence has not been used much as a framework for historical examination of specific environmental planning issues, although there is a rich tradition of thought on the subject. Kevin Lynch's *What Time is This Place?* is the classic speculative essay on environmental change and permanence, and David Lowenthal has recently compiled the most complete historical survey of cultural treatment of the past. Donald Olsen uses *history* to talk about popular awareness of change, a phenomenon separate from but related to the search for environmental permanence. The late 19th and early 20th centuries have generally been described as a period dominated by responses to rapid change, both environmental and social. Josef Konvitz speaks of permanence, in the sense of durability of the environment, as a *problem* beginning in the 19th century, and Walter Firey described the pursuit of permanence as a "fetish" which interfered with the economic use of land. Marc Weiss's recent discussion of "building for permanency" addresses some of my concerns directly, but only briefly.[6]

I have investigated in depth three of the issues discussed above: deed restrictions, preservation, and public planning and regulation. In order to investigate the interconnections between these different facets of the search for permanence, I have focused on one city: Boston, from the fight to save Old South Church in the 1870s to the adoption of zoning in the 1920s. Boston either originated or at least well embodied each of the phenomena I have described. It was the source of much of the critical caselaw which established deed restrictions as a private planning tool. It was the earliest center of urban preservationism. Its building height restrictions, the first in the country, provided one of the nationwide precedents for zoning law. The search for permanence was not peculiar to Boston; it can be found expressed in the planning and development of cities both old and new all across the country, but in Boston we can best examine its roots.

Deed restrictions

Only if land developers and cities could assume land uses to be permanent could they avoid the growing waste and bad fit of standardized, one-size-fits-all urban fabric. If uncontrolled change could be prevented, durable and expensive infrastructure such as streets, lots, utilities and transit lines could be configured for particular land uses rather than for generalized speculative potential. Elaborate new building types such as railroad terminals, office blocks, grand hotels, and apartment houses could be erected with confidence that they would remain useful long enough to amortize the enormous investments they required. The romantic suburbs of the late 19th century were notable not merely for their quality as residential designs, but for the very idea that a subdivision could be designed as specifically residential, not merely ill-equipped for but actively designed to resist conversion later to other uses. Eventually permanence itself became an attribute central to the marketing of desirable residential land, as in an advertisement for Shaker Heights, outside Cleveland:

> no matter what changes time may bring around it, no matter what waves of commercialism may beat upon its borders, Shaker Village is secure, its homes and gardens are in peaceful surroundings, serene and protected for all time.[7]

From the beginning of the 19th century, deed restrictions were used sporadically to control building setbacks and impose other limitations on form, construction, and use of buildings. They were not generally explicit as to their duration, and in practice were most often applied only to a site's first generation of construction. In 1863 the Massachusetts Supreme Court found a 4-year old land use restriction in Boston to be a "permanent regulation" enforceable by current residents, setting the national precedent which began their use as long-term planning tools.[8]

Deed restriction practice in the next several decades displayed not an unambiguous trend towards greater permanence, but rather a heightened awareness of it as an issue. Fashionable developers increasingly used explicitly perpetual or long-term restrictions. The Massachusetts legislature in 1887 required that new restrictions be given a finite duration, with a default term of 30 years;[9] developers seeking to market permanence responded with automatic renewal clauses. A significant body of caselaw grew up around questions of when and how restrictions might end; in 1889 the legislature empowered the state's high court to terminate them under some conditions.[10] In spite of these legislative interventions on behalf of change, courts in Massachusetts as elsewhere were generally reluctant to overturn expectations of permanence.

In real estate theory up to this period it was axiomatic that any restriction on the right to use land meant a corresponding diminution of its value. The success of deed restrictions and building for permanency defied and reshaped that most basic tenet of earlier theory. On the commercial side of the industry, meanwhile, the emerging science of appraisal devoted much of its research to the durability of value needed to support the high investment and construction costs of newly emerging downtowns and skyscrapers. Together these developments prepared American real estate operators not only to accept but often to actively seek public regulation.

Preservation

In 1863 John Hancock's house on Beacon Hill was demolished, a traumatic prelude to Boston's preservation movement. Fourteen years later a herculean effort saved the Old South Church after demolition was already underway. This began an almost continuous series of preservation efforts, mainly successful, involving most of the city's public buildings and many of its churches, as well as its ancient burial grounds and Common. At first these efforts were hampered by the reluctance of public officials to accept preservation, even of buildings with acknowledged historical value, as a legitimate use of public resources. By the end of the period, preservation was an institutionalised activity both inside and outside of government.

The American preservation movement began with an antiquarian emphasis on historic associations, without much concern for buildings themselves as landmarks. Advocates of saving the Old South Church went out of their way to concede that the structure itself was uninteresting; the Revolutionary events it evoked were by contrast all the more sublime.[11] The movement gradually evolved to be about permanence in the built environment. In the 1890s, citizens from around Massachusetts successfully opposed a threat to obliterate the State House's original Bulfinch facade during the building's expansion. This campaign's momentum propelled a decade of further efforts to impose height restrictions around the State House so that its gold dome would remain visible, and to re-open views by clearing adjacent buildings. Whatever the preservationists' original concerns, they ventured far into the realm of shaping urban form.

By the time Park Street Church was threatened in 1902, its numerous defenders explicitly acknowledged environmental stability and aesthetics as their motivation. The church was comparatively recent, and of historical value only to its own congregation, but it was a familiar and beautiful building at the most prominent corner in the city. The old Custom House in 1909 required no preservation effort; expansion plans assumed from the beginning that the original building would be retained. In 1917, the preservation movement in Boston came full circle when the Governor of Massachusetts proposed that the state rebuild the John Hancock house on its original site.[12]

Public planning, height restrictions, and zoning

The search for environmental permanence began through private methods. The real estate innovation of deed restrictions operated within the private land market. Preservationists' preferred remedy for threatened buildings was to raise money to buy them. Public buildings necessarily had to be saved through governmental action, but this was government in its private role as landowner. People seeking permanence in the built environment gradually found broader public powers to be useful where their aims were not well served by private methods. Legislation to restrict building heights was the first public-sector answer for several of these aims. On Beacon Hill, as we have seen, it was an outgrowth of preservationist attention to the State House. On Commonwealth Avenue, it corrected a defect in the Back Bay's deed restrictions, which specified minimum building heights but did not anticipate (in 1860) the need for a maximum.[13] While these early site-specific height restriction were carried out under the state's power of eminent domain, no compensation was paid for the Commonwealth Avenue restrictions.[14] Landowners there seemed to view them, like deed restrictions, as a net benefit to their property.

When expensive claims in other areas made eminent domain unattractive, Boston turned to the police power in order to exclude tall buildings from most of the residential areas of the city. The U.S. Supreme Court's 1909 affirmation of these height districts provided one of the key precedents for New York City's creation of the country's first comprehensive zoning ordinance in 1916.[15]

An important catalyst for the New York ordinance was the Fifth Avenue Association's crusade to fix in place once and for all the fashionable retail district, which had been migrating north twenty blocks each generation. Zoning brought explicit public debate about the permanence of urban structure, within the framework of a new ability to exert control over its changes. While zoning had turned out to be a flexible tool which can encourage as well as discourage change, the intentions of its original proponents can be seen in their subsequent dismay at the use of variances and overzoning to undermine the land-use permanence they sought.[16]

Zoning combined several independent objectives, among them financial stability and normative ideas of what cities' spatial form should become. Zoning was also the synthesis of the disparate branches of the search for permanence. This synthesis initially left out preservationism, which was thrown back on its earlier methods until the advent of historic district zoning.[17]

A clear measure of the significance of this quest for permanence was its success: many environments designed for permanence a hundred years ago remain today in substantially their original form and as attractive as ever; at the time they were built there was probably no urban neighbourhood in North America for which this claim could be made. Buildings saved by preservationists three and four generations ago almost all remain saved. Urban structure is now a more stable thing than before. While no deliberate efforts could in themselves have brought about this stability, they probably helped solidify it and certainly shed light on its cultural causes and effects. Even though urban form may still change rapidly and unpredictably where there is not a forceful public effort to control it, we owe to this era the very idea that it is subject to public control, and that an appropriate object of that control is to prevent change.

References

1. Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago: The Relationship of the Growth of Chicago to the Rise of Its Land Values, 1830-1933*, (Chicago, 1933), pp.189-192; Walter Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston*, (Cambridge, 1947), pp.61-68.

2. Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States before Williamsburg*, (New York, 1965), p.106.

3. Marc A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning*, (New York, 1987), p.61.

4. James J. Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920*, (Philadelphia, 1980), p.137.

5. Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture*, (Cambridge, 1971), pp.517-527.

6. Kevin Lynch, *What Time is This Place?* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972); David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge, England, 1985); Donald Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art*, (New Haven, 1986), pp.295-312; Robert H. Weibe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*, (New York, 1967); Josef W. Konvitz, *The Urban Millennium: The City-Building Process from the Early Middle Ages to the Present*, (Carbondale, Ill., 1985), Firey, *op cit*, pp.136-169, Weiss, *op cit*.

7. Rachlis & Marquesee, *The Landlords*, (New York, 1963), p.72.

8. Parker v. Nightingale (88 Mass. 341). See Lawrence Friedman, *A History of American Law*, (New York, 1985), pp.420-21. The crucial legal issue was whether residents could enforce restrictions directly against offending landowners, or only against the heirs of the original subdividers, which would make any long-term restrictions unworkable in practice.

9. Massachusetts General Laws 1887, ch.418.

10. Massachusetts General Laws 1889, ch.442.

11. See for example James Freeman Clarke, "The Old South Speaks", reprinted in "The Old South Meeting House", *Old South Leaflets*, No.183, p.16.

12. Hosmer, *op cit*, p.277.

13. 1896 Parks and Parkways Act, M.G.L. 1896, Ch.313; Bainbridge Bunting, *Houses of Boston's Back Bay: An Architectural History, 1840-1917*, (Cambridge, 1967), p.391.

14. *Report of the Heights of Buildings Commission to the Committee on the Height, Size and Arrangement of Buildings of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of the City of New York*, December 23, 1913, p.141.

15. Welch v. Swasey et al, 214 U.S.91.

16. Weiss, *op cit*, pp.99-101.

17. Historic district zoning was abortively attempted in New Orleans in 1924, and achieved in Charlestown, South Carolina, in 1931 and New Orleans in 1936. Boston's first historic district zone, Beacon Hill, was not established until 1955, but even then was one of only a handful in the country. Jacob H. Morrison, *Historic Preservation Law*, (2nd ed. Washington, 1974), pp.12-17.

Colonial Town Planning In Malaysia, Singapore And Hong Kong

Robert Home
Department of Estate Management, North East London Polytechnic

Planning history studies have given relatively little attention to the transfer of European-derived planning systems to their colonial possessions. What recent work has been done criticises such planning systems as inappropriate in the post-colonial situation. One of the few researchers in the field, Tony King, has provided a useful chronology for the 'export of planning':

'(a) A period up to the early twentieth century when settlements, camps, towns and cities were laid out according to various military, technical, political and cultural principles, the most important of which was military-political dominance ...

'(b) A second period, beginning in the early twentieth century, which coincides with the development of formally-stated "town planning" theory, ideology, legislation and professional skills in Britain, when the network of colonial relationships was used to convey such phenomena - on a selective and uneven basis - to the dependent territories.

'(c) A third period of post- or neo-classical developments ... when cultural, political and economic links have, within a larger network of global communications and a situation of economic dependence, provided the means to continue the process of "cultural colonialism" with the continued export of values, ideologies and planning models.' (King 1980)

This paper is a revised version of one presented at the Third International Planning History Conference, held in Tokyo, Japan on 11 and 12 November 1988. It draws upon material in the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, particularly for the years between the First and Second World Wars, to examine the history of British-derived town planning activity in the three countries which were Britain's major colonies in East Asia - Malaysia (formerly Malaya, 131,000 sq km, 1987 population 16.5 million), Singapore (6340 sq km, 1986 population 2.6 million) and Hong Kong (1,000 sq km, 1986 population 5.6 million).

Nineteenth century urban processes

The East Indian Company first brought British colonial rule to the region with the three colonies known as the Straits Settlements: Penang (1786), Malacca (1795), and Singapore (1819). After the Straits Settlements had secured Britain's trade route to the east, Hong Kong Island was developed by Britain from 1842 as her trading base for the huge Chinese market. The extension of colonial rule from the Straits Settlements to Peninsular Malaysia was gradual, and towns (generally originating as Chinese mining camps) were small and few, since the Malay settlement pattern was dispersed villages (kampongs). Kuala Lumpur only had a population of 4,000 in 1887, and George Town was the largest town (110,000 population in 1914).

The colonial administrative systems of the three colonies differed significantly, with consequences for the later development of town planning. Local Government followed British and colonial Indian practice, with staff separate from the colonial administration, and pursuing public works projects similar to British city councils. A 1913 Singapore Ordinance established by-law planning on the basis of 36 ft streets, back lands and height restrictions. Hong Kong and Singapore were developed as Crown Colonies and trading centres, with 'direct rule' administration; all land was owned by the Crown, and leased or sold with few restrictions. In Singapore strong municipal government developed, while Hong Kong followed an extreme *laissez faire* approach. In the Federated Malay States (FMS), on the other hand, an indirect rule or protectorate system developed: the traditional rulers and land tenure systems were retained, with British colonial administrators ostensibly in the role of advisers ('Residents'), and the mining towns and immigrant Chinese and Indian labour were kept segregated from the indigenous Malay (or *bumiputera*) population. Until the 1950s towns were administered by sanitary and town boards, with appointed members, and staffed from the colonial administration (Norris 1980).

Transfer of British Town Planning 1920-50

Within a few years of the passage of Britain's first planning legislation (1909) and the formation of the Town Planning Institute (1914), British town planning practice was being exported to the colonies by garden city enthusiasts: 'We want not only England but all parts of the Empire to be covered with Garden Cities' (quoted in King 1980:203).

Singapore appointed a planning expert (Captain Richards) in 1920, and the FMS, probably motivated by rivalry with the Straits Settlements, soon after approached the South Australian Government for the service of its town planner, C.C. Reade (1880-1933), who had worked in Britain as a publicist for the Garden Cities Association. Reade served as Town Planning Adviser to the FMS (one of the first such salaried advisers in the colonies) until 1930, and his activities are covered in a recent *PH* article (Goh 1988). As a result of his activities through the 1920s and 1930s the FMS received far more reportage in the professional planning press in Britain than either Hong Kong and Singapore, and the FMS passed one of the earliest examples of colonial planning legislation, the Town Planning Act 1923.

Compared with the FMS experiment in enlightened planning legislation, Singapore appeared to Reade as:

'... a striking example of planless modern city and regional growth undirected by any comprehensive general plan and complementary schemes of improvement and development. The outcome of that modern growth is much unnecessary disorder, congestion and difficulties for which remedial measures have long been overdue' (Singapore 1928).

Following criticism of the poor housing conditions by a Housing Commission in 1918, the Singapore Improvement Trust (SIT) was created in 1927; it was empowered to raise an improvement rate, undertake improvement schemes, and control land subdivision, but not to prepare comprehensive plans or control development. The Chinese shophouse was singled out as a particular health hazard. Similar forms of building had existed in the commercial centres of mediaeval European cities: a narrow frontage (typically about twenty feet), great depth (100 feet or more) and no rear access, the group floor shop having an internal staircase to living rooms on the upper floors, usually subdivided into long, narrow cubicles, with little or no direct light and fresh air. These shophouses were considered to be the main factor in the high incidence of tuberculosis (Concannon 1958b:306). Singapore had developed a type of back-to-back shophouse which created particularly insanitary conditions, and before the Second World War the SIT undertook a number of improvement schemes, opening up backlanes through 800 shophouse blocks to allow access for services and more light and air; this form of rehabilitation was later abandoned in favour of more comprehensive renewal.

In Hong Kong, although housing conditions and urban congestion were at least as bad as in Singapore, the colonial administration limited the planning function to a small division within the Lands and Survey sub-department of the Public Works Department, exercising less influence than in either Malaysia or Singapore. Public control over private property rights was minimal, and attempts to impose planning restrictions were generally dismissed by the courts as *ultra vires* (Wigglesworth 1982).

By the late 1930s British town planning legislation was being exported to many countries. The 1947 Act is now regarded as the great milestone in British planning legislation, but most colonial legislation was based upon the earlier 1932 Act. Hong King paid lip service to the 1932 Act with its 1939 Town Planning Ordinance (Cap. 131), but it was largely ineffective, and even the Government Town Planner referred to it as 'a necessary charade' (Wigglesworth 1982). In Malaysia Part IX of the 1939 Town Boards Enactment brought the 1927 Act in line with British Practice.

Post-war and post-colonial planning

All three colonies were under Japanese occupation from 1941/2 to 1945, and after the end of the War three themes dominated planning:

(a) the continued export of British planning ideas under the Commonwealth Development and Welfare Programme and as part of the Attlee's Government's drive towards local democracy in the colonies;

(b) massive growth and redistribution of population, the result of both immigration and natural increase. All three countries have experienced among the highest population growth rates in the world: Malaysia's population doubled in three decades (from 4.9 million in Peninsular Malaysia in 1947 to 11.1 million in 1980), but Hong Kong's increased by a staggering tenfold in four decades (from 0.6 million in 1946 to 5.5. million in 1986);

(c) the politics of decolonisation and independence, under which planning and state intervention assumed a high profile.

In Malaya, the town planning department grew rapidly in size after the War, as an advisory department within the Ministry of the Interior and Justice. An important focus for its activities was the Emergency of 1948-56: some 400,000 Chinese were forcibly resettled into some 500 'new villages', in order to control estate workers and prevent food and supplies passing to the Communist insurgents. Crudely planned in rectangular layouts which could be easily set out by untrained staff, many of these settlements nevertheless remained in existence after the end of the Emergency.

British-derived new town programmes and regional planning became important political initiatives after Malaysian independence. Petaling Jaya new town, on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur, was followed by the creation of a Federal Capital Territory for Kuala Lumpur and the development of Shah Alam new town as the state capital of Selangor. The 1969 riots led to a drastic political reappraisal resulting in a New Economic Plan to increase the participation of the Malays in urban and economic development. In 1971 the Urban Development Authority was created, which has built the prestigious Dayabumi development in central Kuala Lumpur (Amato 1982), and seven regional planning authorities were created between 1972 and 1983 (Bruton 1985). Malaysia's Federal Planning Department has also been strengthened, growing from less than 10 professional planners in 1970 to over a hundred by 1982. A new Planning Act in 1976 was modelled closely on the British 1971 Act, introducing the new structure and local plans, but under the Malaysian federal structure the states can choose the parts (if any) of the Act they wish to adopt, which has limited the application of the new system (Bruton 1982).

In Singapore large-scale urban renewal and new town development was undertaken from the 1960s, helped by the falling in of 99-year leases granted by the East India Company before 1840 and 1860. A Master Plan was prepared between 1950 and 1956, and in 1960 SIT was reorganized into the Housing and Development Board, which built over half a million housing units in the following 25 years with the support of a strong land acquisition act. In 1965 the island rather unexpectedly became independent, and Planning became a politically high-profile activity. More corporations were created (the Jurong New Town Corporation and the Urban Redevelopment Authority), and a programme of 15 new towns and major transport investment has reshaped the whole settlement pattern on the island. Over 80% of the population of Singapore now live in public housing (compared with 40% in Hong Kong), and well over a million people have moved into new towns in both city states, representing probably the largest and most rapid new town development programme in the world.

Hong Kong, however, remained the least planned of the three colonies. Sir Patrick Abercrombie, that ever-present planning guru of the day, prepared a 'preliminary outline plan' on a short visit in 1948, but government indifference to his initiative provoked a scathing criticism by a reviewer in the 1960s:

'Official Hong Kong policy - "Build now, plan later" - has proved to be the negation of his whole teaching both in theory and results ... The tragic outcome of this administrative effort is the crowding within 400 square miles of rocky terrain of over three million persons, most of whom are crushed within 5% of the total land area, ... a vast slum on the border of China in the face of decades of professional and academic protest. If the Isle of Wight had been so treated by Asians, Britain would have risen in resentment long since ... The condition of Wanchai and the Western District of Victoria is a lasting and unmerited smear on British planning expertise' (Davis 1965).

Occasional riots, costly building collapses and fires which left thousands homeless only slowly brought action on public housing. Industrial satellite towns in the 1950s at Kwun Tong and Tseun Wan, and new towns in the 1960s at Castle Peak and Sha Tin, proceeded slowly until 1972, when a 10-year housing programme was introduced. This proposed new housing for 1.6 million people, and a massive decentralisation to new towns under the Territory Development Department, following the planning principles of self-containment and balanced development. Thus Hong Kong had belatedly adopted a planned approach, based upon the Colony Strategy Plan (prepared 1965-71) and a Territorial Development Strategy. The official commitment is still to private rather than public development, with the NTDD's role limited to assembling land and infrastructure, while private developers undertake most of the construction (Wang and Yeh 1987).

Conclusions

This article, it is hoped, has shown how the scope and effectiveness of planning activity was profoundly affected by the colonial governmental structure. Malaysia inherited a strong planning tradition dating back to the work of Reade in the 1920s, and firmly located at the federal level of government, which was the direct heir to the colonial administration. Some major new town developments have been carried out, but planning effectiveness has suffered from the relationship between federal and state governments. Malaysia, while adopting the British system of plan-making with little modification, has not built a strong local government tier because of the continuing strength of the state governments. Planning seems to have had little effect on ribbon development, dispersed settlement patterns, or regional development, and to have over-emphasised technical content rather than planning for community preferences.

Hong Kong and Singapore were very different colonial creations from Malaya - trading city-states with no traditional or pre-colonial system of government surviving. Singapore developed an interventionist style of government based on the municipal corporation and the improvement trust; after the War there was political backing for a major master plan exercise and a redistribution of population to new towns. Hong Kong's free enterprise culture brooked little state interference until the 1970s saw the beginnings of a comprehensive plan approach and planned decentralisation to the New Territories. It may seem ironic that, of the three countries under study, 'non-plan' Hong Kong should have provided one of the few examples of colonial influence upon metropolitan planning practice, for Hong Kong was the model for enterprise zones and urban development corporations in Britain.

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Holidays With Pay

Helen Walker
University of Sussex

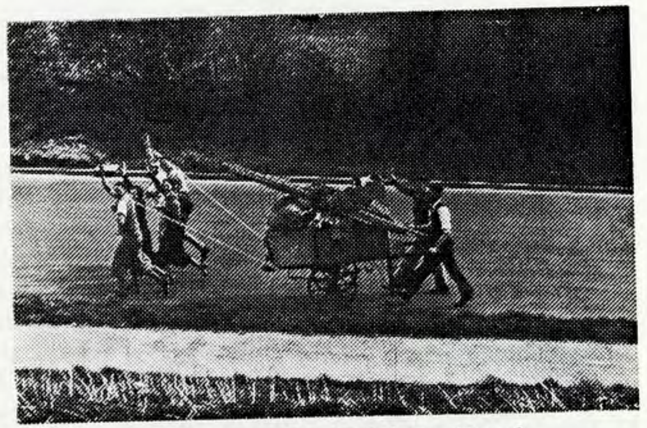
Fifty years ago the imminence of war against Germany focussed the attention of the British government on the conditions of potential recruits to the armed forces. Although soon discovered to be without foundation, the view that the overall fitness of the population had improved in the inter-war period led to a complacency and a lack of preparedness entirely reminiscent of that manifested by governmental departments at the beginning of both the Boer and the First World Wars. This tardy recognition of the need for action produced a multi-faceted response which ranged from the eleventh hour National Fitness Campaign and the Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937, through to the Access to Mountains Act. On this latter legislation, which finally reached the statute book only in 1940, had been pinned the hopes of thousands of working class hikers and cyclists who had campaigned through the 1930s for unrestricted access to open countryside. This short paper is an examination of one aspect of that response, holidays with pay.

While the popular image of the 1920s and 1930s is of an era dominated by the consequences of the economic dislocation and slump following the First World War, nevertheless in overall terms, income per head rose by one third during the inter-war years. The average industrial weekly wage was just under £3, and skilled workers could expect in the region of £4 per week. The overall rise in living standards was a direct result of declining prices during the period, and especially after 1923, for the cost of living index fell by almost one-third between 1920 and 1939, and with it the real price of entertainment and leisure.

Important but limited material improvements in work conditions were granted to the workforce in the shortlived boom which followed the armistice. By 1920, seven million workers had gained an average reduction of 6 hours in the working week - the equivalent today of almost a full day's work. However, the new average working week of 48 hours was to remain virtually constant for the following two decades.

The second major area of improvement to working conditions did not occur until later in the inter-war period and centred around the provision of holidays with pay. In certain older industries, traditions such as the long established wakes week of the industrial areas of the North and Midlands of England persisted. Thus for particular sectors of the workforce enforced holidays of up to a week in duration were located within existing and intractable work practices and, as the widespread incidence of savings clubs in textile areas demonstrated, these were generally holidays without payment.

On the part of a small number of more liberal employers there was a long-standing commitment to the provision of some holidays, albeit limited in length, for their workforce. Delgado writes of the annual day trips (referred to as 'holidays') organised for his father's workers from the turn of the century onwards.[1] For most employees, even up to the outbreak of the First World War, and for many long beyond, an extended stay away from home on holiday was considered a luxury, the prerogative of the wealthy but regarded as by no means an essential of life by the rest of the population. By the second and third decade of the century it was apparent that this view was changing and in ever increasing numbers the workforce was demanding, gaining and taking, holidays. For the most part and well into the 1930s these were unpaid, but nevertheless, by 1937 15 million people (one third of the population), were holidaying away from home for one week or more.



Hikers on the Brighton Road

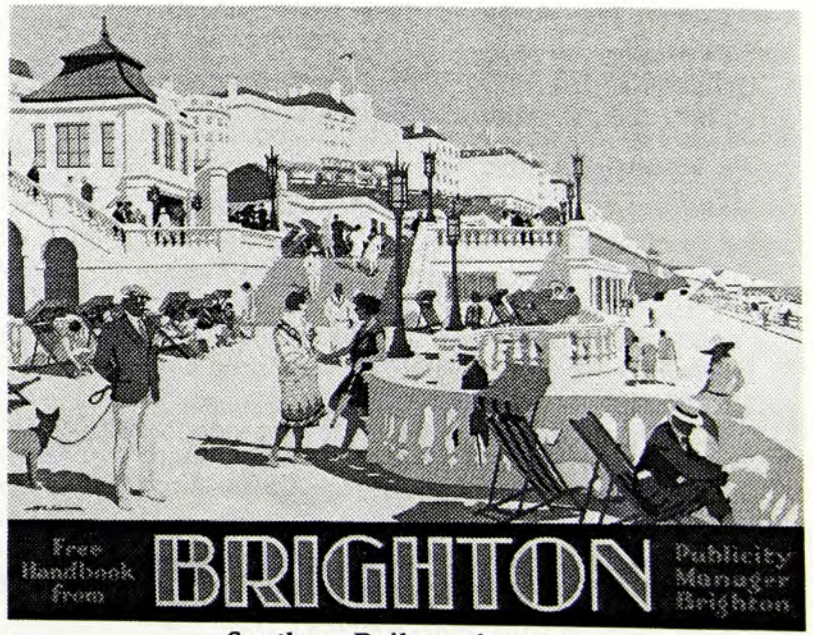
Although an annual holiday was increasingly entering the popular experience, depressed wage rates and continued high levels of unemployment meant that when they did occur, holidays were short and represented the result of a careful budget of the household income. As a contributor to *The Economist* explained, even in 1938 the cost of holidays was 'too high for many working people'.[2] It was for this reason that amongst the financial arrangements offered by the leading providers of holidays for the low paid in this period, such as the Holiday Fellowship and the Workers' Travel Association, were various forms of savings plan with roots in earlier thrift and friendly societies - and schemes for the provision of welfare holidays. As Jones shows in his *Workers at Play*, the take-up of leisure opportunities, particularly those in the increasingly competitive commercial sector, was related directly to pay scales.[3] Having astutely identified an expanding market, Billy Butlin particularly emphasised the value for money offered by his first luxury camp at Skegness when it opened in 1937 - 'the greatest possible all-in holiday value at the lowest reasonable prices'. His Clacton camp opened with the brilliantly apposite: 'Holidays with pay - holidays with play. A week's holiday for a week's wage'.[4]

Although calls for holidays with pay increased they were disregarded by the establishment and marginalised as the agitations of radical unionists by a government preoccupied with the economy until the threat of war could no longer be ignored. One of the earliest lobbies for statutory provision had come in the form of a motion calling for paid annual holidays for all, put to the Trades Union Congress first in 1911, and repeated over subsequent years. In the 1920s Post Office workers argued that a 'share out of leisure and a betterment of life' was 'more vital than money'.[5] However loss of international markets and increasing industrial decline meant that the cause made but slow progress. A rare legislative gain was the passing in 1928 of the Shops (Hours of Closing) Act, a rather *ad hoc* piece of legislation which provided holidays in lieu of the 'long' days worked during the summer season by shop workers employed in holiday resorts.

Despite a series of private members' Bills and recommendations from various national labour organisations, it was only in the late 1930s that the need to improve the fitness and health of the population prompted a range of governmental action and linked the issue with holidays with pay. In March 1937 a Departmental Committee on Holidays with Pay was established under the chairmanship of Lord Amulree. Senior industrialists and trade unionists were invited 'to investigate the extent to which holidays with pay (were) given to employed work-people, and the possibility of extending the provision of such holidays by statutory enactment or otherwise; and to make recommendations'.[6] Extensive representation was made to the committee by a wide range of interested parties, with the Trades Union Congress advocating a paid holiday entitlement of twelve working days, to be granted where possible between April and October. However, so obvious did he feel to be the case for Holidays with Pay and so unnecessary the work of the committee that, when called, the principal commentator on social conditions in the inter-war period, Seebohm Rowntree, declined to appear: 'I should have thought that it was pretty generally accepted that a holiday of some kind is desirable, and that if a holiday is given it must be with pay'.[7]

The conclusions drawn by the committee provided a predictable and somewhat obvious endorsement of the moves already made within certain industries towards negotiated voluntary collective agreements. The members of the committee were unanimous in their acceptance of a compromise which lay somewhere between the provision of the employers on the one hand and the demands of the trades unions on the other. With the exception of domestic servants in full time employment who were to receive a fortnight, for most trades the recommendations set a paid holiday of one week as a preliminary objective, to be attained wherever possible by voluntary and collective agreement, and to be the subject of liaison with local education authorities in order to bring the holidays in line with school closures in different parts of the country. The committee also further recommended that the dates for holidays should fall during the summer months and that the date of the Easter Bank Holiday should be fixed forthwith. The committee concluded somewhat blandly that,

'It cannot, in our view, be denied that an annual holiday contributes in considerable measure to work-people's happiness, health and efficiency and we feel that the extension of the taking of consecutive days of holiday annually by work-people would be of benefit to the community'.[8]



Southern Railways' poster

The degree of circumspection contained in the recommendations of the Amulree Committee drew critical comment from those involved in the provision of holidays for the low paid. In May 1938 the editorial of *The Travel Log*, newsletter of the Workers' Travel Association, endorsed the view of sections of the trade press:

'The Amulree Committee approves the principle of Holidays with Pay, but is in no hurry to see it embodied in legislation. Not before 1940 - 1941 is there to be any Act of Parliament assuring to the British worker the holiday privileges already granted in many continental countries. It is safe to say that the principle of Holidays with Pay is at last established in this country. It is less safe to say that (its) adoption (is)'.[9]

Despite the relative caution of the recommendations of the Amulree Committee, nevertheless there is significance in the endorsement given to the correlation between the health and happiness of the individual worker and the efficiency of the workforce. While the conclusions of the Amulree Committee can be dismissed as anodyne, the formal acknowledgement on the part of the establishment that holidays with pay might have an impact on the efficiency of the work force led directly to the inauguration of a national fitness campaign.

By 1939, four million manual workers and a similar figure of non-manual workers were in receipt of holiday pay, a group representing approximately one half of those in employment. In the event wartime control of labour brought holidays with pay for almost all employees, a provision which was embedded irreversibly in the expectations of the workforce by the end of the Second World War.

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Defining The Metropolis In The Twentieth Century

Mollie Keller
Department of History, New York University

Most of us recognize that the city of bustling streets, sophisticated ladies and gents, and a jagged skyline backlit by a perfect sunset now exists only in old movies. Urban reality for us is creeping suburbanization, and the increasing in- and inter-dependence of the outlying towns and villages that used to owe their very existence to the city. The city we know is an unofficial network of legally separate yet economically bound municipalities that can spread over a region up to five hundred miles long.

How our present spread cities came to be is the subject of my research. I am particularly interested in uncovering the roots of our "urbanopolis", not in technology or economics, or even highway acts or mortgage policies, but in the attitudes, assumptions, and ambitions of those who harnessed those tools. The city planners and builders of the first part of the twentieth century, in revolt against the congested, centralized cities of the last part of the nineteenth century, dreamed of a new metropolitan order in which the various component parts of a city - housing, business, industry - would be separated and spread out over a wider area. Their efforts to achieve this produced the anti-city that puzzles and frustrates us today.

The front page of the *New York Daily Tribune* of December 28, 1879, featured a detailed map of the rapid transit routes that had reached the end of Manhattan and were about to cross over the tightly gridded but still unbuilt blocks of the Bronx. The accompanying article heralded these improvements as proof of the city's growth and vigor. Not only would the new roads open West Farms and Fordham for development, but they would also improve land values in Harlem and Inwood, for, as the paper's secret "semi-official source" pointed out, the "thousands of businessmen" already commuting from Northern Manhattan on the Hudson and Harlem Railroads would now be able to get to work downtown without changing cars.[1]

On page five of that same paper was a contribution from Frederick Law Olmsted called "The Future of New York." Olmsted's view of this march of progress was somewhat less sanguine. The recent development of Harlem horrified him. Builders there, rigidly respecting the 1811 grid that had for sixty years existed only on paper, were wedging slices and slivers of buildings into narrow rectangular blocks on land that should have supported spacious dwellings. Dismayed by what such unimaginative construction did for the quality of city life, Olmsted urged New Yorkers to throw away those ancient "ideas of a city, which have been transmitted to us from the period when cities were walled about and necessarily compact and crowded."[2]

For Olmsted the gifts of modern technology - the railroad, telegraph, and telephone - were tools to create a better city, not just more of the same. With those tools New Yorkers could free their tight little island from the confines of its geography. They could span the rivers, broadening its physical and social boundaries until the city embraced both Newark, New Jersey, and Bridgeport, Connecticut, as well as Brooklyn, Yonkers, and Jersey City. Then New York could be a true metropolis.

Of course, it would need some help to achieve its full potential. In an earlier report Olmsted had advised developing separate commercial, industrial, residential, and recreational districts that could function as "integral, independent parts of the same metropolis." As he had explained: "If a house to be used for many different purposes must have many rooms and passages of various dimensions and variously lighted and furnished, not less must such a metropolis be specifically adapted at different points to different ends." The New York he envisioned would support both a concentrated, compact business core of high buildings and "broader, lower and more open" areas which, combining "in a greater or less degree ... urban and rural advantages," would house the people whose wealth and talents could truly enrich and enhance the city's life.[3]

The one edition of the *Tribune* offered New Yorkers two definitions of their city. Both were based on the understanding that technology had made possible a new physical scale for the city, but both were profoundly different. One saw New York as a place for speculation and profit, a mother lode to be mined by workers forced to pay high rents for overcrowded, dark, uncomfortable living quarters near the quickest paths to their jobs. The other saw it as an environment for living that provided all its residents with easy and affordable access to work and play and comfortable dwellings. One proposed extending into neighbouring territory the grid plan which had come to symbolize the city for nineteenth century Americans; the other separated the business center from its surrounding suburban ring, and located both within a broad region among many other towns and cities whose trade and talents could contribute to New York's life and health.

The transit boosters won that round. What could be called urban sprawl followed the steam cars, and later the subways, into the four other counties that joined Manhattan to become Greater New York in 1898. Olmsted's visions of a planned, specialized metropolis did not fade away, however. New York City Improvement Commission, a group of architects, artists, and businessmen appointed by Mayor Seth Low in 1903 to come up with a comprehensive development plan for the five boroughs, also deplored the way rapid transit lines squeezed New Yorkers into a few tight corridors through the city. They agreed that the railroads that had helped concentrate the city could now redefine it by interconnecting distinct civic, commercial, residential, and park districts instead of simply linking home and office. Plans for Brooklyn and Jamaica Bay published in 1914 also called for specialization and diffusion. The development of grand new industrial and port facilities in Brooklyn and Queens would allow the city to handle more business and allow its workers to "live at more humane densities" and distances from their jobs. It would also help those counties grow; the Brooklyn plan in fact predicted that the borough would eventually engulf all of Long Island. That year, too, the New York Board of Estimate and Apportionment's Committee on the City Plan declared that the city needed a comprehensive plan which "should not stop at the City boundaries but include the whole commuting belt [one hour from midtown by fastest transportation], so as to bring the entire region that is related to and dependent on the City into one perfectly coordinated plan."[4]

This generation of planners saw beyond the grid; contemporaries of Daniel Burnham, they shared a larger understanding of urban life. They believed that New York's "inevitable destiny" of growth would lead its citizens to "search for homes and congenial surroundings" in now removed towns and villages that would soon be *de facto* communities within the city limits. They understood that the only way to forestall some of the "evils of congestion" with which the concentrated cities of the nineteenth century had cursed those of the twentieth was to disperse some of New York's economic, social, and cultural activities throughout an area limited by the reach of its public transportation and private automobiles. This vision of a metropolis that sustained, and was sustained by, carefully arranged resources and residents was simply put by the city boosters in the *New York Times*. "Twenty five years hence" Manhattan "will for the most part bear upon it great buildings of majestic proportions devoted to banking, industrial, and perhaps artistic and literary pursuits." The Hudson and East River docks will be jammed with ships, and "east on Long Island, west on the Jersey ridges, north in Winchester, and south on the picturesque slopes of Staten Island will arise myriads of beautiful homes of a masterful and successful community. Manhattan for business and the suburbs for homes. It is inevitable...."[5]

World War I and the defeat of the city's reform administration halted all progress on planning or building that kind of metropolis for several years. New York made no further move towards thinking about its future until 1921, when Charles Dyer Norton, a trustee of the Russell Sage Foundation, convinced that institution to spend some of its New York City monies to take up the challenge of a comprehensive city plan. Norton was a zealous proponent of planning. He had been president of Chicago's Commercial Club when it raised the funds and commissioned Burnham to make his no little plan for that city. He had been in Washington as President Taft's secretary when the district was starting to act on the Macmillan Plan. And he continued to preach the planning gospel in New York.

But Norton preached from the businessman's pulpit, not the visionary's. Cautious and conservative, he wanted his fellow trustees to fund a committee that would begin preliminary work on a comprehensive plan that could be drafted and implemented without benefit of government; Norton was well aware of the effect changing political fashions and fortunes could have on municipally funded projects. Following the Chicago blueprint, Norton appointed businessmen and lawyers to draw up a list of those aspects of urban life that needed improvement and organization; that done, he found experts to study each item carefully before fitting it into a plan. Not surprisingly, the list reflected the concerns and biases of the progressive business class that commissioned it and wrote it up. Six of its eight major categories dealt with the city's physical and legal infrastructure. One study surveyed railroad and harbour facilities to see how New York's commercial lifelines to the rest of the nation and the work could be improved; another analyzed traffic, transit, and transportation systems to find the best ways to move people from home to work and back again. A third recorded and mapped patterns of land use and population densities to determine a more efficient distribution of people and buildings; a fourth recommended zoning laws to encourage those more productive land uses and protect property values; a fifth compared taxation policies throughout the metropolis to come up with ways of financing and maintaining proposed improvements. A sixth preliminary study located the region's parks and recreational areas, and scouted sites for new "garden city" developments. Only two surveys directly addressed the immediate needs of the people who actually lived in this brave new city: one reviewed housing conditions, and the other looked into the umbrella category called "social aspects."

The Sage Committee's initial concern with the tangible and the efficient continued from preliminary survey to final report. Thomas Adams, the Housing and Town Planning Advisor to the Canadian government who took over the leadership of the project after Norton's untimely death, also believed strongly in a rational, orderly, three stage approach to planning. His agenda moved from gathering the facts for a regional survey to analyzing them for a regional plan, and finally to developing specific, attainable goals for a civic plan. Like Aesop's tortoise, Adams was slow and steady. "We must not only prepare our schemes by gradual steps," he had written in 1919, "but prepare them in such a way that gradual fulfilment will be obtained."[6]

After seven years' labour the Committee on the Regional Plan brought forth the Graphic Regional Plan in 1929. This volume explained and, in a series of maps and diagrams, revealed to New Yorkers the metropolis of the future, an area it defined as New York and its Environs. Two giant circles around Manhattan consolidated this limited area. The outer loop, which swung around from Bridgeport, Connecticut, to Asbury Park, New Jersey, at once isolated the region's highways from and connected them to the nation. The smaller metropolitan loop revolved twelve miles from midtown. This closely developed heart of the region was criss-crossed by several routes designed to distribute traffic throughout the inner ring and funnel it onto the twenty radial roads that traversed the outer one. Rail and rapid transit lines followed the same pattern. Transportation thus determined the physical organization of the metropolis. The central business district would remain high density, the surrounding suburbs, low. The multiplication of routes would make all parts of the metropolis equally accessible, and guarantee the absence of the kind of congestion that presently clogged Manhattan.

The same network of roadways that was to deconcentrate and redistribute the metropolis was also to provide for its recreation. The Regional Plan called for intensive and integrated playground and park development throughout the area, and urged the purchase of empty land before the expanding city drove prices up too high. The planners believed that well placed and well maintained parks were insurance against overbuilding, especially in the suburbs, as well as an amenity that kept New York liveable both for the wealthy and for those who had no choice but to spend their days and nights in crowded tenements on crowded streets.

The Sage planners obviously relied heavily on the automobile to decongest the city. They also counted on it to reorganize the metropolis by class and function. Car-owning commuters could move into those now empty wedges of land between the radial highway and transit lines beyond the metropolitan loop. The points at which they got onto the highway or the train to go into the city could then be expected to develop into local centers which would eventually assume many of the business, retail, and recreational functions Manhattan served. With the suburbs accessible and amenable to white-collar workers, the nearby boroughs and the Jersey meadows would be available for industry and blue-collar housing. Manhattan could thus be free to maintain and even enhance its primacy as a commercial and financial center for the region and the country.

"A city, like an individual, does best if it specializes in the things it can do best." The Regional Plan Committee "discovered that the ideal city is not simply a pretty design laid out on a map. It is also a device for getting things done - work, so that the people will not starve; play, so that they will live a normal and well-rounded life." And so they tinkered with the city's works until it ran smoothly, efficiently, and economically. They planned a commuter city whose workers flowed in every morning and out every night, and strove to "set up a practical social ideal for the future... [and] minimum standards for health, safety and general welfare" so that those daily tides could ebb and flow with no disruption. They envisioned the continued concentration of money, power, and culture between 59th Street and the Battery, and the blossoming of new, commercially-based suburban subcenters that, while independent, still relied on Manhattan for their capital and clients. They placed every village and town within the region's borders into a regional, instead of purely local, context. As promised, they tried to relegate "manufacturing districts and lines of traffic to the back country" and to develop "the beauty of landscape and waterfronts ... into a system of parkways ... bordered by residence districts." But they did so within a metropolitan reality that necessitated that those "lines of traffic and manufacturing districts will, at a pinch, have the right of way." The Plan would be paramount; the law of the future would be "what's good for business is good for the city." Respectful of the city's biggest vested interests, and deliberately vague and high-toned in their calls for action, the progressive, professional, patrician contributors to the *Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs* defined and encouraged the development of a metropolis in which they could work and live profitably.[7]

The Committee on the *Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs* (RPNYE) was not the only group looking at the New York of the twenties with dismay and determination. The Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) had banded together in 1923 to condemn the congested metropolitan ideal of the city and to seek ways in which modern communications and energy technologies could create a more humane urban environment. A maverick group of about twenty architects and planners, joined by a writer, an economist, a sociologist, a businessman, an educator, and a forester, the RPAA was a much more liberal, even radical, group than the RPNYE. Some of its members proudly described themselves as "open-minded socialists;" they kept no mailing lists and elected no officers; they met at irregular intervals; and they accepted no support from any private or public institutions or interests. This freedom from establishment constraints and responsibilities allowed them to begin to construct their metropolitan vision by asking "what if?" instead of "what is?"[8]

The RPAA manifesto appeared in the May, 1925, issue of *Survey Graphic* magazine. Lewis Mumford's keynote article, "The Fourth Migration", set out the group's conceptual framework and agenda. Mumford offered an alternative to America's continuing lemming-like migration into financial centers where human life was sacrificed on the altar of business by "city planners who fall in line with it [and] plan for the agglomeration of ever-greater urban regions." He suggested instead a movement into a network of small cities and towns within culturally and geographically defined, economically and socially balanced regions. Thanks to highways and telephone and power lines, the population would not have to be massed into one over-built, over-extended, overcrowded metropolis, but could be scattered throughout the region, giving every community and resident equal access to wilderness, rural, and urban environments. Mumford's - and the RPAA's - ideal urban form was thus not a metropolitan solar system in which lesser municipalities revolved around a powerful central business district, but rather a constellation of communities of varying sizes, each one separate and distinct, yet linked to form one greater picture.[9]

Other RPAA colleagues embellished Mumford's picture of an exploded metropolis. Clarence Stein, wryly observing that "the city of our dreams is lost in another city which would occur to a sane mind only in a nightmare", warned that increased congestion could only lead to urban breakdown; cities cannot afford the higher overheads and taxes that follow hard upon overcrowding. Like the dinosaurs, Stein predicted, giant cities will grow too big to support themselves. Encouraging the development of several smaller cities throughout a region by redirecting some of the resources, population, and functions usually channelled into a few large ones was Stein's antidote to urban self-destruction. Frederick Ackerman also pleaded for cities of limited size. The common perception that bigger is richer is what kept cities expanding until they collapsed, he noted, adding ruefully that "the prospect of pecuniary gain is not likely to be dispelled by theoretical prophecy." Stuart Chase suggested that communities be based on "natural economic and geographical conditions." Building cotton mills near cotton fields would, for example, encourage specialized, coherent cities, discourage the duplication of transportation systems, and even balance power loads.[10]

The most lyrical argument for a regional redefinition of American cities came from Benton MacKaye. He decried the existing centralized metropolitan pattern of urban development as the "wilderness ... of a standardized, unordered civilization" in which "the slum of commerce" spreads its mess along the roads that radiate from downtown. Villages and towns ooze into an undifferentiated mass, devoid of individual character or strength, blighted by billboards and gas stations and shabby tract houses. He proposed instead an indigenous mold of development in which the land, and not economics, dictated the planting and building of cities. He called for the use of transportation and communication technology to create both local and regional communities, to allow each hamlet and town to share its own special services or resources with others in the region, and to offer a choice of rural, urban, or untouched wilderness (which MacKaye romantically dubbed "primeval") environments to each resident.[11]

Mackaye's proposals for the Appalachian Trail, which combined rural and urban planning, conservation, and development for the eastern United States, became a compelling image for the RPAA's philosophy. For this group proposed cities based on culture instead of commerce, and advocated planned development instead of planned expansion. Their metropolis was not just one place but a cooperative association of cities, separated by parks and permanent agricultural areas, yet united by a common outlook, and even occasionally by some sort of common authority. A favourite metaphor for this sort of urban symbiosis - although on a much smaller scale - was the colleges and city of Oxford. No one city would have to be, or even try to be, *the* regional center. Each would be big enough to provide a humane environment for its citizens and itself; each would respect its own and its region's cultural values and traditions, instead of aping those of the big city. Power and population would be balanced throughout a broad area so that no one would have to make the all-or-nothing choice of living in the city or the country.

The RPAA thought itself worlds apart from the RPNYE. They saw cities as particular units within a vast and varied region; their Sage counterparts saw the city as the core of a region that extended only into contiguous territory. Indeed, its very name set it free from traditional urban planning. And the informality of its organization gave it license to consider all the ways in which the places we live enrich or diminish our lives. Unbeholden and unanswerable to any funding institutions or public committees, the RPAA could dream of building a city that would reach its full potential as "a physical organization, an institutional process, an aesthetic reality, [and] an incorporation of groups ... conceived on the human scale and responsive to human needs and human requirements, " without ever having to say exactly how it would work.[12]

From its ivory tower the RPAA could also fire shots at what it considered to be the short-sighted, here-and-now approach of the RPNYE. Adams and his crew, they charged, blindly accepted trend as destiny. They saw that the southern end of Manhattan was the seat of all economic, social, political, and cultural activity for Greater New York, and tried to organize the city and its suburbs so that it could remain so. All their roads led to Wall Street. The RPNYE noted the relocation of industries out of Manhattan into nearby countries where land was cheaper, and decreed in their plan that cabinet makers and chemical manufacturers should move to Brooklyn and New Jersey. They observed the migration of well-to-do city workers to spacious suburbs beyond the city limits, and mapped out more roads to make it easier to live in the country and work in town. They talked about garden cities and superblock neighbourhood planning, but used them only as gimmicks in the suburbs or around the end of the subway line. The RPNYE was simply using the tools of urban planning to make cities work better; it did not occur to them, accused the RPAA, to even try to use those tools to knock down the city's walls and reorganize urban society.

Yet the two were closer than they cared to admit. Neither offered a political vision to implement their metropolitan one. And whether they focused on tangible or intangible ends, on increased prosperity or an improved social order, on building or creating a climate for building, their means were the same: divide the city and conquer it. When the editors of *The Survey* asked rhetorically whether "Jacob Schwarzheimer and Vittorio Pasquale recognize the fallacy of ... the broadgauge policy of industrial decentralisation towards which the Russell Sage planners are working their way?" Thomas Adams could have muttered something about what the indigenous regional culture of a Maine fishing village or Vermont farmstead so beloved of the RPAA might mean to those same two men on the street. The point is that both groups assumed that moving these newcomers out of the way, that defusing diversity by diffusing it, was essential to creating a rational urban order. Their plans were also aimed at controlling and restraining other contemporary indices of urban health, forces like growth, congestion, political and social challenges to those in power, and technological and cultural innovation. Members of a generation and a class frightened by the noise and jumble of turn of the century cities, and uncertain of their place in them, these planners redefined the metropolis according to their need for status and security in a changing world.[13]

It was not just the "experts" who were defining the metropolis in the 1920s. It was also being done by those who had the power to cast their ideas into concrete - the real estate developers. While the RPAA and the RPNYE were busy planning, these proto-Donald Trumps and Sam Lefraks were busy building. This is not to say that the real estate industry did not care about theory. They did not operate in a vacuum; they probably saw the RPNYE reports in the newspapers, and some were consulted by the group. But most of these developers, themselves often newcomers seeking their fortune in New York's infinite possibilities, could not afford the luxury of formal planning. Because their survival depended on their ability to know and build what people wanted, their work is another text in which ideas about the proper form of the metropolis can be read.

Take the work of Abraham E. Lefcourt, for example. An English immigrant to New York's Lower East Side, Lefcourt's first career was in the wholesale clothing business; his avocation, however, was real estate. In 1911 he became head of the Cloak, Suit, and Skirt Manufacturer's Protective Association and found himself in a position to bring both parts of his life together. Sensitive to the needs of his *landsmen* in the rag trade, and even more attuned to the agitation of the posh uptown merchants who wanted to move their suppliers off their doorsteps (efforts that would result in New York's first zoning law), Lefcourt decided to build a safe place for the clothing manufacturers. He had put up one loft building on West 37th Street in 1910; in 1916 he added another on West 38th. In 1923, with ten million dollars worth of property, Lefcourt left rags for realty. By the next year he was the single largest landowner in the district bounded by 35th and 39th Streets, 8th Avenue and Broadway - the heart of today's garment district. The twenty-seven storey Lefcourt Clothing Center at 275 7th Avenue effectively anchored the needle trades in this area of Manhattan. But Lefcourt encouraged the economic specialization of another part of the island, too, by building a series of midtown skyscrapers for "the highest type of executive's offices." He also developed luxury apartments and hotels, averaging a skyscrapper a year for twenty years before losing his dreams in the depression.[14]

Consider, too, the career of Fred F. French, the man who once swore "you can't overbuild in New York." French did his share in building up Manhattan's Wall Street and midtown business districts, but he also noticed the ads for suburban retreats beyond the city line, and noted that many of the people who worked in his office buildings went home each night to Scardale and Great Neck. It was that commuter market he went after next. In 1925 he announced his most ambitious plan to date for Manhattan's largest ever housing project, the hundred million dollar Tudor City on a few acres straddling 42nd Street near the East River. Despite the site's unhappy proximity to the city's slaughter-houses, French created there a distinctive *rus in urbs* of attractive apartment towers, grassy lawns, trees, well-placed "rustic seats", even an eighteen-hole miniature golf course, all within a five minute walk of Grand Central Station. Playing on the era's rampant Anglomania, French adapted suburban "Stockbroker Tudor" designs for the city, decorating his buildings *a la Bronxville* with limestone mouldings, heraldic devices, and carved cornices, and then dubbing them Windsor, Haddon Hall, and Hatfield House. Economies of scale helped him keep the costs low enough to attract those comfortable members of the middle class who were glad to have a pleasant home in a suburban community without the daily dash for the 5:02.[15]

French was not the only developer who recognized that the city would have to compete with its ever-growing suburbs. Henry Mandel also combined commercial and community development in Manhattan. The success of his Parc Vendome apartment complex on West 57th Street, with its solarium, terraced gardens, street level shops, and maisonettes, confirmed his faith that there was always a market for luxury and elegance. Nor did he neglect New Yorkers of more modest means. His two thousand apartment development in the west twenties was advertised as "walk-to-work" housing, for Mandel hoped that its residents could be at their desks (preferably in one of his office towers) within twenty minutes by foot. The towers of London Terrace were arranged fortress-like around gardens and fountains, a swimming pool, and landscaped paths; its employees were dressed as British bobbies. Its tenants got comfortable, convenient housing in what we might call a theme park, but was to them a distinctive, secure community within the metropolis.

Mandel did not put all his eggs into high-rise baskets. He tried the suburbs, too. Sleepy Hollow Manor, a short train ride away in North Tarrytown, New York, featured "attractive residences," some of whose windows "allow[ed] a glimpse of the Hudson River." That he was not alone in developing city and suburb, business and residence - Irwin Chanin, for one, left New York a heritage of both jazzy office buildings in Manhattan and the Green Acres housing development on Long Island - suggests that these builders were also encouraging the city to grow in certain ways.[16]

But the developers had no clear unifying metropolitan vision to work with. They could not afford one. Rather than spending time analyzing the causes and symptoms of urban dysfunction, they had to get right on with alleviating them. Usually they chose to do this by paying attention to trends, although whether they started or reinforced them is a chicken-or-egg question. They saw that midtown was drifting towards becoming a secondary business center, so they supplied the demand for office space north of 42nd Street. They saw that businessmen wanted spacious homes in neighbourhoods of like-minded people, so they built suburbs, carefully adapted to different social and economic needs, both in town and out. Responding to the city dweller's need to find a place for himself in the urban hubbub, the developers reduced the metropolis from a complex organism to recognizable, manageable cells.

The 1920s stimulated an intense reaction to New York City. Downtown congestion, suburban mushrooms, traffic jams, sunless tenements, and lack of parks were the evils that planners and builders identified and sought to remedy. The developers, unbeholden to any ideology, built where they saw they would do the most good to their city and themselves. The RPNYE decided that spreading the congestion into specialized areas within a sixty mile radius of Times Square would preserve the city's health and vitality by giving its labor force breathing space. The RPAA dreamed of a metropolitan union of small cities and towns scattered throughout a giant region, each one a neighbourhood in a supercity that would be cosmopolitan and folksy at the same time.

Three groups, three visions, three different arrangements of the furniture in Olmsted's house of many rooms. All three saw the metropolis as a collection of parts which could be separated and spread out from Maine to Virginia or from Brooklyn to Bronxville. And none of them offered a practical way of putting those parts back together. The planners and builders of the twenties defined the ideal metropolis as the antithesis of everything a city by its very nature is - a crowded, diverse, disorderly setting for hundreds of those chance encounters that can make or break one's fortune. Their non-city is our reality.

NOTES

1. *New York Daily Tribune*, 28 December 1879, p.1.

2. *Ibid.* p.5.

3. *Ibid*; David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1976), pp.171-172.

4. David Alan Johnson, "The Emergence of Metropolitan Regionalism: An Analysis of the 1929 Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs," Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1974, pp. 64-84, 114-117.

5. "New York To Be The World's Metropolis Within Comparatively Brief Period," *New York Times*, 25 April 1909, Real Estate, p.9.

6. Thomas Adams, "Regional and Town Planning," *The American City* XXXI,1 (July 1919), p.4.

7. R.L. Duffus, *Mastering a Metropolis: Planning the Future of the New York Region* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1930), pp.31, 105; Thomas Adams, Wayne D. Heydecker, and Edward M. Bassett, *Buildings: Their Uses and the Spaces About Them*, Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs, v. VI (New York: Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, 1931), p.165; "Tomorrow's City", *New York Times*, 14 May 1922.

8. Carl Sussman, *Planning the Fourth Migration: The Neglected Vision of the Regional Planning Association of America* (Cambridge: MIT, 1976), pp.22-23.

9. Americans' first migration was to western lands, the second to industrial centers, and the third to financial ones. See Lewis Mumford, "The Fourth Migration", reprinted in Sussman, pp.64,4.

10. Clarence Stein, "Dinosaur Cities", in Sussman, pp.66-73; Frederick L. Ackerman, "Our Stake in Congestion", in Sussman, pp.75-79; Stuart Chase, "Coals to Newcastle", in Sussman, p.88.

11. Mackaye's vision is set forth in his *The New Exploration* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1962); Sussman, pp.15-16.

12. Lewis Mumford, "The Plan of New York: II", *New Republic* LXXI, 96 (22 June 1932), p.153.

13. "Distributing A Metropolis", *The Survey* XLIX, 12 (15 May 1923), p.769; for a discussion of Progressive anxieties, see Richard Hifstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), and Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1988-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

14. W. Parker Chase, compiler, *New York The Wonder City* (New York: Wonder City Publications, 1931), p.228.

15. *New York Times*, 31 August 1936.

16. *New York Times*, 28 December 1930.

Research

Ordering the Land: the 'Preservation' of the English Countryside 1918-39

David Matless
Department of Geography, University of Nottingham

Shortly after beginning research into the movement to preserve the English countryside between the wars, it became apparent that I was not dealing, as I had initially expected, with a nostalgic and essentially conservative discourse. I was struck by the assertively progressive, at times modernistic, nature of the texts and images under consideration. This surprising correspondence of the two seemingly opposite poles of preservation and modernism has subsequently become the main theme of my research.

Many of the issues concerned were generated by a study of one man, the geographer Vaughan Cornish, a major but now neglected figure in the history of the discipline, and of countryside preservation. Cornish's work illustrated the linkage between what might otherwise have been considered disparate issues. Running through his writings on preservation, planning, physical geography, aesthetics, and eugenics are themes of leadership, of education and improvement, and of an opposition of order and disorder, in scenery and society.

The research addresses four main thematic areas:

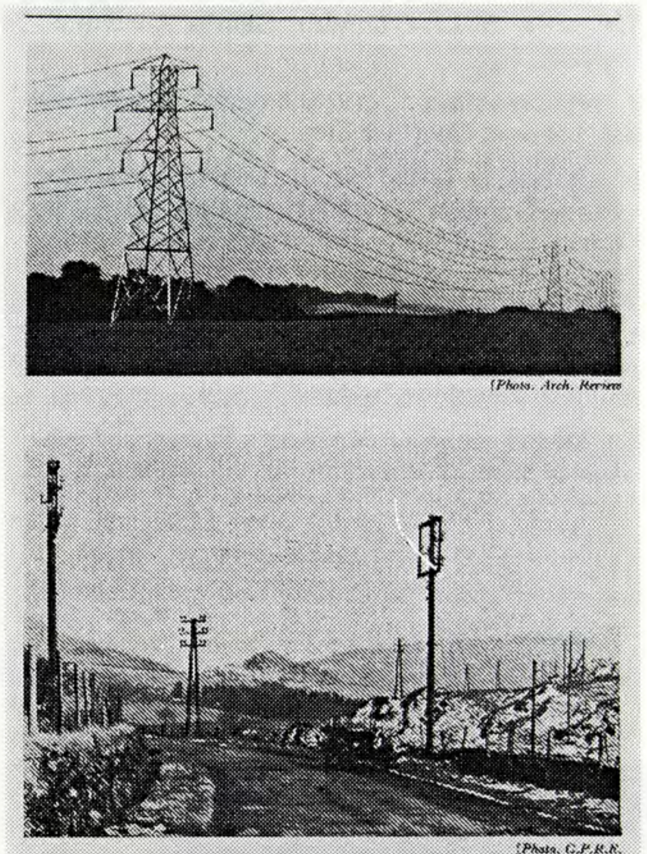
1. Aesthetics and Mysticism

Vaughan Cornish is especially notable for his attention to the aesthetics of landscape. The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, President of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (C.P.R.E.), of which Cornish was a leading and active member, praised Cornish in the foreword to his *The Scenery of England* as providing "a philosophic basis for the aesthetics of scenery".[1] Cornish's attention to the aesthetic should not be considered as an esoteric or superficial interest having little relation to his apparently more fundamental concerns. His particular "aesthetic of scenery" was fundamental to his other arguments on preservation and planning. Cornish stressed what he termed "harmonies of scenery",[2] at times exhibiting a modernistic emphasis on geometry and abstract form in the landscape; what might be termed a "grounded abstraction". Such emphasis is also prominent in his earlier physical-geographical studies of wave formation and movement. Cornish's and others' interest in mysticism was similarly by no means an esoteric diversion. Cornish sought to harness a spiritual communion with nature as a force for the improvement and enlightenment of the individual, basing his advocacy of National Parks, for which he was perhaps the leading early campaigner, on their being essential for "the spiritual welfare of a nation".[3]

2. Evolution and Planning

It is important to situate the movement for countryside preservation within contemporary conceptions of the relation between mankind and environment. Here the influence of the sociologist/biologist/planner Patrick Geddes is crucial. Geddes was a major influence on Cornish, indeed on early twentieth-century geography as a whole, setting sociological and geographical thought within a neo-Lamarckian view of human and environmental evolution.[4] Geddes, father of the regional survey movement, termed his blend of geography and sociology "civics". As the term suggests, his concern was not merely for the landscape and built environment but the citizens within. There was a strong educational and improving purpose to his various activity, a purpose taken on by his followers in the preservation movement. Connected with the concern to improve the citizen came the advocacy by Geddes of the science of eugenics, though not in any crude Social Darwinian fashion. Geddes sought eugenic and civic advance, the two intimately bound: "Cities in Evolution and People in Evolution must thus progress together".[5] Cornish too advocated eugenics, in his case in relation to imperial policy and his firm belief in white supremacy and the settlement of empty lands.

In terms of planning philosophy, Geddes was the dominant influence on Cornish and on Patrick Abercrombie, the chief instigator in the formation of the C.P.R.E.. These planner- preservationists again exhibit a distinctly forward-looking vision. There is an emphasis on progress alongside preservation, the aesthetic stress on clarity of form recurring in the praise given by both men to scenes of modern construction and technology. On the relation between town and country we find, from those concerned with "The Preservation of Rural England",[6] not a privileging of the rural over the urban, but an assertion of the value of both. The clear separation of the two is promoted, with a detestation of the blurring of boundaries by ribbon development: again the aesthetic emphasis on clarity of form is strong. City and country are constructed almost as two psychologically and socially archetypal landscapes and ways of life.



[Photo. Arch. Review

[Photo. C.P.R.E.

The vexed questions of electric pylons can only be touched on. No one can deny a real beauty in the standards of the upper picture, but the lower is disquieting.

Fig.1 From "The Face of the Land" p36

3. The Rhetoric of Preservation

The research considers in detail the formation and rhetoric of the C.P.R.E., founded in 1926 to combine disparate preservation groups in, initially, a quite literal "council": the organisation became a separate body only later. Extensive use is made of archival material, textual and photographic, particularly that relating to the C.P.R.E.'s travelling "Save The Countryside" exhibition, many of the images from which were published in "The Face of the Land",[7] the 1929-30 yearbook of the Design and Industries Association, co-edited by H.H. Peach, the organiser of the exhibition. The text included an Introduction by Clough Williams-Ellis, the prominent architect and activist whose preservationist polemic *England and the Octopus* had been published a year earlier.[8] Where one might expect taste and action based around a contrast of old and new, instead something quite different emerges. In a striking image from *The Face of the Land* (Fig.1), a photograph of modern pylons gridding their way across the country ("No one can deny a real beauty in the standards of the upper picture") is contrasted favourably with what one might have thought would have been judged a more pleasing image of rustic and muddled telegraph poles. To the editors, though, the latter forms a "disquieting" picture. As I have argued elsewhere,[9] the dichotomy here, as in other "preservationist" discourse, is less one of old and new than of order and disorder, in landscape and society.

4. Leisure and the Citizen

As well as the evolution of the English landscape, the C.P.R.E. concerned itself very much with the improvement of the English citizen, through attention given to what was a great expansion of leisure activity in the countryside, enabled by increasing access to motor transport. The leisure of townspeople had previously been canalised along the railway, or restricted to cycling distance; now new areas were opened up as the car and charabanc spread leisure over the land. To those in the C.P.R.E., this presented both problems and opportunities; opportunities for the moral and physical improvement of the citizen, problems of the desecration of the countryside by the behaviour of the "untrained" and "uneducated" townsman. The research considers the latter through an examination of discussions of litter, considered an aesthetic and behavioural blight, and the former through a study of travel writing. Cornish and others, through travel literature, sought to promote a model for leisure based on such notions as pilgrimage, constructing, in the form and content of their texts, a framework of devotion and discipline. Cornish outlined three "disciplines" through which "the Pilgrim of Scenery" could improve spirit, mind and body; the "contemplative", the "scientific", and the "Spartan". The latter, with its stress on physical improvement and the "fine discipline" of the body, recalls his advocacy of eugenics.[10] Contemporary images of leisure in the countryside constructed a model of health and hiking, guided by the newly issued Popular Edition Ordnance Survey maps, which, through Ellis Martin's celebrated covers, themselves re-emphasise the model. J.W. Tucker's painting "Hiking" (Fig.2), depicting clean, lean and healthy girls poring over their map above a nestling country church and valley, is perhaps the typical image.[11]

The research also includes detailed studies of Nottinghamshire and the Norfolk Broads, examining the manifestation and operation of general themes in specific localities. In Nottinghamshire the focus is on the activities of the Notts. Rural Community Council, the chief local organisation in the inter-war period concerned with countryside preservation and rural life in general. The Broads study by contrast focusses on the construction of a symbolic landscape of leisure, through an examination of contemporary topographical writing, landscape photography, and promotional material issued by railway companies, holiday firms, and other interested parties.

The likely completion date for the research is September 1989, though, in the nature of a project covering such a diversity of issues, completion is perhaps the wrong word. Many loose ends are likely to be left untied. Any comments and queries would be very welcome, and should be addressed to the author at the Department of Geography, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham NG7 2RD.

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5. Geddes, P. (1949) *Cities in Evolution*, London: Williams and Norgate, p.153, first published 1915.

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9. Matless, D. (1988) "Seeing England with Morton and Cornish: Travel Writing and a Quest for Order", pp.110-129 of Heffernan, M. and Gruffudd, P. (eds), *"A Land Fit For Heroes": Essays in the Human Geography of Inter-War Britain*, Loughborough: Loughborough University Department of Geography. The essay includes a reproduction and analysis of the "pylons" image.

10. See the preface to Cornish's *Scenery and the Sense of Sight*, (1935) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

11. J.W.Tucker, "Hiking" (1936); Laing Art Gallery, Tyne and Wear County Council Museums, 50x60cm, tempera on wood.

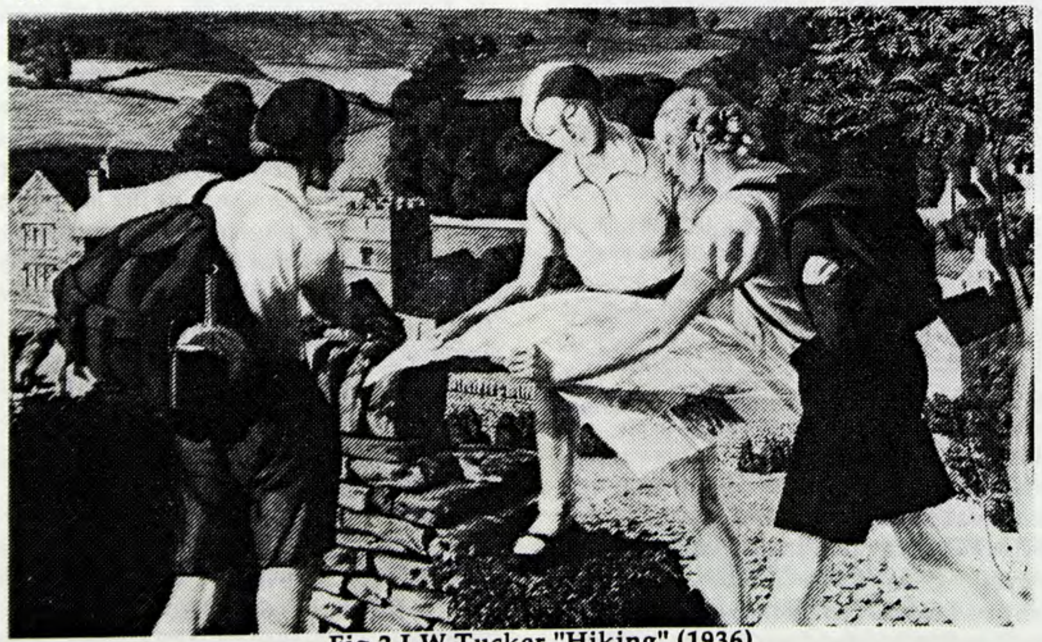


Fig.2 J.W.Tucker "Hiking" (1936)

Reports

La Reconstruction De Reims, 1920-30

Conference held at Reims, 2-5 November 1988

Hugh Clout
Department of Geography, University College London

Placed strategically to the east of Paris, the city of Reims suffered German bombardment at every stage of World War I. In November 1918 only 60 of its 14,120 buildings remained in a habitable state and its entire civilian population had been evacuated. During the following decade the new Reims rose rapidly from the ruins, its character being devised by early notions of city planning (in response to national legislation of 14 March 1919 on the future growth of towns exceeding 10,000 residents), the law of 17 April 1919 which outlined compensation for war damage, and the skills of a galaxy of architects, engineers and benefactors. By Spring 1926 much rebuilding was completed and the city's population once again exceeded 100,000. A dozen garden suburbs had been built and much of the inner city was well on the route to recovery, with new houses, apartments, department stores, banks and civic buildings rising on every street. Not surprisingly, painstaking rebuilding of the cathedral, the *hotel-de-ville*, the theatre and the basilica of Saint-Remi were to take much longer.

Seventy years after the Armistice of 1918, a four-day conference was organised by the Ville de Reims, the Ecole Regionale des Beaux-Arts and the Universite de Reims to commemorate this vital phase in the city's history, to situate the planning of Reims in the intellectual context of the period, and to explore the experience of reconstruction in other parts of northern France and in Belgium. The event comprised 25 presentations by architects, historians and planners which were articulated around five major themes.

The first of these firmly placed the process of reconstruction in the economic and social climate of the early decades of this century. Jacques Marseille (Universite de Paris VIII) traced the rapidity of French economic and demographic recovery in the early 1920s and showed how industrial output and productivity experienced remarkable dynamism, because of the return of Alsace-Loraine to France and the incorporation of innovative technology. The 1920s truly heralded the modern age of consumerism and urban life. But, as Daniele Voldman (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) showed, many new features were only possible through the national policy on war damage, whereby individuals would receive complete compensation for loss. Parliamentary debate was fierce not only with regard to financial implications but also with respect to the most appropriate relationship between the central state and the individual property owner. Ultimately reconstruction was to be the responsibility of individuals working within the framework of planning rules, receiving monetary support from the state and in many instances having the support of reconstruction cooperatives. Red-tape prevailed, frustration flared and the weakness of the assumption that "l'Allemagne paiera" would soon be shown. Compensation came slowly and the city council was obliged to raise a number of loans to assist rebuilding, thereby providing the lead for towns and villages elsewhere in the *regions devastees*. The built environment of the new Reims was analysed by Rémi Baudouin (Ecole d'Architecture Paris-Villemin) who contrasted the improved and more spacious city centre with the suburban *cites-jardins* that were planned by the paternalistic Foyer Remois (inspired by progressive catholicism), the municipal housing office, and several industrialists. The French style of *cite-jardin* represented an integration of planning ideas from Germany, Alsace and England and was also the manifestation of philosophical arguments regarding community ideals and the creation of a healthy and moral living environment. Not surprisingly it was used many time by the Nord railway company which built a range of new settlements in the *regions devastees*.

The next five papers set the focus of discussion firmly on to the city of Reims. Historian George Clause (Universite de Reims) outlined the class structure and social geography of this industrial city on the eve of the war. Textiles, champagne and manufacture of food products dominated economic activities but unemployment was endemic among newcomers. The city council had long been dominated by progressive catholics but at the end of 1919 Charles Roche was elected mayor of a left-wing administration that was to steer the city through five years of particularly dynamic reconstruction. Olivier Rigaud (Urbaniste, Mairie de Reims) translated the expression of socio-political ideas into the urban fabric of Reims c.1900 which comprised a densely-packed medieval core, where some demolition and street widening had taken place already, a set of elegant bourgeois housing areas and an array of working-class housing which sprawled around the railway and the city's numerous textile mills. The horrific demolition of this complex urban geography was traced by François Cochet (Université de Reims), who rehearsed pulsation of destruction throughout the war and compared the 'martyrdom' of Reims with that of Verdun. German devastation of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Reims symbolised the suffering of the whole French nation and had an important impact on American observers of the European war who interpreted this act of destruction as a crime against humanity. The need for formal plans to renovate the inner city and to manage future growth had been felt before 1914 and in 1916-18 a score of architects submitted proposals. François-Xavier Tassel (Urbaniste, Ville de Laon) demonstrated the influence of British and American planning notions on many of these submissions but emphasised that a workable programme was not forthcoming. Early in 1920 Mayor Charles Roche sought help from the *Renaissance des Cités* mutual welfare organisation which provided an American planner in the person of George Burdett Ford. In a powerful paper, Marc Bédarida (Ecole Régionale des Beaux-Arts) reviewed the career of this controversial foreigner. Ford was neither 'cowboy' nor 'gold digger' coming to exploit the weakened citizens of Reims, but was a practising planner who had been trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris and held a French qualification in architecture. His 'plan' for Reims was drafted in less than one month, synthesising many features from the earlier competition and respecting pre-existing landownership, as well as coming up with innovative ideas on main roads, urban parks, and ways of opening up the inner city. Serious opposition followed from the Chambre de Commerce and the Amis du Vieux Reims. In fact, Ford's grand design was never implemented in its totality. Inadequate attention to complex property boundaries, tardiness of official compensation, rapid return by refugees clamouring for building to start and a host of other pressures conspired against it and required its revision. This was done by a Ponts-et-Chaussées engineer named Marcel Forestier who, as Directeur des Travaux de la Ville de Reims, carried out some of Ford's ideas in a pragmatic and simplified way.

The second half of the conference introduced a more emphatically international dimension and a strong architectural tone to the proceedings. Marie-Rose Desmed-Thilemans (Université de Bruxelles) outlined the impact of devastation in 242 communes in Belgium, explored laws on compensation and reconstruction, and then reviewed numerous maps and documents that have survived in Belgian archives, taking the small town of Dinant as a case study. Marcel Smets (Université de Louvain) changed the scale by using a wide range of drawings and photographs to analyse the intricate rebuilding of the cities of Ypres, Ghent and especially Leuven. He explained that it was not just a matter of replacing what had been lost but rather of reinventing the architecture of fifteenth-century Flanders which was perceived as an heroic age, which arguably symbolised the best of 'Belgian' culture. The cathedral, streets and squares of Leuven provide a fascinating manifestation of that reinvention. By contrast, Peter Uyttenhove (Académie d'Architecture, Paris) showed that reconstruction of more ordinary buildings in Belgian towns was influenced by notions of civic survey and planning that were current in Britain and the Netherlands and were duly imported by Belgian refugees. The ideas of the garden suburb also flourished in Germany and Harmut Frenck (Hamburg Art School) charted their proliferation in war-torn East Prussia and evaluated projects for promoting friendship among the workers of Western Europe by importing German builders to undertake the reconstruction of northern France. Not unexpectedly, profound opposition from French trades unionists meant that these schemes were never to materialise.

The new Reims was the collective creation of more than 300 architectural firms, based mainly in Paris and Reims. In other words, one in every fifteen architects practising in France during the 1920s contributed to the city's renaissance. Their collective effort was analysed with vigour and enthusiasm by Mireille Bazin (Ecole Régionale des Beaux-Arts) who highlighted the enormous legacy of worked stone, ironwork, stained glass, mosaics, statues and frescoes that dates from this decade. A proliferation of floral motifs and new Art Déco buildings contrasts with more sombre reconstruction according to traditional styles. An avalanche of slides and a torrent of words whisked the audience through many parts of the city, from simple houses to public buildings, and into the interiors of churches, banks and department stores. Isabelle Gournay (Georgia Institute of Technology) reinforced the message that the 'white city' of Reims was not simply the creation of local architects but embraced designs developed by American artists who were strongly involved in rebuilding throughout the régions dévastées. Reims' Art Déco civic library, built with Carnegie finance and designed by Max Sainsaulieu, provides a fine example of Franco-American cooperation, as does the American Memorial Hospital in the suburb of Maison Blanche which was designed by Charles Butler.

The final session was dedicated to a series of technical papers devoted to the painstaking reconstruction of major historic buildings which demanded the skills of the very best architects and craftsmen of the period. Concrete and steel were used extensively in the framework of reconstruction buildings but the hôtel de ville (reinaugrated in 1928), the civic theatre (1934), the cathedral (1938) and many other historic buildings were faced with worked stone and were to have essentially the same appearance as they had before the outbreak of war.

This densely packed and highly stimulating conference concluded with two fieldtrips, the first visiting the cathedral, the Carnegie library, and other parts of the inner city, and the second providing a fascinating opportunity to visit the Chemin-Vert garden suburb that had been built by the Foyer Rémois in the early 1920s. Paul Voison, director of the Foyer from 1929 to 1969, took participants into the community centre (Maison pour Tous) and the Art Déco Church of Saint-Niçaise as well as leading them through the tree-lined lanes of this cottage estate. The paternalism, careful planning and rigorous social engineering practised at Chemin-Vert in the 1920s and 1930s contrasts with its present status as a rather down-at-heel home for a share of Reims' 'problem families'.

Marc Bédarida and the indefatigable Olivier Rigaud are to be congratulated most warmly for arranging such an excellent opportunity to analyse this vital phase in the planning of Reims and to situate the role of this important city in the reconstruction of the régions dévastées of France and Belgium. They were also the moving spirits behind a splendid public exhibition on display in the foyer of the civic theatre which assembled a superb array of maps, photographs, newspapers, letters and other documents which evoked the renaissance of Reims. Last but by no means least, they edited a fully illustrated book entitled *Reims, reconstruction 1920-1930* (1988) which includes essays on the city's art and architecture (summarised in English and in German), together with a fine set of descriptions of 70 buildings constructed in the 1920s, a digest of crucial dates, biographies of planners, architects, artists and politicians, and notes on the granting of building permits and the construction of cités-jardins. The 212-page volume forms the essential guide for educated visitors to the 'new Reims' and may be purchased for 50 francs from the Direction de l'Urbanisme, Ville de Reims, 36 rue de Mars, 51100 Reims. The full set of conference proceedings will be assembled into a book in due course.

Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning,

Buffalo, USA, October 1988

Marc Weiss

Planning historians held two very well-attended sessions at the annual meeting of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning in Buffalo, New York, during the last weekend in October.

One session, entitled *Postwar Federal Programs and the Ghetto*, consisted of a paper by Roger Montgomery and Kate Bristol on *The Ghost of Pruitt-Igoe*, a paper by Yale Rabin on *Mobility and Disruption: The Highway and the Ghetto*, and one by John Bauman on *Life in Philadelphia's Allen project*.

Montgomery and Bristol criticized what they called the *architect's myth* that design failure was the main reason for the demise of the St. Louis public housing project in 1972, offering instead an analysis of social, economic, and political forces that contributed to the project's difficulties. John Bauman corroborated this view with his detailed look at one housing project in Philadelphia. Yale Rabin discussed several forms of racism that pervaded the federal highway program, particularly the use of highway construction to demolish minority neighbourhoods. Mel King of MIT, a longtime civil rights activist, provided challenging comments as the discussant, which provoked vigorous debate from the panel and the audience.

The other session, *Ideas and Innovation in the History of Urban Development*, consisted of four papers: *Striving for Permanence in the Built Environment, 1870-1930* by Michael Holleran, *The Private Formation of Urban Infrastructure, 1870-1920* by David Beito, *Defining the Metropolis in the Twentieth Century* by Mollie Keller, and *Defining the Metropolis of Urban Freeways, 1930-1970* by Cliff Ellis.

This research represented very new work in the planning history field, including three doctoral dissertations in progress and one just completed. Michael Holleran examined the growth of movements and mechanisms to stabilize urban physical life in Boston, including deed restrictions, height limitations on buildings, and historic preservation. David Beito described the extensive and fairly unique system of private streets in St Louis. Mollie Keller discussed the changing conceptions of the growth of Long Island suburbs in relation to New York City and the surrounding metropolis areas. Cliff Ellis critiqued the design conceptions and planning ideas of highway engineers. Zane Miller offered a stimulating synthesis in his role as the discussant. Many questions followed from the audience.

Both of the sessions were organized by Marc Weiss and Roger Montgomery, and were chaired by Marc Weiss.

Sources

National Inventory of Documentary Sources in the United Kingdom and Ireland

A helpful source for users of archives and manuscript collections is a newsletter circulated three times a year. It contains news and views on collections, and is designed for scholars and researchers. The editor of the newsletter is Heather Owen, and to be included on the mailing list (at no cost) you should write to the above editor, c/o Chadwyck-Healey Ltd., Cambridge Place, Cambridge CB2 1NR.

In the current issue (No.3, February 1989) for instance, the following items might be of particular interest to planning historians:

Local History in Greenwich

In 1970 the London Borough of Greenwich opened the Woodlands Local History Library and Art Gallery which amalgamated collections from the former metropolitan boroughs of Blackheath, Greenwich, Lewisham and Kidbrooke. The four constituent parts, housed in separate rooms, are: The *Local Collection* which contains books, pamphlets, prints, drawings, maps, photographs etc., relating to the history of the towns and villages within the London Borough of Greenwich; the *Kent Collection*, concerned with the history and topography of the County of Kent; the *Martin Collection* which is a very extensive private bequest of documents on the history of Blackheath, Greenwich, Lewisham and Kidbrooke; and the *Archive Collection* contains the official records of the Borough and the former civil parishes, and other deposited records.

The Local History Library is a Diocesan Record Office, and it also holds Parish Registers, Churchwardens and Vestry Records, Charity Records, Workhouse Minutes, Non-Conformist Records, Board of Health Minutes, Petty Sessions Records, Business Records, Political Party Records.

For further details of Woodlands and its collections, or for a copy of a guide to the Local History Centre (20p) please contact Julian Watson, Local History Librarian, Woodlands, 90 Mycenae Road, Blackheath SE3 (Tel: 01-858-4631).

Water Records

The Historical Manuscripts Commission have expressed concern over the future of records belonging to water authorities following water privatisation proposals. The HMC have already been in contact with the authorities in an attempt to ascertain their plans for the material, which is not protected by 'public record' status. Local archivists are urged to make contact with their water authority to see what may be arranged.

Maxwell Fry

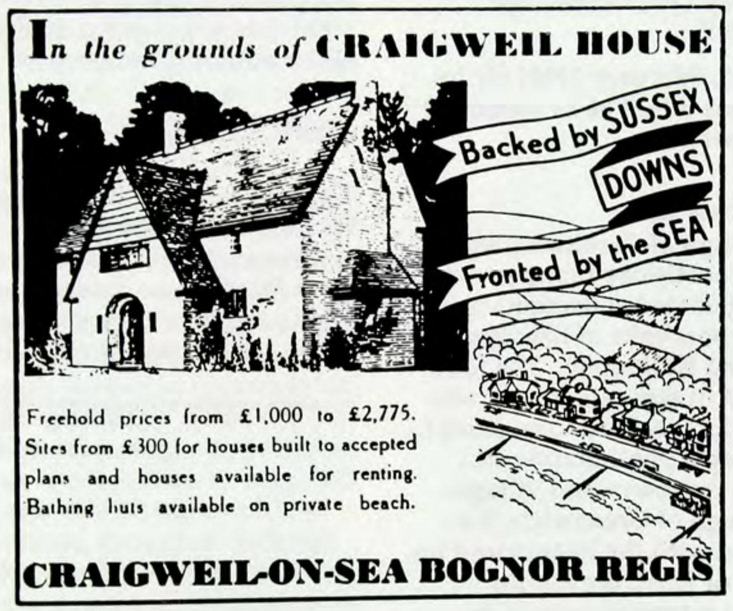
To commemorate the life and work of Maxwell Fry, a leader of the Modern Movement in British architecture, RIBA have set up the Maxwell Fry Book Fund in the British Architectural Library. Funds raised will be used to buy rare or otherwise valuable books on 20th century architecture.

Planning History Practice

Celebrating a Centenary

Dennis Hardy
Middlesex Polytechnic

It was the 1888 Local Government Act that ushered in the county council system in England and Wales - a system of local government that offers a basis for managing town and country in unison. County boundaries fall short of regional subdivisions, but allow a broader approach than that of district authorities alone.


In the grounds of CRAIGWEIL HOUSE

Freehold prices from £1,000 to £2,775. Sites from £300 for houses built to accepted plans and houses available for renting. Bathing huts available on private beach.

CRAIGWEIL-ON-SEA BOGNOR REGIS

Centenary celebrations around the country this year are taking a variety of forms. In Hertfordshire, for instance, the county which hosted the two original garden cities, Letchworth and Welwyn, has organised a lecture series on a garden city theme.

Another ambitious programme is that of West Sussex County Council, with its offering of a series of events throughout the year and a special publication to mark the occasion.(1) Subtitled somewhat optimistically (given some of the uncertainties which now surround the future of county councils within the local government system), *West Sussex County Council : The first 100 years*, the book is of much more than local interest. For planning historians, the story of 100 years of local government in a southern county offers a fascinating case study of planning change.

The well-illustrated book is arranged chronologically, sketching in the background to the formation of the county before dealing with the period through to 1918. Attempts to improve the health, education and road systems in what was still a predominantly rural part of Britain constitute much of the early work of the council. In the interwar years, a tantalising reference to the activities of the Land Settlement Association - focusing on a planned agricultural settlement at Sidlesham - invites further research. At the same time, there is also reference to the variety of settlement formation in the rest of the county in this period, and to the emergence of planning.

West Sussex between the wars attracted large numbers of new residents. Shanty towns with houses made from railway carriages and other cheap materials appeared on Shoreham and Pagham beaches, and all along the coast new bungalows were built to lure people from the grime and bustle of London and other big cities. In neighbouring East Sussex, land on the chalk cliffs between Brighton and Newhaven was sold off in plots for cheap housing.

At the same time, ease of communications with London by railway led to the rapid development of East Grinstead, Burgess Hill and, above all, Haywards Heath. Haywards Heath was a creation of the railway age, providing homes for thousands of London workers who preferred to live in what they thought would be the countryside. A particularly interesting example of 1930s development is the Franklands Estate on the edge of Haywards Heath, provided by the local Rotary Club during the Depression as a model village of 300 houses and flats let at low rents.

A contrasting inter-war development was the Aldwick Bay Estate at Bognor. The estate was laid out in 1929 by a Captain Allaway "for the town dweller who desires a nice type of seaside residence and for the retired wishing to reside in a peaceful neighbourhood not invaded by trippers and charabanc parties." Purchasers' individual requirements were catered for and each house was to be elegant, individual and comfortable, including as many modern labour-saving devices as possible, and to a value of not less than £1,000.

The pressures for development in the countryside led to the formation, in 1923, of the Society of Sussex Downsmen, determined that another Peacehaven should not be allowed to occur. Town planning was in its infancy, it being open to county councils to become involved if they so wished. Recognising the importance of the embryonic planning system, the county council became the first in the country to appoint a County Planning Officer, Mr N.W. Robinson, in April 1931.

After the Second World War, two events are of particular interest in the history of planning. One relates to the outcome of unplanned development at Shoreham Beach, which had led to the haphazard siting of some 700 bungalows and converted railway carriages, in defiance of the best intentions of a county council with limited planning powers. The war itself led to the removal of most of these structures, and the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act at last provided a means for the county to determine the form of future development. Significantly, this relatively isolated shingle spit became the site of the first of the Development Plans to be authorised under the new planning system.

The other event to note is the siting of one of the first of the postwar new towns, at Crawley. designated in 1947. The first building was delayed for three years as a result of fierce local resistance (unsuccessfully pursued through the courts) and the economic difficulties of the country at that time. In passing, it is interesting to recall that the original brief to prepare a plan had been given in 1946 to Thomas Sharp, but he resigned in the following year and the preparatory work went, in turn, to Anthony Minoprio.

An apposite footnote for historians is that symbolic recognition of the centenary is matched by the proposed opening at the end of the year of a new County Record Office - with the prospect of fresh research on the above topics of land settlement, urban development, statutory plans and new town history.

Note

1. Godfrey, J., Leslie, K and Zeuner, D.(1989) : *A Very Special County. West Sussex County Council : The first 100 years*. 144pp, £5.95. Available from Information Office, County Hall, Chichester PO19 1RQ.

Acknowledgement is made to Jane Robinson, County Information officer, for kindly supplying prints.

Harold Macmillan inspects projected Crawley industrial estate

Networks

Australian Planning History Group

Alan Hutchings
Convenor, Australian Planning History Group

Perhaps inspired by the success of the special Australian Planning History issue of *Australian Planner* (V.26, N.3 - September 1988), the small band of Australian planning history enthusiasts gathered, on 1st September, 1988, at a special meeting during the Royal Australian Planning Institute's Bicentennial Congress in Melbourne.

The Australian Planning History Group is one of the special interest groups encouraged by the Federal Council of the Institute (the others, currently, are the Urban Design Group and the Rural Planning Group). Those present worked on a thematic, research and action agenda for Institute members, friends and associates.

Perhaps the most important initiative identified was to ask Federal Council to support a full blown history of the Institute and the profession generally in Australia. Many group members had their first planning history appetites whetted by Gordon Cherry's 1974 history of the RTPI and were of the view that an equally ambitious local project was overdue. A draft brief aiming for philosophical direction and research substance is being prepared.

Using the classic framework of "process and product", suggested research themes included in the process mode, are methodological development, the growth of the idea of Planning as a context for decision-making and, of course, administration and legislation. The work done so far in Australian Planning History is particularly rich in this area. Administrative arrangements have fascinated both practitioners and academics for some years now. In South Australia, the statutory policy making authority - separate from the legislature - has been the focus of attention in its early Colonial modes, its early 20th Century North American influenced forms and in its recent planning and development manifestations by a number of commentators. This year, in the *Australian Planner* Bicentennial issue, a range of authors analysed the history of administrative and policy interrelationships in Western Australia, New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory. It has all proved fascinating stuff - at least to Antipodeans.

In this field, the big news was the demise of the National Capital Development Commission in mid-1988. Hence a major subject identified was the need to study its role both as a focus for planning ideas and as an organization. Given that the Commission was the effective successor to Walter Burley Griggen and his professional and organizational colleagues who produced (if the Australian and Northern Hemisphere newspaper of the day are to be believed) the key western urban development of the early 20th century, this project is of crucial importance. Naturally Karl Fischer's pioneering *Canberra : Myths and Models* would be a starting point. Karl, of the Institute of Asian Affairs, Hamburg, must be considered the Group's Western European connection.

With regard to product, a number of scholars are looking at the history of specific schemes and plans and there is a strong emerging interest in the evolution of urban design.

Much of this is currently focussed on Adelaide. Its very strong plan-form, designed by Colonel Light as a quitessence of Hispanic and Anglo-Saxon New World/new town development themes in the colonial 16th-19th centuries, continues to inspire (obsess?) research into urban form and design. Some of us are working on how urban design has evolved from this background as a strong element in official planning policy. Others are using it to help work through the modernist versus post-modernist tensions in planning rather than architectonic terms.

This has led to both interchange and common membership with the Urban Design Group. However, given the diversity of interests and enthusiasms among planning historians, this does not mean an overemphasis in this direction, rather it just illustrates the directions of a particular theme.

In the immediate future a number of procedural actions are proposed to set the groundwork for a longer term research program. Readers of *Planning History* should look for more regular news columns such as this, Antipodean orientated articles and a "Planning History Network" flyer in Austplan. Contacts with kindred souls in New Zealand are also being sought.

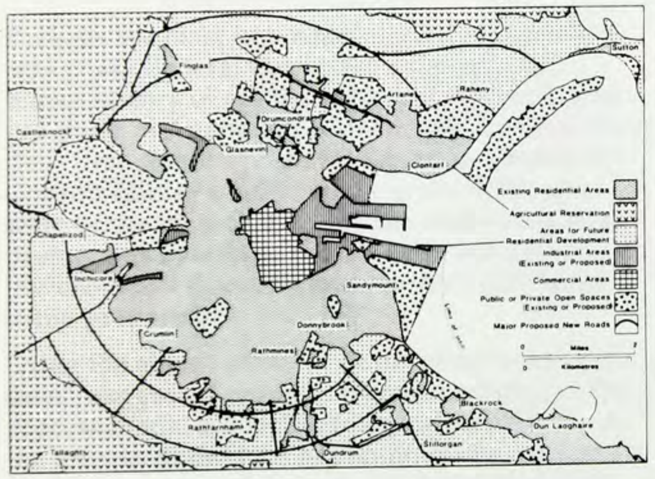
Finally, an "Australian Planning History Conference" is being aimed for as a component of the RAPI 1990 Federal Congress. David Kettle of Travers Morgan, 82 Mount Street, North Sydney, N.S.W. is the Congress Co-ordinator and the first point of contact for early inquiries.

Publications

Abstracts

Michael Bannon, ed., *Planning: The Irish Experience, 1920-1988*, Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 1989, 200pp, hbk. £20.00 ISBN 0-86327-211-8, sbk. £9.95 ISBN 0-86327-212-6.

This is the first record and analysis of the growth and development of Irish environmental planning from 1920 up to the 1980s. It details the introduction of planning legislation, models and theories both in Northern Ireland and the Republic. Among the topics examined are the reconstruction of Dublin in the 1920s, the accommodation of the Government function, the attempts at administrative reform, planned housing initiatives, the role of regional planning in economic recovery and the need for environmental protection. The resurgence of planning in the 1960s and 1970s is set against the contemporary background of demographic social and economic change. The final chapter reviews planning and related developments in the 1980s with an emphasis on environmental issues, rehabilitation and the Custom House Docks scheme.



Dublin Sketch Development Plan: Metropolitan Area

Christine Bellamy, *Administering Central-Local Relations, 1871-1919. The Local Government Board in its Fiscal and Cultural Context* University Press, Manchester, 1988, 301pp, £29.95, ISBN 0 7190 1757 2.

Through a study of how the responsibilities of the Local Government Board, namely for local government, the poor law, public health and housing were handled, the volume analyses the problematic emergence of statist or collectivist attitudes to social policy before 1919, and explains the weak integration of local government into national domestic policy. The organisation, style and methods, and in particular controls on local finance and capital formation, of the Board are examined.

T.B. Brealey, C.C. Neil and P.W. Newton (eds), *Resources Communities: Settlement and Workforce Issues, CSIRO, Australia, 1988, 383pp, A$40.00, ISBN 0 643 04247 4.*

The demand for labour in the mineral boom of the 1960s in isolated, hitherto sparsely-populated, resource-rich areas of Australia was met largely by the recruitment of labour from cities, accommodated in new towns. The essays place the phenomenon in its international context, trace the economic, physical planning and social issues, governance and industrial relations behind the construction of the new towns, and explore the alternative settlement options for resource development in similarly remote settings.

Gordon E. Cherry, *Cities and Plans. The Shaping of Urban Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Edward Arnold, London, 1988, 210pp, £9.95, ISBN 0 7131 6562 6.

From the 1830s onwards, the public sector came to play an increasing role in regulating the urban environment. Local government, strengthened at the turn of the century became a key agent of change. In the context of changes in politics, economy, demography and technology, the volume traces the steps in the public regulation of the environment, from by-laws to town planning in its many changing forms.

J.B. Cullingworth, *Town and Country Planning in Britain* (Tenth Edition), London, Unwin Hyman, 1988, 408pp, ISBN 0 04 445118 0.

Published some 25 years after the first draft of this book was written, the tenth edition contains a much greater amount of revision than has been usual. Other than the first chapter, the chapters have been revised to a varying degree. Chapters on the countryside and the environment have been expanded to take account of increased concern for these matters. As previously, the book ends with a discussion of planning and the public.

Jurgen Friedrichs, Allen C. Goodman et al, *The Changing Downtown: A Comparative Study of Baltimore and Hamburg*, Berlin: Walter de Gryter, 1987, 256pp, $34.95, ISBN 0 89925 274 5.

In the light of the decentralisation of a broad range of functions typically associated with the center city, the authors analyse two contemporary downtowns to shed light on the question of their role in a polycentric urban world. The study looks at changes in the size of the two downtowns and the spatial distribution of land uses within each since the mid-1960s and on changing patterns of use of those spaces. The findings on the two cities are not discussed in the broader context of cultural, political and economic differences that justify comparative analysis. The two studies are better regarded as parallel rather than comparative treatments.

Dennis Hardy and Lorna Davidson, eds., *Utopian Thought and Communal Experience*, School of Geography and Planning, Middlesex Polytechnic, London 1989, 97pp, £6.00 (£7.50, including postage outside UK and EC), ISBN 0 9048 0467 4.

In July 1988 participants came to Scotland from some twenty countries to attend a conference at New Lanark and Edinburgh. The conference, 'Utopian Thought and Communal Experience', was jointly sponsored by the International Communal Studies Association and the National Historic Communal Societies Association and was hosted by the New Lanark Conservation Trust. Papers and discussions were far-reaching, some offering new dimensions to familiar topics and others setting out along fresh paths. It was a unique discussion of theory and practice in a field that never fails to fascinate. As a record of this event, this publication offers a cross-section of contributions. In addition to forewords from the sponsors, and abstracts of all the papers presented at the conference, the eight plenary papers (by John Harrison, Krishan Kumar, Donald Pitzer, Henry Near, William Metcalf, Tony Weggemans, Menachem Rosner and Tony Gibson) are reprinted in full.

Mike Heffernan and Pyrs Gruffudd, eds., *'A Land Fit for Heroes': Essays in the Human Geography of Inter-War Britain*, Department of Geography, Loughborough University, 1988, £5.95, ISBN 0 907038-034.

The essays in this volume explore different aspects of the human geography of inter-war Britain, reflecting and extending the increased critical concern with this instructive period of British history. Topics covered include a geography of the 1926 coal dispute, mining communities in South Wales and Nottinghamshire, citizenship in Poplar in the 1920s, rural planning in Wales between the wars, travel writers in the 1930s, and leisure building at the seaside in the interwar years. The papers were originally presented at a symposium sponsored by the Historical Geography Research Group of the Institute of British Geographers at the Department of Geography, Loughborough University of Technology towards the end of 1987. At the time of the symposium, the authors were all postgraduate students.

Stephen Jackson, ed., *Industrial Colonies and Communities*, Conference of Teachers of Regional and Local History in Tertiary Educatiuon, Liverpool Polytechnic, 1989, £2.50.

The papers that are collected together in this volume were first presented at a day seminar organised by the Conference of Teachers of Regional and Local History in Tertiary Education (C.O.R.A.L.) at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, on 14th May 1988. Industrialization in Britain led to the appearance of 'industrial villages' near factories or other places of work. Many of these were employer-promoted or employer-dominated, and in that respect they show signs of deliberate social policy. Many more seem to have been haphazard in their growth, and yet others are now fossilised in the urban environment, having been absorbed by the spread of towns. Some 'colonies' may have played an appreciable part in the growth of individual towns, influencing morphology and housing.

Margaret Ripley Wolfe, *Kingsport, Tennessee : A Planned American City*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1987, xii, 259pp, $24.00, ISBN 0 8131 1624 4.

This urban biography of Kingsport, Tennessee traces the development of "the first thoroughly diversified, professionally planned, and privately financed city in twentieth-century America." Wolfe introduces a revisionist perspective by suggesting that the city's prominent planning consultant, John Nolen, did not exert the influence on the city's physical development that has been traditionally associated with his role. Once the story moves beyond the city's planning era (the 1920s), the volume takes on the attributes of the standard urban biography.

Clarence N. Stone and Heywood T. Sanders, eds., *The Politics of Urban Development*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987, 336pp, $29.95 (cloth) ISBN 0 7006 0332 8, $12.95 (paper) ISBN 0 7006 0333 6.

This volume constitutes an elaborate and rigorous assessment of prevailing theories of urban development. The authors not only supply a convincing argument that the city is a theater of multiple actors and competing interests, but weld together a nicely composed series of case studies on cities such as Dallas, Atlanta, Baltimore, New York, Paris, Kalamazoo, and New Orleans. The mix is unusual but the product superb.

Franklin Toker, *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986, 351pp, $29.95 (cloth) ISBN 0 271 00415 0, $16.95 (paper) ISBN p 271 00438 X.

This volume represents a comprehensive guide to the architecture and urban development of Pittsburgh that will find a variety of appreciative audiences. Architectural historians will find solid descriptions of many well-known buildings in this industrial community. For urban planners and students of planning history, the author pays particular attention to the urban context of design and architectural features.

Stephen V. Ward,*The Geography of Interwar Britain: The State and Uneven Development*, Routledge, London, 1988, 260pp, £30.00, ISBN 0 415 00460 8.

The examples of macro-economic policy, defence, industrial rationalisation, labour and unemployment policy, local government and regional policy show how State intervention tended to intensify uneven capitalist development. Until the later 1930s, policies worked to the disadvantage of depressed 'outer' Britain and favoured the more prosperous South and Midlands.

Ray Wyatt, *Intelligent Planning. Meaningful Methods for Sensitive Situations*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1988, 286pp, £30.00 (Hardback) ISBN 0 04 711019 8, £9.95 (paperback) ISBN 0 04 711020 1.

Introduces the philosophy, technical details and practical considerations of planning under the general headings of Think - Analyse - Aspire - Suggest - Evaluate. Use is made of innovative diagrams, thought-provoking exercises and bibliographies.

A.J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840*, Edinburgh University Press, 1988, 327pp, £14.95, ISBN 0 85224 576 9.

First published in 1966, this is the first paperback edition of the acclaimed study of the planning, financing and building of the New Town of Edinburgh, tracing the origins and development of one of the most comprehensive, detailed and remarkable urban expansion programmes ever undertaken. A new Preface introduces chapters on the planning debates, fund-raising schemes, the administrative and legislative infrastructures, and the construction of public buildings.

With acknowledgements to John Sheail for abstracts received.

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Professor G.E. Cherry
Department of Geography
University of Birmingham
PO Box 363
Birmingham
B15 2TT
021-414 5537

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Dr Pat Garside
Planning History Group
Department of Civil Engineering
Salford University
The Crescent
Salford
M5 4WT
061-736 5843

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