# Planning History



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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.

# Contents

# Editorial

If the quality and range of papers at the Bournville conference earlier this year is an accurate measure of the state of planning history in general, then the prognosis for this field of interest is certainly very favourable. From a rich variety of cultural and disciplinary backgrounds, the garden city movement was explored in the true spirit of scholarly enquiry - reinterpreting old views, revealing new sources, questioning its continuing worth for modern society.

Separate reports in this issue from the two Associate Editors - Rob Freestone writing from Australia, and Marc Weiss from the United States - offer independent perspectives on what transpired. Additionally, there are publication plans to ensure that the conference papers are disseminated as widely as possible. Stephen Ward has undertaken to edit a volume of selected papers, and *Planning Perspectives* and *Planning History* will play their part in exposing some of the remaining works to a wide readership. Maurits van Rooijen's paper in this issue (first presented at Bournville) is a case in point.

At the end of the conference, Gordon Cherry (Chairman of the Planning History Group) was presented with the CPIJ (City Planning Institute of Japan) Ishikawa Prize. This is an annual prize for contributions to urban planning, but not until this year has it been awarded to an overseas recipient. In announcing the award, Dr Shun-ichi Watanabe spoke of Professor Cherry's international activities in the field of comparative planning history, and, particularly, his contributions to the International Symposium and Third International Planning History Conference in Tokyo in 1988.

On a more domestic note, Bournville offered the first opportunity for the editorial team of this bulletin to meet. In the company, as we were, of representatives from so many countries, we could not fail to note that we are tapping only a small fraction of worldwide planning history research and activity. We will do our best to spread the net, but warmly encourage readers from around the world to send us news and short articles or research notes that will, undoubtedly, be of interest to others.

Meanwhile, there is already talk of a subsequent international conference in this series, and news of that will be announced in due course.

Dennis Hardy

# Notices

### Fellowship Offered In 1990-91 for the Study of American Architecture

Two residential fellowships for research projects in American architecture, landscape studies, or urbanism, past or present, will be offered in 1990-91 by the Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture at Columbia University. Applications will be considered from scholars in any academic disciplines as well as from practitioners. A Ph.D. or its equivalent in professional achievements is required. The Center intends to offer a Senior Fellowship at $50,000 and a Junior Fellowship at $30,000. The Fellows will be expected to teach one seminar and take part in the activities of the Center during the academic year.

Application deadline is December 15, 1989. For further information and application forms, contact: Gwendolyn Wright, Director, Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027 or call (21) 854-7374.

### Society for American City and Regional Planning History

The Third National Conference on American Planning History will be held in Cincinnati, Ohio from November 30 to December 2. The Society for American City and Regional Planning History, which now has nearly 200 members, is expecting more than 100 people to attend this third biannual national meeting. An all-time high number of 52 papers will be presented at the conference, and there will also be an afternoon tour of Mariemont and Greenhills new towns and the Ohio and Kentucky riverfronts. Keynote speeches will be given by Daniel Ransohoff of the University of Cincinnati, K.C. Parsons of Cornell University, and Eugenie Birch of Hunter College, the founding President of SACRPH.

For the first time, prizes will be awarded for the best book, article, conference paper, and master's thesis or doctoral dissertation, published, presented, or completed during the past three years. In addition, this year's best student research paper will receive an award, and the winner of last year's prize, Jay Getz of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, will present his winning paper at the conference. Elections will also be held for a new board of trustees and new officers, as Eugenie Birch, SACRPH Vice-President Donald Krueckeberg of Rutgers University, and the other elected officials will be completing their terms. Of direct interest to PHG members, the Society will consider a proposal to hold an international planning history conference, jointly sponsored with PHG, in conjunction with the Fourth National Conference on American Planning History scheduled for 1991 in Richmond, Virginia, to be hosted by Virginia Commonwealth University. SACRPH Executive Secretary Laurence Gerckens has done an outstanding job of organising the Cincinnati conference, and he is to be congratulated by all of us for his dedicated service to the cause of planning history.

### S.G.A.S. Fourteenth Annual Symposium

**April 26-29, 1990**
**German-American Center, The Deutsche Haus-Athenaeum, Indianapolis, U.S.A.**

### Call for Papers

The German Department of Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis is pleased to host the next symposium of the Society for German-American Studies to be held in the historic landmark of the Midwest, the Deutsche Haus-Athenaeum,

The symposium will focus on the Midwest. However, papers dealing with other aspects of German-American Studies are welcomed.

Abstracts of scholarly papers for the 1990 symposium may be submitted to:

Professor Giles Hoyt
German-American Center
Indiana University
425, Agnes Street
Indianapolis, IN 46202

For additional information, contact Giles Hoyt or Ruth Reichmann at the above address or via BITNET "HOYT@IUBACS" or via FAX 317-274-2347.

On behalf of the Indiana University, we look forward to welcoming you to the SGAS symposium in 1990.

### Editorial Postscipt

Please note the recent change of address for the Associate Editor for the Americas:

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# Articles

## Lessons from the Past: Abercrombie's Plymouth

Professor Gordon E. Cherry
Head, School of Geography,
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*A Plan for Plymouth*, prepared by J. Paton Watson, City Engineer and Surveyor, and Patrick Abercrombie, consultant, was finalised in 1943 and approved in principle by the City Council the following year. A plan for the LCC, the *County of London Plan* had already been published and was shortly to be overtaken by the *Greater London Plan, 1944*. Over the next few years a number of war time reconstruction plans were prepared, such as for Exeter, Hull and Clydeside, and there were other city plans including Oxford and Edinburgh. The significance of the Plymouth Plan was that, outside London, it was the first in the field. That in itself makes it a plan worthy of analysis.

### The context of Plymouth

By the 20th century the three townships of Plymouth, Stonehouse and Devonport, between the Plym and the Tamar clearly constituted one functional city. Amalgamation for local government purposes took place in 1914, with the CBs of Plymouth and Devonport and the UD of East Stonehouse combining to form the CB of Plymouth, later (1928) to be designated a city. Yet the oddities of distinctive subcentres in what was overall a fairly small area, remained; its physical pattern did not have a central unity.

In 1939 the city had a population of around 220,000; another 27,000 or so lived in the immediately adjoining areas, rather more than half to the east at Plympton and Plymstock, a smaller number to the west at Saltash and Torpoint. The city was relatively small and cramped, its modest urban peripheries somewhat hemmed in; overall, the area of the city was little more than 5700 acres. Its crowded population gave the city the unenviable distinction of making it amongst the most densely populated county boroughs in England. There were high overcrowding rates in the older residential areas, particularly in Vintry Ward around Sutton Harbour and St Aubyn in Devonport.

Housing congestion was one characteristic; vehicular congestion was another. The density of traffic at St Andrew's Cross in the centre of the city was the highest in southern England, outside London. A combination of difficult topography, restrictions on radial traffic, and high focal attraction but low circumferential movement all served to emphasise congestion in a maze of narrow streets in the business centre of the city.

These three features: a cramped, polynucleated city of a quarter-million population; high net residential densities in pockets of overcrowded, older housing; and a street pattern, confused with shopping frontages, unable to cope with the demands of increasing vehicular numbers, were in themselves not totally exceptional. They were represented in some way in similar sized cities throughout Britain in 1939. And in all these cities there could be little anticipation of any significant resolution of the problem. At the outbreak of war the city had its whole area covered by town planning schemes either in operative or interim stages, but redevelopment of a kind which would seriously tackle the questions of housing and road traffic simply could not be envisaged.

This situation changed abruptly; the context for the preparation of the Plymouth Plan was provided by the consequences of aerial bombardment. In September 1939 few could have anticipated the events of the next few years, although the prospect of bombing raids, as evidenced by the destruction of Guernica in the Spanish civil war, had already caused strategic rethinking nationally. Urban areas with their civilian populations were now vulnerable, as never before.

For some time, however, the war had little effect on Plymouth. The return of the ships *Ajax* and *Exeter* early in 1940 after their successful action against the *Graf Spee* in the South Atlantic was witnessed almost in carnival mood. But German troops reached the English Channel in France in the summer of that year and possibilities increased of Devonport being the subject of attack. A raid by a single aircraft in July was followed by small sporadic attacks during the summer and autumn, when the inadequacy of the city's defences became all too obvious. As 1940 came to a close air attacks increased and the first incendiary raid came in late November. Particularly violent raids occurred on 20 December and 13 January

1941, followed by sporadic attacks through the winter months. On 20 March the city was visited by the King and Queen; hours later Plymouth had its heaviest raid and this was followed by one of equivalent intensity the following night. Other smaller raids followed into April, by which time the city could count the cost. In addition to a toll of civilian casualties, Plymouth had lost all its chief public buildings, all its big stores and shops, 39 churches, 20 schools and 3,000 dwellings. The centre of the city was devastated; for its size, Plymouth probably suffered worse in its central area devastation than any other city in Britain.

Bomb damage produced a totally new situation in the planning of British cities. For years it had been argued that cities must be rebuilt; the chance was now presented. The fact that this was a national problem and not a purely local one, obviously helped. Between September 1940 and May 1941 141 major air raids were made on 21 British cities. London had 85 of these; there were eight each on Liverpool/Birkenhead, Birmingham and Plymouth/Devonport; in addition there was Belfast, Clydeside, Sheffield, Coventry, Hull, Bristol and elsewhere. There was now a national need to rebuild; there was no place for special pleading (Cherry, 1988).

## The actors

For the recognition of need for the preparation of a plan, a number of things had to happen. Inevitably the nature of the Plan would be dictated by the interplay of the key protagonists involved. As we have seen, Plymouth was already engaged in the statutory provisions of town planning, but much more was now called for.

A new City Engineer, Jamie Paton Watson, was appointed in 1938; born in Dundee, his career had so far taken him to Tyneside and Scarborough. We might assume that his notions of city rebuilding would be heavily conditioned by the practices and precepts of the municipal engineer, with concern for road alignments and traffic circulation. He represented a world where local authorities had already proved themselves good regulators of urban affairs, though as yet without much flair beyond environmental control and provision of services.

What then was to be the source of that flair which the situation demanded? The problems were real enough. Territorially Plymouth was a small city, but its future could not be contained within its city boundaries. Local authorities in both Devon and Cornwall would have to play a part in Plymouth's future, and great sensitivities would be needed here. And even then, what sort of future? Should central Plymouth be rebuilt as it had been, or should a new form be imposed?

Enter the Astor family. In November 1939 Lord Astor was appointed Lord Mayor and served in that capacity for the duration of the war. Standing outside party politics, one of the richest men in the world, he moved easily in walks of life denied to most; he knew people, he could command their service, he was a powerful source of influence. Lady Astor, the vivacious, controversial Conservative MP for the Sutton constituency, the first woman member of the House of Commons, was also a powerful advocate for her city.

In the event, Lord Astor approached Patrick Abercrombie with an invitation that he might cooperate with the City Engineer in preparing a report. The spotlight now turns on Abercrombie, the most respected national figure in town planning at the time : academic (he was Professor at London), consultant with many successful schemes and reports to his credit, and respected by Government, as his recent membership of the Barlow Commission confirmed. Abercrombie must have needed some convincing : a fee of 250 guineas was not all that much, and he had already been invited to work on London, but Astor's persuasion won the day.

We should look a little more closely then at this new figure on the Plymouth scene. Leslie Patrick Abercrombie was born in Ashton-on-Mersey in 1879, the seventh of nine children of a Manchester stockbroker (Dix, 1981, Wright, 1982). He was already in his mid-60s when he came to Plymouth : here was no brash youth with untested ideas, rather a man at the height of his powers with years of experience in preparing commissioned reports. He had seen it all before; he knew the arguments; and he knew his own mind.

Attracted to the Arts (a brother became Professor of English Literature at Leeds), he became an articled pupil to a Manchester architect. He was a fine draughtsman, especially in sketching and drawing maps; this despite the loss of an eye during a childhood illness, probably measles - hence the monocle, which was no affectation. Appointed Assistant Lecturer and Drawing Instructor in Liverpool University's School of Architecture in 1907, he graduated to a Chair by 1915. London followed in 1935, but before then an illustrious career had unfolded. He remained in the forefront of his profession, and all the honours came his way; he was well connected in a wide social environment.

He was respected, he had the voice of authority and he was in a position to be heard. The evidence is scanty, but we might infer that Abercrombie had to argue powerfully before he finally got his way on two important matters: first that the Plan for Plymouth should be in effect a city regional plan, his proposals for development in the





urban fringe comfortably overstepping the then city boundaries, and second that the city centre should be completely remodelled, there being no question of the existing street pattern being retained.

This bold approach met with support from Whitehall. This much at least we learn from Sir John (later Lord) Reith when, as Minister of Works and Buildings he had responsibility for reconstruction. He had already told a deputation from Coventry that 'if I were in their position I would plan boldly and comprehensively; and that I would not at this stage worry about finance or local boundaries.' (Reith, 1949, p.426). Reith did not stay in office for long, but it was long enough for the Ministry of Health to stimulate local authorities to produce reconstruction plans. Consequently Reith could repeat his Coventry advice to Plymouth when he visited the city at the request of Lord Astor. Reith writes that Astor later remarked that 'there had been great opposition to any immediate steps in planning, but that it had disappeared after my talk with representatives of the city corporation.' (p.428). The way forward was clear for Abercrombie's work to be commissioned and in October 1941 the City's Emergency Committee so resolved.

## The Plan

Given the circumstances of the blitz, the national mood for planning and the singular contributions of the authors, the plan fell into place. The contents could almost be foretold. For strategic content Abercrombie borrowed freely both from past reports and his present work in London; for local detail the City Engineer produced no less than 37 draft plans. The final report was an amalgam of the authors' contributions, with a coherence which, given the pressured conditions of its preparation, was remarkable. The plan stands as a major contribution to the planning literature of the 1940s, eloquent testimony to how far the infant science had progressed.

The authors had to work with incomplete survey data. The Social Survey of the city begun in 1933 gave information on housing, there were the census returns of 1931, and traffic figures were available, but little else. City analysis did not detain them long and in the preamble they simply observed that 'Plymouth was in need of a thorough overhaul' (p.1). The shopping centre was ripe for rebuilding; traffic congestion had to be relieved; the Civic Centre was too small for a city of its size; the Dockyard was cramped and congested; housing conditions required substantial improvement; and suburban sprawl had become incoherent and wasteful of land. In a nutshell that was it, but the authors were more ambitious than simply to correct defects; in the rich language of the time they attempted 'to forecast a great modern city, a fit place for people to live and work in, safeguarding its precious links with its glorious past, and preparing with confidence for an equally splendid future' (p.2).

The coherence of the Plan centred on the city as a 'human community' (p.4). This must have been pure Abercrombie as he picked up the philosophy of Lewis Mumford and applied the notions on which the *County of London Plan* was based. The authors wrote of a threefold community hierarchy : the central districts where the process of rebuilding could introduce new, spatially defined community groups, Stonehouse being worked up as a detailed illustration; the inter-war suburbs where the task was to round off and integrate; and new communities as satellites on new sites for decentralised population and future growth, far beyond the city limits. In other words, a series of small community units separated by open space, would build up into a 'single magistral city' (p.4).

The city centre formed the most obvious feature of the Plan, with Plymouth given an emphatic centrality. The outworn street pattern was totally abandoned, the old Devonport shopping area was swallowed up, and the precinct principle was applied to the civic, business and shopping areas. Unified architectural treatment would be introduced. A new central area road system was decided. One monumental feature was provided : a garden parkway from the station to the Hoe constructing a backbone to the whole of central Plymouth.

Meanwhile, old Plymouth, which had miraculously escaped destruction, would be renovated to provide a foil for the original Sutton Harbour.

The road layout for the city (apart from the centre) was not significantly affected, though the inter-war by-pass between the outer fringe of the suburbs and the middle area would be landscaped and improved at the four intersections with the radials entering the city. But the authors utilised Alker Tripp's notion of a road hierarchy, distinguishing between roads which served the needs of through traffic, and those which were required for local access.

In rhetoric which would not have been out of place in 1943, Abercrombie and Watson claimed a great scheme of civic rebuilding and development : out of the disasters of war to snatch a victory for the city of the future'. More prosaicly, the task had been 'to secure a well-balanced distribution and relationship in the use of land to ensure that the places where people live, work and play and their means of movement are arranged and shaped to obtain a maximum of health, safety, convenience, prosperity and enjoyment for

everyone' (p.11). The words might have been written for the optimism of the VE day street parties that marked the end of hostilities.

The Plan was a statement of intent about the redesign of the city : what Plymouth should look like, how its land uses were to be distributed, where people should live and in what conditions, very little about changes in industry, except to emphasise the Dockyard, but a lot about how traffic might better flow. The Plan was not costed : instead the authors rather disarmingly observed that their Plan was based on practical principles and most of what was contained in it would have to be carried out anyway. As to alternatives the authors were silent.

In the event Plymouth used the provisions of the Town and Country Planning Act, 1944 (the blitz and blight Act) to good effect. The compulsory purchase of 178 acres in the city centre was sought in February 1946 (this was Declaratory Area no 1). At the public inquiry the Chamber of Commerce was the main opponent, and when the Order was granted the Chamber appealed to the High Court. The appeal was withdrawn in February 1947 and planned reconstruction could proceed.

A powerful group of chief officers applied themselves to the task, consistently supported by the City Council. The Town Clerk Colin Campbell guided the City through new legislation. W K Shepheard, appointed Estates and Development Valuer in 1946, bought the land and negotiated the leases. H J W Stirling was appointed the new City Architect in 1950. Paton Watson managed the highway programme; he retired in 1959.

Abercrombie slipped from the scene accumulating honours on the way, including a knighthood in 1955; he died in 1957. Lady Astor was persuaded not to stand in the 1945 General Election, and Lord Astor died in 1952. A final twist in the story I have from a private source : late in life Abercrombie proposed marriage to Nancy Astor, but, it is said, only when he was certain she would decline!

## Reflections for today

The Plan is history. Its provisions have either been carried out, amended or ignored. But the report, and all that we know about its preparation, cannot be confined to the archives. Town planning is an ever-evolving activity and when history speaks, it behoves today's planner to listen. There are in fact some important considerations to bear in mind to illumine the concerns of our own day.

The Plan was a child of its time. All plans are dependent on the circumstances which give it birth; hence any plan is as dull or as radical, as constraining or as expansive, as circumstances permit. In 1943 a clean sweep met the mood of the time; today adaptation and adjustment is more likely to suit the temper of the public client.

Abercrombie and Watson had a unique opportunity and they were equal to the task. They were able to apply all the conventional wisdoms of the day to the circumstances of the city : an emphasis on community, open space, spatial order through zoning to replace the chaos of the past, reduced housing densities, and improved road transport facilities. All the imperfections of the past could be corrected by the application of new principles. The mid-1940s was a time when it was possible to do this. Not now : today's planning, of necessity, is much more incremental by nature.

The point here is that town planning does not depend for its legitimacy on the preparation of ideal plans for the future. It is misguided to look back on the Plymouth Plan as the product of a golden age to which we should seek to aspire once more. Contemporary forms of town planning are different, but there is no reason to be apologetic about them.

Yet, it is uncontestible that the Abercrombie-Watson Plan had vision, and we can still contend that the best plans are those with idealism as a central core. The Plymouth Plan was advocated by a brilliant communicator who could 'sell' its contents; he had technical knowledge, experience and authority. But he did not have to argue options, he did not have to negotiate between competing interests. The fact is that we do today. Planning officers discharge their professional duties in an interactive system where the concerns of technical officer, politician and the lay public collide. Plans emerge not so much because of the inherent value of a set of proposals, rather as a result of the weight and influence of a particular interest group. We have in this country a profession where vision and idealism is not in short supply; but that same profession knows that the days of Abercrombie are unlikely to be repeated. 1989 is not the time for magisterial pronouncements by enlightened experts; today's practitioners are much more the servants of the people, not the leaders, though a balance has obviously to be struck. Again, there is no need to be apologetic or defensive about this; contemporary forms of planning have their own intrinsic merit.

There was one feature of the Plymouth Plan, however, which has not changed all that much : the activity of plan making simply cannot be confined to within particular local authority boundaries. Local government reorganisation is in the air again; it is 20 years since the days of Redcliffe-Maud and Derek Senior and perhaps it is timely for another national review. Royal Commissions are not currently in favour and most Governments fight shy of local government reform, but there will be a next time round, when hopefully we can ensure that, commensurate with a regard for local loyalties to old patterns and traditions, the new realities of social geography can be observed.

Another feature is that the Plan emphasised comprehensiveness; it offered an overarching framework within which the constituent parts fell into place. Town planning was all about a guiding hand to development. In the uncertainties which have beset planning in recent years, when the capacity of local authorities to manage in a coordinated way all the various elements of development and change have been called into question, there is one essential tenet we can continue to grasp. Overall strategies for growth and development are important; if we try to do without them, we run into trouble. Planning piecemeal, without reference to a greater whole, simply will not do.

Such strategies or plans will take various forms. The form of the report of Abercrombie and Watson will not be repeated today. It was too rigid in the fixity of its component parts for today's requirements. Forty years and more on, the nature of our planning is process as much as product. Such plans allow for change and adaptability in ways which needed not to be followed in the mid-1940s. Today's planners look not for 'final solutions', but for opportunities for evolutionary change. We care less about how cities look, rather how they function; we prescribe our own values less, listen to those of others rather more.

What Abercrombie and Watson would have made of these reflections, can only be a matter of speculation. Their Plan made sense in the circumstances under which it was prepared; to say that it had subsequently to be changed is to overlook the judgement that in 1943 it was a brilliant statement to the problems of a war-torn city. We can learn much from its precepts and from the conditions in which they were advanced.

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This paper was first presented at the Royal Town Planning Institute Annual Conference and Exhibition, on Wednesday 7th June 1989, in Plymouth.

# The Garden City Ideology in the Netherlands: The Political Debates on Garden Cities and Green Towns 1910-1935

Maurits van Rooijen
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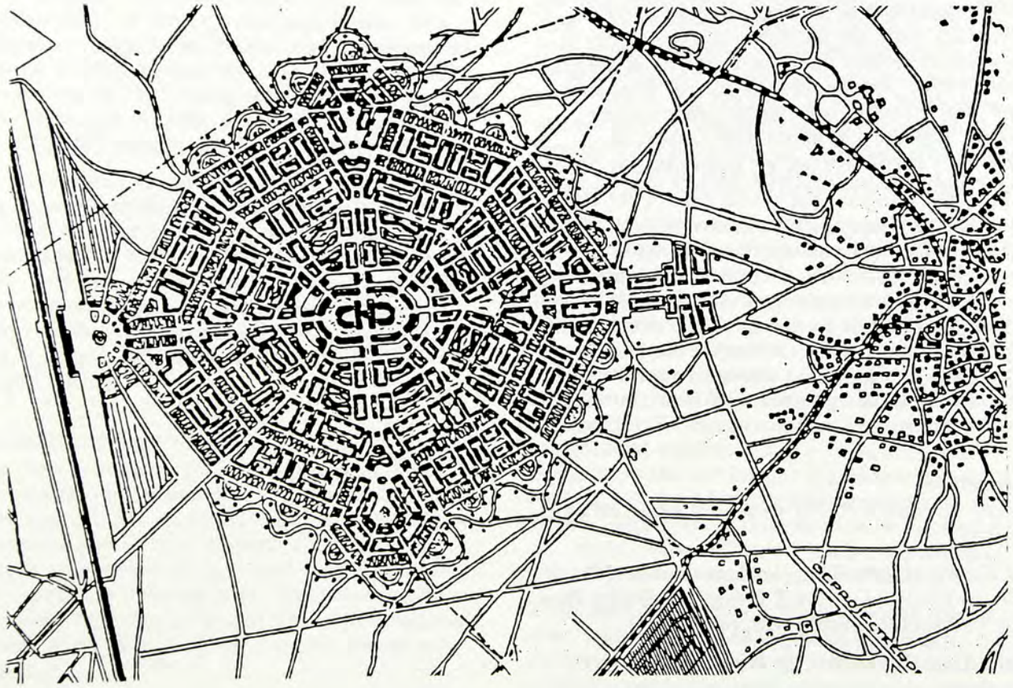
Re-examining the Garden City tradition not so much as an architectural phenomena but rather as a political debate can be a very fruitful approach, especially when analysing the *failure* to create the Garden City system proposed by Howard. Even the creation of one true Garden City was more than could be achieved in most countries

This paper will analyse the failure of the major attempt in the Netherlands to build a Garden City, as was proposed in 1919 by the socialistic alderman of Amsterdam, S.R. de Miranda. The result of this failure was the creation of the Compact City as it was called originally, or Green Town as it was named later.

## The Amsterdam Garden City Proposal

Already in 1906, J. Bruinwold Riedel[1], after having visited Letchworth, suggested to build a Dutch counterpart. The ideal location would be in the Gooi, a nature area 30 kilometers east of Amsterdam. Thirteen years later this idea was reintroduced by the socialist alderman of Amsterdam, S.R. de Miranda. In a letter to the municipal council[2] he proposed to have a report written about the future extensions of the city and in particular on the possibility to build a Garden City in the Gooi area. Since the housing shortage would be dealt with within a few years, as he assumed, this was the right moment to develop a more profound view on the future of housing in Amsterdam. Given the growing interest and propaganda abroad as well as in the Netherlands for the Garden City and also the very satisfying results with Garden City-like suburbs he believed



**The plan for a Garden City near Amsterdam**





1000 hectares of the Gooi could be used for this project: 500 to 600 hectares for building purposes and the remainder for parks, sanatoria etc. His arguments were furthermore: the high prices for land in the vicinity of Amsterdam and the high building-costs, since in the polders around Amsterdam extra-strong foundations were needed.

A committee was set up to study this proposal. It consisted of national and local experts in this field: directors of relevant municipal departments of Amsterdam, councillors, representatives of municipalities in the Gooi area, two aldermen of Amsterdam and also in those days the most famous Dutch architect and town planner, H. Berlage. He was known to share de Miranda's socialistic vision and had a considerable sympathy for the concept of the Garden City.

After several years of studying, in 1926 a nearly 200 page report[3] was ready to be officially presented. It consisted of several chapters written by sub-committees, each describing from a different angle (technical, administrative, financial, public transport) the pros and cons of a Garden City, and in particular of a Garden City in the Gooi. The overall conclusion was that a project as suggested by de Miranda would *not* be advisable, mainly because the committee believed that it would be better to save the Gooi as a nature area, given its great recreational value for the Amsterdam population.

De Miranda immediately wrote a reaction to this conclusion which was later added to the report. In this he stated that building in the Gooi would take place anyhow, if not by Amsterdam then by the local municipalities. In his plan at least it would be possible to save the largest part of the Gooi from further developments. The committee did express sympathy for the Garden City concepts as such[4], or rather for the creation of a number of garden villages, but considered the Gooi not the appropriate location. To build a Garden City near to Amsterdam, in the middle of swamps, as de Miranda put it, instead of in the dry and healthy areas, did not make sense to the former alderman: "The well-to-do give an example. Those who are now already living outside Amsterdam as commuters, do not settle in the polder but in the Gooi or in the dune-area. At the moment this is only available for the well-off. The 'garden of Amsterdam' (the Gooi) is for most inhabitants of Amsterdam only open for a Sunday trip, but is not an integral part of their housing. The thousands of less well-off, the workers, who would like to live outside the city, are now not able to do so, since economically achievable housing facilities are not available for them. To create these is the foundation of the Garden City plans. But it is then obvious to look at those places which already have been shown to be attractive."[5]

The main reason why the committee could not be convinced by the arguments of de Miranda was, as to be expected, the land issue. A Garden City assumes that the land on which the settlements would be built plus the green belt surrounding it would be owned by the local authority or a corporation defending the interests of the new community. This condition could not be met in the political and financial context of the Netherlands. The committee pointed out that it would be impossible to indicate a precise location for a Garden City to be developed. This would be a very unwise invitation for land speculators. In fact the committee could only do the opposite and advise which location would not be suitable for the development of a Garden City: the Gooi.

Though the report was not supporting the initiative of de Miranda, it still was favourable to the idea of the Garden City as such. This probably was sufficient reason for de Miranda to ask in 1928 to speed up the official publication of the report. But there also was a more pragmatic reason: at the moment the report of the committee was finished the municipality had already started to work on a general extension plan. The risk that the Garden City report would be ignored by administrators and civil servants of Amsterdam because of the creation of a general extension plan was very great.

In 1929 the report finally was published, but it did not lead to any action. In 1930 the socialist councillor Gulden initiated a new discussion in the municipal council by suggesting that the council should take the initiative to create garden villages.[6] On the whole the report was, as to be expected, generally well received, particularly by the socialist councillors, but was criticised by conservative councillors since garden cities were typically government institutions, and by the communists who rejected the 'dull and petit bourgeois mentality' and who strongly objected to the idea to isolate the workers outside town. In the communistic vision the new society was to be created inside a modern town, like the Russian towns and also according to ideas as expressed by Le Corbusier.[7]

Beginning in 1931 the proposal of Gulden was discussed in the council.[8] The Burgomaster and Aldermen of Amsterdam suggested to the council not to take action but to wait until the General Extension Plan for Amsterdam would be proposed to the council. At this moment the true tension between, on the one hand, the majority of the municipal council and some civil servants of the municipality, who had been pushing the publication of the report and subscribed to its conclusions, and, on the other hand the Burgomaster and Al-

dermen plus some other civil servants strongly advocating the General Extension Plan as was being developed, became obvious. Councillor Gulden angrily quoted an article in a local newspaper, which has a "strong town hall smell" and in which it was suggested that the report was already outdated and the discussion in the council a mere result of the coming election time. Gulden: "Literally the article says: 'Why Public Works has been enlarged with a Department for Town Development and Town Extension, if the council pedantically dictates in those kinds of complicated matters, to which so much is linked, which conclusions should be reached by the highest technical advisors of the Burgomaster and Aldermen?' The speaker is of the opinion that this is a clear example of fascism. The council and the Burgomaster and Aldermen should accept anything proposed by the civil servants."[9]

In 1934 the General Extension Plan (Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan or AUP) for Amsterdam was presented. It was produced by the Department for Town Development (formed in 1928). The ambition was to make an integral plan for the future growth of Amsterdam using purely scientific research and predicting a stable number of inhabitants of approximately 960,000 by 2000. The plan thus hoped to deal with this matter once and for all. It sought to bring order in the chaos of the modern city by creating a functional city. Here we find an obvious link with the famous CIAM-conference of Athens (1933). The chairman of this conference was van Eesteren, also one of the major forces behind the AUP The garden cities, even the more modest garden villages, by then had lost their popularity among planners and designers of town extensions. Not settlements at some distance of the old city but a *Compact City* became the ultimate aim.

The term Compact City can lead to misunderstanding. It was compact compared with the Social City, but compared with the nineteenth century city the new parts were planned to have relatively low densities and in appearance rather resembled garden cities built directly next to the existing town. In fact they were often referred to as 'garden districts' (tuinwijken). Since the term Compact City is also used to indicate pre-twentieth century town developments and is again popular as a new concept of town development (actually as opposed to the existing present low density housing and therefore opposite to the former Compact City...[10]) I prefer to use the term which later became popular for this kind of architecture: the *Green Town*.

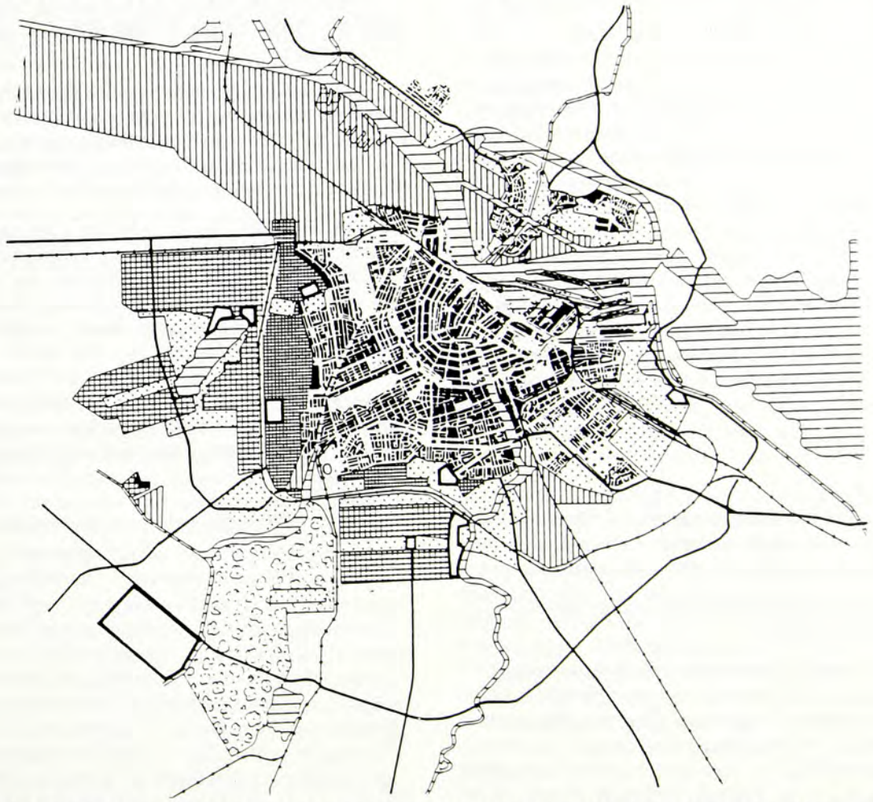
## Garden City and Green Town

For practical reasons the description of the political debates on Garden Cities and Green Towns as took place in the years 1910-1935 in the Netherlands, and in particular in the trend-setting city of Amsterdam, can only be presented in a highly concise form.[11] At first sight the debate seems to have been not so much about the matter of town extensions as such, but about the political and personal interests of all those involved. Yet since these kinds of discussions - though each of them under unique circumstances - took place in many cities and with on the whole more or less similar results, the issue itself must have been of importance. But what precisely was the issue?

The debate on Garden Cities and Green Towns was the direct result of a discussion on the 'urban crisis'. In retrospect this 'urban crisis' can be simplified to the growing concern about the severe deterioration, leading to alarming situations, of the (1) *sanitary*, (2) *social* and (3) *aesthetic* conditions in the major cities.[12] One could say that Howard's 'peaceful path to real reform' was based on the attractive concept of a 'fresh start' with the famous system of ideal - that is to say ideal mainly in the respect of sanitary, social and aesthetic conditions - communities. The most important alternative to Howards ideal communities was a reformation of the existing cities, that is to say an adaptation of the major cities according to a town planning based on the best possible sanitary, social and aesthetic conditions in an urban environment.

One could, in other words, speak of a competition between the concept of the 'fresh start' with small scale ideal communities (the Garden Cities) and the 'adaptation' of the existing city to new demands (with as a result the Green Town). In this battle of *Garden City versus Green Town* it turned out, in the Netherlands and in many other countries, that a Garden City project in its purest form was not feasible due to political-economical reasons. As mentioned above the land issue was the most important aspect, but one should add to this the established political position of the old town. The Garden City concept threatened this position and it could be argued that the old town reacted to this. It was a purely pragmatic reaction in line with earlier policies. In fact one could speak of a continuity in urban policy. In the nineteenth and also at the beginning of the twentieth century the richest families started leaving the old town, buying and building villas in the green villages at some distance of the city, since commuting by train had become possible. Prices were much lower in these villages and the environment was very attractive. Then the old town reacted by developing within its boundaries residential areas, with identical form, compatible prices and, at least in Dutch, even nearly the same name.[13] When the Garden City presented itself as a new threat to drain off the urban purse, the city reacted in an identical manner in order to avoid bankruptcy[14], that is by creating Garden City-like districts within the urban boundaries. One could therefore analyse the debate as a competition in which the established city, which in order to survive was willing to adapt itself to new demands and to incorporate the most dominating features of the Garden City, even including the name, quite simply defeated the original Garden City concept. And the main reasons why the old city in the new form of Green Town won are the established political power of the existing city and the land issue.

Yet the relation between Garden City and Green Town was more complicated. In the debate of those days the main attraction was focussed not so much on the competition between Green Town and Garden City, but whether the nineteenth century form of town planning should be replaced by a new approach. Berlage gave in his introductory chapter to the mentioned report a clear analysis of the main issue in the town planning discussion of those days. In order to clarify the main confrontation (as he saw it) in the debate, he described the old, nineteenth century architecture, which has caused the urban crisis and which he called *'centralised town planning'* as opposed to the new ideas on building, the *'decentralised town planning'* with as its main feature the low densities in housing. The Garden City obviously was a form of decentralised town planning, but so were six other options: 1. a Garden City-like town extension ('tuinwijk'); 2. a star-shaped town extension (developing a low density extension of the city along roads leading out of town); 3. a garden suburb; 4. a suburb-garden village (a developed village in the vicinity of the city); 5. a satellite (garden) city or village; 6. a dormitory (garden) city or village. Berlage argued that though some agricultural land and nature would need to be sacrificed, a decentralised form of town planning offered the best possibilities to tackle the major problems of the cities (with the exception of the traffic problem which could neither be solved by centralised or decentralised forms of town planning).



**The General Extension Plan of Amsterdam (the AUP, 1934) with the proposed clear distinction between housing (the check pattern; with a distinction between densities of 85-110 houses per hectare and 55-70 houses per hectare), industry (including the harbour area: the vertical lines), recreation (the dots) plus woods, and traffic (the thick lines).[16]**

The main issue was to prove that a decentralised form of town planning was much better than the old centralised form. This explains why many of those trying to set up Garden Cities did not really feel like competitors with those trying to establish what we now call a Green Town. On the contrary, they felt a strong bond since they had a common cause: solving the urban crisis (the threatening sanitary, social and aesthetic conditions) by a decentralised form of housing. In fact one person could at the same time plead for the creation of a Garden City and for reforming the conditions of the existing town.[15]

In retrospect it is clear that the Green Town concept has dominated the decentralised form of town planning (mainly for the two reasons mentioned). The Green Town might not have succeeded in actually solving the so-called urban crisis, but it most definitely made matters controllable. We can now also conclude that the Garden City ideology has in fact strengthened the creation of the Green Town, directly by its support for any form of decentralised town planning and indirectly by being a potential threat to the position of the existing town.

But however complicated the relation between Garden City and Green Town was, it *was* by definition a competitive relationship: The creation of the Green Town made the creation of Garden Cities needless. Nevertheless, since in those days the plea for a new form of town planning was considerably more important, the Garden City movement supported the emergence of Green Towns. One could come to the conclusion, somewhat ironically, that the creation of the Green Towns was the major contribution of the Garden City ideology to twentieth century town planning. Yet because of this the Garden City never had had a fair chance in the Netherlands, like in most countries, to prove itself as the best answer to the urban problem.

## References


1. Secretary of the Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen and author of the book *Tuinsteden*, in which he discussed the Garden City idea.

2. Record of the municipal council of Amsterdam, 30 March 1923.

3. Rapport van de Commissie ter bestudeering van het vraagstuk van den bouw eener Tuinstad of van tuindorpen in de omgeving van Amsterdam, Amsterdam Municipal Archives, Inv.num.AA-1777.

4. It is not impossible that the conclusions of the committee were influenced by the 'Garden City Conference' (Internationale Stedebouw Congres) which took place in Amsterdam 2-6 July 1924, with Ebenezer Howard as chairman.

5. Op. cit. p.181.

6. Meeting of the municipal council of Amsterdam 9 October 1930.

7. Record of the municipal council of Amsterdam 5 February 1931.

8. Meeting of 5 February 1931.

9. Record of municipal council of Amsterdam 4 February 1931, p.163.

10. Maurits van Rooijen, "Green titles confuse Dutch city battle", in: *Town and Country Planning* 54 (10) October 1985, p.300-302.

11. A more elaborate description can be found in: Maurits van Rooijen, *De Groene Stad* (The Hague 1984).

12. If there actually was an urban crisis at hand it is less relevant in this analysis. What's important is that there was a growing perception that such a crisis was imminent.

13. Those residential areas are called 'villawijken', while the residential villages were called 'villadorpen'.

14. This bankruptcy would be caused by the fact that only the poorest would stay behind in the city. In fact, Howard predicted such a bankruptcy in his book, though obviously *he* considered this as a positive development.

15. See, for instance, G. Feenstra *Tuinsteden en volkshuisvesting in Nederland en buitenland* (Amsterdam 1920), p.139: Garden Cities are the best solution, but when land is too expensive Garden City-like town districts are a very good alternative.

16. Reproduced from: Wonen, Werken en Verkeer in Amsterdam 1880-1980 (Free University, Amsterdam 1980: Bijdrage tot de Sociale Geografie en Planologie 1).






# Research

## Traditionally Innovative : Urban History and the Leicester Connection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The study of urban history in the United Kingdom has continued to prosper in the 1980s. Despite the severe reduction of funding to academic institutions and a reorientation towards 'relevance' in higher education courses, despite the downgrading of historical perspectives in Economic and Social Research Council priorities with the consequential decay in postgraduate numbers and sponsored research projects, and despite untimely deaths (Dyos, Checkland) or early departures (Fraser, Kellett, Sutcliffe) which have deprived urban history of its charismatic early leadership, scholarly interest in cities as confirmed by the annual list of publications remains buoyant.

Why should this be so? Arguably, those younger scholars whose masters' and doctoral theses were crafted under the guidance of the 'old guard' have themselves sustained that initial momentum. In many areas suggestive ideas concerned with urban social relations, political élites and the administrative apparatus, class and identity, social control, networks and neighbourhood relations, social and residential segregation, public and private spheres, urban demographic dynamics, migration and intra-urban mobility to name only a few have been the subject of both thematic and case study approaches. The role and special character of the metropolis, urban hierarchies and the inter-relations between towns of a different scale have produced impressive overviews and invaluable student texts.[1] Indeed such has been the energy in these and related fields that it has resulted in a fracturing of scholarship on urban issues both by period, for example, by the separate functioning of the Pre-Modern Towns Group and the Urban History Group, and by discipline of approach, such as with specialist meetings convened by the Construction History Society, Planning History Group, Society for the Study of the History of Medicine, Urban Morphology Group and kindred organisations. Though ostensibly 'open societies' preaching a form of academic 'laissez-faire', in practice each has been mutually exclusive , indeed even wholly exclusive, since those attending the meetings of more than one such organisation constituted an endangered species.

Another reason for the continued interest in urban history has been the focus of contemporary policy. The central strand in local government reform of the 1970s was the imperative of integrated planning in urban policies and was a logical city level application of prevailing Keynesian concepts of economic management. Though conceived during periods of economic expansion, new councils were born in a climate of retrenchment, and since 1979 have faced intense pressure to cut expenditure. Accordingly both their scale and spheres of operation have come under attack. Councils have been forced to ape central government policies, since cash limits have circumscribed their independence and creativity in policy. Planning has become unfashionable, swept away in the preoccupation with market based solutions to economic and social issues, so that the comprehensive approach to the city envisioned in the 1970s has remained diffuse. The danger, then, is of disintegration in urban policy as strands are pluralistically pursued by agencies with disjointed responsibilities. With the decline of the region as a unit of analysis, the city itself has in the 1980s received greater attention, not least from councillors themselves intent upon reviving local pride by sponsoring civic histories.[2]

In other respects, too, policy has played up the city. Undergraduate course changes have generated dissertation projects and assessments; already this trend is evident in school curriculum changes. Usually locally based by force of circumstances - access, financial constraints, background knowledge - these studies have had and will continue to have a strong urban dimension. Though such policy dimensions cannot be too closely correlated with urban historical scholarship, the revival of the city as a justifiable unit of analysis permits a mood of optimism in a field which was under attack with the creation of 'metropolitan' authorities and the birth of spurious borough councils in the aftermath of local government reorganisation.

Against these longer term trends and contemporary developments the Leicester connection with urban history has played some part. As a participant in such initiatives it is inappropriate to make extravagant claims about them, nor is there here the intention to downgrade the efforts of others, individually, or, as with the Centre for Metropolitan History and the Scottish Urban History seminars, collectively. Yet the cluster of urban historians at Leicester, recently strengthened by the addition of Anthony Sutcliffe, has energised many recent developments in the field.

The nature of these Leicester based developments has taken three principal directions: publishing, teaching, and the establishment in 1985 of the Centre for Urban History to provide a focus to research initiatives in the field. First, the principal journal in the field, the *Urban History Yearbook*, has been edited from Leicester and published by Leicester University Press.[3] Since its inception in 1974 the *Yearbook* has resolutely maintained the prosecution of methodological and historiographical surveys of urban history.[4] It has had a broad temporal span: 20% or articles published 1974-88 have been in the medieval period, 27% early modern, and 53% covered the modern period. And particular attention has been directed to surveys of non-British urban historiography, commissioned from experts in the urban history of Canada, the Nordic countries, Australia, South Africa, and elsewhere. Syntheses have also formed an important function of *Urban History Yearbook* articles, and recent coverage has included penetrating reassessments of writing on urban élites, secularisation during industrialisation, criminality, central and local government relations, and residential segregation to name a few. A further group of articles published in the *Yearbook* has concentrated on familiarising historians with specific sources and their analytical possibilities. This dissemination of techniques has surely filtered through to many urban historians since the use of directories, property records, maps, tax assessments, and rate books amongst many such sources shared in this way seems both to have found wider and more imaginative uses and to have become standard practice. Whatever the undoubted merits of these offerings, the consensus view of most subscribers to the *Yearbook* appears to rate the bibliographical and periodical surveys most highly. About 1000 publications germane to urban historians are annually cited in the bibliography which, in addition to monographs and edited collections, trawls some 550 periodical titles from all over the world, many of them inaccessible in the current climate of constraints on library subscriptions. It is from this broad base that the penetrating surveys of the periodical literature in the *Yearbook* have been developed, drawing attention to new developments, current trends in scholarship, international comparative studies, and not without humour, noting some bizarre developments too. In these various ways the *Urban History Yearbook* has sought to sustain a diverse base and to energise, though not necessarily to replicate, Dyos' own view that it is difficult 'to identify ... the field of urban history without having some dialogue between the disciplines involved in and bordering on it...'[5]

Perhaps principally concerned to carve out a niche in the market, nonetheless Leicester University Press has also been, and continues to be, an active publisher in the field.[6] More recently four volumes of urban history readings have been commissioned by Longman as part of an attempt to broaden access to specialist works demonstrative of innovative scholarship in urban history. This project has been initiated by the Centre for Urban History at Leicester University (see below), and the first two volumes should appear in 1990. Other publications include the Register of Research in Urban History (now being updated), a *Who's Who* in urban history, and of course a stream of books and articles from individual academics. The Dyos Memorial Lecture series in which distinguished urban historians participated served to focus attention on urban history at Leicester University, and was reinforced by the publication of their lectures.[7]

Teaching has formed a central element in the Leicester conviction that to extend the historical knowledge of and interest in towns and cities is dependent largely upon succeeding generations of historians. Courses on The Medieval Town, Pre-Modern English Towns, Victorian Cities, History of Urban Development and Planning, and Urbanisation in Western Europe have been available in the Department of Economic and Social History to final year undergraduates for some time, and a taught M.A. in Urban History will be introduced from 1990. But from 1979, long before teaching and student exchanges became commonplace under the ERASMUS scheme, the department participated in staff exchanges with the Universities of Amsterdam, Leiden and Leuven, offering elements in agreed syllabi to students interested in urban history in these universities. In return, Dutch and Belgian academics contributed to the departmental courses at Leicester. These arrangements have since been extended under the ERASMUS scheme to embrace cognate courses in German and Spanish universities, and in 1989 took the form of an intensive residential course based in Leicester for all EEC universities participating in the urban history programme. No doubt there existed an early scepticism that these represented Common Market funded foreign trips for Leicester urban historians, yet international teaching programmes of the type devised





by Leicester and its European collaborators have proved academically stimulating, and have mapped out academic routes subsequently followed by ERASMUS participants in other disciplines.

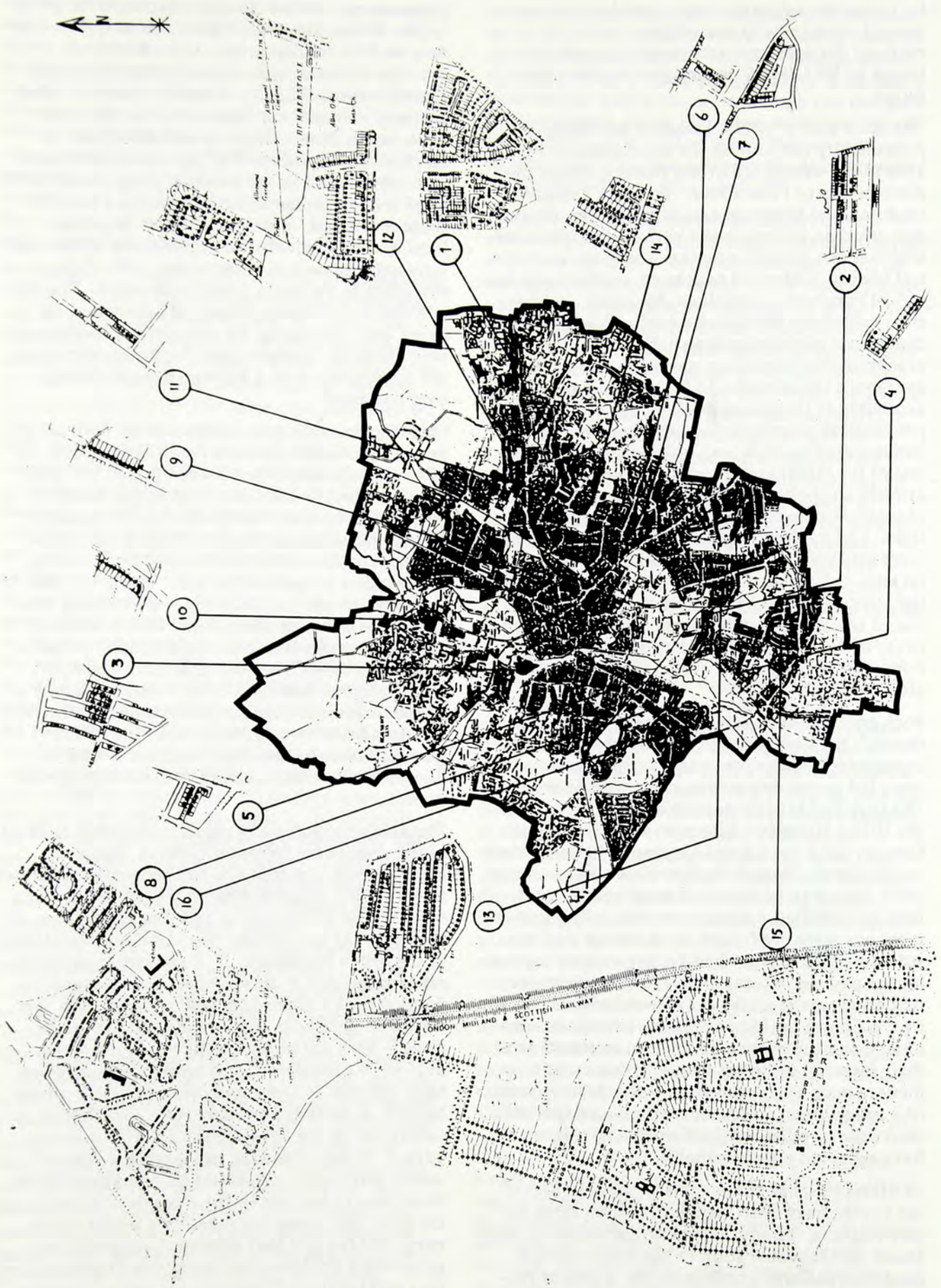
The third area in which Leicester has figured prominently has been in the establishment in 1985 of the Centre for Urban History, under the directorship of Peter Clark. True to a Leicester tradition, the intention was to encourage the pursuit of urban history in the various disciplines in which it was already evident - economic and social history, history of education, archaeology, historical geography, sociology, literature - while simultaneously providing a forum in which those disciplines might engage in a dialogue that, as academic specialisation proceeded, had become ever more self-contained. Broad seminar themes, accessible to the non-specialist, and provided by provocative practitioners with a keen interest in communicating their area of urban history was one of the initial endeavours, and one which still attracts widespread interest and attendance. Archaeologists could speak to Victorianists; definitional and methodological problems could be and were intelligently discussed without prior specialist knowledge; common problems emerged, and the meetings induced self-criticism and introduced researchers with related interests who, because of disciplinary boundaries, had had little opportunity to discover others working in associated fields.

Such enthusiasms spawned further developments through the Centre for Urban History. Attempts to embrace a wider community of urban historians led to one day meetings on specific themes - The City and Medicine; Archives, Archivists and the Urban Historian; Leicester in the Twentieth Century; and Drama and Ceremony in Early Modern England. Though such conferences acted as a focus for urban historians throughout the Midland universities, polytechnics and colleges, these meetings were predicated on the belief that considerable interest in urban history existed beyond higher education campuses, and that wider participation was crucial. The *Newsletter*[8] produced by the Centre for Urban History with its notices of forthcoming events, news from members and their research activities was a further commitment to such an approach, as is the development of a collection of slides, microfilms and specialist books for members of the Centre who might not have access to a university library.

The international dimensions to the activities of the Centre have been visible in at least three further respects. Firstly, corporate sponsorship from Dutch and Japanese sources has been raised to fund international conferences on 'Cities of Finance', and, 'Comparisons of Early Modern Japanese and British Towns'. Secondly, to parallel the British Register of Research in Urban History an EEC funded project is underway to provide an index of European researchers and their interests. Thirdly, a steady stream of international visitors from Spain, the Nordic countries, Japan, North America and Australia, in addition to those from EEC countries associated with the urban history teaching programme, have used the Centre for Urban History as a base for their researches, often utilising the important local and transport history collections in the main university library in conjunction with relevant materials in the major London libraries. The British Museum, London School of Economics Library, and eventually the new British Library are now closer to Leicester than for many metropolitan commuters with a journey time cut to just over one hour.

Ongoing research projects associated with members of the Centre include: Small Towns in Early Modern England; Urban Development in Victorian Scotland; Community and Social Relations in Nineteenth Century Cities; Italian Renaissance Towns; Minorities in English Towns - especially Jews in London; and, most recently, a Leicester City funded project on Leicester in the Twentieth Century. In addition to these wide ranging interests, close links are maintained with academics in other departments so that, for example, projects concerned with Criminality, Leisure and Sport, and the Urban Labour Market in the Sociology department have an historical dimension of interest to urban historians. Contact with the Midland Regional Research Laboratory will soon offer on-line access to urban datasets and bibliographical materials.

The anatomy of the city remains a central element of the agenda for urban historians. Dyos' exhorted urban historians to further work on cultural variables, housing history, attention to urban scale and an awareness of failures to urbanise, as well as what was termed 'the detailed modulation of the urban landscape...'[9] Nor were inter-temporal comparisons to be shunned, though some reduction of the nineteenth century emphasis was hinted as desirable. An agenda - 'things to be done' - does not imply matters to be resolved, only to be considered, and immense energy has been devoted to these and other topics in urban history, as reflected in more than 13,000 publications cited in the *Urban History Yearbook* since 1974.[10] Some, of course, are largely works of urban pathology, concerned principally with the dissection of the city in the most detailed anatomical way. But many are genuinely interdisciplinary, and the fact that historical geographers generously acknowledge economic historians, or that architectural historians cite social scientists,








indicates the extent to which the agenda has been addressed. Such interdisciplinary, inter-temporal, international dimensions remain a driving force behind the developments in urban history at Leicester.

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6. These include: A. Sutcliffe, ed., *British Town Planning: the Formative Years* (1981); P. Clark, ed., *Country Towns in Pre-Industrial England* (1981); F.M.L. Thompson, ed., *The Rise of Suburbia* (1982); D. Fraser, ed., *Municipal Reform and the Industrial City* (1982); D. Cannadine, ed., *Patricians, Power and Politics in Nineteenth Century Towns* (1982); M.J. Daunton, ed., *Councillors and Tenants: Local Authority Housing in English Cities 1919-39* (1984); M.E. Rose, *The Poor and the City: the English Poor Law in its Urban Context 1834-1914* (1985); M. Doughty, ed., *Building the Industrial City* (1986); R.J. Morris, ed., *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth Century Towns* (1986). Forthcoming titles include R.G. Rodger, *Scottish Housing in the Twentieth Century* (1989); M.J. Gaskell, ed., *Slums*; T.R. Slater, ed., *The Built Form of Western Cities*; T.J. Corfield and D.J. Keene, eds., *Work in Towns 850-1850*; H. Clarke and B. Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*.

7. M. Wolff, *Urbanity and Journalism: The Victorian Connection* (1979); D.A. Reeder, *Suburbanity and the Victorian City* (1980); A. Briggs, *Cities and Countryside: British and American Experiences 1860-1914* (1981); P. Collins, *Trollope's London* (1982); A. Sutcliffe, *London and Paris: Capitals of the Nineteenth Century* (1983); J. Simmons, *The Victorian Hotel* (1984); S. Checkland, *The City and the Businessman Viewed Historically* (1985); P. Clark, *Sociability and Urbanity: Clubs and Societies in the Eighteenth Century City* (1986); P. Willmott, *Kinship and Urban Communities* (1987); L.H. Lees, *Poverty and Pauperism in Nineteenth Century London* (1988), all published by the Victorian Studies Centre, University of Leicester.

8. Available for £2.50 p.a. For further membership details please contact Professor Peter Clark, Centre for Urban History, College House, University of Leicester.

9. H.J. Dyos, *op. cit.* 43-6.

10. D. Dixon *et al* 'Current bibliography of urban history', *Urban History Yearbook*, 1974-98.

KEY TO FIGURE OPPOSITE

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Coleman Road |
| 2 | Knighton Fields (Shakespeare Street) |
| 3 | North Bridge |
| 4 | Duncan Road |
| 5 | Bisley Street |
| 6 | Halsbury Street |
| 7 | Kimberley Road |
| 8 | Wyggeston Hospital |
| 9 | Harrison Road (Rushey Fields) |
| 10 | Abbey Lane (Orton's Close) |
| 11 | Rosebery Street |
| 12 | Tailby |
| 13 | Knighton Fields (Kirby) |
| 14 | Gwendolen Road |
| 15 | Braunstone Estate |

**Leicester Council Housing: 1920s Estates**

# Urban Planners in Metropolitan Planning in Melbourne 1950-1985 : A Study of a Profession

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The objectives of my research (for a doctorate) are:

Firstly, to analyse the literature on the Sociology of the professions with particular emphasis on the mode in which the professionalisation of the activity of Urban Planning has been theorised.

Secondly, to describe and understand the nature of this process amongst Urban Planners in Melbourne post WWII.

Thirdly, to develop a methodology to use this theoretical work to study the activities, and, particularly, the development of the world views of this group; and the ways in which their professional and personal values have affected and been affected by their work.

To date, I have completed a review of the literature relevant to my field of study, and I have finished the field work. This involved an intensive study of thirty five Melbourne planners by both questionnaire and interview. This sample was selected from a full list of all planning personnel who had worked with the Mebourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (Melbourne's metropolitan planning authority until 1985) at any stage during the period 1950-1985.

Also undertaken and now completed was research at the archives of the Royal Australian Planning Institute which involved cataloguing the activities of the Institute over the period since approximately 1950. Archival material used consisted of minutes of meetings, newsletters and journals, public statements by the Institute, and special papers produced by various sub-committees over the years. Expected completion date of the thesis is late 1990, although some sections will be ready for publication before then.

Arising from the research, the Victorian Chapter of the Royal Australian Planning Institute has commissioned a paper on its history. This is expected to be presented at the Biennial National Conference of RAPI in Sydney in 1990.





# Reports

## Fourth International Planning History Group Conference: The Garden City Tradition Re-Examined, Bournville, UK, 3rd-7th September 1989.

### *Personal Observations*

Robert Freestone,
PH Associate Editor

The Fourth International Planning History Group Conference was my first. A varied and demanding program - a credit to its organisers and sponsors - meant never a dull momemnt so I was heartened that even a veteran like Gordon Cherry could feel somewhat 'battered and bewildered', in the best possible sense of course, at the end of four days of keynote addresses, simultaneous workshop sessions, tours, films, receptions and dinners.

The keynote addresses were supposed to set the scene for detailed discussions. Sprinkled through the conference agenda, and with 'the garden city tradition re-examined' soon resisting anything like a singular focus, they didn't, and couldn't, really achive that goal. And other events also inevitably took on a life of their own with the conference ever rolling on. Instead, as regular, rather comfortable set pieces, always followed by by thoughtful group discussions, they served in plenary session to capture, reflect and resonate the broader themes beginning to emerge from the workshop 'case study' papers and elsewhere out of the conference program.

Daniel Schaffer [University of Tennessee], the first of the keynote speakers, eloquently and poignantly contrasted the remarkable garden city successes of the 1920s in the United States, associated with the Regional Planning Association of America, with the formidable urban problems confronting any garden city revival in the 1990s. Shun-ichi Watanabe [Building Research Institute, Japan], in a well illustrated address, examined the assimilation of the garden city message into Japan in the early twentieth century. The conclusion that it was 'the soil a seed falls upon' which determines if and how an imported idea would take hold surfaced again and again during the conference proceedings; so too the importance of language, images and perceptions in the diffusion process.

Drawing on previously inaccessible archive materials, Gerhard Fehl [University of Aachen] swept us away into the chilling realities of Nazi spatial planning in the 1940s. Here, Howard-Unwinian polycentric cities and Christaller hexagons spoke, not of emancipation and 'life reform', but of a totalitarian landscape of control and exclusion. Also stressing the importance of the domestic political environment, though with a quite different socialist hue, Jean-Pierre Gaudin [University of Paris] told us how the cité-jardin in France came to mean something quite distinct from the British models. But however denigrated in practice, the garden city remained important as a theoretical construct, making an effective contribution to contemporary debates on urban reform. Robert Freestone [DC Research, Australia] provided an overview of Australian responses to the garden city tradition up to the 1930s. The address essentially distilled arguments in the author's recently published *Model Communities* [Thomas Nelson, 1989]. He was glad that the slide projector did not break down.

Kenneth Jackson [Columbia University] was the last of the imported speakers. Focussing on the New York metropolitan region, he painted a rather depressing picture of the failure of urban public policy and public housing in the United States. If there was ever a context for the resurrection of the agrden city ideal, this was it. But as with Daniel Schaffer's opening address, the odds against a garden city or any other 'solution' to pressing urban problems succeeding seemed, in a word, remote.

Dennis Hardy [Middlesex Polytechnic] in his closing address both widened and consolidated the proceedings of several days in identifying several of the dominant themes in planning history that have emerged in recent years and then using the garden city tradition to illustrate them. The intention was more pedagogic than polemical, but the conceptual framework outlined constituted a coherent statement of the scope and *raison d'etre* for planning history.

Complementing the keynote addresses [or was it the other way round?] were over thirty workshop papers of quality and substance. These were organised into thematic sessions taking us from the genesis of the original garden city concept through its various manifestations in Britain and abroad to its present and future relevance as a basis for planning and social reforms. Unfortunately, tight parallel scheduling made it impossible to attend every presentation. But several themes did emerge from the papers which I did get a chance to hear. Also surfacing in the keynote addresses, all underlined in some way the remarkabl;e international influence of the garden city. These included: the failure to recapture the radical message of Howard's manifesto in *To-morrow;* the use of the garden city for ends far more conservative than originally intended; its denigration into an essentially middle class suburban construct; the importance of the connotations of 'the garden' in the garden city environment; the influence of social, political and economic factors in determining results in practice; the way in which various 'images' of the garden city influenced its adaptation; and a sobering awareness of the problems in implementing garden city ideals, then and now, regardless of their conceptual merit.

The Bournville Conference was more than just an organised talkfest. The formal paper sessions were leavened by two informative fieldtrips: one, with the ebullient local Michael Harrison playing a leading role, to nearby Bournville; the other, led by the irrepressible Mervyn Miller, an obligatory full day pilgrimage to Letchworth [and made even fuller by a recalcitrant bus driver; but in the unseasonal sunshine, rural England never looked better]. There was a splendid conference dinner at the University of Birmingham, at which an almost embarrassed Gordon Cherry was awarded the prestigious Ishikawa planning award. On another evening, Planning History Group members sank into their lounge chairs for an informal and mercifully painless discussion on where the organisation was heading. And I shouldn't forget a couple of pleasantly civilised evening receptions for delegates organised with the assistance of Bristol Cream Sherry by the Planning History Group and the Royal Town Planning Institute. To my mind, the screening of some old planning films was one of the most successful conference events. A relaxed and stimulating discussion, focussing on images, meanings and propaganda, followed the Bournville Village Trust's hoary old classic of 1943, *When we build again.*

How to sum up? In his keynote address Dennis Hardy confessed that he feared that the Bournville Conference might have been a rather deadening exercise recycling old materials and familiar arguments. It wasn't like that at all. The proceedings never remotely went stale, remaining fresh and innovative to the last. The garden city tradition was re-examined from numerous rewarding perspectives, although its direct relevance to current planning challenges was never explored in any real depth. later during my stay in England I visited the Prince of Wales 'Vision of Britain' exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Here, Leon Krier's forward-looking and neo-Howardian vision of a 'city of communities' -v- an 'anti-city of functional zones' was the virtual climax of the display. Perhaps it's a pity that at Bournville we were all a bit too historical and didn't make a concerted foray into the topical and contemporary arenas.

The conference was a truly international gathering, with about one half of the eighty-odd delegates coming from overseas. This was perhaps its greatest achievement. At the close of proceedings as we all drifted off on our various independent ways; there was perhaps a little sadness at the break-up of the transitory little community welded together at Westhill College over the duration of the conference. Many of the workshop papers will hopefully be published for the benefit of a wider audience. There are plans to publish the keynote papers in a separate volume next year. I look forward to that event, to remind us again of how Howard's legacy has endured in so many ways, as a substantive collection charting the international dimensions of the garden city tradition, and as a reminder of what was, and I think I speak for all delegates, a very enjoyable, instructive and fruitful week in Birmingham.

## Marc Weiss,
## PH Associate Editor

On September 3-7 in Bournville, England, I had the pleasure of participating in the Fourth International Planning History Group Conference, with the theme of 'The Garden City Tradition Re-Examined'. The conference was co-sponsored by the Bournville Village Trust, which was of great historic significance because Bournville was the site of the first major conference of the Garden City Association in September 1901. This connection was reinforced by our afternoon tour of Bournville, the model industrial village built by the Cadbury family that served as a forerunner to Ebenezer Howard's vision.

The conference was truly international in scope, with more than 20 different countries represented. The papers covered a wide array of experience with garden city and suburban ideas, movements, and projects, ranging from Australia,





Japan, Israel, the United States, and many parts of Europe, including Great Britain, Ireland, France, Germany, Finland, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Greece, and Spain. There was also a paper on garden city planning in the British colonies during the 1920s and 30s.

In addition to the many keynote lectures and workshop sessions, there were several receptions, a special showing of old documentary films on garden cities and new towns, a Planning History Group meeting, a banquet at the University of Birmingham that was highlighted by the Japanese delegation presenting Gordon Cherry with a special award, and a day-long bus tour of Letchworth, the new town founded by the Garden City Association in 1903 which today is an international symbol of the ideals and aspirations of this 20th century movement.

What did we learn from this exciting five-day conference? First, we discovered that the garden city concept took many different forms as it was adapted to a variety of cultures, times, and places. We discussed distinctions between garden cities and suburbs, regional and town planning, environmental and social reform, residential and community development, open space and affordable housing, middle and working class constituencies, industrial decentralisation and metropolitan sprawl, greenbelts and land speculation, private and state ownership, communitarianism and cooperation, land-use planning and radical politics. Shun-ichi Watanabe described the historical search for an appropriate Japanese translation of the garden city idea, including images such as "flower garden city" and "vegetable garden city". Gerhard Fehl revealed the hidden history of attempts by Nazi urban planners to impose a "garden city" scheme by force and violence on a region in occupied Poland during World War II. It seemed that the more we heard and said, the less certain we were of the ties that bound together all of those historical events with Ebenezer Howard's original proposal in *Garden Cities of Tomorrow.*

Secondly, we learned that while the garden city movement has had widespread impact on ideas and patterns of urban form and design, it has not been nearly as influential in reshaping political, economic, and social life as many of its strongest supporters desired. The sense of being part of a movement that mobilized the energy and allegiance of several past generations of planners and activists has diminished in recent years, with somewhat doubtful prospects for an immediate revival. Daniel Schaffer and Kenneth T. Jackson's keynote speeches on the United States both expressed a deep concern for the future of public policy, asking what it will take to generate quality and justice in solving the housing, employment, and crime problems of the low-income racial and ethnic minorities concentrated in central cities and older suburbs.

Finally, we learned how exciting it is to be part of an international network that shares a common interest and commitment. As we watched and discussed the films advocating "New Towns" in Britain during the 1940s, I was struck by the powerful traditions of political and social reform that urban planning movements have represented around the world through much of the recent past. The Planning History Group is helping to keep that heritage alive through conferences like Bournville, and that is a very good thing indeed.

# Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, October 1989

Marc Weiss
Graduate School of Planning,
Architecture and Preservation,
Columbia University

On October 4-7 in Portland, Oregon, the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) held its annual meeting. Members of the Planning History Group in the U.S. have been organizing planning history sessions at the ACSP meetings annually since 1983, and in many cases these sessions have been well attended and enthusiastically received. This year planning history received more than usual attention in the call for papers and the program due to the support of members of the local program committee who are planning historians, including Carl Abbott and Seymour Adler of Portland State University and Marsha Ritzdorf and Michael Hibbard of the University of Oregon.

Sessions included one on International Planning History, in which Bish Sanyal of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Nezar Alsayyad of the University of California-Berkeley each gave a preview of forthcoming books, the former titled *Cooperative Autonomy* and the latter titled *The Arab Moslem City*. Peter Schaeffer of the University of Colorado-Denver presented a paper on the history of urban population distribution in Switzerland, and Sylvia White of California Polytechnic State University-Pomona served as moderator. Another session on Planning Pioneers: Women and Housing, featured papers by Eugenie Birch of Hunter College on Catherine Bauer, Jacqueline Leavitt of the University of California-Los Angeles on the Octavia Hill Society methods in New York, and Gail Dubrow of the University of Washington on working women's housing in Boston. John Hancock of the University of Washington led a vigorous discussion at this session.

A third session, called Continuity and Change: Social Histories of Land Use Regulation, was organised and chaired by Marsha Ritzdorf. Howard Davis of the University of Oregon discussed an important English legal predecessor of modern zoning called "the ancient lights doctrine". Christopher Silver examined the social origins and racial politics of zoning in the southern United States, and Patricia Stach of the University of Texas-Arlington described the evolution of debates on zoning within the planning profession. In a session titled The City Builders, moderated by Laurence Gerckens of Ohio State University, George Hemmens of the University of Illinois-Chicago discussed Rexford Tugwell, David Perry of Cleveland State University presented an early draft of his book-in-progress on Robert Moses, and Marc Weiss of Columbia University analyzed the life of James Rouse, one of America's most innovative, planning-oriented, and socially concerned real estate developers.

In addition to the four paper sessions, there was a roundtable discussion on Teaching Planning History, organised by Eugenie Birch, Christopher Silver, and Marc Weiss. Seymour Mandelbaum of the University of Pennsylvania, Jane Brookes of the University of New Orleans, Richard Foglesong of Rollins College, and 15 other people engaged in a spirited conversation on different approaches to the teaching of planning history to undergraduates and graduates in both professional school and liberal arts contexts. To supplement the above mentioned activities, there were several other planning history papers given at sessions not specifically organised around a historical theme. All of the explicit planning history sessions attracted audiences of between 25 and 50 people, and the comments in the corridors indicated that planning historians were greatly appreciated for their contributions to the overall level of discourse. This was an impressive perfomrance that we hope will be surpassed at next year's ACSP, and even more in two years when the ACSP meets in Oxford, England, jointly with the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP). David Massey of the University of Liverpool, our very own PHG Treasurer, was at the ASCP meeting in Portland busily promoting the idea of organizing numerous international planning history sessions for the 1991 ACSP-AESOP meeting in Oxford.





# Planning History Practice

## The Bournville Story as it will be told at Cadbury World

Carol Bickley
First Interpreters
Coventry

### What is Cadbury World?

The idea of Cadbury World is not new to Cadbury's. The company has a long tradition of opening their factory at Bournville to visitors. However, since the 1960s this opportunity has been denied to people for a number of reasons:

- chocolate making has become an increasingly automated high tech, rationalised industry but in the process has become visually less interesting,
- higher standards of hygiene, and health and safety regulations, have made it more difficult for large numbers of visitors to be given tours of the factory.

This was recognised as a problem by the Cadbury Board which could be resolved by making use of redundant factory buildings. Consultants were commissioned for a feasibility study which developed the concept, market analysis and financial feasibility for providing a tourist facility at Bournville - a facility which would enable visitors to understand the process of chocolate making whilst at the same time learn something about the history of the Company.

The project, Cadbury World, will be established on the factory site incorporating part new build and part old, the redundant east cocoa block. Essentially, it comprises car parking, reception orientation space, a walk through exhibition, demonstration area, outside events area, education centre, restaurant and shop, and occupies a total space of 4500 sq. meters.

Three basic concepts have been used in the creation of the exhibition:

- There's always been more to Cadburys
- The ethic of Cadburyness
- Cadbury means chocolate means fun and it employs five major story themes:
    - Cacao - the food of the gods
    - Cocoa essence - the purest and the best
    - The Factory in the Garden
    - Cadbury Dairy Milk - making and marketing chocolate
    - The Future for Chocolate.

### The Bournville Story

The Bournville Story is an important element of Cadbury World. The raison d'être behind the Cadbury success. By examining the chronological developments of Bournville, the factory and the village, we begin to understand the philosophy and motivation of the Cadbury family, and in particular that of George Cadbury.

The Bournville story will:

- put the factory move from Bridge Street to Bournville in context by examining the Birmingham industrial scene circa 1870s
- give the background behind Cadbury Brothers decision to build a new factory
- examine the chronological development of the Village from 1879 through to late 1920s
- highlight the philosophies and personalities of the Cadbury Brothers and in particular George Cadbury, the founder of the Bournville Village Trust
- put the development of Bournville, the Village, in context by comparing and contrasting it with development elsewhere in the UK and abroad - Model Parish Mission, Robert Owen, Saltaire, Port Sunlight, Noisel in France

- look at the planning of Bournville Village - its housing, openspaces, schools, shopping, roads, amenities
- show how Bournville, the model village, subsequently influenced new town and general residential development
- explore the character of Bournville - types of dwellings and tenures, densities, rents, Cadbury employees, non-Cadbury employees, mix of housing and public open space, amenities.

### How will the Bournville Story be told?

Audio-visual techniques, models and graphics will be used to create a stimulating visitor experience. The audio-visual programme will use archive material from both the Cadbury and Bournville Village Trust archives incorporating photographs, maps and plans, architectural drawings, film, paintings and illustrations.

The visitor will be taken past a staged scene set of Birmingham in the 19th century depicting the squalor and filth of the industrial City with its tunnel back houses, intermingled with the smoke and grime of its factories. From there they will see three dimensional models of George Cadbury and the architect, looking across green fields and planning their vision for Bournville which appears on the horizon as a model diorama.

An audio-visual programme develops the story further using the following storylines.

### Sequence of Experience

Birmingham in the 19th century requiring housing reforms, and slum clearance invoking images such as this:

'It is not easy to describe or imagine the dreary desolation which acre after acre of the very heart of the town presents to anyone who will take the trouble to visit it .... Hundreds of leaky, damp wretched houses, wholly unfit for human habitation ... some of the worst houses are so small and low that it is a matter for wonder, how such places have ever been put up for human habitation.' (speech taken from Town Council of 1877).

Why the move to Bournville? shows the setting and conditions of Cadbury Brothers Bridge Street factory in Birmingham. It gives the reasons behind the move to Bournville, the need to expand with the opportunities to build a new purpose built chocolate factory. The chance to create a new image for Cadbury's to compete with the successful French chocolate industry.

The Site - the land adjacent to the River Bourn was auctioned on June 18th 1878. It gave the Cadbury Brothers an ideal site. A rural setting, with room for expansion, well served by road, rail and canal so that raw materials, the products and the factory workers would be transported relatively easily.

The philosophy behind the factory - the Cadbury Brothers belief that given decent, healthy, clean working conditions the working classes would take greater interest in their employment, productivity would be improved and they would be encouraged to live healthy and wholesome lives. This they felt was not possible within the squalor of the industrial city.

The Beginnings - the first factory and houses of 1879 George Cadbury's Bournville. The factory in a garden-what it comprised, the first 16 houses built for the factory foremen who were needed on site, the continued purchase and commercial development of land which included the formation of the Bournville Building Estate.

Bournville Building Estate where houses provided 'to make it easy for working men to own houses were with large gardens secure from the danger of being spoilt either by ... factories or by interference with the enjoyment of sun, light and air...'

This was George Cadbury and his architect William Harvey's vision. He hoped to achieve the successful integration of private enterprise with public concern to stop the overcrowding of cities.

The Foundation of the Bournville Village Trust plots the development of the Village from 1900 when George Cadbury handed over the assets of the Bournville Building Estates to a newly formed Trust. The Village thereafter evolved into an experiment in housing, planning and social reform.

### Conclusion

The Bournville Story at Cadbury World, whilst relating to a wider chocolate story in an atmosphere of leisure and entertainment, aims to encourage greater public understanding and awareness of Bournville, the factory in a Garden and Model Village; and the positive contribution it has made to industrial management, community development and town planning throughout Britain. What the future holds for Bournville may itself be influenced to some degree by such projects as 'Cadbury World.'





# Ramsay Gardens, Patrick Geddes Centre

John Brine
University of Adelaide,
South Australia

The recent establishment of the Patrick Geddes Centre by the University of Edinburgh has previously been reported in these pages. It is now pleasing to note that the Centre has published a small book on Ramsay Gardens, the pioneering residential development built by Patrick Geddes in the 1890s next to the castle in the Royal Mile of Edinburgh's old town.(1)

Drawing on documentary evidence in the Patrick Geddes Centre archives the authors of this paper have put together a brief account of the Ramsay Gardens development which will also serve as a useful introduction to Geddes' philosophy. This publication should help tourists and others who may initially find it easier to focus their attention on the buildings of Ramsay Gardens or the Outlook Tower rather than on Geddes' ideas.

With the active participation of his wife, Anna Morton, Geddes initially made a notable contribution to housing policy with the renovation of Mound Place as the first student hostelry in Scotland. The Ramsay gardens project was likewise a step in his strategy for achieving the physical setting in which his concept of holistic lifestyle embracing rewarding work and a satisfying home life could be based. Like the nearby Outlook Tower, the seat of Geddes' Edinburgh educational activities, many of the sixteen flats that make up the five storey Ramsay Gardens complex enjoy spectacular views across the city region to the Forth and over to Fife. It is somewhat ironical that nearly 100 years after Patrick Geddes acted to apply his theories of environmental improvement to run-down properties in the Edinburgh old town that the city's recent efforts at conservation and infill in this historic strip are finally completing the urban fabric of the Royal Mile.

Geddes' original intention was for Ramsay Gardens to provide accommodation for students, teachers and ordinary working folk. Inevitably, the Ramsay Gardens apartments have for most of their life been an exclusive inner city address.

Architecturally the project was interesting in that it consisted of three stages of development, the second stage encompassing an eighteenth century house and the third stage a mid-eighteenth century terrace. We are not told why Geddes switched architects between stages one and two and only basic plan details are given. However, numerous photographs show the buildings as they are today.

While it would be obviously unfair to apply 1980s criteria to judge the success of Ramsay Gardens it is clearly very satisfactory in terms of scale, proportion and massing, despite the fact that it is a surprising mixture of Scots Baronial, English Cottage and Georgian styles. The detail of the building is of high quality and has stood the test of time in both its design and execution.

We need to remember that Geddes' choice of white for the harled or rendered walls was consistent with his objective of brightening up a slum area of the city. Thankfully, this brighter, uncharacteristic Edinburgh look has been allowed to be maintained.

Although Ramsay gardens was financed to a large extent by Anna Morton's money, Geddes was once again innovative in selling flats "off the plan" to purchasers who were prepared or persuaded to buy flats before their construction.

Modest in scope and in price (£2.50 from the Patrick Geddes Centre) this little volume quite appropriately uses its description of Ramsay Gardens as a means of introducing the reader to Patrick Geddes as well as to an important residential building group. There is obviously a lot more to be published on Ramsay Gardens, including more detailed plans, design and construction details and better photographs. At a price, of course. Meanwhile, this is a useful first publication in a series of Geddes' buildings in Edinburgh planned by the Patrick Geddes Centre.

### Notes

1. S.G. Leonard and J.M. Mackenzie, *Ramsay Gardens*, Patrick Geddes Centre, University of Edinburgh, 1989, 28pp A5.

# Networks

## Developments in Tourism History

John Towner,
Department of Environment,
Newcastle Polytechnic

In a recent article in *Leisure Studies*[1], Peter Bailey traced developments in the historiography of leisure in Britain. He was able to highlight substantial achievements in terms of both theoretical discussions and an expanding body of knowledge.

The related field of tourism has, however, tended to be neglected. As an activity involving at least 24 hours away from home, and thus creating particular services such as accommodation, the impact of tourism is of a different order to other leisure/recreation activities. For historians, tourism has generally been subsumed within the broader world of leisure, where its distinctive elements have rarely been made explicit. Furthermore, there remains a wide disciplinary gap between the work of leisure historians and those engaged in tourism research. At present, tourism studies lack a real historical perspective both in terms of theory and body of knowledge, whilst historical studies lack the insights that tourism theories and models could bring.[2] For example, a search through the issues of tourism journals, such as the *Annals of Tourism Research* or *Tourism Management*, reveals few historical studies. Temporal perspectives tend to be broad generalisations about complex processes of development; the "mass follows class" type of argument. Similarly, a major focus of historical studies, the growth of seaside resorts, pays little attention to concepts such as the resort cycle.[3]

In addition to this absence of interdisciplinary links, tourism history appears to be rather narrowly focused. In the past there has been a preoccupation with the activities of the landed classes, whether at home visiting spas and seaside resorts or abroad on the Grand Tour. For other social classes, tourism has been seen largely in terms of the growth of the seaside holiday. But perhaps the evolution of tourism is more complicated than this? There were the shacks and huts of the plotlands of the 1920s and 1930s,[4] the use of railway carriages and other short holidays in the countryside. Much of this tourism may have been of short duration and relatively inexpensive but was possibly of great significance for the participants. They certainly had an impact, if only temporary, upon the landscape.

One further problem with tourism history is its lack of an international perspective. The British (and especially the English) are portrayed as the precursors of modern tourism through institutions such as the Grand Tour and the development of seaside resorts. We know something of French tourism developments[5] and those in North America.[6] The bibliographical work of the Centre des Hautes Etudes Touristiques indicates important but essentially fragmented research in a number of countries such as Spain, Italy and Germany as well as outside Europe.[7]

Clearly, there is considerable scope for interdisciplinary research into the complex ways in which tourism has grown. Recent articles in *Planning History*[8] point to some of these facets. This brief review concludes with an appeal to planning and social historians to contribute to the field of tourism history through the mainstream tourism journals. As tourism becomes ever more significant, its future planning requires a more informed knowledge and understanding of its historical development.

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2. J. Towner, "Approaches to tourism history", *Annals of Tourism Research* 15 (1988), 47-62.

3. R.W. Butler, "The concept of a tourism area cycle of evolution: Implications for management of resources", *Canadian Geographer* 24 (1980), 5-12.

4. D. Hardy and C. Ward, *Arcadia for All*, Mansell, 1984.

5. Eg. M. Boyer, " Evolution sociologique du tourisme: continuité du touriste rare au touriste de masse et rupture contemporaire" *Loisir et Societé* 3(1) 1980, 49-81; L. Burnet, *Villégiature et tourisme sur les Côtes du France* Hachette, 1963; C.J. Haug, *Leisure and Urbanism in nineteenth century Nice*, Regents Press, 1982.

6. Eg. P.J. Hugill, "The rediscovery of America: Elite automobile touring", *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985), 435-447; D. Wightman and G. Wall, "The spa experience of Radium Hot Springs", *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985), 393-416.

7. R. Baretje (ed) "Tourisme et Historie: Essais Bibliographiques", 1981, 1984, 1985, 1987. Centre des Hautes Etudes Touristiques, Aix-en-Provence.

8. Eg. S.V. Ward, "Promoting holiday resorts: A review of early history to 1921", *Planning History*, 10(2), (1988), 7-11.

# Institute of Historical Research

The Institute of Historical Research is the University of London's centre for postgraduate study in history. Situated in the heart of Bloomsbury, close to the British Library and other specialist centres of research, it is an important resource and meeting place for scholars from all over the world. It contains an open-access library and a common room, publishes works of reference, administers a number of research projects, and runs courses and conferences. It offers research fellowships to students nearing the completion of their doctorates, and administers other awards. Teachers in the University and others organise an MA programme and run thirty-three research seminars which meet regularly at the Institute.

Three organisations which form distinct but integral parts of the Institute greatly augment its activities. The encyclopaedic Victoria County History is a long established research enterprise publishing several volumes each year. The Institute of United States Studies, which amalgamated with the Institute of Historical Research in 1987, is the University's centre for the study of United States culture, history and society at the postgraduate level. The Centre for Metropolitan History, founded in 1987, runs a research programme on the history of london and other great cities, and acts as an information exchange.

The conference programme includes the Anglo-American Conference of Historians. This conference, now held for two days every year with a four-day plenary session every four or five years, has been a fixture at the Institute since the 1920s. It is normally attended by over 300 historians from Great Britain, U.S.A. and elsewhere.

Proceedings consist of two general meetings and lectures of wide-ranging scope, and a series of section meetings on more specialised subjects. An exhibition of historical works first published in the United Kingdom in the previous year is displayed and the conference concludes with a party. The conference for 1990 will be a plenary session, from 3 to 6 July, on the theme of 'The City and the Country'.

Research projects sponsored by the Institute include *The Builder Project* ( Research officer: Ruth Richardson, MA, DPhil). The *Builder* was the most important and influential architectural periodical of the Victorian age. Funded by the Builder Group and English Heritage, the Project aims to provide access to the journal's wide-ranging contents. Its first volume - a catalogue/index to illustrations 1843-83 - is in preparation. Others are planned to follow.

Of particular interest to Planning Historians is the Centre for Metropolitan History. Established in February 1987 in collaboration with the Museum of London and other organisations, the Centre aims to fulfil a longstanding need in London. It promotes the interchange of ideas on metropolitan history through seminars and conferences and provides a practical service for all those interested in the history of London by carrying out bibliographical work, organising historical data (including oral testimony) and by collecting and publishing news of research in progress. The Centre also undertakes original research into the society, economy, culture and fabric of London, with regard to its role both within the British Isles and in the world at large, and it promotes comparisons with the history of other metropolitan cities. A varied programme of research is now under way at the Centre, anf details of this and the Centre's other activities are available in a separate leaflet. Director: Dr D.J. Keene, MA, DPhil. Deputy Director: Miss H.J. Creaton, BA, MPhil, ALA.

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# Publications

## Resumé

**Editorial note:**
A policy has evolved whereby - with a comprehensive coverage of reviews in *Planning Perspectives - Planning History* does not carry book reviews. However, on those occasions where a book is published as a direct outcome of a PHG event, extended publicity might be appropriate. Such is the case with the new book detailed below.

**Patricia L. Garside and Michael Hebbert (eds),** *British Regionalism 1900-2000.*

In the words of the editors:

The idea for this book originated at a joint conference of the Planning History Group and the Regional Studies Association held in Salford, Lancashire in 1987. The Planning History Group is an international association of people who share an interest in the history of town and country planning. Regionalism has always played a prominent part in that history. The Regional Studies Association is an interdisciplinary group, with branches throughout the British Isles, that provides a forum where regional issues can be discussed and the results of research published. Its interest in the regional idea is firmly fixed in the present and the future.

There is an obvious mutuality in the groups' interests. Even the most cloistered student of the history of regionalism must hear its echoes in today's newspapers. The present prospects for regional decentralisation are incomprehensible without reference to the precedents. That was why in organising the Salford conference we planned the event eclectically, bringing together speakers and participants from quite different spheres in a programme that tried to look forwards as well as backwards.

As with most experiments in cocktail-making the results were mixed, but at its best the mix was heady and produced interestingly unexpected ways of seeing things. The participants at Salford were unanimous in feeling that our perspecvtive on the past, present and future of British regionalism was worth offering between hard covers to a wider audience.

**Chapters**:

1. Introduction
*Patricia Garside and Michael Hebbert*

2. The Roots of British Federalism
*Michael Burgess*

3. Regionalism and Local Government Reform 1900-1960
*Jonathan Owen*

4. Regional Planning 1909-1939: The Experimental Era
*David Massey*

5. Regionalism in Interwar Britain: The Role of the Town and Country Planning Association
*Dennis Hardy*

6. The Failure of Regionalism in 1940s Britain: A Reexamination of Regional Plans, the Regional Idea and the Structure of Government
*Patricia Garside*

7. The Origins of the Regional Studies Association
*Michael Wise*

8. The Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council 1965-1979
*Diana Pearce*

9. The Planning Case for Regions and the Evolution of Strathclyde
*Urlan Wannop*

10. Regionalism, Devolution and the State, 1969-1989
*Michael Keating*

11. Britain in a Europe of Regions
*Michael Hebbert*

# Abstracts

**Jo Ann Argersinger**, *Towards a New Deal in Baltimore: People and Government in the Great Depression*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989, 284pp, ISBN 0-8078-1769-4, $29.95 cloth.

This is an important and insightful case study of the evolution of modern social organisation, especially the roots of citizen participation. This volume probes the degree to which the New Deal affected four critical, often overlapping, areas of Baltimore organisational life: social welfare, politics, labor relations, and ethnic, racial and gender relations. It takes issue with historians who argue that the New Deal undermined voluntarism. Unquestionably this is an excellent study which can be read with profit by planners concerned about the organisational evolution of modern urban society.

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**Joan E. Draper**, *Edward H. Bennett, Architect and City Planner, 1874-1954*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1982, 63pp, ISBN 0-86559-048-6, $10.95 paper.

This text exhibits a fine economy of means in presenting a well balanced view of the life and works of Edward H. Bennett, his role in The City Beautiful Movement, and those qualities of personality and circumstance that precluded his rise to leadership in the emerging city and regional planning profession. Serious planning historians will delight in Draper's rich documentation and enlightening commentary, as well as her digressions in end notes into the biographies of even lesser-known associated figures.

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**Michael H. Ebner**, *Creating Chicago's North Shore: A Suburban History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988, 338pp, ISBN 0-226-18205-3, $29.95 cloth.

An appreciative look at the development of eight autonomous suburbs of Chicago collectively known as the North Shore. The book attempts to discover when, how and why people came to view the North Shore as a self-conscious network premised upon common assumptions and shared values. This sense of place, along with the convergence of three factors-transportation, nature, and population concentration - helped shape today's North Shore.

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**Joe R. Feagin**, *Free Enterprise City: Houston in Political and Economic Perspective*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988, 322pp, ISBN 0-8135-1321-9, $36.00 cloth; ISBN 0-8135-1322-7, $12.00 paperback.

*Free Enterprise City* is structured around three basic themes. The first emphasises the importance of examining a city within its world context. The second major theme is that free enterprise cities like Houston are not in fact free market cities but cities substantially fashioned and formed by state intervention. The third major theme of the study is that privatised urban development without intelligent planning in the larger public interest creates huge social costs for city residents and communities, particularly low-income communities.

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**Robert Freestone**, *Model Communities: The Garden City Movement in Australia*. Melbourne: Nelson Wadsworth, 1989, $49-95.

Describes the relationship between movements for social reform, physical planning and urban design and how they have interacted with the actions of governments and private entrepreneurs in urban development. This book covers a critical period in the history of urban planning in Australia and the personal, professional, and community philosophies which have shaped our cities. A major theme is the linking of British, European and American ideas to the development of local attitudes. The plans, promises and the reality of urban Australia during the early twentieth century are uncannily similar to those we read about now in the daily press; the gap between elevated ideals and degraded reality is as common today as it was then. In describing a distinctive urban milieu of the past, and documenting its legacy on everyday landscapes and institutions of today, *Model Communities* reveals how too much dilution of innovative ideas can result in mediocrity. This is a pioneering work, essential reading for practitioners and students of urban design, planning and landscape architecture.

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**Laurence C. Gerckens, (ed)**, *Proceedings of the First National Conference on American Planning History*. Columbus: Society for American City and Regional Planning History, 1986, 654pp, $50.00.

This volume will interest anyone concerned with the history of planning in North America. There is a good mix between urban planning subjects and studies of the local or regional impact of federal planning. The planning history of Ohio and New York receive special attention. Several of the papers are superb including one of the recent history of public housing and another on Robert Moses and the "public works machine."





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**Reanate Howe (ed)**, *New Houses for Old: Fifty Years of Public Housing in Victoria 1936-1988*. Melbourne: Ministry of Housing and Construction, 1988, ISBN 0-740-4794-7, hardcover.

A handsome edited collection of historical essays dealing with the life, times and social circumstances of the Victorian Housing Commission, established in the 1930s (and latterly reshaped into a State Ministry). The essays are part chronological, part thematic. Among the issues covered are the origins of the Commission in the anti-slum and social reform movements, home ownership, the controversial and divisive high rise building program initiated in the 1960s, and administrative change.

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**Ann Durkin Keating**, *Building Chicago: Suburban Developers and the Creation of a Divided Metropolis*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1988, 230pp, ISBN 0-8142-0455-4, $24.95 cloth.

This volume examines the relationship between suburban developers, infrastructure demands, and emerging governmental units in nineteenth century Chicago. It emphasises the role that the infrastructure had in creating the divided metropolis. The study provides new information on nineteenth century suburban subdivision development and reinforces previous accounts of suburban government.

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**Eric H. Monkkonen**, *America Becomes Urban: The Development of U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780-1980*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, 332pp, ISBN 0-520-06191-8, $25.00 cloth.

This volume urges us to rethink the evolution of cities in the United States. Scholars' understanding of urban history, it argues, has been limited by narrow preconceptions, the unsound "humanist critiques" of Lewis Mumford and Jane Jacobs, and the flaws in statistical data and the "new urban history." Redirecting attention to the busy realm of local government, *America Becomes Urban* asserts cities, instead of being mainly shaped by such external forces as changing transportation technologies have shaped themselves since the mid-19th century through corporate borrowing and the provision of services to residents.

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**J. Douglas Porteous**, *Planned to Death: The Annihilation of a Place called Howendyke*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989, 254pp, ISBN 0-7190-2831-0, £35.00.

An analysis of the growth and decline of Howendyke, a village on Humberside in England. The author, whose childhood was spent in the village, traces in careful detail how the life of the community has been destroyed in recent years partly through general processes of modern society but, more directly, through the gradual encroachment of industrial development. The role of planning in this history of destruction raises provocative questions as to whom the system is intended to serve.

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**James Michael Russell**, *Atlanta 1847-1890: City Building in the Old South and the New*. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1988, 314pp, ISBN 0-8071-1413-8, $32.50.

This is an appealing, useful study of nineteenth century city boosterism Dixie-style. Utilising the various techniques of the New Urban History, Russell attempts to shed light on the inner character of this dynamic worldbeater. He deals with such matters as residential persistence rates, population distribution, and occupational, mobility. And scattered throughout are discussions of politics and government, race relations, municipal services, health conditions and street development.

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**Douglas L. Smith**, *The New Deal in the Urban South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988, 287pp, ISBN 0-8071-1394-8,. $29.95 cloth.

The book focuses on four major cities - Atlanta, Birmingham, Memphis and New Orleans - to analyse the "grassroots implementation, operation and effects" of the New Deal. It argues that the Great Depression and the New Deal forced old elites with traditional habits to at least recognise newer constituencies and public responsibilities, thereby laying the foundation for a modern urban consciousness.

**Statham, Pamela (ed)**, *The Origins of Australian Capital Cities*, Cambridge University Press, 1989, ISBN 0-521-36242-3, hardcover.

Historical case studies which deal with site selection, early planning, economic growth and social life. The editorial introduction helps draw out comparative themes. The basic objectives of the book are summed up by Pamela Statham: 'Why these capital cities are located in the particular corner of Australia that they are, why and how they were founded, how their similarities and differences evolved, and whether there was anything uniquely Australian in their early moulding that explains their primacy today are the fundamental questions that prompted this book'.

**Acknowledgements for abstracts to Robert Fairbanks, Rob Freestone, and John Sheail.**

## Catalogue

**James Bettley (ed)**, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: A Cumulative Index*. Compiled by Richard Raper, Gregg Publishing, £195.

The British Architectural Library at the Royal Institute of British Architects published the Cumulative Index to the Drawings Collection Catalogue on July 17, 1989.

This is the index to the 19 volume catalogue of the RIBA Drawings Collection. The Cumulative Index is divided into two sections, the Names Index and the Places Index. This extends considerably the indexes of each volume. All personnel and corporate names, places and buildings, which are listed or simply mentioned in the catalogue have been indexed. This means that it is possible to discover hitherto unsuspected links between people and buildings.

The original 19 volume catalogue won its principal editor, Jill Lever, the 1985 Alice Davies Hitchcock Medallion from the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain.





# PHG

## Treasurer's Report for 1988

1. Continuing the trend observed since 1986 there was a marginal fall in overseas subscription income in 1988, although home subscription income held up well. An increase in bank interest receipts more than made up for rather lower income from distributing leaflets with *Planning History*. Overall the level of the Group's income in 1988 was almost the same as that for 1987.

2. As a result of active negotiations by the editor with the printers it was possible during the year to complete payments for Vol.IX (1987) of the Bulletin as well as to begin payments for printing Vol.X (1988). This catching up resulted in exceptionally large Bulletin Production Costs for the year (as those for 1987 had been exceptionally small). The catching up factor is also reflected in the increased mailing charges for 1988 together with two special mailings to members in connection with the Conference in Japan. Because of these exceptional expenditure items the Group spent £9-77 more than its income in 1988. However, we had budgeted for this higher level of expenditure by establishing a Bulletin Reserve Fund of £2,125 from unspent 1987 income and so were able to meet it without drawing on the General Fund.

3. At year end the Group's General Fund at £3,258-09 was slightly up on the equivalent figure for 1987, despite the retention of £1,000 in the Bulletin Reserve Fund (to allow for 1989 expenditure on Vol.X in 1989 and other contingencies) and an increase of £1,000 in the Seminar Fund (to cover a guarantee for the 1989 Bournville Conference). The three funds continue to be largely held in a higher-interest bearing deposit account at the Royal Bank of Scotland.

4. Looking ahead to 1989 it is hoped that subscription income will benefit from recent and proposed conference activity and that Bulletin Production and Mailing costs can continue to be contained within reasonable limits.

5. I am very grateful to Mr E. Elms for acting once more as the Group' Honorary Auditor, for having checked the accounts for 1988 and for his advice.

**David W. Massey**
University of Liverpool

## PLANNING HISTORY GROUP: ACCOUNTS FOR 1988

| | | £ p |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | **Balance b/f from 1987** | 5,541-86 |
| | Receipts for 1988 | 2,436-60 |
| | | 7,978-46 |
| | Payments for 1988 | 2,446-37 |
| | Balance c/d to 1989 | £5,532-09 |

2. **Balance Sheet as at 31 December 1988**

| | £ p |
|---|---|
| Bulletin Reserve Fund | 1,000-00 |
| Seminar Fund | 1,274-00 |
| General Fund | 3,258-09 |
| | £5,532-09 |

3. **Represented by**

| | £ p |
|---|---|
| General Fund Giro Account | 80-70 |
| General Fund Current Account | 136-71 |
| Gnrl Fund Bldng Society Acct | 60-16 |
| Seminar Fund Current Account | 3-54 |
| Joint Fund Deposit Account | 5,250-98 |
| | £5,532-09 |

4. **Receipts and Payments for the Year ending 31 December 1988**

| **Receipts** | £ p |
|---|---|
| Subscriptions | |
| UK | 1,012-00 |
| Overseas | 938-55 |
| Other Years | 61-86 |
| Less Refunds | (44-00) |
| Leaflet Distribution | 90-00 |
| Interest on Accounts | 362-19 |
| Back Issue Sales | 16-00 |
| Excess of Payments over Receipts | 9-77 |
| | £2,446-37 |

| **Payments** | £ p |
|---|---|
| Bulletin Production Costs | 1,989-00 |
| Membership Mailing | 343-15 |
| Administration | 114-12 |
| | £2,446-37 |

**AUDIT REPORT**
**Audited and found correct.** **E.G. Elms: 20 August 1989**



# Planning History Group



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

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### *Membership*

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

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