Planning History

Bulletin of the
Planning History Group

Planning History

Editor

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

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

Associate Editor for the Americas

Professor Marc A. Weiss
Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and
Preservation
Columbia University
410H Avery Hall
New York, NY 10027
USA

Associate Editor for the Pacific

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

Production

Design: Steve Chilton
Word Processing: Sandy Weeks
Printing: Middlesex Polytechnic Print Centre

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

Notices

Call for Papers

THE FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN PLANNING HISTORY AND FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: PLANNING HISTORY GROUP
The Jefferson-Sheraton Hotel, Richmond, Virginia, November 7-10, 1991

Co-sponsored by:
The Society for American City and Regional Planning History,
The Planning History Group (The United Kingdom),
The Urban History Association
and the Virginia Commonwealth University: Department of Urban Studies and Planning, and Department of Art History.

General Chairman: Francois-Auguste de Montequin
Program Chair: Christopher Silver
Program Committee: Christopher Silver (SACRPH)
Mary Corbin Sles (UHA)
Gordon Cherry (PHG)

Papers are most cordially solicited on all aspects of the history of the planning and development of communities. Each paper will be presented in a 40-minute session including a brief introduction, a 25-minute presentation by the author, and a 10-minute critique. Papers will be reviewed by the Program Committee.

All materials should be rendered to:

Professor Christopher Silver
Program Chair,
Planning History Conference
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Virginia Commonwealth University
P.O. Box 2008
Richmond, VA 23284
Phone (804) 367-1134

Schedule of due dates
March 1, 1991 : Final date for receipt of proposals. Requirement for submission: a 700-800 word detailed abstract, a tentative title, and a one-page author vita ending with identification of the author's membership in SACRPH UHA and/or PHG. All materials to be rendered in *four copies.*

July 15, 1991: Notification of acceptance or rejection by the Program Committee.

August 1, 1991: Publication and distribution of the final conference program and conference registration materials in the Autumn SACRPH newsletter, to be sent to all members of SACRPH, UHA and PHG.

October 1, 1991: Authors of accepted papers to render four copies of their final paper to the Chair of the Program Committee, as well as a copy of the finished paper to their assigned commentator-critic.

October 15, 1991: Conference registration materials due without late penalty; last day for registration for special events.

November 7-10, 1991: Conference, Jefferson-Sheraton Hotel, Richmond, Virginia.

Other highlights of the Conference
Keynote Address by Professor Gordon Cherry of the Planning History Group (United Kingdom); Biennial SACRPH Awards Program and Presidential Address by Genie Birch of Hunter College, NYC.

Receptions Friday and Saturday evenings, November 8 and 9.

Dedication of Monument Avenue Centennial Historic Planning Landmark Marker (AICP/SACRPH).

Tour of Colonial Williamsburg on Sunday, November 10, and other tours of Historic Richmond.

Your participation in this event is most cordially invited.

PLANNING TRANSATLANTIC: GLOBAL CHANGE AND LOCAL PROBLEMS A Joint ACSP and AESOP International Congress: Oxford, July 1991

The North American Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) and the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP) will come together for a Joint Congress in the beautiful and historic city of Oxford, July 8th to 12th 1991. The Congress is supported by the UK Department of the Environment, the Royal Town Planning Institute and the British Council.

The choice of theme reflects the concern on both sides of the Atlantic about major changes in our environment and in our society. The last few years have seen unprecedented political, social and economic changes, accompanied by an awakening to the threat of global environmental change. Planning has a vital role in the 1990s and beyond, and planning educators are centrally involved. There is no better time to share experiences.

One of the seventeen Congress Tracks will be in Planning History.

Congress Structure
Plenary session of the Congress will be led by international experts from Europe and the US. There will also be study visits, business sessions, exhibitions and social events. The main body of the Congress will be organised around a number of 'tracks'. These have been developed in consultation with ACSP and AESOP, and are set out overleaf. Each track has a European and American chair.

General Information
The Congress will be hosted by the School of Planning, Oxford Polytechnic. A range of accommodation is available in Halls of Residence; hotel accommodation can also be provided. Special rates have been negotiated. For example, a single room in the Hall (inc. breakfast) will cost approx £17.50 (US$30) per day. Up to 500 participants are expected and early registration has priority. The Congress language is English. Booking forms and further details on accommodation and other local arrangements will be issued from November 1990.

For Information/Accommodation please contact:
Carolin Tidbury, 1991 Congress Bookings
Continuing Education Centre, Oxford Polytechnic
Headington, Oxford, UK, OX3 OBP
Tel: 0865-819412 Fax: 0865-819449

THE URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION
Department of History
Lake Forest College
Lake Forest IL60045

The Urban History Association has published a *Syllabus Exchange*. It is inspired by Sam Bass Warner, Jr.'s conviction that it is essential to foster imagination and energy in the teaching of urban history in its varied shapes and forms. The bound volume exceeds 400-pages in length and includes nearly 70 syllabi. To purchase send $25 to:

U.H.A. Syllabus Excahnge
c/o The Valentine Museum
1015 E. Clay Street
Richmond, VA 23219-1590
USA

Please make cheque or money order payable to *The Valentine Museum.* Purchasers outside USA must make payment in US dollars.

Articles

Some Examples of Planning History in Poland

Peter J. Larkham
University of Birmingham

The study of planning history in Poland is, perhaps inevitably, coloured by the chequered social and political history of that country. An eastwards expansion of Germanic peoples in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was accompanied by town foundation and the establishment of German legal codes. Between 1333 and 1370 King Kazimierz Wielkiego (Casimirius the Great) built 53 castles and 118 towns, of which 27 were fortified, in the region of Little Poland, to strengthen his position regarding the nobility by greatly expanding a burgher class indebted to the crown for their status. In 1384 his daughter united Poland and Lithuania, then a vastly larger country, by marrying a Lithuanian prince, and the attention of Polish noblemen turned east and south, away from western Europe, in pursuit of extensive new estates and trading links. Lower Siliesia and Pomerania were lost to Poland at this time. This change of intellectual orientation is still evident in built form and architectural style, especially the timing of stylistic innovations (Table 1). The Swedish invasion of 1655-1660 (the "Swedish Flood") resulted in major damage to many towns, which were later rebuilt. In later centuries, the ethnic mix of the country was significant, with the large Jewish population producing distinctive house types and Jewish quarters in many, if not most, towns; while the Germans were significant, particularly during the period of industrialisation. Through the nineteenth century, Poland had a complex history of partition and occupation by Austro-Hungary, Prussia and Russia.

Early research on planning history in this region was dominated by German scholars, concerned to emphasise the effects of the German colonisation. The Nazi occupation during the Second World War resulted in the incarceration of the Jews in ghettoes, and their massacre, to the extent that even today there are only four synagogues regularly holding services. The Germans also systematically destroyed many relics of Polish history, from individual buildings to the centres of towns, notably the capital, Warszawa. "Since 1945 new perspectives have been developed ... as scholars have reacted to the political and cultural realities of post-war Europe ... This reaction was enhanced further by the coming to power of the Polish Workers' Party with its needs to legitimate its position and emphasise social transformations in the evolution of the Polish state."[1] The rebuilding of the war-damaged urban regions is by now well-known, being possibly the best example of such reconstruction from fragmentary physical evidence and some lucky survivals of pre-war documents, plans and academic studies. Most areas, such as the Old Town of Warszawa, were reconstructed in medieval fashion: only rarely, as at Szydlów, were modern building types used inside a town wall originating from Casimirius' town-building phase.[2] By far the greatest emphasis was placed on research into the medieval period, despite the scarceness of documentary and cartographic records when compared to countries with less turbulent histories. The literature of the post-war period on Polish urban development pre- c.1650, with its important phases of town planning, has recently been surveyed by Slater.[3] Research on the industrial and recent periods is less well-known and more scarce.

Table 1: Architectural periods in Poland

Style	Period
Romanesque	end C10th to C13th
Gothic	end C13th to end C15th/early C16th
Renaissance	C16th to mid-C17th
Baroque	mid-C17th to mid-C18th
Classical	1760 to 1850
Eclectic (Mannerism/Historicism)*	c. 1860-1895
Secesja**	1898-1905

* This style is very similar to English Victorian in its eclectic usage of historicist elements.

** Secesja is essentially Art Nouveau, and two varieties exist: indiginous Polish, and Viennese. The latter is important in Lódz because of its large German community. This is not important in Prussia as heavy Gothic was favoured during the Bismarck era.

Any examination of Polish planning history in the period c.1800 to the present must rely principally on case studies. There are very few integrative works. Many of these case studies are to be found in the journal *Kwartalnik architekury i urbanistyki*. Most are not written specifically by planning historians, but planning and architectural history nevertheless feature strongly in this journal. One recent major paper details aspects of the beginning of this modern period, in Trzebinski's examination of Alexander I and the town planning activity of the government of the Kingdom of Poland, 1815-1821.[4]

During the "Age of Enlightenment" in Poland, many decrees and actions sponsored by King Stanislaus Augustus aimed at improving the state of towns. These attempts culminated in 1791 with the formation of the Commission of the Police of the Two Nations, whose tasks included care of the improvement of living conditions in towns, and their good external state. The rapid fall of the Polish state curtailed this activity. It became current again during the Napoleonic period when the Polish administration of the Warsaw duchy arose. However, in wartime, economic circumstances did not permit further attempts to revitalise towns, and the impoverishment of the population, war damage, and the severe Russian occupation brought about a considerable state of building deterioration.

Alexander I of Russia ruled the Kingdom of Poland under the Vienna Congress of 20 June 1815, and he took a personal interest in urban regeneration. This activity soon gained such an extreme momentum, despite the country's poverty, that vast sums of public money were consumed. Alexander visited Warsaw in November of 1815, and considered that one of the most important tasks of the Polish government was the rapid growth and beautifying of Warsaw, to make it the equal of other European capitals. He wished to make a jewel of the Kingdom of Poland (*en faire un bijou*), and so other towns should also be planned and beautified. District authorities eagerly began work, especially in Kalisz, Lublin, Radom and Plock.

By mid-1818, the government's financial policy was threatened by a severe budget deficit, caused partly by the urban regeneration, and partly by the great cost of the army and the Tsar's residences. Alexander first halted all public work, but later rescinded this ban, so that work in Warsaw and district centres continued despite the lack of Treasury funds. By 1821 the financial situation was much worse, and enormous reductions in Treasury spending were introduced. The grandiose schemes for the replanning and rebuilding of Warsaw were halted in 1821-23, such activity as existed being concentrated on provincial towns with considerable resources, or new industrial towns.

One of the most important of these new industrial towns was Lódz, a new town in central Poland. The growth of this town shows a feature recognised elsewhere in Polish towns, the retention in the urban layout of relict features of rural settlement or agriculture.[5] In Lódz, because of its central location, position on trade routes, availability of fast-flowing clean water and wood, the decision was taken to establish a complete complex of all traditional branches of the (then unmechanised) cloth industry. In 1823 the New Town (*Noew Miasto*) was built as a cloth colony, south of the medieval old town. In 1924-8, a regular elongated linen and cotton weavers' settlement was built, southwards from the New Town. A stream here was later used for water power for a series of factories. The plan and plots of these regions were very regularly planned and laid out.[6] Some pre-urban features remain, notably boundaries of medieval fields and field strips, fossilised in plot boundaries evidently at an angle, not perpendicular, to main roads.[7] The town's population grew from 939 in 1820, 32,632 in 1860 to 500,000 in 1913. Up to that period, the city's population was multi-national and multi-denominational, consisting of Poles, Germans, Jews and Russians. The latter were fewer in number but represented the Tsarist authority. This led to a pluralism in styles and types of ecclesiastical architecture.[8] The German population was so large that, under occupation, the entire city was "germanised", except for a Jewish ghetto on the site of the Old Town.

In the post-war period, the Market Square area of the former ghetto was completely rebuilt, in line with the trend to reconstruction and emphasis of Polish history already noted. However, a heavy, crude architecture was used, with round-arched arcades around the square. Such arcades are a common feature in many Polish towns, but round-arched arcades are an alien feature in central Poland, being far more common in Little Poland and Silesia. Post-war planning in the central area, the former linen and cotton colony, has led to planning blight as properties are selected for redevelopment that cannot then be afforded; the demolition of frontage buildings (plot dominants) for street widening, revealing unsightly housing blocks lining the sides of plots,[9] and a decrease in the building coverage of plots (which had, up to this period, been increasing).[10]

Warsaw had a rather different pattern of urban growth to industrial towns such as Lódz in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Growth was not comprehensively planned, but there were areas deliberately laid-out and developed, such as garden suburb areas.[11] Here, there are distinct similarities with other large European cities in both planning and architecture: for example, valid comparisons could be made with Berlin up to the

inter-war period.

What is apparently lacking in Polish planning history are studies of the centrally-controlled Socialist system. Most towns and cities have great areas of block-housing; tower and deck-access blocks much larger in scale than anything in Britain - many now being heated with district heating plants, whose tall chimneys dominate the skyline. Many aspects of urban history and planning have been studied in detail, some small-scale studies approaching the detail of some British work.[12] This is unusual, given the lack of documentation associated with a bureaucratic planning system such as that of Britain, which facilitates studies of planning history and urban form. The larger urban area, especially the post-war areas of growth, has not been examined: this is a lack in our understanding of Polish planning history that may be remedied given the current social and political changes.

Notes

1. Slater, T.R. (1989) 'Medieval and Renaissance urban morphogenesis in eastern Poland' *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.15, No.3, pp.239-259, see p.239.

2. Kalinowski, W. (1986) *Zabytki urbanistyki i architektury w Polsce: vol. 1: Miasta historyczne* Arcady, Warszawa; Lukowski, J. (1947), ' Problemy zabytkowe Szydlowka' Pamietnic Kielecki; Lorentz, S. (1966) 'Reconstruction of the old town centres of Poland' *in* National Trust for Historic Preservation, *Historic preservation today*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.

3. Slater (1989) *op cit*.

4. Trzebinski, W. (1989) 'Aleksander I a dzialanosc urbanistyczna rzadu królestwa Polskiego w latach 1815-1821', *Kwartalnik architektury i urbanistyki*, Vol.34, No.1-2, pp.25-87.

5. Szulc, H. (1972) 'Village relict features within the spatial layout of some Polish towns', *Geografia Polonica*, Vol.24, pp.241-254.

6. Koter, M. (1969) *Geneza ukladu przestrzennego Lodzi przemysolwej* Instytut Geografii Polskiej Academii nank Prace Geograficzne nr. 79, Warszawa; Koter, M. (1990) 'The morphological evolution of a nineteenth-century city centre: Lodz, Poland, 1825-1973', In Slater, T.R. (Ed) *The built form of Western cities*, University Press, Leicester.

7. Koter (1969) *op cit*.

8. Stefanski, K. (1988) 'Architektura Sakralina Lodzi w latach 1860-1914', *Kwartalnik Architektury i urbanistyki*, Vol.33, No.2, pp.141-171.

9. Koter, M. and Wiktoriwska, D. (1976) ' Proces przemian morfologicznych srodmiescia Lodzi (w granicach bylei kolonii tkackiej) pod wplywem kszaltowania sie ogolnomiejskiego centrum uslugowego', *Acta Universitatis Lodzienses* (ser. II), Vol.7.

10. Koter (1990), *op cit*.

11. See Rogusta, J. (1986) 'Architektura i budownictwo mieszkanowie w Warsawie w drugiej Polowie XIX na poczatku XX wieku', *Kwartainik architektury i urbanistyki*, Vol.31, No.2, pp.151-198.

12. For example, Augustniak, M. (1977) 'Pasaz Meyera w Lodzi. Z dziejow dziewietnastowiecznej zabudowy miasta', *Kwartalnik architektury i urbanistyki*, Vol.22, No.1, pp.53-70.

The Glasgow Improvement Scheme as a Model of Urban Renewal

Brian Edwards
University of Strathclyde

At a time when the problem of the inner cities remains near the top of the political agenda, it is worth considering the solutions adopted when city centres last posed a major problem to politicians and administrators. This was, of course, in the mid-nineteenth century when the need for sanitary and social reform led to many street-based improvement schemes in Britain and Europe. The most famous, and by far the most ambitious, was Baron Haussmann's rebuilding of central Paris between 1853 and 1869 which influenced many cities, not least Glasgow where an official delegation made a visit to inspect the reconstruction within two months of Parliament approving its own Improvement Scheme in 1866.

Street-based urban reform

The Glasgow Improvement Scheme (Figure 1) was the most extensive of several in Victorian Britain, and was like that of Paris in many important respects. The 39 new streets approved by Parliament (increased by an amendment Act of 1871 to 44) established the street as the dominant element of urban reconstruction. The new and widened streets ordered some 88 acres of insanitary slum property originally housing about 50,000 people into regular, largely gridded, urban blocks suitable for redevelopment. But, as in Paris, the streets brought benefits beyond sanitary reform: they provided access to the new railway stations planned to ring the historic centre under the Union Railway Scheme of 1864. They opened up new views of the few historic monuments retained, they provided channels for urban ventilation, and they established a distribution network for threading the new services of water and drainage through the central slums.

The many benefits, both direct and indirect, of the new streets of Glasgow's Improvement Scheme were recognised by the City Architect John Carrick who master-planned the proposals. The new views of the cathedral formed by demolishing the
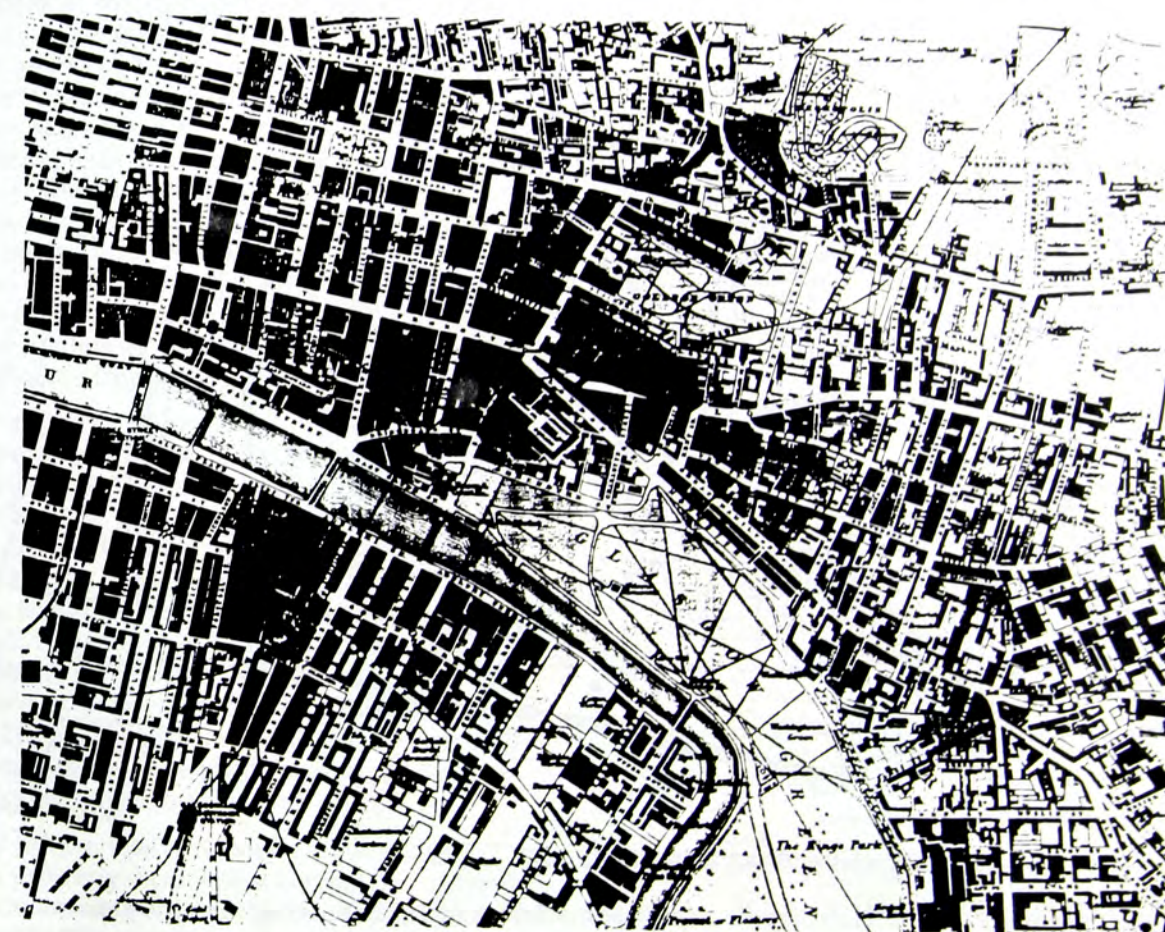

Figure 1. The Glasgow Improvement Scheme of 1866 showing the emphasis placed upon street construction

houses of Drygate, and of St Andrew's Church by the forming of James Morrison Street, were both deliberate, and when Trongate was realigned *The Architect* praised the view opened up of the Tron Church.[1] Likewise, Carrick positioned the new streets south of Gallowgate so that they allowed the fresh breezes of Glasgow Green to "make their way to places at present beyond their influence".[2] Both urban ventilation and vistas encouraged straightness of street layout, and this remained Carrick's principal objective when the largely diagrammatic parliamentary plans were translated into precise street lines (Figure 2).

The straight streets and gridded urban blocks effectively removed any semblance of the extensive medieval Old Town which once existed. The approach in Glasgow was quite unlike that in Edinburgh where the reconstruction of the Old Town under David Cousin from 1867 till about 1880 sought to preserve urban character by adopting curving streets and placing a requirement that new buildings should be "in harmony with those fine specimens of national architecture ... still to be found in great purity in so many of those neglected and overcrowded closes referred to".[3] In similar

spirit Provost William Chambers sought sanitary reform without demolishing properties fronting High Street (in order to preserve its picturesque lines), preferring instead to form ventilating courts behind by demolishing rear properties.[4] In Edinburgh, therefore, two factors encouraged a conservation orientated approach to urban reform: the retention of historic houses facing the principal streets, and modelling new buildings upon the style of the old.

No such sentiment existed in Glasgow: here the inspiration was Paris where the official delegation reported "we have much to learn from Paris ... and particularly modern Paris".[5] The delegation consisted of Provost John Blackie (the chief author of the Improvement Scheme), John Carrick, Dr William Gairdner (Medical Officer of Health) and Baille Raeburn (Chairman, Dean of Guild Court). The objective of the visit was to inspect the "reconstruction ... and great works which it was understood have been, and still are in progress to improve the sanitary condition, as well as the external aspect of the city".[6] Haussmann's extensive works were then well underway, but by no means finished, and besides inspecting the modern se-

wers and tenements, and visiting model lodging houses, the delegation looked closely at the "new streets and broad boulevards". For Paris represented the very partnership between sanitary and aesthetic reform which officials from Glasgow were anxious to follow, and one which placed the street pre-eminent amongst the many improvement initiatives.

Implementing the Improvement Scheme

Upon his return to Glasgow in August 1866 Carrick quickly became engaged upon property acquisition and street building using his new parliamentary powers. The priority in the city was to clear slums described earlier by *The Builder* as "old, crazy, dilapidated and sometimes ruinous" and as there was no drainage ... one will not pretend to describe the effect".[7] The parliamentary plans showed areas shaded for demolition with parallel lines delineated for the new streets. Their appearance is now unlike that of the Union Railway Scheme which Carrick admitted was one of the inspirations for the Improvement Act, and which also sought to take its constructions across the most insanitary areas of the city.

The rapid construction of streets which marked the first decade of the Improvement Scheme held several advantages for the Trustees. Sites were quickly made available for the warehouses and commercial developments attracted to central areas by the new railway stations. Streets were required to take the new services of water and sewerage across the city which not only improved public health but further encouraged business development in the centre. The streets also provided the principal means to regulate new development through the spatial controls of the Glasgow Police Acts and the feuing conditions applied on redevelopment by the Improvement Trustees.

By clearing away all the older property except for the four monuments deliberately preserved by Carrick (Cathedral, Tolbooth, Tron Church and St Andrew's Church), the City Architect was able to achieve comprehensive redevelopment. This allowed him to attract commercial land-uses into the area, thereby providing the financial means to achieve the partnership sought between sanitary and aesthetic reform. For whilst Parliament has sanctioned an expenditure of £1,200,00 (increased later to £1,500,000 and finally £2,000,000) an ever decreasing improvement rate was apparently required for provosts to remain in office.

Sanitary reform was achieved predominantly through property demolition carried out either by the Trustees or railway companies. Together the homes of 70,000 people were removed, or about an eighth of the population of Glasgow at the time. Although little attempt was made by the railway

companies to rehouse the 20,000 affected by its clearances, the Improvement Trust went further than is generally recognised in easing hardship.

Social housing provision and the Improvement Trust

The Improvement Trust's policy in the first decade of operation consisted of providing accommodation in four different ways. One important area concerned the conversion of grain mills which stood alongside the Molendinar Burn to provide temporary housing. One such was Bartholomews Mill converted to provide housing for 300 people at a cost of only £5 per person.[8] Mill conversion was cost effective and speedy, and allowed demolition to proceed without contravening Clause 28 of the Improvement Act which placed a limit of 500 upon the number of people who could be ejected every six months unless alternative accommodation was provided. In similar spirit the Trustees embarked upon the building of several model lodging houses initially for men but later for single women. Eight lodging houses were built capable of housing about 2,000 people on a nightly basis. Their design brought Carrick's rationalism to the fore (Figure 3); each had double bunks reached

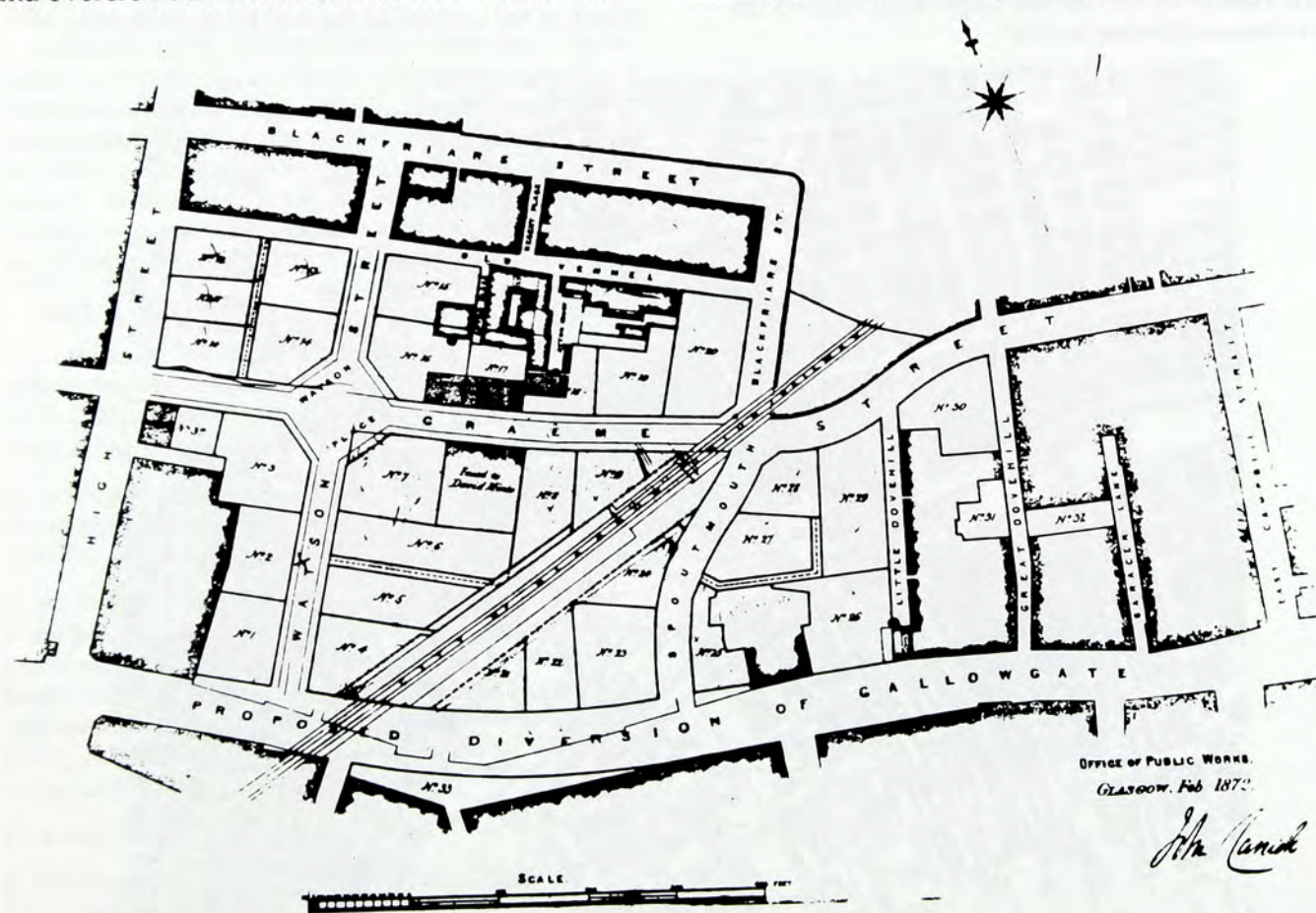Figure 2. The Feuing Plan for Gallowgate and Graeme Street of 1872 showing the straightness of earlier street lines compromised by the practicalities of implementation (especially with regard to the Union Railway Scheme). Notice the square planned at the intersection between Walton Street and Graeme Street.
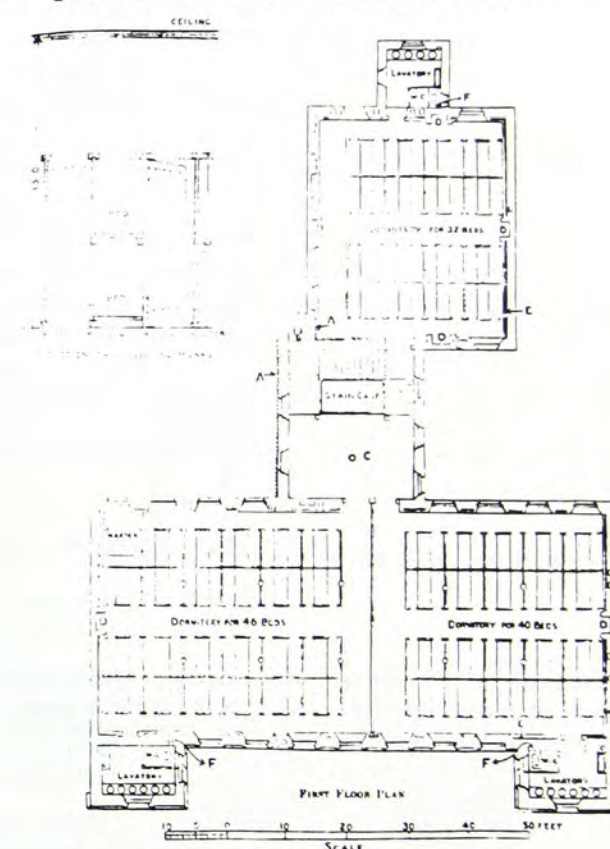

Figure 3. Clyde Street Lodging House of 1870 showing Carrick's rationalism with regard to the planning of new building types

from opposite sides rather in the fashion of the immigrant ships then familiar on the Clyde, and incorporated an ingenious system of ventilating flues. The third aspect of Trustee housing was the construction between 1866 and 1870 of a handful of family tenements intended to set an example for private house builders to follow (Figure 4), these early tenements represent the first purpose-built municipal family housing in Glasgow. Taken together the conversions, model lodgings and model tenements housed about 3,000 people in a fashion which favoured single people rather than families.
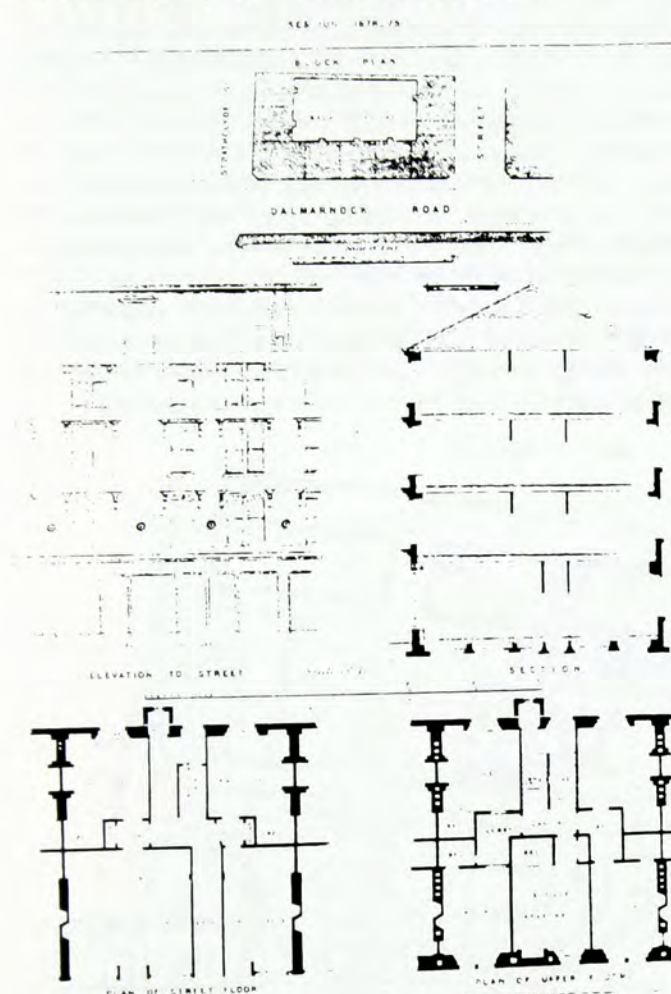

Figure 4. Model family tenements erected in Dalmarnock Road by Glasgow Town Council under the Improvement Scheme.

Suburban estate development for the working classes

By 1870 Trustees were becoming increasingly concerned over hardship caused to whole families, and the apparent reluctance of private builders to construct accommodation for their needs. After much deliberation it was decided to embark upon a programme of suburban estate development specifically to meet the requirements of working class families.[9] A prime mover was James Salom, a Glasgow architect, town councillor since 1860 and Trustee of the Improvement Scheme. In various publications over the previous decade he had argued for the construction of townships for the labouring classes on the edge of Glasgow whereby houses could be built as cottages with gardens. In an article published just two months earlier he had called for the erection of four or five new towns, each capable of housing 10-20,000 people and hence sufficient to house all those affected by the Improvement Scheme.[10] Salmon has little time for the potentially unhealthy tenement with its lack of space and ventilation, and sought instead a garden city approach. With such interests it is no surprise to find he was one of the Trustees given authority to acquire two estates, and subsequently approved Carrick's masterplans and feuing conditions for their development.

Both sites were on the edge of the city, Overnewton in the Anderston area was bought for £35,000 and Oatlands near Rutherglen Road for £24,040. Salmon was a natural choice to oversee the development: his talents as an architect lay principally in estate work and his masterplan for the Dennistoun area prepared in 1854 combined a pleasant blend of urban and landscape elements. Carrick's plan for each consists of rectangular (rather than square) urban blocks spreading outwards from a central tree-planted square. At Oatlands a riverside park was also provided linked axially through to the central square, and here the streets are named after trees (oak, lime, pine, etc.) suggesting the intention of a leafy suburb. At Overnewton (Figure 5) streets are named after provosts of Glasgow (Blackie, Arthur, etc.). The plan of both estates is not unlike W.H. Crossland's layout of Akroyden in Yorkshire, prepared in 1861 to house 44 mill workers, which also features a central square surrounded by rectangular street blocks.

Only the central spaces feature tree planting (laid out at a cost of 15 shillings a square yard); elsewhere the townscape was hard edged by buildings four storeys high, in spite of Salmon's preference for low density suburbs. Cost no doubt forced the Trustees to abandon cottages and build in traditional tenements, and the feuing conditions called for buildings four square storeys high (i.e. without gables to the street) and faced in dressed or polished ashlar. As elsewhere attic and basement storeys were prohibited, as was industry, by feuing controls which were, in Scottish fashion, made a condition of land sale. To ensure the flats were of a truly working class kind, they had to be of no more than two apartments, and many were in fact single rooms (Figure 6).
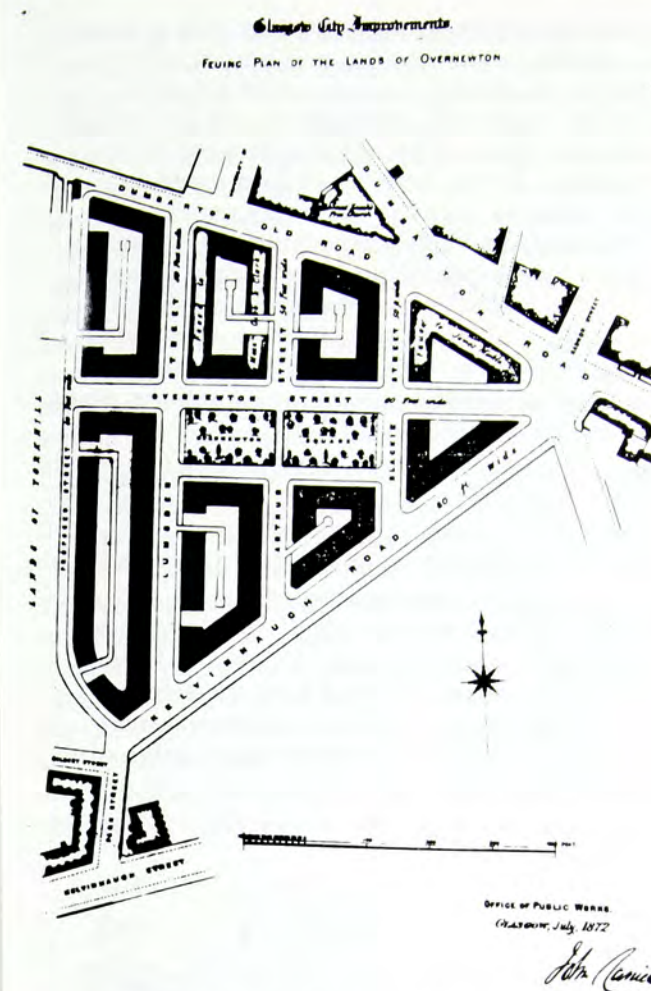

Figure 5. Suburban estate of Overnewton developed by the Glasgow Improvement Trustees from 1872-75

Even if the suburban ideal was compromised by the realities of a tenemental landscape, the width of streets and amount of un-built land establish these two estates as model suburbs for the working-class. As such they represent one of the earliest ventures into such a field by a municipal authority in the UK and follow Haussmann's similar annexation of suburban land for working class needs in Paris. To many on the Improvement Trust suburban development represented a more cost-effective path to reform than direct house construction, and did so without appearing to compete with private builders. It also proved profitable: land at Oatlands which was bought for 8 shillings a square yard was sold after street and sewer construction for 18 shillings, apparently without difficulty.[11] In total, space existed in both estates for about 2,100 flats, capable of housing some 8,000 people.

Criticism was made by architects, such as John Honeyman, that suburban development displaced workers too far from their jobs, but often the pattern in Glasgow was for the workforce to travel out from the centre to the mills and factories of the sub-

urbs. Moreover, under the 1870 Glasgow Tramway Act (promoted by the Council) cheap fares were introduced to encourage what the City Architect told Parliament would lead to a "scattering to the suburbs (of) the industrious classes who are centred in the city."[12] It is clear that suburban relocation was favoured, not just to allow the central improvements to proceed smoothly, but to promote the health and welfare of Glasgow people, and the process was encouraged by whatever means were available to the Town Council.

Suburban relocation had, of course, been the path followed by Glasgow University just a couple of years earlier. The flight to Gilmorehill was the result of a search for a better environment and space to provide the new teaching rooms anxiously needed. The University too considered for a time Overnewton as a site before choosing the more elevated, and hence better ventilated, Gilmorehill estate. The means to make such an elaborate migration was made possible by the Union Railway Act 1864 which effectively provided the powers to buy the High Street College lands from the University for £120,000. In a sense the University legitimised suburban relocation as an answer to sanitary and environment problems, and it is no coincidence to discover that Glasgow's part-time medical officer of health, Dr William Gairdner, was also a professor of medicine at the University and sat on the College Removal Committee.

Building and feuing controls

Gairdner and Carrick both believed that the suburbs held the prospect of a healthier life, a belief confirmed by the MOH's Statistics (Table 1) and both favoured central redevelopment which introduced space and light to the city. Two main means were adopted to achieve this end. The Glasgow Police Acts of 1862 and 1866 prepared by Carrick and defended before a doubting parliamentary committee, established controls on the height of

Table 1
Death rates in Glasgow in 1872 as a percentage of population by wards

High Street (West)	.39
St Andrew's Square	.37
High Street (East)	.36
Bridgegate	.35
Woodside	.23
Kelvinhaugh	.20
Blythswood	.19

Based upon Medical Officer of Health Report for 1872 published in *The Builder*, 18 April 1874

buildings relative to the width of streets at the front and the size of courts to the rear. No building (except a public one) could be higher than the width of the street it faced, and as most streets were 40-50 feet wide it limited new construction to four, and occasionally five storeys high. Sleeping rooms were required to have a full ten feet ceiling height, and basements and attic storeys were prohibited for housing. Under an amendment of 1866 rear courts were required to be one and a half times the height of the tenement back wall, though the wording was ambiguous. As a result the city became spacious to the front and rear, and urban blocks became developed on four sides with a fairly generous unbuilt centre. As the street pattern was gridded, the hollow-cored tenement became the norm for housing warehouses or offices. This too was the main basis for the rebuilding of the Old Town (Figure 6) until the regulations were relaxed in 1892. The resulting townscape gave Glasgow a consistent basecourse of buildings above which rose the spires and towers of churches and other public buildings. It was a pattern which reinforced Carrick's alignment of certain streets upon historic monuments to make them more visible, since they too rose above the more recent rooftops.

The other controlling means applied only to areas of the Improvement Scheme, and here conditions attached to the feuing (or sale) of land were intended to promote the enhancement of appearance witnessed in Paris. Four conditions were consistently applied by the Trustees to land made available for building once the necessary street improvements had been carried out. Buildings as in Ingram Street were to be "four square storeys high", of "polished ashlar of a white pile", with "slate roofs" and land-uses such as soap-making, brewing or tanning were prohibited.[13] Moreover, Carrick had power to approve the elevations, plans and establish building lines.[14]

In other locations, as at Bain Street which was away from the commercial centre, the Trustees sought to promote the construction of "dwelling houses for mechanics, labourers and other persons of the working and poorer classes "and such buildings were to exist" exclusively of dwelling houses of one room or one room and kitchen."[15] Feuing conditions, therefore, allowed both the achievement of urban order and enhanced appearance, and where necessary encouraged the meeting of social housing needs.

John Carrick as a Pioneer of Urban Planning

The Glasgow Improvement Scheme was, therefore, highly regulated and strictly controlled by a Town Council operating through Improvement Trustees who were all elected members serving under the chairmanship of the Lord Provost. The Chief Technical Officer, the City Architect John Carrick, supervised the work and liaised closely with the other agencies of urban reform, namely, the railway companies and, to a degree, the university. The improvement street allowed Carrick to organise the reconstruction to a high degree. It allowed him to establish a network of public underground services within the congested and insanitary centre, it provided the basis for spatial controls under the Police Acts, and amenity controls through feuing conditions. Moreover, the street provided the means to establish vistas and create channels of ventilation.

The reconstruction was, therefore, highly rational in all regards, but it was a rationalism which grew from two important aspects of Carrick's design background and personality. As both architect and engineer he had the necessary qualifications to deal with the installation of elaborate public services such as the modern water supply and sewerage system upon which a growing industrial and

commercial city depended. His dual qualifications allowed him to liaise on equal terms with the great engineers of the Victorian age, men such as Sir John Hawkshaw and Sir Joseph Bazalgette who were engaged upon railway or sewerage works in Glasgow, and who both incidently supported his Fellowship election to the Institute of Civil Engineers.[16]

Carrick's rationalism grew also from the late classicism which existed as a design force well into the middle of the nineteenth century in Glasgow. Architects such as David Hamilton, and later Charles Wilson and Alexander Thomson kept a vibrant classicism alive in Glasgow when picturesque revivalism was sought elsewhere. This rather abstracted strand of classicism is found in Carrick's straight streets, his use of proportional harmonies both in facade modulation (Figure 7), and more importantly in the space relationship created between building height and street width. Classicism explains the use of monuments to terminate views, and the urban squares created around public buildings and at major crossroads.

Unlike much urban renewal today, the reconstruction of Glasgow was highly planned and strictly

Figure 6. View of a re-aligned and reconstructed Gallowgate with the Tolbooth Steeple in distance (c.1878). Notice the Parisian influence in the detailing of the block to the right

Figure 7. Working class tenements erected in Saltmarket in 1888 for the Improvement Trustees by John Carrick showing his use of classical ordering

Articles

regulated. The degree of planning and control by the Town Council through the Improvement Trustees should dispel the myth that Glasgow's pre-eminent position in the nineteenth century was the result of an unplanned, market-led ethic within the City Chambers. Nothing could be further from the truth; the partnerships of interest spread across public and private fields, and spanned social, sanitary and aesthetic matters. The new streets provided the means to carry out the largest reconstruction in Victorian Britain in a fashion which leaves our century's biggest urban rebuilding in London Docklands looking decidedly unplanned, unregulated and ultimately unsatisfactory. For by abandoning all the traditional elements of spatial control, and particularly the coordinating fashion of the street, there are now insufficient vehicles to create order within this deregulated environment. Nineteenth century Glasgow offers useful lessons in urban planning to stand alongside the more familiar ones in urban architecture.

References (Planning Perspectives)

1. *The Architect*, Vol.51, 1893, p.480.

2. *The Scotsman*, 6 December 1869.

3. David Cousin and John Lessels, "Report and Plan of Edinburgh Improvements", 17 August 1866. Pamphlet 3/1919 NLS.

4. William Chambers, "Lord Provost's Statement to Town Council Respecting Sanitary Improvements", 5 December 1865. Pamphlet 3/1919 NLS.

5. "Notes of Personal Observations and Inquiries ... on the City Improvements of Paris", 1866, no author. Municipal Report D-TC 14.2.2, Report 27, p.9, SRA.

6. Ibid, p.7.

7. *The Builder*, Vol.20, 1862, p.69.

8. *The Scotsman*, 6 December 1869.

9. City Improvement Trust Minutes for 1870, Vol.1, p.347.

10. James Salmon, "Sanitary Aspects of Architecture as exhibited in the City of Glasgow". Paper to the Glasgow Architectural Society reported in *The Builder*, Vol.28, 1870, p.309.

11. City Improvement Trust Minutes for 1870, Vol.1, p.434.

12. John Kellett, *Glasgow: A Concise History* (London: Blond Educational, 1967, p.56).

13. See for example Register of Sassines for Glasgow, Vol.598, p.182.

14. Register of Sassines for Glasgow, Vol.597, p.232.

15. City Improvement Trust, Miscellaneous Contracts 1866-80, F14.13, Box 1, SRA.

16. Letter and nomination papers signed by John Hawkshaw dated 28 January 1877. Institute of Civil Engineers, Fellowship Nomination Papers.

Home Rule and Garden Suburb Ideals in Ireland Before 1914

Murray Fraser
Oxford Polytechnic

From 1911 to 1914 there was a determined attempt, involving many of the leading British exponents of town planning, to introduce garden suburb ideals to Ireland. Although unsuccessful, this brief crusade did produce a series of remarkable initiatives. These included the 1914 Dublin Town Plan Competition, won by Abercrombie, and the housing report produced by Geddes and Unwin for Dublin Corporation at the outbreak of the First World War. Recent accounts of this episode however have not explained clearly why town planning failed to establish itself in pre-war Ireland.[1] This paper will argue that this failure can only be explained by two factors: firstly, because town planning protagonists did not appreciate the ideological gap between their ideas and the preoccupation in Ireland with Home Rule, and secondly, because they did not take into account the relation of the Irish housing debate to that in Britain. In this sense early garden suburb theory proved extremely limited when applied to a country like Ireland.

Home rule and garden suburb ideals

Home Rule - the central demand of the Irish Parliamentary Party on behalf of the majority of Irish people, but rejected by Unionists including most of Ulster - had polarised British and Irish politics from the 1880s. The result in Ireland was a complete politicisation of all aspects of life, with the key question asked about any initiative being whether it would help or hinder British rule. Gladstone's attempts in 1886 and 1893 to grant a measure of independence to Ireland had been defeated by combined opposition from Ulster Unionists, Conservatives, and Liberal Unionists. The landslide Liberal Government of 1906 decided against a further attempt to pass Home Rule, because it knew this would simply be vetoed by the House of Lords. Instead it concentrated on the popular social reform legislation known as the 'New Liberalism'.

Likewise the Irish Parliamentary Party turned to social legislation in the face of its inability to deliver Home Rule.[2] Success in winning improvements in Irish social conditions enabled it both to defend the legitimacy of constitutional nationalism against

other approaches (such as the abstentionism of Sinn Fein), and to deter the development of an independent working class political party in Ireland. One key policy was social housing, and here the Irish Party's single-minded concern was to extract state subsidy from the Imperial Treasury.[3] This it believed was only fair redress for what was seen as the long economic exploitation and over-taxation of Ireland. As one Irish Party MP put it, "finance and finance alone was the means whereby to remedy the grievance."[4] In 1906 they achieved a major increase in the subsidy under the existing rural housing code called the Labourers (Ireland) Acts. The Irish Party then turned its attention to urban housing. The 1908 Irish Housing Act introduced the first state subsidy for housing in towns, and the party's leader John Redmond declared triumphantly that it was "an entire innovation; there is nothing of the kind known in the legislation of England or of Scotland."[5] This urban subsidy was much less than the Irish Parliamentary Party had hoped for, and so it immediately began to push for an increase. But the Irish Party had no doubts that this was the only way to tackle the housing question, with Redmond claiming that his party had "set an example to Great Britain."[6] The policy of state subsidy became known as the "Irish system", and soon came to the attention of those interested in housing matters in Britain. The Rural League visited Ireland in 1911, and the National Housing and Town Planning Council followed the year after. Irish precedent formed the basis for pre-war demands by Conservatives for British housing subsidy, but was rejected by Liberals such as John Burns, who held that Ireland was a special case which had required unique solutions.

Meanwhile the constitutional crisis of 1910-11, provoked when the House of Lords rejected Lloyd George's famous "People's Budget", had transformed the whole political situation. The re-elected Liberal Government immediately passed legislation which reduced the Lords' power to a delaying power only. The way was now open for the introduction of the 3rd Home Rule Bill in 1912. However, the Bill failed to make any allowances for Ulster, and fierce Unionist opposition plunged the Cabinet into an escalating crisis that paralysed its social policies.[7] The preoccupation with Home Rule and the 'Ulster Crisis' also meant that the Irish Parliamentary Party was now able to pay less attention to social issues, such as increasing the level of urban housing subsidy. All this contributed to an unstable situation in pre-war Ireland in which other social movements, many from Britain, were able to acquire an importance previously denied to them. Perhaps the most renowned of these was the rapid organisation of unskilled labour through James Larkin's and James Connolly's socialist Irish Transport and General Workers Union. Another was British town plan-

ning, meaning more precisely the combination of Geddesian social theory and Unwinian garden suburb planning.

The beginnings of the town planning movement in pre-war Ireland

Up till 1911 there had been no real Irish town planning movement, only a few isolated supporters.[8] This is not surprising, given that Ireland was not fertile ground for those advocating garden cities or garden suburbs. Ireland's slow industrial growth compared to Britain, and its predominantly agricultural economy, meant that it had neither the proliferation of ugly manufacturing towns nor the tradition of intellectual critiques of industrial urbanisation which had prompted the communitarian ideals of Howard and Unwin. The few industrial towns that existed in Ulster prided themselves on being well housed, a complacent attitude best summed up in a lecture by a Belfast Corporation official in 1911 entitled "How a Town Succeeded without the Town-Planning Act."[9] Instead the majority of Irish towns were seen as suffering from economic decay rather than the problems created by unregulated urban expansion. The slums of Dublin in particular were frequently, and rightly, described as the worst in the United Kingdom.[10] Hence the Irish Party's spokesman dismissed John Burns' 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act on the grounds that it was "largely concerned with the planning of new towns, whereas our concern, unfortunately, is rather to do with we can to prevent old towns from becoming absolute ruins."[11]

However, the certainty that British town planning had no relevance to Ireland became less convincing in the conditions of political uncertainty over Home Rule from 1911. Now that the planning movements in Britain and abroad were receiving greater official recognition through events such as the 1910 RIBA Town Planning Conference, they could no longer be so easily ignored. Even more important in Irish terms were the growing calls for the civic aggrandisement of Dublin in anticipation that it would soon become a real capital city once more.

But if the focus for town planning in pre-war Ireland fell on Dublin, there is no doubt that the impetus derived from Britain (or more accurately, Scotland). The main protagonists were the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Aberdeen, and his indefatigable wife, Lady Ishbel Aberdeen. Both were well known as Gladstonian Liberals and devout Christian social reformers, and Lady Aberdeen had won international recognition for her crusading work against tuberculosis in Ireland. They were concerned to find a way to heal the growing divisions in Irish society, which were now appearing

between capital and labour as well as between Nationalists and Unionists. In 1911 Lord and Lady Aberdeen visited Patrick Geddes' Cities and Town Planning Exhibition while it was in Edinburgh, and felt they had found the answer. Geddes after all claimed that his new discipline of "Civics", and its physical application through town planning, represented the best means of ensuring the beneficial social evolution of mankind.[12] He believed that by recapturing the lost values of citizenship, which he felt had existed in the pre-industrial city, there would be a regeneration of urban life that would sweep away the unhealthy industrial cities and the blind values of political nationalism. Meller has noted that Geddes' message of creating "social peace" through civic reconstruction had strong appeal for liberal administrators in troubled colonial provinces, such as Lord Aberdeen and his wife.[13] In return, Geddes saw Ireland as an excellent testing ground for his theories precisely because of its extremely complex social problems. He felt that political and economic factors had held back the evolutionary growth of cities such as Dublin, and that it would be his role to reveal this and to point the way towards harmony through civic endeavour.[14] In this Geddes saw himself following the work of Sir Horace Plunkett, who had long championed agricultural cooperativism in Ireland as a means of turning attention away from Home Rule and towards social and economic progress.

Town planning in Ireland received its first major impetus when in 1911 Lord and Lady Aberdeen twice in the same year invited Geddes to bring his Cities and Town Planning Exhibition to Dublin. The first opportunity was at the "Ui Breasail" exhibition in late May and early June. Lord and Lady Aberdeen failed in their attempt to get John Burns to open the exhibition, but nevertheless a distinguished field of lecturers including Lord Leverhulme, Stanley Adshead and Henry Vivian came over to supplement talks given by Geddes and his assistant Frank Mears.[15] The exhibition went on briefly to Belfast, where it failed to make much impression, before going to Canada. In August 1911 it returned to Dublin for the Royal Institute of Public Health Congress, where again British experts lectured in connection. By now Geddes had become the dominant influence over the nascent Irish planning movement.

The main outcome of these two exhibitions was the formation in September 1911 of the Housing and Town Planning Association of Ireland. The president of this body was Lady Aberdeen, and most of its membership was comprised of social reformers from the professional and business classes, such as E.A. Aston and D.A. Chart. Architects and engineers dealing with housing work were also well represented, including the Dublin City Architect, Charles MacCarthy, and the Chief Engineering In-

spector of the Irish Local Government Board, Dr Peter Cowan. The message of the Housing and Town Planning Association was that both aspects of its title could not be separated, and that the way forward was through a combination of Geddesian ideas about civic duty, and the building - not of garden cities - but of Unwinian garden suburbs to replace the chronic slums in Irish cities. The association campaigned for the extension of British town planning legislation to Ireland, and for a civic survey to be carried out in Dublin. Much of its time was spent in organising a series of exhibitions and conferences.

The most important of these conferences was that on "Housing and Town Development", held as part of the Housing and Town Planning Association's first annual meeting in October 1912. This was attended by many Irish municipal representatives, and resulted in a deputation being sent to Lord Lieutenant Aberdeen to demand that the subsidy terms under the Labourers Acts be given also to urban working class housing. In December 1912 a separate body called the Association of Municipal Authorities of Ireland was formed specifically to take over this agitation for urban housing subsidy, now that the Irish Parliamentary Party was no longer taking the lead. From this point the Housing and Town Planning Association virtually ignored the question of housing finance in order to concentrate fully on town planning propaganda. A look now at the reaction of Irish groups to garden suburb ideals will show that this division of responsibilities was to prove disastrous.

Reactions to town planning ideals in pre-war Ireland

In Britain the claim of the garden city movement to be able to solve the problems of urban growth and housing conditions while leaving the existing social system intact, meant that it managed to appeal to all political parties and to a wide spectrum of opinion from wealthy industrialists such as Lever to socialists such as Unwin.[16] Clearly figures such as Geddes felt that a similar message could potentially bring together otherwise antagonistic parties in Ireland.

However, the attitude of Irish groups towards garden suburb ideals was more complicated. Unionists outside Ulster were open to ideas of social reform and formed an important part of bodies such as the Housing and Town Planning Association. But much of their effectiveness depended on an alliance with Ulster Unionists; although it has already been noted that the latter had no real interest in housing matters, nor could they be convinced of the importance of town planning while the Home Rule controversy raged. While it is clear that the radical labour movement in pre-war Dublin fa-

voured garden suburb housing, its leaders vilified the middle class social reformers whom they claimed had appropriated these ideals. Instead Larkin and Connolly pinned their hopes on the election of labour municipal representatives who would then enact real progress in working class housing. But in the event this group had no success in breaking the Irish Party's hegemony over local politics.

Indeed it was the Irish Parliamentary Party, representing a broad and heterogenous mixture of moderate nationalists, that held the key to the fate of garden suburb ideals. Although dominated by shopkeepers and publicans in towns, the Irish Party also drew much support from the urban working classes. The Town Tenants League had been set up within its ranks to win the same tenancy rights and rent protection which had been granted to rural labourers, and it was this body that kept urging onto the Irish Party the need for urban housing subsidy. The main mover of the Town Tenants League was Coughlan Briscoe, a councillor on Dublin Corporation. Briscoe became personally interested in town planning, visiting many examples in Britain and the Continent. After representing Dublin Corporation at the 1910 RIBA Town Planning Conference, on his return he recommended that the municipality should build a garden suburb at Marino. A similar interest in town planning ideals was also found amongst other individual representatives of nationalist municipalities, several of whom were members of the Housing and Town Planning Association. Leading examples were Councillor Lorcan Sherlock, the pre-war Lord Mayor of Dublin Corporation, and Councillor Charles O'Neill, Chairman of Pembroke Council.

However, despite this element of municipal support, the Irish town planning movement was unable to win over the Irish Parliamentary Party because it failed to deal directly with the key question of urban housing subsidy. Thus, while the Irish Party was ready to back the demands of the Association of Municipal Authorities for increased aid from the Imperial Treasury, it pointedly did not give any help to the Housing and Town Planning Association. "Picturesque sites, artistic plans, and aesthetic disposition of the houses are desirable", wrote the nationalist *Freemans Journal*, "but the main point is to secure that the houses will be let at rents within the means of the working classes."[17] This line was taken even further by the Irish Party's housing spokesman, J.J. Clancy. In 1913 he bluntly told the Chief Secretary for Ireland that what was wanted was "not town-planning, or such ornamental development, but something that will house the people afresh in those localities in which now the conditions of life are abominable and intolerable."[18] The accusation that town plan-

ning had nothing to offer in terms of the financial problem of housing, meant that it was unable to overcome the indifference towards urban issues shown by large sections of the Irish Party's supporters, including the Catholic Church.

It was also an argument that played straight into the hands of the Sinn Fein party, which rejected outright any ideas or policy that stemmed from Britain. Sinn Fein was still a small group but had influential representatives within Dublin Corporation, particularly on the Housing Committee in the shape of Alderman Thomas Kelly and Councillor William Cosgrave (later the first President of the Irish Free State). Kelly soon became the most trenchant opponent of town planning within the Corporation, arguing persuasively that because unskilled casual labour predominated in Dublin, then the municipality must concentrate on providing cheap dwellings as close as possible to sources of work in the city centre. Due to the efforts of Kelly above all, plans for a garden suburb at Marino were frustrated, and town planning sympathisers remained a minority in the pre-war Dublin Corporation.

The intensification of the town planning campaign in 1913-14

Thus the Housing and Town Planning Association had made little impact in Ireland during its first two years. It saw, however, a major opportunity for advancement as a result of the bitter industrial confrontation which broke out in Dublin from August 1913. Now Larkin's Irish Transport and General Workers Union was engaged in a battle with the Dublin employers over the very future of capitalism in Ireland. What began as a mass lock-out soon became virtually an enforced general strike involving some 25,000 of the city's unskilled workers. Although the employers were finally victorious, and the Irish labour movement suffered an irreversible blow, the episode involved a massive social upheaval likened to civil war. During the strike many observers argued that Dublin's appalling slums were the breeding ground for unrest and constituted a damning indictment of the present social system.

The supporters of garden suburb ideals such as Lady Aberdeen and E.A. Aston lost no time in advocating town planning and better housing as the only solution. One outcome of the labour unrest was the unique official inquiry held by the Irish Local Government Board in 1913-14 into housing conditions in Dublin. Lord and Lady Aberdeen, along with others in the Housing and Town Planning Association, tried strenuously to have this turned into a Vice-Regal Commission to which could be appointed a town planning expert. In this they failed, even though Lord Aberdeen appears to

have lobbied Prime Minister Asquith directly.[19] Instead testimony on town planning was given to the inquiry by Geddes and Aston, both of whom specifically urged the adoption of Unwinian garden suburbs. However, the final Irish Local Government Board report played down town planning claims, save in a minority report by one of the inquiry team, and instead concentrated on a carefully worded advocation of increased state subsidy for a large housing programme in Dublin.

Thus for the Housing and Town Planning Association the 1913-14 Dublin Housing Inquiry was a lost chance. In order to keep up the momentum, in January 1914 Lord and Lady Aberdeen launched two initiatives both apparently suggested by Geddes. One was to hold the first Civic Exhibition in the United Kingdom, similar to that held in Ghent in 1913 and that planned for Lyons that year. The other initiative was the well-known 1914 Dublin Town Plan Competition.

There were two aims behind the Civic Exhibition. One was the Geddesian notion of focussing on "Civics" and town planning as a means of overcoming the social divisions revealed by the Dublin strike. A brochure for the exhibition stated that it would *"not be by the exertions of the few but by the hearty co-operation of all classes* that real progress will be made", and Geddes called on Ireland to "take a definite and historic place in this movement for citizenship which was now manifestly becoming a central movement throughout the world."[20] A Civics Institute was formed to make the exhibition into a permanent campaign, with Lord and Lady Aberdeen as its joint Presidents. Geddes ran a Summer School which spelt out the need for a civic survey. The second aim of the 1914 Civic Exhibition was to address the thorny issue of Irish economic under-development, by promoting the American theory that only town planning could ensure that cities would work as effective instruments of production and consumption. Several of those associated with what became the 'City Functional' movement, and especially the 'Boston-1915' campaign, were brought over to put this view.[21] The leading US planner John Nolen, described as being Irish-American, was engaged as manager of the Civic Exhibition and immediately began to stress economic factors. "Unless there is some hard town-planning done", warned Nolen, "...Dublin will slip back."[22] A later brochure for the exhibition claimed that it would "show how Dublin can be made a better and more profitable place to do business in."[23]

The Civic Exhibition opened on 15 July 1914 with much pomp. It had a wide range of exhibits, but pride of place was given to the housing and town planning section. This showed many planning exemplars from the USA, Germany and elsewhere, but above all praised the British garden city tradi-

tion. Visitors were left in no doubt that, as the *Irish Architect* noted of the housing schemes on show, "the Irish designs are not as a rule up to the standard of the English."[24] The Civic Exhibition was held in the refurbished Linenhall Barracks, which Lord Aberdeen tried secretly to have given over permanently as a museum for the new Civics Institute. But despite his appeals to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George, the Treasury rejected this suggestion on the grounds that "to give this away to even a much deserving enterprise would be tantamount to assisting it from public funds."[25] Due to the outbreak of war the Civic Exhibition did not receive as many visitors as anticipated. However, its main failing was that it patently did not help to reconcile Irish factions as intended. Several Unionist municipalities, including Belfast Corporation, declined to attend in the light of the escalating 'Ulster Crisis' over Home Rule. The exhibition also failed to attract Dublin's casual poor, partly because of entrance charges and partly because Larkin called on his supporters to treat the exhibition with contempt. Only on the last day was entrance made free, and the working classes responded by making off with much of the furniture and exhibits! Geddes typically tried to gloss over this episode, fantasising that "'each thief

would now have a model of a little cottage on his mantlepiece, and that would show him the sort of place he should be living in, instead of the slums.'"[26]

The second initiative launched in January 1914 was the Dublin Town Plan Competition. Lord Aberdeen offered a £500 prize, and Geddes and Nolen were appointed as judges along with the Dublin City Architect. Since all agreed that a full civic survey would have to be held before any plan was decided on, the competition was always intended more to produce ideas and publicity. The key stipulation of the brief was to provide for the 14,000 new dwellings recommended by the Dublin Housing Inquiry, but this was to be blended with the reorganisation of the transport system and land use generally in Dublin and its environs. Judgement of the entries was delayed because of the First World War, until heated debate over the rebuilding of areas destroyed in the 1916 Easter Rising prompted Lord Aberdeen and the Civics Institute into action. Patrick Abercrombie was declared the winner. His approach was typical of the 'Liverpool School' in that it combined a Geddesian approach with US 'Beaux Arts' monumental planning in central areas and neo-Georgian suburban housing estates (Figs 1 & 2). Abercrombie re-
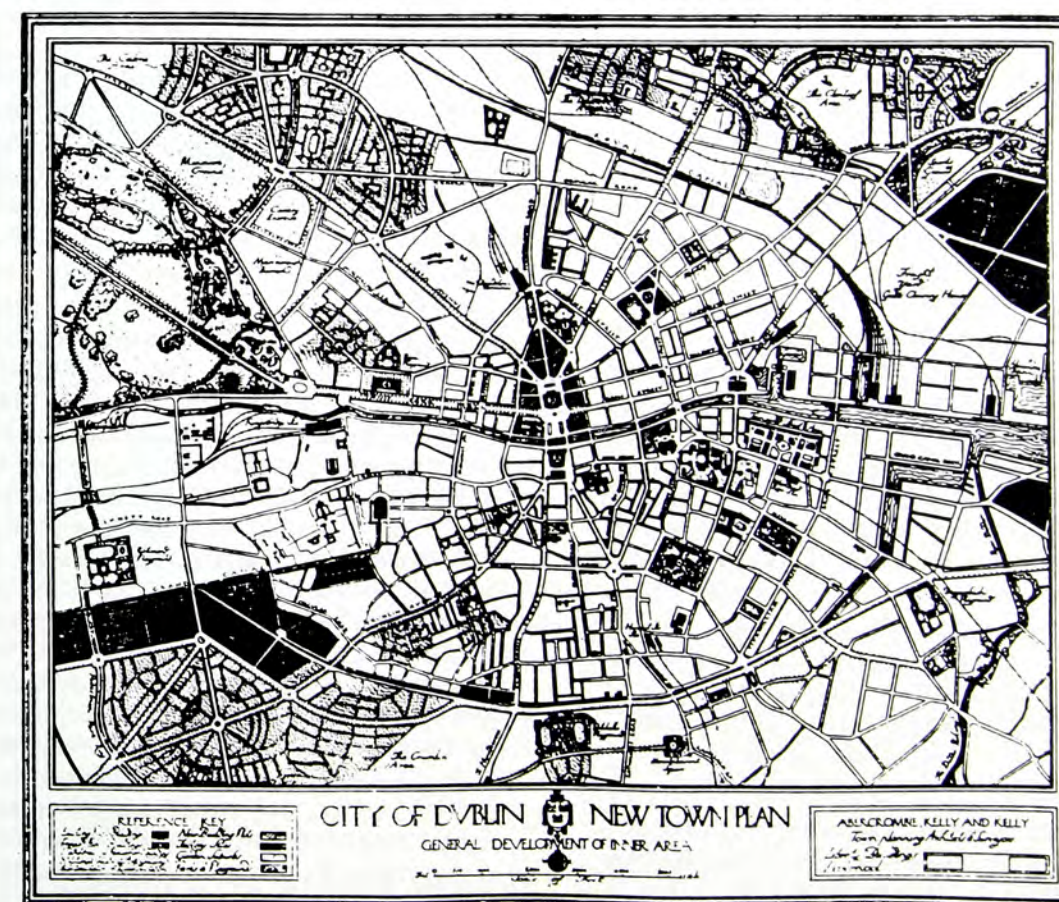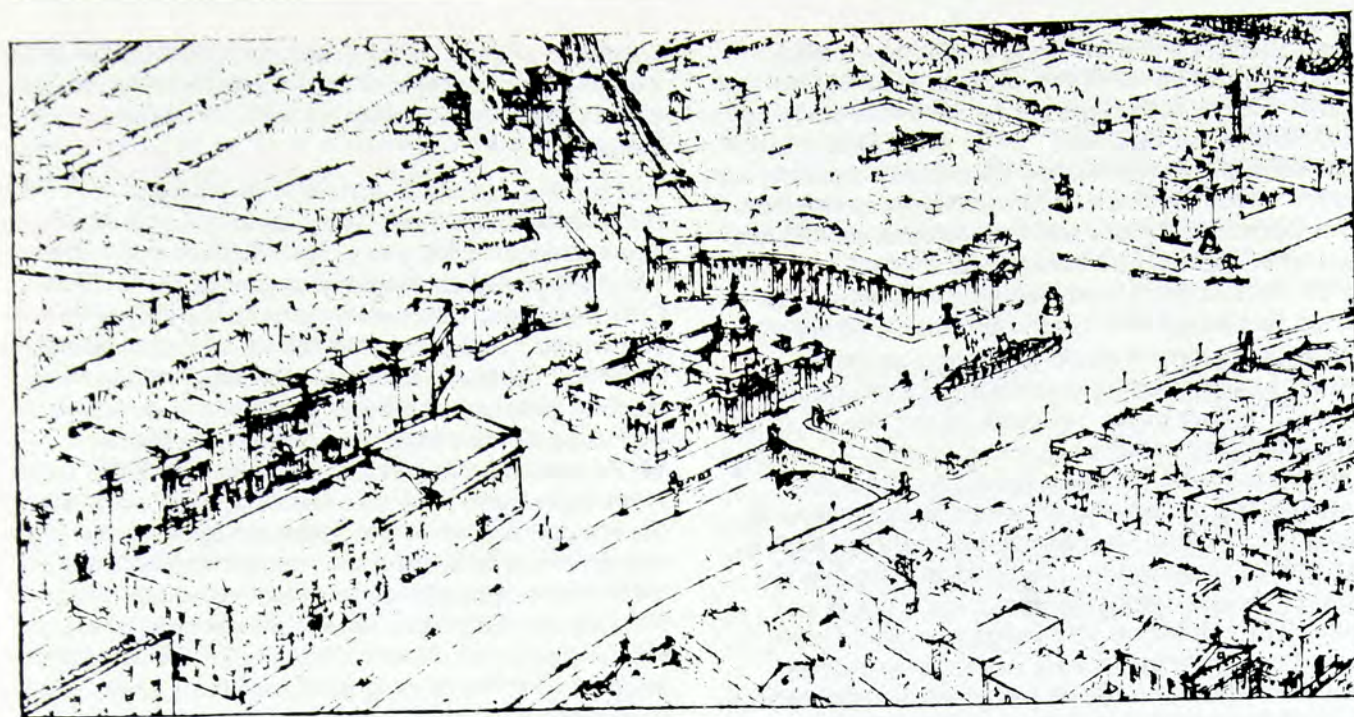

Figure 1. Abercrombie's winning scheme in the 1914 Dublin Town Plan Competition; showing proposed new civic monuments, transport improvements, and garden suburb housing estates.

CUSTOM HOUSE CRESCENT AND RIVERSIDE STATION.
This sketch shows the 'Railway across the Liffey taken underground; a 'Butt Bridge' removed; a new road 'Bridge facing the Custom House; the 'Riverside Station on the site of the old 'Dock and the 'Docks remodelled for the passenger steamers; the Crescent completed; and the approach to Amiens Street Station improved.

Figure 2. Abercrombie's design for a new railway station and bridge around Dublin's neo-classical Custom House.

peatedly stressed that his essential message was that housing and transport links had to be reformed together in order to rescue Dublin from economic stagnation.[27] But while his design was audaciously executed, Geddes made it clear that its main use should be educative rather than proscriptive.[28]

Abercrombie's town plan for Dublin had little effect in Ireland until it resurfaced during the 1920's when it was published by the Civics Institute as part of the demand for town planning legislation in the new Irish Free State. In the short term, Abercrombie's design was more influential in Britain than in Ireland. It was described by H.V. Lanchester as "the highest development that had yet been reached in the matter of town planning in the United Kingdom", and Unwin recommended that it be studied "by town planners all over the world, because it showed the state to which town planning was brought."[29] Thomas Mawson wrote in September 1916 that it was essential that the plan be implemented in the wake of the Easter Rising, because:

"the present occasion marks a crisis in the history of the town planning movement. On its results depends the place the art is to take in the future in this country for never before have such favourable conditions prevailed nor can we hope for another such opportunity."[30]

But given the extreme sensitivity of administrative policy in war-time Ireland, plus the controversy over the rebuilding of central Dublin, this statement reveals not an understanding of actual Irish conditions but rather an over-riding concern for the furtherance of town planning theory and practice in Britain.

A similar attitude from British town planners can also be seen in the experience of the Citizens Housing League. The short-lived body was formed in April 1914 mainly through the efforts of E.A. Aston. Its purpose was to expand the basis of the Irish town planning movement by attempting to incorporate the radical labour movement. Aston then hoped to use this combined front to campaign for increased state subsidy, but only on the strict condition that this would be used to build garden suburbs and nothing else. After clashing repeatedly with Dublin Corporation over the latter's continued preference for inner-city schemes, the Citizens Housing League offered to put the services of Geddes and Unwin as advisers to the Corporation's Housing Committee. Many councillors, especially Sinn Fein, were totally against the idea, but overall Dublin Corporation voted to accept. The actual report produced in September 1914 appears to have been written mainly by Unwin, and contained several suggested housing designs including a striking garden suburb on the Marino site. However, any benefits from these suggestions

were lost because the Geddes/Unwin Report simply disregarded the central issue of state subsidy. The report stated that the housing question should not be mixed up with the problem of poverty, which required other policies.[31] Instead it urged Dublin Corporation to build high-standard garden suburbs for those artisans who could pay higher rents, which would then allow the very poor to 'filter up' into the dwellings which were vacated. This was the rationale behind the acceptance of Unwinian design by the Land Enquiry Committee and the English Board of Agriculture in the pre-war period, but it clearly went against the collectivist view in Ireland that state subsidy for the very poor was paramount. It meant that the Geddes/Unwin Report was simply denounced by Dublin Corporation as being based more on conditions found in an English manufacturing town, and of having "approached and reported on the subject from an exclusively Town Planning point of view."[32]

Conclusion

What then had been achieved by the town planning movement in Ireland on the eve of the First World War? There were no significant private initiatives to speak of, and no co-partnership societies had been set up. In mid-1914 James Larkin hatched a scheme for the Irish Transport and General Workers Union to build a garden suburb for its members, using the profits from a proposed new workers' building guild. He even appears to have briefly consulted Geddes about this scheme, but nothing came of the plan. In the case of private enterprise housing, while this was mostly confined to a few industrial towns in Ulster and even here the pace was slackening dramatically due to the pre-war slump. One Belfast speculator advertised the building of a so-called 'garden suburb', but this referred only to the provision of attractive housing for sale to the city's middle-classes. In most parts of Ireland it had for many years fallen onto the rural and urban authorities to provide new working class housing, and in this sphere the influence of town planning was also minimal. Those who favoured garden suburb design within the most influential municipality, Dublin Corporation, were unable to secure a commitment to build such a scheme in the pre-war period. Instead the Corporation gave priority to providing larger space standards and extra facilities such as playgrounds, in otherwise typical inner-city schemes comprising two-storeyed terraced houses in high density layouts. This was the design approach taken by virtually every Irish municipality which built pre-war housing, be they Nationalist or Unionist.

Indeed only a handful of municipalities were even prepared to seriously consider the merits of garden suburbs. These bodies all had active members of the Housing and Town Planning Association or the

Association of Municipal Authorities in key positions. And most of them were located in the wealthier southern suburbs of Dublin, where there was an unusually high proportion of skilled artisans who might be expected to pay higher rents. But even amongst these sympathetic bodies, only Pembroke Council actually brought in the Housing and Town Planning Association to advise on the design of what it termed a 'garden suburb'.

This scheme, spread over several sites and not actually built until war had broken out, was praised highly by the Irish Local Government Board Inspector as a model for other municipalities. It was, however, not a complete Unwinian garden suburb as such, but rather an improved suburban terraced scheme in the same sense as the pre-war estates built by the LCC. Higher standards were provided, and the largest dwellings even had 3 bedrooms and a separate bathroom. But in the absence of increased subsidy the result was that Pembroke Council had to charge higher rents. It was of course for this very reason that other Irish authorities would not follow suit. "So far the garden city [sic] epidemic has not visited Dublin", declared the *Irish Builder* in 1915, and this observation applied even more forcefully to the rest of Ireland.[33]

Given this almost complete failure, it would appear that ultimately the pre-war town planning movement in Ireland had more to do with British rather than Irish conditions. For British participants the very attraction was the complexity of the political situation, and the hope that town planning and citizenship might resolve the confrontation between Nationalism and Unionism and between capital and labour. Geddes felt Ireland had a lesson for everywhere, writing that:

"Through such large civic endeavours as that of the town planning of Dublin, this correlation of Survey and Eutopia [sic] may be made plainer to other cities; and this is appealing to all parties, classes, occupations, and individuals. In such ways city surveys and exhibitions and plans are actually generating a new movement of education, that towards a School of Civics, as in Dublin, and soon in every city."[34]

Of course nothing remotely like this happened in pre-war Dublin. Town planning failed to establish itself simply because it offered nothing to any of the groups holding power. It clearly provided no solution to the opposition of Nationalists and Unionists over the question of Home Rule. Likewise there was no integration of the radical labour groups into the town planning movement in Dublin, despite the efforts of bodies like the Citizens Housing League. Garden suburb ideals remained generally in the hands of a rather narrow clique of middle class reformers. This explains why the

Irish Administration and the British Government remained so indifferent to demands for town planning in Ireland, since it offered them no help in their delicate policy of balancing rival Irish groups. Garden suburb supporters remained on the periphery of official British policy, and their involvement stemmed from personal belief in the need to reform society. Thus there was no sense in which town planning formed part of British policy in Ireland, as has been tentatively suggested.[35]

Instead the propagation of garden suburb ideals should be seen as part of the wider attempt by many groups in Britain to deal with the problems engendered by proposed self-government for Ireland. However, the failure of town planning advocates to adapt their precepts to suit pre-war Irish conditions meant that the movement tended to appear irrelevant in two ways. Firstly, Geddes' attempt to remove the political dimension underestimated the need in Ireland, at such an uncertain juncture, to reinforce support either for or against Home Rule. For adherents of the Irish Parliamentary Party and other nationalist groups, any attempt to turn away from the question of independence was seen ultimately as playing only into the hands of Unionists and the British Government. As has been observed of Sir Horace Plunkett, whom Geddes so much admired, the aim to bypass nationalism was perceived as simply another form of "constructive Unionism" - that is, of promoting Irish social and economic reform to help divert from the demands for self-government.[36] Indeed the ridiculous later contention by Geddes that the 1916 Easter Rising could have been averted if only money had been spent on housing and planning reform, reads exactly like this.[37] The other way in which British town planners appeared to be irrelevant was that they simply did not appreciate the emphasis placed in Ireland on getting more state subsidy for urban housing. Given the historical resentments that had built up against British rule, any solution that did not propose financial redistribution was seen again as only doing the Treasury's work for them.

Both these omissions were to give the pre-war Irish town planning movement a definite air of unreality. Another aspect which many in Ireland found difficult to accept was the cultural imperialist assumption that English planning and housing design was inherently superior and should be exported to dependent nations such as Ireland. This was clearly the view of Charles Ashbee, a strong admirer of Geddes and a commended entrant in the Dublin Town Plan Competition, and would appear to have been echoed by Geddes.[38] Although Geddes was to take a different approach later in India, in his dealings with pre-war Ireland he saw the latter as a kind of laboratory in which to try out what Meller had described as a "Geddesian social experiment".[39] For other British participants such as Abercrombie, Ireland was treated more as an opportunity to publicise their views and make their names. This, however, should not be seen as part of any direct colonial policy, but of a more complex cultural inter-relationship in which, as McDonagh has noted, "British values and criteria would sooner or later be imposed on Ireland, and sooner or later would be themselves profoundly influenced by Irish experience".[40] By 1914 both Ireland and Britain had a greater influence on each other than many in both countries would have liked to admit, but issues such as town planning nevertheless still revealed the very real differences which remained.

Finally, it can be argued that the existing accounts of early Irish planning history have followed the dominant mode of historiography about similar British developments.[41] The emphasis has been primarily on a narrative of events and an uncritical description of participants. The result has been the writing of history very much from the point of view of the early planning enthusiasts in Ireland. This has tended to distort the views of important groups in Irish society, and to play down the extent of the forces which militated against the acceptance of garden suburb ideals. Another tendency has been to separate the planning debate from that of housing policy generally, thereby giving the pre-war Irish town planning movement greater coherence than it actually had. Instead garden suburb ideals should be seen as but an aspect of the larger housing issue, one which was a far more important factor in Irish society and British policy towards Ireland. It was to be as the result of Irish housing policy during and after the First World War that garden suburb planning was finally introduced.

Abbreviations

HC DEB	House of Commons Debates
BL ADD MSS	British Library Additional Manuscripts
SPO/CSO	Irish State Paper Office, Chief Secretary's Office Papers
PRO/T	Public Records Office, Kew, Treasury Papers
RPDCD	Dublin Corporation, Reports and Printed Documents, City Archives Library

References

1. See essays by F.H.A. Aalen, M.J. Bannon, and M. Miller, in M.J. Bannon (ed) *The Emergence of Irish Planning 1880-1920*, 1985.

2. F.S.L. Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, 1971, pp.265-266.

3. The analysis of early state housing here is based on forthcoming doctoral thesis by author: see also F.H.A. Aalen, "The rehousing of rural labourers in Ireland under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts 1883-1919", *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.12, 1986, pp.287-306: F.H.A. Aalen, "Public Housing in Ireland, 1880-1921", *Planning Perspectives*, Vol.12, 1987, pp.175-193.

4. 186 HC DEB, 20 March 1908, Col.966 (Nanetti).

5. *Freemans Journal*, 2 September 1908, p.8.

6. *Freemans Journal*, 5 January 1910, p.7.

7. P. Jalland, *The Liberals and Ireland: the Ulster Question in British Politics to 1914*, 1980, pp.32-48, 265.

8. These included the *Irish Builder* and writers such as E.P. Alabaster, Miss Rooney: account here of early town planning movement taken from forthcoming doctoral thesis by author: also essays by M.J. Bannon, and M. Miller, in M.J. Bannon (ed), op. cit.

9. *Irish Architect and Craftsman*, 5 August 1911, p.393.

10. For details of Dublin's slum problem see M. Daly, *Dublin the Deposed Capital: A Social and Economic History 1860-1914*, 1984, pp.277-319: J.V. O'Brien, *'Dear Dirty Dublin': A City in Distress, 1899-1916*, 1982, pp.126-158.

11. *Freemans Journal*, 8 January 1909, p.7.

12. H. Meller, "Patrick Geddes 1854-1932", in G.E. Cherry (ed) *Pioneers in British Planning*, 1981, pp.46-71.

13. H. Meller, "Cities and Evolution: Patrick Geddes as an international prophet of town planning before 1914", in A. Sutcliffe (ed) *The rise of modern urban planning, 1800-1914*, 1980, pp.214-216.

14. P. Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, 1915, pp.2, 102, 228-229, 243-244, 258, 294, 296, 366, 378.

15. BL ADD MSS, Burns Mss, Ms.46282, ff.122-123 (Violet Asquith to Burns, 4 May 1911).

16. M. Swenarton, *Homes Fit for Heroes: The Politics and Architecture of Early State Housing in Britain*, 1981, pp.6-7.

17. *Freemans Journal*, 17 December 1912, p.6.

18. SPO/CSO,RP (1913)/21697 (report of AMAI deputation to Chief Secretary Birrell, 17 October 1913).

19. *Times*, 7 November 1913, p.6,b; 8 November 1913, p.8,c.

20. SPO/CSO,RP (1914)/6087 (brochure for the Civic Exhibition, 25 February 1914); *Freemans Journal*, 12 March 1914, p.8.

21. *Freemans Journal*, 10 February 1914, p.9-27 April 1914, p.9; 30 April 1914, pp.6,9: M.C. Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American Town Planning*, 1983, pp.59-136: M. Scott, *American City Planning since 1890*, 1969, pp.110-182.

22. *Freemans Journal*, 19 March 1914, p.9.

23. PRO/T.1/11728/5824 No.3016 (brochure entitled "The Civic Exhibition: What it will do", undated).

24. *Irish Architect and Craftsman*, 30 July 1914, p.1021.

25. PRO/T.1/11782/5824 No.14928 (note by "F.L.R.", 3 August 1914); also No.3016 (note by Whitehouse, 8 May 1914; Lloyd George to Aberdeen, 8 May 1914; Aberdeen to Whitehouse, 19 May 1914); No.17511 (Treasury to Irish Board of Works, 28 August 1914).

26. P. Mairet, *Pioneer of Sociology: Patrick Geddes*, 1952, pp.149-150; J.V. O'Brien, op. cit., p.69.

27. P. Abercrombie, S. Kelly, A. Kelly, *Dublin of the Future: The New Town Plan*, 1923: *Freemans Journal*, 6 January 1917, p.7: *Irish Builder and Engineer*, 25 November 1916, pp.573, 571: G. Dix, "Patrick Abercrombie 1897-1957", in G.E. Cherry (ed), op. cit., pp.105-106: S. Pepper and M. Swenarton, "Neo-Georgian Maison-Type", *Architectural Review*, Vol.168, No.1002, August 1980, pp.87-92.

28. H. Meller, in A. Sutcliffe (ed), op. cit., pp.216, 223.

29. *Freemans Journal*, 6 January 1917, p.7; 18 November 1916, p.6.

30. *Times*, 9 September 1916, p.5,d.

31. RPDCD 1915 (Vol.1), No.78, pp.715-722.

32. Ibid, p.752: M. Swenarton, op. cit., pp.40-47.

33. *Irish Builder and Engineer*, 10 April 1915, p.168.

34. P. Geddes, op. cit., p.366.

35. M. Miller, in M.J. Bannon (ed), op. cit., pp.195-196.

36. D.J. O'Neill, "Explaining Irish Underdevelopment: Plunkett and Connolly prior to 1916", *Eire-Ireland*, Vol.22, No.4, Winter 1987, pp.58, 68.

37. A. Defries, *The Interpreter Geddes: The Man and His Gospel*, 1927, p.180.

38. A. Crawford, *C.R. Ashbee: Architect, Designer*

and Romantic Socialist, 1985, pp.53, 118-119, 155-
158, 160, 167-168, 251, 259: P. Geddes, op. cit.,
p.223: *Irish Architect and Craftsman*, 22 April 1911,
p.182.

39. H. Meller, in G.E. Cherry (ed), op. cit., p.58.

40. O. MacDonagh, *Ireland: The Union and Its After-
math*, 1967/1977, pp.18, 23.

41. See essays by M.J. Bannon and M. Miller, in
M.J. Bannon (ed), op. cit.

Research

When Planning becomes Planning History : Reflections on Recent Research

Peter J. Larkham
University of Birmingham

A number of papers concerned with the rationale
of planning history appeared at the beginning of
the 1980s. In answering the question "why plan-
ning history?", Sutcliffe discussed the evolutionary
rhythms present in planning, and how a historical
perspective enabled important lessons to be drawn
from the past.[1] Denecke supplemented this the-
oretical approach, giving support to the practical
suggestion that knowledge of the history of plan-
ning and analyses of planned elements of the cultu-
ral landscape form an important background to
modern policy.[2]

Many detailed studies in planning history have ap-
peared since then, the majority being concerned
with time-spans of several decades. Even studies
explicitly addressing current planning practice oc-
casionally have historical perspectives, albeit often
shorter.[3] This mostly reflects the time-lags inher-
ent in writing-up and publishing academic re-
search. Punter's recent exhaustive volume on
aesthetic control in Bristol is most unusual in ap-
pearing during the very year in which the project
ended.[4] Research on current issues is frequently
historical by the time it reaches practicing planners.

Some of this research entails detailed case studies.[5]
There are many problems with such material, not
least the problem of representativeness, the distor-
tions caused by the researcher's perspective, and
the considerable demands on researchers' time.
Nevertheless, as a recent discussion points out,
case studies have considerable advantages in plan-
ning research. These are

> "... firstly, the ability to retain a holistic and
> meaningful view of real-life events ... secondly,
> the possibility of in-depth analysis looking at a
> multiplicity of causal links. Thirdly, they are par-
> ticularly relevant to 'how' and 'why' type
> questions, explanatory investigations and re-
> search into operation[al] links which need to be
> traced over time. Fourthly ... a more sympathetic
> approach [is offered], getting inside the process,
> or the minds of actors or individuals, as 'discover-

ing' explanations..."[6]
Such projects are not usually designed for quantita-
tive analysis, and the data collected are not amen-
able to more than the most basic statistics (for
example, on numbers and types of applications).
Unfortunately, despite the growing interest in
qualitative research, no wholly satisfactory method
has been evolved for the purely literary treatment
of the large quantities of case study material, and
the 'gatekeepers' in the academic and professional
literature are not always sympathetic to this ap-
proach.[7]

Current research at Birmingham is using detailed
case studies of current planning practice in an at-
tempt to elucidate the workings of the planning
system, particularly concerning the management of
historical townscapes.[8] A brief discussion of some
of the major findings of this work will illustrate the
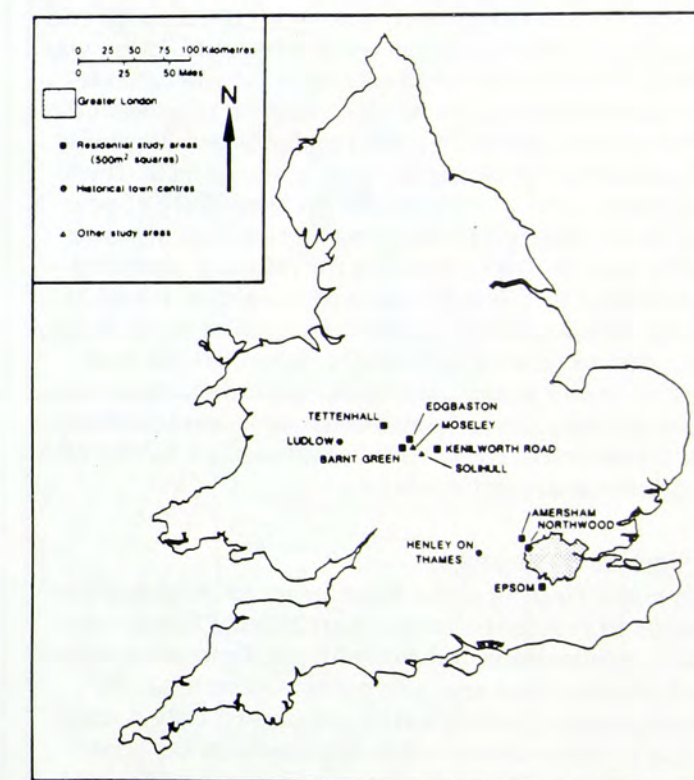points made earlier.

Figure 1.   Location of study areas

Introduction to the studies
Change has been investigated in two types of his-
torical townscapes - historical town centres and ma-
ture residential areas - in two regions, the South
East and the Midlands. The types of change pro-
posed and carried out since c.1960 have been do-

cumented, those responsible for initiating changes and decision-making have been identified, and the townscape management process has been examined. The findings of the projects are based on case studies undertaken in small areas of a number of towns. The findings may be summarised under six heads: the management of change, the agents of change, the motivations for change conflict in the planning system, the form of development, and townscape management.

Management of change

In terms of restraining development in sensitive townscapes, it could be argued that those local planning authorities (LPAs) examined have achieved some measure of success. However, the process whereby this was achieved was highly inefficient, and the outcome in a number of cases was seriously damaging to the townscape. Although pressure for infill development had been evident in the South East in the 1950s, and in the Midlands from the mid-1960s to early 1970s, the LPAs had no specific policies on this until Coventry MBC adopted one in 1976. Planning applications were approached by LPAs mainly in terms of individual aspects of development, among which density and highway considerations were foremost. There was little, if any, attempt to devise or encourage integrated solutions. In a weak position to present development, but with local residents and Planning Committees pressing for restraints on infill development, LPA planning officers frequently appear to have resorted to delaying tactics, and occasionally gave spurious reasons for refusing planning permission. Consideration of the actual forms of new development, particularly architectural styles, tended to be an afterthought, when battles over density and access had been concluded. In a number of cases, the schemes ultimately implemented were inconsistent with those advocated by the LPA officers at an earlier stage.

Agents of change

A major finding is the large proportion of applications in residential areas, particularly initial outline applications, submitted by individuals (almost all of whom are resident owner-occupiers). By comparison, individuals have played only a small role in town-centre redevelopments in the postwar period, although they were significant as recently as the inter-war period. The types of development attempted vary according to the provenance of the applicants. The majority of owners in residential areas were local (ie resident within that town), while under one quarter of those in town centres were local. The difference between the locations of applicants for planning permission is nearly as great. Estate agents play a comparatively minor role in the town-centre devel-

opment process. In the residential areas, they are often employed by owner-occupiers in initial outline applications. There is a difference in the provenance of architects employed in the South East and the Midlands: the former region has lower percentages of local architects than the latter. With this exception, however, those propagating changes in the residential areas were, to a considerable extent, local; those in the town centres rather less so.

In residential areas, therefore, the initiation, and thus timing, of proposals for new development was firmly in the hands of private individuals, whose homes were the potential development sites. In the town centres, the initiation of development and the ownership of potential development sites were almost wholly in the hands of commercial organisations, these being largely speculative developers and firms occupying their own sites.

Motivation for change

In each of the study areas examined, the motivation for change was unequivocally economic. In many cases, speculative planning applications were submitted more as a means of increasing the potential sale value of a site than as a serious development proposal; this is shown by examination of sequences of development proposals from original applications through sale to a developer, revised application and permitted development. A further motivation underlies a number of development proposals, particularly in residential areas. This is the stage in the family life-cycle. The death of an owner is frequently the impetus for surviving relatives to reassess their requirements of a site; spacious gardens may be divided, or the entire property sold, often after increasing the site value through obtaining a planning permission.

KEY TO FIGURE 2

A: Eynsham House site, Tettenhall, near Wolverhampton
B: Outline application 1801/68, 7 dwellings and demolition of original house. Application withdrawn.
C: Outline application 780/71, 12 flats. Refused, height and design prejudicial to amenities of area.
D: Outline application 1181/71, 'flat development' (number unspecified) including garage block. Refused, height and design prejudicial to amenities of area; overdevelopment; overlooking.
E: Full application 1755/71, 9 flats and circular garage block. Submitted "following recent discussions for a revised scheme". Granted
F: 1972. Alterations of 1755/71 to give 8 flats with integral garaging. Approved.

Not shown: Outline application 446/66 for 2 houses in the garden of Eynsham House. Application withdrawn; no plan exists.
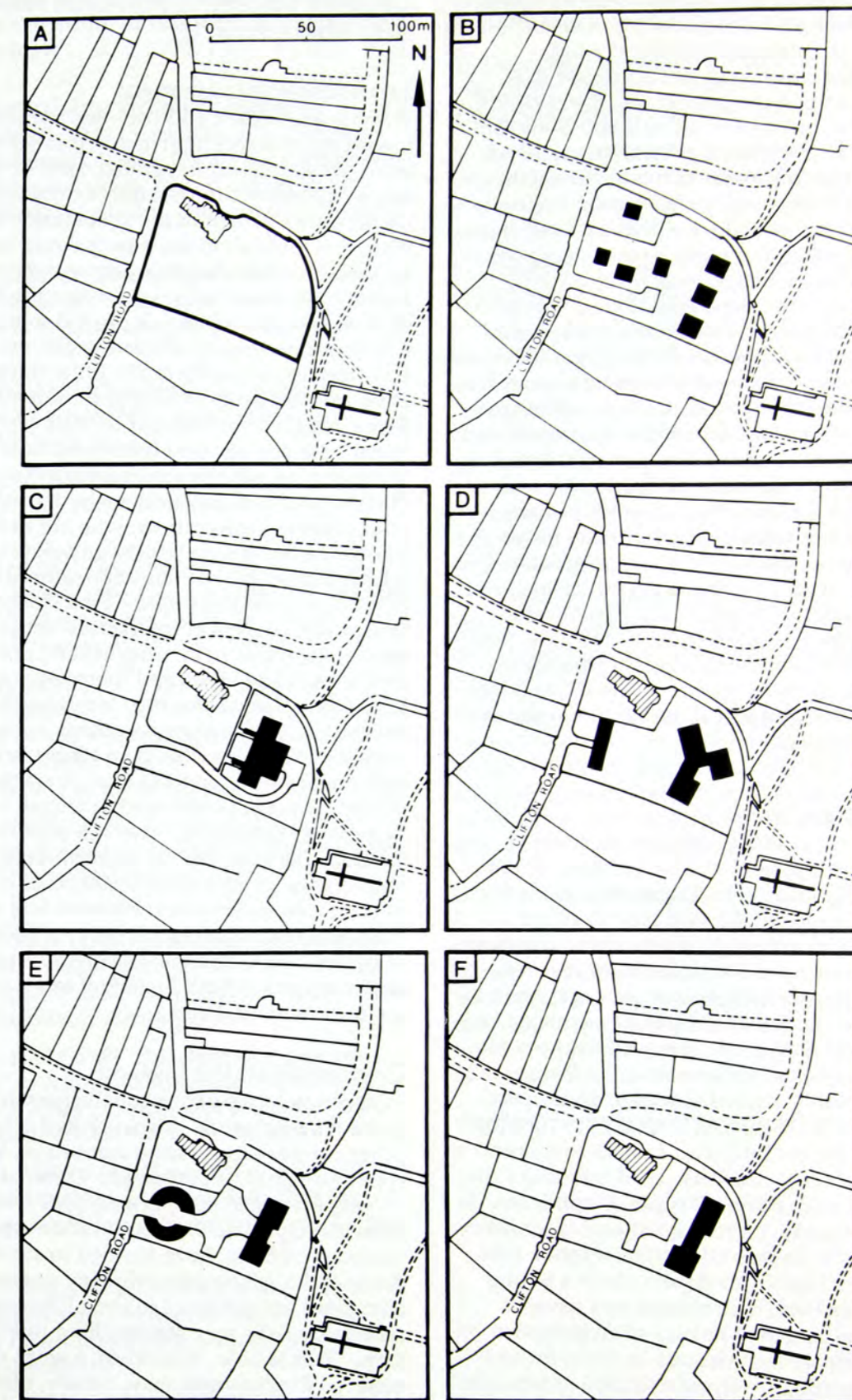

Figure 2. Saga of development (for key see opposite)

Conflict

Conflict is endemic to much of the process of development and attempted development. Conflict between LPAs and those seeking to carry out development has sometimes had seriously detrimental effects upon the townscape. Developers, on the one hand, often have a small and diminishing commitment to the local environment. LPAs, on the other hand, represent to a large extent the interests of those occupying and using the townscape. Conflict is especially evident between these groups. With residential areas, owner-occupiers of sites with development potential often have a somewhat ambivalent view, embodying both a concern to retain existing use value and to capitalise on development potential. A surprising number of owner-occupiers, who might have been expected to show a well-developed sense of place, submit proposals to demolish often substantial houses as part of redevelopment schemes. Some owner-occupiers also evidently hold inconsistent views, for example making adverse comments on schemes proposed by neighbours and subsequently putting forward their own, often essentially similar, proposals. Developments in town centres attract criticisms from those far removed from the actual site, or whose use of the townscape is infrequent. The LPA planning officer forms an easily-accessible buffer in these conflicts, uneasily placed between the potential developer and the actual decision-makers, the Planning Committee.

Form of Development

The influence of local initiators on the form of residential development, as distinct from its timing, is relatively small when compared to the high proportion of applications that they have submitted. The form taken by developments has been determined more by their profitability to developers, the majority of whom are non-local, than by initial schemes put forward by local agents on behalf of an owner-occupier. Many developers go through protracted negotiations with LPAs, resulting in considerably altered schemes; developers are also more able to devote resources to fighting Appeals than are individuals. In both town centres and residential areas, differences of building form are associated with different types of applicant. In the residential areas, there is a noticeable tendency for developers to be more demolition-prone than individuals, and local developers show a strong predilection for flats/maisonettes and terraces rather than the detached houses often proposed by individuals. However, whereas in the town centres there were roughly equal numbers of bespoke and speculative developments, the latter tending to be more conservative in architectural styles, bespoke building in the residential areas was in a

very small minority, and consisted almost entirely of detached houses.

Townscape management

There is an evident gulf between the concept of townscape management and actual planning practice. Not only is an integrated view of the townscape nonexistent in the cases examined, but even if one were adopted in the preparation of a Local Plan, it is difficult to see how it could survive the crude interaction that characterises decision-making on individual proposals. Even the designation of Conservation Areas has proved to be of limited utility in this respect. Planning officers usually see their task as primarily to minimise damage to the environment: protracted negotiation often produces design solutions and layouts that are not 'good', but are 'the best that could be achieved'. The planning officers are heavily influenced in their actions and negotiations by the attitudes of their planning committees, who are in turn sensitive to the prevailing largely anti-development stance of their constituents caricatured as the NIMBY attitude (Not In My Back Garden). The nature of this process of interaction between site owner, developer, planning officer, planning committee and the public, and its consequences for the historical urban landscape, require a thorough reappraisal. If an integrative role is to be played, then the role of the LPA case officer is vital, especially in ensuring that the total character of a development is not subordinated to technicalities, such as highway standards. This is a significant lesson for planning practice. Its application faces serious obstacles in an established context of conflict between those seeking development and those responsible for its regulation. Nevertheless, the cost of its non-application is considerable in the valued environments of both historical town centres and mature residential areas.

Comments on the research

In addition to the above conclusions arising directly from the research, this work and other similar projects raise significant questions on how this type of research is perceived. These projects had a 27-year historical perspective (1960-1987), although some data, principally decisions on Appeals to the Secretary of State, have trickled in since the cut-off date. Although interim working papers have been circulated for comment to the LPAs concerned, the results are only now approaching publishable form. This is now, in essence, a work of planning history. Practitioners may, rightly, question its relevance to development control and townscape management as practiced into the 1990s. Nevertheless, the concerns discussed under the preceding six headings form common themes throughout the

27-year span of the project data, and may thus be extrapolated into the future. This is, it could be argued, part of the utility of this form of immediate planning history.

Publications arising from the research

Jones, A.N., Booth, P.N., Larkham, R.J., Pompa, N.D. and Whitehand, J.W.R. (1988) *The management of planned residential townscapes*, Working Paper No.43, School of Geography, University of Birmingham.

Larkham, P.J. (1990) 'Conservation and the management of historical townscapes' *in* Slater, T.R. (Ed) *The built form of Western cities*, University Press, Leicester.

Larkham, P.J. (1990) 'Development control information and planning research', *Local Government Studies*, Vol.15, No.2, pp.1-7.

Larkham, P.J. (forthcoming) 'Planning and the historical townscape', *Habitat International*, Vol.15, No.2.

Larkham, P.J. (1990) *Development pressure and development delay: a study of two aspects of the British planning system*, Working Paper No.56, School of Geography, University of Birmingham.

Larkham, P.J., Booth, P.N., Jones, A.N., Pompa, N.D. and Whitehand, J.W.R. (1988) *The management of change in historical townscapes: a discussion of current research*, Working Paper No.42, School of Geography, University of Birmingham.

Whitehand, J.W.R. (1988) 'The changing urban landscape: the case of London's high-class residential fringe', *Geographical Journal*, Vol.154, Part 3, pp.351-366.

Whitehand, J.W.R. (1989) *Residential development under restraint: a case study in London's rural-urban fringe*, Occasional Publication No.28, School of Geography, University of Birmingham.

Whitehand J.W.R.(1989) 'Development pressure, development control, and suburban townscape change: case studies in south-east England' *Town Planning Review*, Vol.60, No.4, pp.403-420.

Whitehand, J.W.R. (1990) 'Townscape management: ideal and reality' .*in* Slater, T.R. (Ed) *The built form of Western cities*, University Press, Leicester.

Whitehand, J.W.R. (1990) 'Makers of the residential landscape: conflict and change in outer London' *Transactions, Institute of British geographers*, NS Vol.15, No.1, pp.87-101.

Whitehand, J.W.R. and Larkham, P.J. (forthcoming) 'Housebuilding in the back garden: regional variations in suburban cramming', *Area*.

Notes

1. Sutcliffe, A.R. (1981) 'Why planning history?' *Built Environment*, Vol.7, No.2, pp.65-67.

2. Denecke, D. (1982) 'Historische Geographie und raumliche Planung' [Historical geography and regional planning] *Erdkunde*, Vol.36.

3. For example, the 7-year perspective of Punter, J.V. (1986) 'The contradiction of aesthetic control under the Conservatives' *Planning Practice and Research*, No.1, pp.8-13.

4. Punter, J.V. (1990) *Design control in Bristol, 1940-1990*, Redcliffe, Bristol.

5. Punter, J.V. (1985) *Office development in the borough of Reading, 1954-1984: a case study of the role of aesthetic control within the planning process*, Working Papers in Land Management and Development, No.6, Department of Land Management and Development, University of Reading; Short, J.R., Fleming, S. and Witt, S.J.G. (1986) *Housebuilding, planning and community action: the production and negotiation of the built environment*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

6. Punter, J.V. (1989) ' Development control - case studies', *in* Hebbert, J. (Ed) *Development control data: a research guide*, Economic and Social Research Council, Swindon.

7. Eyles, J. and Smith, D.M. (Eds) (1988) *Qualitative methods in human geography*, Polity Press, Cambridge; Johnston, R.J. (1988) 'Writing geographically' *in* Eyles, J. (Ed) *Research in human geography: introductions and investigations*, Blackwell, Oxford discuss literature's gatekeepers.

8. 'The management of historical townscapes' [Leverhulme Trust, 1987-1889] investigated mature residential areas and historical town centres; A.N. Jones, 'Planning in mature residential areas' [ESRC Linked Award Studentship] developed ideas of townscape management; 'Planning in historical town centres' [British Academy, 1988 continuing] develops ideas of town-centre development.

The Roots of Urban Green Spaces

Maurits van Rooijen
University of Utrecht

Why are cities as 'green' as they are? Why do we have open spaces in the form of public parks and other kinds of greenery in an urban environment where land usually is scarce? These questions are answered, at least as far as the Netherlands are concerned, in a recent publication entitled *De wortels van het Stedelijk Groen* (The roots of urban green spaces: a study on the origin and survival of the Dutch 'Green Town').[1] In this article the major findings of the research project are summarised. The article describes briefly the academic context, the historical origin and the prospects for survival of the 'Green Town'.

Academic context
The study tries to trace the historical origins of green open spaces, and in particular of public parks within the built-up areas of Dutch cities or in their immediate vicinity. Typical of these green spaces is that they have been created and/or are maintained by a public authority, normally the local council, and are open to all without charge.

Most studies on urban parks and public gardens are predominantly design-orientated. In this research particular attention is given to matters such as political decision-making, intentions and motives, usage and financing. A synergetic effect is aimed at by using different academic disciplines and especially by confronting, on an equal footing, the analyses of the historical roots *and* of present day perspectives.[2]

Also comparisons have been made with the experiences in surrounding countries (England and Germany), and to a lesser extent the USA. In the study of the Dutch cities itself, as well as in the comparison with the external, international trends, the study seeks similarities and differences. When it comes to the study of the developments through the ages both continuity (the deep roots of certain characteristics or phenomena) and discontinuity (the elements of change and innovation) are analysed. By tracing the origins of green open spaces in an urban environment from the emergence of the town in medieval times until the general acceptance of planned provision of those spaces during the Twenties of this century, the study is in line with research done or supervised by emeritus professor Dieter Hennebo of the Universität Hanover

(FRG).[3]

Historical origin
The (Dutch) Green City can be defined as a city which is rich in green public areas of all shapes and forms, created as integral elements of town planning in order to make living and working in this urban environment more attractive. Its historical origin can be structured by identifying three stages, which can roughly be linked to three, slightly overlapping periods in time.

1. From the late Middle Ages until the early nineteenth century: this can be considered as the period of the 'classical' town, with its environs of fields, lanes, woods, 'beer gardens' and its green fortifications inviting one to stroll or play. In the Dutch town itself freely accessible open spaces were rare. Where these green spaces did exist it was almost accidental rather than planned as such. There was, however, a policy of planting (rows of) trees within the town. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries kings and other noble families opened their gardens to the public. This did not, however, occur in the towns of Holland (the western part of the Netherlands). In this early period there was not yet a clear policy towards urban green. Nevertheless, discussions did take place on issues such as the importance of an attractive, green urban environment and the effect of trees on the health of the city dweller.

2. From the end of the eighteenth century until the end of the nineteenth beginning of the twentieth century: since the French occupation, it had become very clear that it was no longer useful to keep the city confined in its fortifications. Green was used to express the status of the 'burghers' (roughly: the bourgeoisie or middle class and lower upper classes) as a community in particular by using green to beautify the city. In other words, parks were no longer a privilege of the aristocracy. In the nineteenth century, parks were created with upper- and middle- class villas in villages near the major cities, linked by railway lines. Also parks were built on the urban fringe, often on land which became available after the demolition of the former fortifications. These parks were normally surrounded by villas and the design offered optimal opportunity for 'conspicuous leisure' of the well-heeled. The lower classes were welcome in the parks on their day off, as long as they were willing to adopt middle class behaviour, not unlike the way the burghers were once allowed entry to the royal gardens. Some parks were built as private enterprises, but in most Dutch towns the council itself took the initiative.

3. From the end of the nineteenth century onwards: when the Dutch cities started to grow in a spectacular way - with Amsterdam and Rotterdam

setting the trend - more and more people became aware of the threatening crisis which could result from this. The main features of this - presumed - urban crisis were worsening public health conditions, social unrest and an embarrassing 'townscape'. By far the most influential answer to this crisis was Ebenezer Howard's Garden City, originally a kind of blueprint for a better society. In the Netherlands the Garden City was not accepted, mainly because of the land issue and the political strengths of the established cities. The Garden City as an *architectural* idea however was considered to be very attractive. Garden City-like developments became incorporated in the extensions which were built within the urban boundaries. This policy was made possible by annexations of neighbouring municipalities and through the national Housing Act of 1901. Taking care of the availability of green in all forms and shapes became an obvious part of town planning. The keywords were 'healthy', 'social' and 'attractive'. Green was no longer directly linked to the upper-and middle-classes. Highly influenced by German publications in the Netherlands the planning of urban green spaces (i.e. building the Green Town) was structured, quantified and incorporated in overall town planning.

This overview is obviously very general. It should be mentioned that even in a small country like the Netherlands there were many local distinctions. For stage one especially, the difference between Holland and the rest of the Netherlands is relevant. The towns of Holland (that is to say in the western part of the Netherlands) were politically and economically dominated by merchant-families and therefore do not fit the patterns elsewhere and are certainly a-typical compared with the European capitals of those days. Within Holland, The Hague was yet again exceptional since it did not have proper fortifications (therefore land being somewhat less scarce) and since it was the residence of the stadtholders of the House of Orange.

For the first half of the nineteenth century it is important to know when exactly the towns lost their fortifications. This was mainly for military reasons, not the same for all Dutch Cities and affected the sorts of development on the land of the former fortifications. These included, from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, park landscaping with villas and public buildings, isolated parks with villas, industrial developments, working class dwellings, and finally, early in the twentieth century, sometimes conservation of the complete former fortification.

For the second half of the nineteenth century a distinction needs to be made between the major harbour cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and most of the other towns of the Netherlands. Amsterdam

and Rotterdam prospered from the Industrial Revolution before it took place in the Netherlands itself (from the Nineties of the last century onwards).

Basic values
As mentioned, I believe it to be very important not only to analyse the changes and discontinuity through the ages, but also the deep roots of continuity, that is to say the deep roots of the 'values' attached to urban parks. It is then possible to indicate five (among many more) *basic* values:

- A cultural value: parks were originally exclusively owned by the aristocracy. The design as well as appreciation of parks and gardens are influenced by this background. For a long time public parks have been designed along exactly the same lines as private gardens. They can be considered as expressions of Art. Therefore it could be argued that they are important elements of our heritage and should be treated as such.

- A political value: already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries kings were trying to win popularity among their subjects (in particular the better classes) by donating parks. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries entrepreneurs and politicians won popularity by creating parks. In general it can be said that public parks and gardens have played a certain role - at least in the last century - in stabilising the society by contributing to social harmony.

- An economic value: this value became particularly evident in the nineteenth century, when the development of residential green areas could even be profitable. Also in respect of maintenance costs parks were more or less self-supportive, since they attracted families paying the relatively highest taxes to the council. Due to less market orientation and a more social policy, the economic value has now become less clear, though Dutch town extensions are still organised in such a way that the costs of the creation of the green environment are contained in the prices of the land for building and need therefore not be paid by the council. A green environment can also have a value for tourism. Furthermore, it can be used to regenerate a dilapidated part of town. In fact, provision of urban green had been used, from the early nineteenth century onwards, as a policy instrument to activate a stagnating economy (that is to say aiming at a pump-priming effect by creating a green environment in order to attract the higher incomes). At the moment particularly relevant is also the risk that an opposite process would be initiated because of the selling of green spaces in an attractive environment. Building in spacious areas can eventually lead to lower prices and trigger off a slowly deteriorating situation, thus illustrating in a negative way the economic value of green spaces.

- A sanitarian value: the connotation of green with

health has long been established. Green is supposed to be good for the individual human being as well as for public health. Urban parks have become, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the 'green lungs' of our cities. Government policies have been trying to stimulate walking, playing and sporting in a green surrounding. The value of (especially urban) green for our environment and the fight against pollution, is now considered of greater importance than ever. This is argued, once again, by experts and is acknowledged by the public as well as by politicians.

- Recreational value: especially city dwellers have had a great longing for open spaces. These green areas are not only often used intensively, but also have a significant psychological value (one knows they are there, even if one would not actually visit them). Parks are normally freely accessible and designed for everyone, yet recreational preferences can differ widely. From an historical perspective one could make a distinction between, on the one hand, 'public parks' with roots in an aristocratic privilege (in particular, hunting) and designed in a style reflecting higher class tastes and demands. These parks require a sophisticated behaviour and appreciation. And, on the other hand, 'public greens' with roots in the commons (ownership of the community) and very suitable for more popular recreation such as football, barbecuing, pop concerts etc. In the Netherlands, however, these opposites seem to have moved towards each other. This process could be called a form of cultural convergence, reflected where the layout of urban green spaces is concerned in a spatial convergence.

Another problem is that all these values are or ought to be covered by each park, even though they might sometimes be conflicting. The most obvious example of such a conflict is what one could call the dual nature of urban parks, simultaneously being expressions of art and amenities for the highest possible number and widest range of visitors.

Evaluation

In retrospect, we could try to evaluate success and failure of the Green Town policy. One could argue that the success of the Green Town mainly lies in that, in its own way, it has contributed to the political and social stabilisation of society. The second major achievement is probably that parks have considerably helped to slow down the process of the 'creaming' of the towns (I use the word creaming to indicate the movement of the relatively high incomes out of the city towards a more attractive, greener, healthier, quieter and often also relatively cheaper, suburban location.) Yet it would be incorrect to speak of a 'success story'. In recent decades the Green Town has come under growing pressure. In the mid-Seventies, alternative concepts for urban planning, e.g. the Recreational City and the

Company City, were introduced and influenced Dutch town planning. This can partly be explained by the simple fact that many of the (urban) problems which once seemed to threaten society and led to the creation of the Green Town, were no longer major political issues. Furthermore, as a result of the growing surface of municipal green, maintenance became an important financial factor, and even became a political issue in a period of restricted expenditure. The everyday costs of park maintenance are relatively high because it demands a great deal of (expensive) labour. How to conserve parks, has slowly become a more important question than creating new ones. This matter becomes even more pressing since parks are subject to physical wear and tear and often need an expensive renewal operation after approximately sixty to ninety years. To this should be added that parks also suffer from what one could call a societal wear-out, that is to say they sometimes have become less suitable for demand because of demographic changes, fashions and new insights into what a park should offer. Since by and large it is true that in an urban environment, with its continuous shortage of land, the survival of a certain usage of land is linked directly to the balance between both its costs and its social and political value, the pressure on the more and more costly to maintain green open spaces is growing rapidly. It could be calculated that it would be very unlikely that the Green Town could escape a crisis within the next sixty years, unless present-day policies be altered. It would, however, be unfair to present such a bleak perspective as a conclusion. One should rather say that by this extrapolation the (potential) problems of the present Green Town are identified, but that it is also possible to identify the strengths and means to tackle the problems.

Prospects

One can argue that the 'basic values' of the Green Town and of urban parks in particular, are still of great importance. As said before parks could be considered as part of our heritage; the economic value is still highly relevant; the ecological value seems to be more important than ever, this is not only recognised by the public but also by all levels of administration; there is certainly a great demand for green spaces by city dwellers. In fact they are even willing to defend the green in their neighbourhoods when threatened. However, it must also be acknowledged that within the municipal administration, urban parks are often still associated with a politically out-dated 'welfare' image. Those dealing with the green spatial elements in cities are most often not (yet) used to producing hard evidence about for instance economic or ecological values of these green spaces. In other words, building another image seems to be essential, if one wants to prolong the Green City as it exists.

Nevertheless, the inescapable reality is that the Green City cannot and will not last forever. Should it, anyway? One does not necessarily need to seek conservation, but can look for innovation. At this moment, in the Netherlands and elsewhere in the world, certain clear though often also implicit trends are taking place. It can be observed that a clear distinction is no longer being made between 'proper green recreation' and 'rejectionable urban recreation'. Townscape and landscape are becoming intertwined. Furthermore it seems to have become a trend that municipalities sell off (small parts of) the open green areas in cities in order to finance the maintenance or renewal of the remaining municipal greens and parks (i.e. a selective consolidation of the Green Town). At the same time all forms of creativity are used to control the costs of maintenance, such as less intensive upkeeping, ecological forms of gardening including the use of cattle, maintenance-conscious designs for new green areas, getting citizens involved, attracting sponsors, starting joint ventures with private enterprises etc. Many of these ideas were already adopted in earlier days to create public parks and have now been rediscovered to help them to survive.

Notes

1. M. van Rooijen, *De wortels van het stedelijk groen* (published by the Department of Urban and Industrial Studies, University of Utrecht, P.O. Box 80,140, 3508 TC Utrecht, The Netherlands; 295 pages, no illustrations; price: Dfl. 35,-).

2. The explicit attempt to show the relevance of historical knowledge as analysed, to present policy-making regarding green open spaces in an urban environment, and to the future perspectives of the so-called 'Green City' was inspired by a book about the politics of park design written by the American sociologist Galen Cranz (G. Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design: a history of urban parks in America*, MIT: Cambridge Mass., London 1982).

3. For instance:

- D. Hennebo, *Geschichte des Stadtgrüns I : von der Antike bis zur Zeit des Absolutismus* (Hanover, Berlin, Sarstedt 1970)

- D. Hennebo, E. Schmidt, *Geschichte des Stadtgrüns III : Entwickelung des Stadtgrüns in England von den frühen Volkswiesen bis zu den öffentlichen Parks im 19. Jahrhundert* (Hanover, c.1975).

Reports

THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

International Conference, University of Birmingham, 9-10 July 1990

Anthony Sutcliffe
University of Leicester

Among the numerous and varied activities of the Urban Morphology Research Group it is difficult to identify keynotes and highlights. No one, however, who took part in 'The Urban Landscape' can have failed to be aware of its milestone character. In 1982 the Group had held a similar meeting at Birmingham to promote its efforts, mainly on the national scene. In 1990, it organised a second, impressively international meeting which put on display some of the issues and products of a broadening and deepening field. The wide range of papers and lively debates were an implicit tribute to the tireless work of Jeremy Whitehand over the last decade, while the presence of Professor M.R.G. Conzen, who had been the inspiration of the 1982 meeting, symbolised the continuing importance of the founding hypotheses of this area of inquiry. The whole event created the impression of a discipline with a sound foundation of theory and empirical work, and an ability to reach out into stimulating and even controversial areas where fruitful links could be made with other disciplines. This structure was visibly strengthened by excellent personal contacts between interested scholars worldwide, and the participants were aware that the creation of this network owed much, again, to the efforts of Dr Whitehand.

In 1982 the urban morphology under consideration had been mainly of two dimensions. In 1990 the emphasis had shifted away from burgage plots, the plot cycle, and fringe belts, towards three-dimensional manifestations. With building, architecture and the townscape at the top of the agenda, there was much interest in imagery, representation and symbolism, particularly in respect of recent stages in economic development such as the 'post-industrial' era in which we are assumed to be living. An-

other new development was the interest in the *application* of urban morphology which emerged strongly in 1990. The applications envisaged were mainly in the areas of planning and conservation, with pastiche lurking in the background. As a result, the balance of the programme shifted towards the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in comparison with 1982.

In his introduction, J.W.R. Whitehand stressed that growing interest in urban morphology reflected the growing popular interest in towns. This interest was international in its manifestations and the big international presence at the conference was a reflection of this development. However, the contributions were grouped in chronological order and the first two papers dealt with medieval Europe. In 'The comparative origins of European towns', A. Simms (University College, Dublin) classified the 'modes of origin' of medieval towns and argued that they had a major effect on their physical form. The connection was clear in towns founded by the Romans, but other major types, such as market towns founded by local lords, seaports created by monarchs, and burgess accretions outside the gates of castles of monasteries, also produced distinctive forms. As towns multiplied and urban institutions were diffused down to the thirteenth century, the dynamic of spatial evolution was similar throughout Europe. Dr Simms said that she was in search of a 'primary dynamic' of urban growth which would produce classifiable urban forms.

D. Friedman's (M.I.T.) 'Palaces and the street in late medieval and Renaissance Italy' switched the discussion from the macro to the micro level. In a presentation of outstanding originality, he drew attention to the great importance of 'jetties' in the towns of medieval Italy. These were extensions to the stone facades of buildings, usually supported by wooden beams. More than mere balconies, they were enclosed and often extended upwards through two or more storeys. In the thirteenth century municipalities began to legislate against them, but the main period of success in their removal was the fifteenth century. Friedman saw in this process a conflict between an ideal form for the street, developed by the rulers, and the practical requirements of the owners. The removal of the jetties, and the official requirement of a respectable architectural treatment of the lower floor or floors, thus laid the foundation for the even more self-conscious Renaissance city of the sixteenth century. This paper provoked a lively discussion, in which Friedman acknowledged the possibility that over-

population might have stimulated jetty construction before the Black Death, while population decline thereafter might have facilitated the removal. The possibility that the jetties were seen as a fire risk was also considered. By the end of the session, however, the whole audience was aware that Friedman had opened up a completely new dimension of urban building history, which will link the stone-built towns of southern Europe much more closely to the timer-framed towns of the north, with their almost universal overhangs, than has ever been envisaged before.

J. Vilagrasa (Estudi General de Lleida) provided a systematic comparison of morphological changes in the commercial cores of Lleida and Worcester since the war. He argued that the two towns were similar in function and size, and that the comparison was methodologically valid. While drawing attention to many fascinating similarities and contrasts, he did not place sufficient emphasis on the wide divergence between the British economy and socio-political system and the distinctive Spanish experiences, first under Franco and then under the monarchy. He was able to show, however, that private initiative had been very important in Lleida, while development control had played a constant part in changes in Worcester. The main theme to emerge from this paper was the link between building causation and public policy. In Worcester public policy had maintained the traditional character of the town (though the notorious 'rape of Worcester' in the 1960s was surprisingly ignored), while in Lleida the stimulating mixture of modern and traditional design had been the product of a tacit consensus rooted in local pride. More might have been said of the current historic conservation policy in Lleida, and the pedestrianisation of some of the narrow streets in the central core. The international comparison was, however, extremely provocative and it should certainly be pursued.

M. Koter (University of Lodz) presented a controversial paper which looked both forward and back. Modestly entitled 'Towards an urban morphological model: the Polish contribution', it called for further study of a dynamic model of growth for industrial towns. Building on the contribution of Conzen, Koter called for a further step forward to the idea of an 'urban morphological cycle' which would include *all* the components of the town plan. There would be, for instance, a 'street cycle' and a 'market place cycle'. Even a 'general model' might be possible. Unfortunately, the empirical content of Koter's paper was purely descriptive. His use of the idea of an 'industrial fringe belt', though promising, was merely suggestive, and he himself admitted that he had not yet worked out the potential application of the idea of 'innovation diffusion' which he put forward in connection with

his concept of urban cycles. His concluding call for 'a general theory of urban forms' lacked the necessary reference to urban economics and echoed nineteenth-century positivism. The audience felt that there might be something in all of this but discouraging echoes from the past made them wary. One of the echoes perhaps emanated from the scholarly German efforts in the later 1930s to identify an essentially 'German' town which would replace the towns of western Poland after their incorporation into the Reich. Another, enunciated with persuasive clarity by Professor Conzen, was the impossibility of establishing that the relationship between the multiple variables would be the same at all times and in all places.

W. Krings (University of Bamberg) was interested in the application of urban morphology to townscape conservation. He reviewed the history of means of representing and analysing the city since the nineteenth century, referring to a recent spurt in the development of techniques. More disciplines were now involved, including urban history. Urban geography had an important role to play, however, for instance by showing how conservation areas related to general urban development. The next step might be, he suggested, to document recent morphological changes in the townscape at a detailed level. He went on to review a number of planning problems with a conservation significance in south German towns.

On the second day of the conference attention focused firmly on the twentieth century. D. Holdsworth (Penn State) provided a stunning account of the growth of skyscrapers in lower Manhattan between the 1890s and 1920. Using fire insurance maps, company records, city archives, and an architectural computer programme, he provided a three-dimensional and volumetric rendering of the growth of the New York business district during the early skyscraper period. He emphasised that the largest buildings were normally investments rather than company headquarters, with most of the space in buildings such as Singer and Woolworth let out to small tenants. The building could nevertheless be used as a company symbol, and as a secure investment or even speculation as demand for office space increased in New York. The rise of Midtown in the late 1920s and 1930s would undermine the monopoly of lower Manhattan and the New York zoning ordinance of 1916 probably had more effect than Holdsworth was able to convey. However, the use of advanced computer techniques in a historical context was in itself a revelation and Holdsworth's presentation was by far the most technically advanced in the whole of the conference.

P.L. Knox's (Virginia Polytechnic) paper, 'The restless urban landscape', was an appropriate successor to Holdsworth's. He was concerned with the

'post-industrial' environment of Washington D.C., where the emphasis was on consumption and lifestyle for a small group of new rich. He identified a 'restlessness' in the townscape which sprang partly from changes in political economy. He detected a rapidly changing 'consumerism', linked to 'postmodernism' in production. Aesthetics, he claimed, becomes more important to the upwardly mobile, and the result is a 'post-industrial' townscape of pastiche, fantastic and expressionist buildings in the commercial centres, and dreamy suburbs symbolising personal aspirations and familist values. The paper was illustrated largely by advertisements for new developments near Washington, in which memories, dreams, and historical allusions were emphasised - 'The Waltons' made real.

A. Vernes Moudon (University of Washington) brought the meeting down to earth with her review of suburban architecture in the Seattle area between the 1920s and the 1980s. Anyone assuming that Seattle, being on the West Coast, would have some interesting suburban houses, was quickly disabused by the array of standard types, many of them reminiscent of Canadian examples, which appeared on the screen. Systematic explanations of the genesis of these houses, and of the block layouts in which they were set, would have been a compensation, but none was provided. A progression from a narrow house to a wide house was usefully identified, but in other respects the paper lacked analysis and it was difficult to make connections with the other contributions.

The final session, chaired by Dr Whitehand, discussed the future of urban morphology. The application of urban morphology took a central position. Some fears were expressed that if historical geographers made their work more widely available to policy-makers, it would be vulgarised and abused. Others pointed out that the kind of urban morphology conceived at Birmingham was not really historical, because it was so contemporary in its concerns. However, this prompted the response that history could not be confined to the past; it reached into the present. Whitehand wondered whether we could not go back to studying entire towns, as had been the practice in the 1950s, but using all the advances of the last thirty years. Finally, two crucial points were made. First, a request was made for a bigger economic input into urban morphology, for it had been sadly lacking in the conference discussions. Second, there was a general call for more theory, which had been in the background but which could now come forward at what might be a crucial phase in the development of the discipline.

LANDSCAPE, HERITAGE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Landscape Research Group Conference, Nottingham University, 7-9 September 1990

Dennis Hardy
Middlesex Polytechnic

Each of the elements of this conference - landscape, heritage and national identity - is itself a productive source of ideas and debate. Any one of these on its own could provide a legitimate agenda; brought together into a common programme the mix was assuredly rich.

Like so much historical work, the conference agenda was set by issues and concerns of current import. Landscapes, and attitudes to them, asserted the conference organisers (Stephen Daniels, Peter Elliott and Pyrs Gruffudd), reveal the ways in which cultures seek to understand themselves, particularly at times of rapid change. Post-colonial Britain, for example, is increasingly re-assessing its identity through the lenses of ethnicity, gender, class and environment. This tendency is widely seen as a response to the fragmentation of political and cultural consensus. The heritage industry and its appeal to nostalgia occupies a significant and contentious place in this cultural reassessment. The conference was thus designed to consider issues that relate landscape to ideas of heritage and national identity.

Such an aim for the conference was broad-ranging and, inevitably, the scope of papers was wide. Keynote and guest lectures by David Lowenthal, Patrick Wright and Raphael Samuel were accompanied by twenty sessional papers, the latter organised in terms of six themes - Constable Country, Archaeology of Meaning, Landscape and Empire, Heritage in Practice, Nature and the Nation, and English Pastoral. Individual papers ranged from the cultural meanings of diet to the politics of Stonehenge, from images of the polar landscape to heritage in Brazil, and from the importance of locality to the music of Vaughan Williams.

Apart from the inherent interest of the various

papers, debate was provoked around a number of general issues. Raphael Samuel challenged David Lowenthal's contention that the English landscape is a traditional symbol of national identity, arguing, instead, that this recognition is really quite recent. Another divide opened up around the whole question of heritage interpretation - with one faction implicitly favouring a highly didactic approach and another arguing that the meaning of heritage should be left for people themselves to decide.

But the liveliest exchange was left to the last, when the view was put that, with about half the papers directly exploring aspects of Englishness, the conference had been too insular. Not only that, argued the critics, but some of the papers had concentrated too much on minutiae, to the neglect of more fundamental processes. Yet Englishness is an issue that cannot be ignored; it has been on the political agenda throughout the 1980s, and the distortion of heritage (as one aspect of this) has already been exposed. If the theme is thought worth pursuing, it is because a full critique - let alone an alternative construction of national identity - remains to be articulated. Much detailed work (not to be confused with minutiae) needs to be done. The conference undoubtedly succeeded in various ways in pursuing this latter aim.

It is planned that a small selection of papers will be published in a forthcoming issue of *Landscape Research*, and the conference organisers are exploring the possibility of a book to include some of the other papers.

Publications

Abstracts

Ball, Michael, Harloe, Michael and Martens, Maartje, *Housing and Social Change in Europe and the USA.* London: Routledge, 1990, 222pp, ISBN 0-415-04994-6, £10.99.

Against the background of a growing structural crisis in the provision of housing in advanced capitalist countries, the volume looks at housing markets, housing policies and specific institutions in such countries as Britain, the USA, France, West Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark. It draws on case studies to illustrate the different sectors and changes taking place within them.

Bristow, Roger, *Hong Kong's New Towns. A Selective Review.* Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1989, 385pp, ISBN 0-19-584210-3.

Describes the development procedures and controls, as well as aspects of design, that led, over a period of 30 to 40 years, to one of the world's major planning achievements, the relocation of 3 million people in new towns in the New Territories, which were previously uninhabited or rural, or shallow inlets of the South China Sea.

Daunton, M.J. (ed), *Housing the Workers. A Comparative History, 1850-1914.* London: Pinter (Leicester University Press), 1990, 297pp, ISBN 0-7-185-1315-0, £29.50.

Chapters on Paris (Ann-Louise Shapiro), Brussels (Patricia van den Eeckhout), Vienna (Renate Banik-Schwuizer), Budapest (Gabor Gyani), Berlin (Nicholas Bullock) and American cities (Martin Daunton) focus on the broad areas of the process of development, architectural forms, the pattern of ownership of housing, the management and control of housing, and public policy.

Diefendorf, Jeffry M., *Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities.* Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990, 234pp, ISBN 333-474430, £37.50.

In tracing the reconstruction of cities in 8 European countries during the decades following the Second World War, authors illustrate how those responsible for the individual programmes had to grapple with the complex issues of architectural design, town planning, and historic preservation. Some perceive elements of continuity with the years after the First World War and time of Nazi domination. Others draw attention to the success and failures of reconstruction under Soviet-dominated socialist regimes.

Dimitriadis, E.P. and Yerolympos, A. (eds), *Space and History. Urban, Architectural and Regional Space. Skopelos Symposium Proceedings.* School of Architecture: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and the University of Thessaly, 1989, 226pp.

The contributions made to this symposium are arranged under the headings of theoretical issues on space and history, the production of space in history, space and ideology, planning and history, and contemporary geographical issues. Aspects of planning history are developed in three papers that cite the experience of the river Danube in the Vienna region, the town of Charlottenburg, and the post-war regional economic development of Bulgaria and Greece.

Evenson, Norma, *The Indian Metropolis: A View Towards the West.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989, 294pp, ISBN 0-300-04333-3, £30.00 cloth.

This beautifully illustrated volume traces the history of the modern Indian city by describing the evolution of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras since the advent of the British in the 1600s. In addition, it examines the construction of New Delhi in the twentieth century. Evenson has presented a convincing conceptualisation of modern Indian architectural history linking it to the broader debate in Great Britain as to what the British mission in India should be.

Fairbanks, Robert B. and Underwood, Kathleen (eds), *Essays on Sunbelt Cities and Recent Urban America.* College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1990, 176pp, ISBN 0-89-96-396-7, $19.95 cloth.

This book of collected essays is the latest of several essay collections to define, analyse, and interpret the cities of the American Sunbelt. It mixes the case study approach to better understanding the origins of Sunbelt growth to the cities of Houston, Dallas and San Diego with broader analysis focusing on the spatial and regional context of that growth. Contributors include Kenneth T. Jackson, Raymond A. Mohl, Robert Fisher, Carl Abbott, Roger W. Lotcvhin, Robert B. Fairbanks and Zane L. Miller.

Gaskell, Martin S. (ed), *Slums.* Leicester: University Press, 1990, 251pp, ISBN 0-7185-1293-6, £32.50.

Examines the physical characteristics of slum property, related social and economic problems, and inherent popular culture between the 18th century and second world war. Following a social geography of the urban slum (Martin Gaskell), Gordon Mingay provides a detailed account of the urban slum, Graham Davis (Beyond the Georgian facade: the Avon Street district of Bath), and an account of the metropolitan slum between 1918 and 1951 (Jim Yelling).

Ladd, Brian, *Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany, 1860-1914.* Harvard University Press, 1990, 326pp, ISBN 0-674-93115-7, £29.95.

Recounts the struggle of prosperous German bourgeois leaders to bring order to their rapidly expanding cities through the use of public health works, plans for streets and squares, and aesthetic concerns. Case studies of Dusseldorf, Cologne and Frankfurt and Main help reveal the extent to which modern city planning may be a product of the aspirations, prejudices and frustrations of the German burghers who created it.

Leontidou, Lila, *The Mediterranean City in Transition. Social Change and Urban Development.* Cambridge: University Press, Human Geography series, 1990, 296pp, ISBN 0-521-34467-0, £35.00 ($59.50).

Focussing upon Greater Athens between 1948 and 1981, the crucial period when polarisation gave way to diffusion, urbanisation and flexibility, the author explores the role of social classes in urban development. Interaction between popular spontaneity, economic forces and State control has brought about differences in the timing and manner of the new processes in cities such as Athens, Salonica, Rome, Naples, Milan, Madrid, Barcelona and Lisbon, as compared to those in Northern Europe.

Miller, Char and Sanders, Heywood T. (eds), *Urban Texas: Politics and Development.* College Station: Texas, Texas A & M University Press, 1990, 208pp, ISBN 0-89896-397-5, $15.95 paper.

This collection of essays is introduced by an excellent overview of urban Texas. The other essays illuminate several important themes that are crucial to understanding urban development in not only Texas but in the United States. The authors contributing to this volume address the issues of political power and the role of urban elites; the relationship between federal government and urban planning and development; the rise of Sunbelt cities; and the impact of race relations on urban policy.

Mingay, G.E., *The Rural Idyll.* London: Routledge, 1989.

From the prolific pen of G.E. Mingay, Emeritus Professor of Agrarian History at Kent, comes yet another insight on the British countryside over the last 150 years. It is, however, not as successful as some of his other contributions, and were it not a companion volume to *The Vanishing Countryman* and *The Unquiet Countryside* one wonders why it should have been published at all. There are nine chapters (from eight different contributors); the first six have all ben published before and are readily available in *The Victorian Countryside* (1981), the massive, two volume compilation which was so comprehensive. The new chapters, written by Alan Rogers and Philip Lowe are excellent in their way and serve to bring some 19th century issues into a context of 20th century rural planning. But this is an opportunity missed; *The Rural Idyll* fails to cohere as a separate volume and we have seen two-thirds of it before.

Montgomery, John and Thornley, Andy (eds), *Radical Planning Initiatives. New Directions for Urban Planning in the 1990s.* Aldershot: Gower, 1990. 325pp, ISBN 0-566-05778-6, £32.50.

In the context of experience over the last decade or so, the 23 contributions to this volume focus on the initiatives that might be taken in giving planning practice a new sense of direction in the 1990s, under the main themes of control of economic strategies, control of the land and property market, equal opportunities, and participation in popular planning. Focussed on the United Kingdom, case studies are drawn from Aberdeen, London Docklands and Sheffield.

Punter, John V., *Design Control in Bristol: 1940-1990*. Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 1990, 451pp, ISBN 0-948265-59-0, £35.00.

Focussed on a study of 250 large office buildings which transformed the face of post-war Bristol, the volume examines the economic, political, social and design contexts that produced a series of changing fashions. The impact of the property crash of 1973, and the new regime of design control, conservation and sensitive regeneration that followed, are a microcosm of national experience. Further progress towards a humane city is dependent on a much more positive attitude towards planning from central government.

Sandercock, Leonie, *Property, Politics and Urban Planning : A History of Australian City Planning, 1890-1990*. New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers, second edition 1990, ISBN 0-88738-335-1.

A reprinted version of the author's *Cities for Sale: Property, Politics and Urban Planning in Australia*, originally published fifteen years ago. Includes a new 33 page introduction which has several objectives: orientation of an American readership to her subject matter, updating the narrative post-1975, reassessing her own work, and addressing the question 'how would I approach my task differently today?' Animated less by Australian planning history research since the mid-1970s than by catching up with recent work of American authors such as Foglesong, Hayden, Kelly and Boyer, the expatriate Sandercock is now most concerned with injecting gender into planning history.

Turan, Mete, *Vernacular Architecture. Paradigms of Environmental Response*. Aldershot: Avebury, Ethnoscapes series, Volume 4, 1990, 360pp, ISBN 0-566-071762, £42.50.

The ideas for the volume arose from a Vernacular Workshop held in Ankara, Turkey, in 1982, that sought to review both theoretical and conceptual issues, and address contextual problems confronted in understanding and explaining the traditional means of construction from a broader perspective. The 14 contributions to the volume are organised under 4 headings: the nature of vernacular architecture; constituents of vernacular architecture; learning from vernacular architecture; and vernacular architecture as a paradigm.

Troy, Patrick, *The Evolution of Government Housing Policy: The Case of New South Wales 1901-1941*. Urban Research Program Working Paper No.24, September 1990, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 40pp, ISBN 0-7315-110-X.

The small monograph 'reviews the development of ... housing policy in New South Wales from the latter part of the nineteenth century through the first forty years of the twentieth century. Through a discussion of the social and political circumstances and debate surrounding government policy regarding landlord/tenant relations, housing quality and supply, and owner occupancy, it argues that policy evolution is irregular and a product of the exigencies of the political process. It also argues that although government policy did little to improve the housing situation for the underprivileged, there was nevertheless a growing acceptance by both Labour and Conservative parties of the increased need for government intervention in the housing market'.

Wakeford, Richard, *American Development Control - Parallels and Paradoxes from an English perspective*. London: HMSO, 1990, 277pp, ISBN 0-11-752269-4, £25.00.

Land use planning structures in Britain and America are now as close as they have ever been, but have evolved from very different backgrounds. As planning trends in the US lead to more regulation and discretionary control, the British system is being streamlined in the interests of deregulation. Chapters assess the efficacy of development control, the range of mechanisms available, the manner in which they are applied by local government and constrained by the Constitution, and the relevance of zoning and other control methods.

Whitehand, J.W.R., *Residential Development under Restraint: A case study in London's rural-urban fringe*. University of Birmingham: School of Geography, Occasional Publication No.28, £4.50.

This is one of a rapidly growing number of studies of aspects of the urban landscape by members of the Urban Morphology Research group at the University of Birmingham. It owes its existence to an opportunity that arose for the author to act over a period of some three years as the agent of a landowner in the course of a residential development in the town of Amersham, in the central Chilterns. The study is concerned with the light that can be shed on a number of issues in residential development by a detailed examination of attempts to

develop a single site. Events relating directly to that site are set within the context of developments in the vicinity. Much of the information on which the study is based was obtained from the telephone calls, correspondence and meetings between the firms, organisations and individuals concerned in the activities that presaged the development.

Wilson, William H, *The City Beautiful Movement*. Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1989, 365pp, ISBN 0-8018-3758-8, $38.50 cloth.

In this handsome, thoroughly researched, and engagingly written volume, William H. Wilson attempts to explain the origins, ideology, successes and failures, demise, and long-term influences of the City Beautiful Movement. Rejecting interpretations of the City Beautiful that are either openly critical or merely dismissive, the book is a revisionist planning history using case studies to validate the author's generalisations about the movement.

Catalogue

Inch's Catalogue 52

City Development, Housing and Town Planning, etc. Contains 381 titles. Available as below.

Inch's Catalogue 53

Books from the Library of Reyner Banham. A collection of 283 titles, most with Reyner Banham's ownership label. An introduction to the catalogue by Dr Nigel Whiteley, Lancaster University. Available as below.

Inch's Catalogue 54

Art, Architecture, Design, Photography, Fashion, etc. Contains 733 titles.

Available from Inch's Books, 3, St Paul's Square, York, YO2 4BD (Tel. 0904-627082 or 629770).

PHG

Treasurer's Report - 1989

1. Reversing the trend observed since 1986, there was an encouraging rise in overseas subscription income in 1989 (even when taking into account unusually high 'other years' subscription income of £291.74, most of which related to 1988). Home subscription income was also considerably up on 1988. The Group further benefited from the generally high interest rates prevailing during the year.

2. There were no exceptional items of expenditure during the year, with some delayed Vol.X *Planning History* production costs being met from the Bulletin Reserve Fund. The successful organisation of the Bournville Conference meant that the bulk of the £1,000 added to the Seminar Fund could be returned to the General Fund, leaving the Seminar Fund with its original amount together with allowances for 1989 interest and a residual sum to cover the Group's contribution to the Conference expenses to be carried forward to 1990. On behalf of the Group I would like to express our thanks to the Bournville Village Trust for their co-sponsorship of the Conference and administration of its finances which have been of enormous help.

3. Following our Hon. Auditor's advice on dormant accounts, the Group's Building Society and Seminar Fund Current Bank accounts were closed during the year. The sums involved were transferred to our Royal Bank of Scotland higher interest deposit account.

4. With an excess of receipts over payments of £2,295.11 for 1989, it has been possible to set aside £1,000 for costs related to the production of a directory of planning history theses as a new Group initiative. It has also been possible to make further allocations implementing the decision made at the time of the increase of subscriptions to £10.00, namely that of building up a reserve to cover future bulletin production costs. At the same time a sum of £1,200 has been allocated to General Reserve Fund to cover any unexpected expenses or further new activities.

5. I am very grateful to Mr E.G. Elms for continuing to act as the Group's Hon. Auditor, for checking the accounts for 1989 and for his continuing advice.

David W. Massey
University of Liverpool

Planning History Group: Accounts for 1989

1. Summary

	£ p
BALANCE B/F FROM 1988	5,532.09
Receipts 1989	3,426.26
	8,958.35
Payments 1989	1,131.15
	£7,827.20

2. Receipts and payments for the year ended 31.12.89

RECEIPTS

Subscriptions	
UK	1,211.00
Overseas	1,261.70
Other years	291.74
Leaflet Distribution	60.00
Interest on Deposits	601.82
	£3426.26

PAYMENTS

Bulletin Production	596.50
Membership Mailing	456.34
Administration	78.31
Excess of receipts over payments	2295.11
	£3,426.26

3. Balance Sheet as at 31.12.89

Seminar Fund	587.00
General Fund	258.20
Thesis Directory Fund	1,000.00
General Reserve Fund	1,200.00
Bulletin Reserve Fund	4,782.00
	£7,827.20

4. Represented by:

Current Giro a/c	33.57
Current Bank a/c	85.47
Deposit Bank a/c	7,708.16
	£7,827.20

AUDIT REPORT
Audited and found correct

10 October 1990
E.G. Elms

Planning History Group

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

Chairman

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

021-414 5537

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).

Membership Secretary:
Dr Pat Garside
Planning History Group
Department of Civil Engineering
Salford University
The Crescent
Salford
M5 4WT

061-736 5843

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.