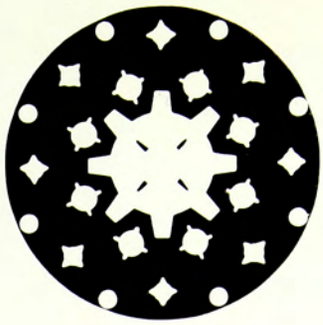
Planning History



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Notes for Contributors

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

Contents

Editorial

In this issue the Chairman of the Planning History Group launches an important debate about its future. The options he asks the membership to consider speak for themselves and I hope they will be given the consideration they deserve. At this early stage in the consultation process, it would clearly be premature for *Planning History* to adopt any rigid position. However we can observe that there is certainly much to recommend the idea of an International Society, reflecting as it would the truly international bases of the planning history 'community'. Although the Planning History Group was conceived and born in Britain, it has not been numerically dominated by the British for a long period. The key leadership and administrative roles have been filled by British members, but this represents the work of a very few extremely committed individuals. Most British members are relatively inactive in Group affairs, and more than once the Group has had to face the extremely difficult problem of finding successors in certain key posts, sometimes without any takers. An International Society would undoubtedly provide a more formal framework for harnessing the energies of many of the Group's non-British membership. Moreover it should provide an umbrella body to which existing cognate organisations in various countries could affiliate.

On the other hand there are considerable arguments for caution. The cheap and cheerful informality of the Planning History Group has served us well and has fostered and encouraged a remarkable spate of fine academic work. We must be very careful not to lose that in pursuit of some grander framework that may ultimately be less effective in serving the best interests of the planning history 'community'. The higher membership fee that is implied may turn us into a much smaller group, which would be a great shame. We do not all need to organise conferences or author books to participate in the 'community' we have identified. The mere reading of *Planning History* is a shared act of engagement.

There are therefore arguments both ways. Quite rightly Gordon asks that we speak for ourselves and make known our views. However he asks only for direct responses from the members to himself. The editor of *Planning History* would like to extend this invitation and will gladly feature any responses from the membership for publication in future issues. On such an important matter, it seems proper that there should be ample opportunities for more open debate such as is possible in this journal. Members may either send material directly to the editor or indicate to Gordon that their views can be published. We would emphasise that members may still communicate privately with the Chairman if they wish.

Meanwhile this issue provides a good example of what the Planning History Group is presently able to sustain. We offer readers an encouragingly international selection of articles and other material. Particularly welcome is Dr. Gzell's article on Polish planning since 1945 and the editor would like to encourage other similar contributions from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, where the Group has acquired several recent new members. It will be less apparent to readers that a good deal of material has had to be held over for reasons of space, and the earlier deadline necessary to make this issue available for the major AESOP/ACSP Conference at Oxford on July 8-12. However this material, which includes several Conference reports, will be incorporated in the next issue.

Stephen V Ward

Chairman's Message

The Planning History Group Seventeen Years On

Gordon E Cherry
Chairman of the Planning History Group

The Group's Executive Committee has been considering the merits of possible changes in the organisation of PHG. One line of approach has commanded some support and it has been decided to test this out on the membership as a whole in order to see what reaction there might be from a wider constituency of interests. All members are invited to consider the following very carefully, and I will be very glad to have your views. Hopefully, the timescale will permit an open discussion if a meeting could be arranged during the Richmond (Va) Conference in November. I would stress that what is outlined below is an exploratory schema, where no fixed views have yet emerged; it is for discussion and counter suggestion.

We might recall our origins. PHG was founded in 1974. The term 'Group', fashionable at the time, sought to reflect the loose, international assembly of people, brought together by a common interest, flexible and not tied by conventions of formal structures which stressed objectives, rules and procedures. In time, we were in fact obliged to become more formalised; when it was necessary to ask for annual subscriptions, an elected committee took on responsibility for income and expenditure and later dealt with matters of policy and appointments. A constitution was prepared. Meanwhile the *Bulletin*, now *Planning History*, supplemented by *ad hoc* meetings and International Conferences, has held us together.

Seventeen years on, the situation has changed somewhat. It is argued that there is a bigger job to be done, which the Group's admittedly amateur structure and status cannot hope to tackle. One view which has commended itself to the Executive Committee is that the Group should transform itself into an International Planning History Society (IPHS), rather more rigorously constituted, with clear objectives for the promotion of planning history, adequately financed for the tasks in hand, and with a capacity for effective action. The new body might have a President and Vice President, honorary of course and on a fixed, short-term basis. The present chairman might become an Executive Secretary, elected together with other officers including membership secretary, treasurer and editor. It would organise international conferences on a regular basis. It could offer prizes or medals for prestigious work. It could embark on membership recruitment. It could encourage research and have a dialogue with planning education.

One model might be for IPHS to become an international parent body to which other national groups/societies might affiliate, so permitting variety and independence across nation states, while at the same time having some over-arching umbrella.

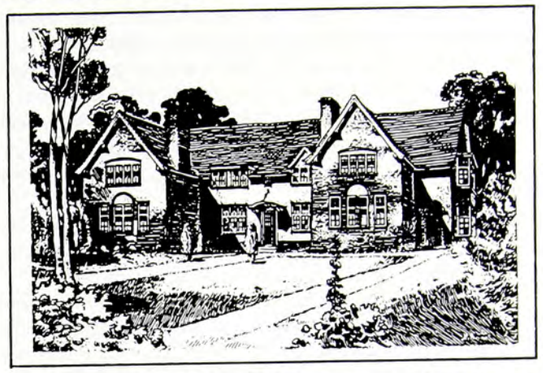
There are some important implications to consider. Such an organisation would require funding at a level significantly beyond the £10 annual subscription to PHG. One particular casualty would be members in those countries where exchange rates are particularly unfavourable and where access to hard currency for academic/professional subscriptions is notoriously difficult; differential subscription rates might have to be engineered. The role of national bodies independent of IPHS would have to be carefully considered; after all there are other competitors, especially in urban history, planning and architecture.

The weight of these operational difficulties has not been such as to suggest to the Executive Committee that it should abandon its speculation about the transformation of PHG into something with rather greater clout. The notion of an IPHS seems to have some head of steam but the Executive Committee needs something rather more to bite on in the form of views and reactions from members if there is to be any dependable conclusion to the discussion.

I would be very grateful to hear from anyone over the next couple of months about PHG. Do you want to see changes take place? If so, in what directions, and to achieve what objectives? What more should we be doing? Or are things quite satisfactory as they are?

Notices

The Model Village and its Cottages: Bournville 1895-1914



Presented by Michael Durman and Michael Harrison

This exhibition will be presented at the Joint ACSP and AESOP International Congress, at Oxford Polytechnic, between 8th-12th July. The exhibition seeks to illuminate the early history of Bournville village. Using colour photocopies of original plans and old and new photographs it traces the development of the estate in the period 1895-1914. Particular emphasis is given to the work of W. A. Harvey, the first estate architect. The exhibition focuses on the interesting and attractive drawings he produced for the Bournville estate. More significantly, the exhibition traces the evolution of the Bournville 'cottage' type. Harvey and George Cadbury were interested not just in the cottages themselves, but in the total environment of the village. Gardens, recreational grounds and open spaces were a significant part of the Bournville experience. They played as important a part as the public buildings in the village in giving character to the estate and in creating a sense of community in Bournville.

Michael Durman and Michael Harrison have been working on the history of early Bournville for several years. This exhibition was first presented at Selly Manor Museum, Bournville, in March 1991. Generous support from Birmingham Polytechnic and Bournville Village Trust has enabled a full photographic record of the domestic buildings on the estate to be undertaken.

Michael Durman is Head of Department of Foundation and Community Studies, Birmingham Institute of Art and Design. Michael Harrison is Senior Lecturer, School of History of Art, Design and Contextual Studies, Birmingham Institute of Art and Design.

A booklet entitled *The Model Village and its Cottages: Bournville 1895-1914* will be available for the duration of the exhibition. Planning historians interested in using the exhibition at their institutions should contact Michael Durman at the following address: Birmingham Institute of Art and Design, Ruskin Hall, Linden Road, Bournville, Birmingham 30 1JX (Tel: 021 331 5775/6). There is no charge for the exhibition, but transport costs and insurance should be arranged and borne by the receiving institute.

Professional Studies and the Beginnings of Urban Planning: The 'Specialist' and the 'Amateur'

Proposals for a Network of Research

CONTACT: Dr. Jean Pierre **GAUDIN,** Laborataire Théorie des Mutations Urbaines en Pays Developpés, Institut Français d'Urbanisme - Université de Paris VIII UA CNRS 1244. E.N.P.C. - Le Service, la Courtine - 93167 Noisy-le-Grand Cedex. Tel: 43.04.40.98.

Dr. Gaudin writes (original in French):

Following our exploratory meeting in Paris in 1989 devoted to historical studies of urbanism/town planning, a particular theme of work has emerged, embracing a majority of the interests of the participants, namely the emergence of the specialist in urbanism/town planning at the start of the century.

These specialists progressively presented themselves at this time as being capable of a global, holistic approach to the town, but starting from a particular professional competence such as law, hygiene, architecture, management of modern networks etc. However the newly emergent figure of the urban specialist cannot be analysed independently from his counterpart, the amateur or dilettante, a notion which at that time did not have the same pejorative meaning that it does today. Indeed, certain of those who were reflecting at that time on the management of the town had claimed this label, for probably as long as 20 or 30 years. This might be because they defined themselves as general journalists, or because of their way of considering and appreciating the town as an aesthetic whole, or as social reformers or political beings.

It would be interesting to reflect on these two differently held positions of specialist and amateur, on

the reality of their contents and on their co-existence according to a certain number of variables, notably:

- The effects of perceptible shifts in this period of transition.
- The role of the social milieux to which they belonged.
- The weight of intellectual and professional training (beyond the classic distinction between engineers and architects).
- The structuring of the first bureaucracies of urban management.

The corresponding fields of analysis would seem to be in particular:

- Professional associations but also artistic or cultural associations of protection.
- The press in the two preceding groups.
- The biographical approach, involving a certain number of key persons.
- Analysis of administrative institutions responsible for urban management and the study of organisational frameworks of services and departments.

Proposed Approach

If this approach interests you or parallels your current fields of study, we would thank you for confirming quickly and indicating to us the relevant subject. On the basis of the different declarations of interest received, we can then organise an international working meeting, with the support of the Franco-German Programme of CNRS. This meeting will take stock among researchers on our findings and our relative approaches to these questions within the specified time period.

Please reply to Dr. Gaudin at the address shown above, indicating your preference for a meeting in December 1991 or March 1992.

The Fourth National Conference on American Planning History
The Fifth International Conference: Planning History Group

Jefferson-Sheraton Hotel
Richmond, Virginia, USA

November 7-10, 1991

The response to the Call for Papers for the Richmond conference has been overwhelming; the Program Committee has expanded the conference program to include over 140 papers by participants from 20 countries. The conference will feature many cross-cultural or comparative sessions and bring together practising architects, planners, and policy-makers with academicians from the fields of city and regional planning, history, geography, law, art history, American studies, landscape design, environmental studies, urban and public affairs, urban studies, historic preservation, engineering, and architecture.

As the first international conference on planning history to be held in the United States, the Richmond Conference promises to be an event of major intellectual significance for planning history and its related fields. Highlights of the program include keynote addresses by Gordon Cherry, Professor of Geography, University of Birmingham, UK, Zane L. Miller, Professor of History, University of Cincinnati, USA, and Eugenie Ladner Birch, Professor of Urban Planning, Hunter College - CUNY, USA.

Co-sponsors for the Richmond Conference are the Urban History Association, The Society for American City and Regional Planning History, The Planning History Group, and the Departments of Art History and Urban Studies and Planning at Virginia Commonwealth University. Mark your calendars and plan to attend!

The final program and registration materials will be mailed to all members of the co-sponsoring organizations in mid-summer of 1991. For more information, please write or telephone the Program Chair:

Christopher Silver
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Virginia Commonwealth University
P.O. Box 2008
Richmond, VA USA 23284
(805) 367-1134

Economy and Society in 19th and Early 20th Century Ontario

The London Conference for Canadian Studies, in conjunction with the British Association for Canadian Studies History Group, is planning a one-day meeting in London on **Economy and Society in 19th and Early 20th Century Ontario**, to be held on Friday 21 February 1992. Speakers who have already agreed to give papers include Stephen Ward (Planning, Oxford Polytechnic) on 'boosterism' and local economic initiatives in late 19th/early 20th century Ontario towns, John Benson (History, Wolverhampton Polytechnic) on retailing and penny capitalism, and Richard Dennis (Geography, University College London) on landlordism and working-class housing in Toronto. Further offers of papers are invited, on any aspect of Ontario history or historical geography. If you would like to present a paper, or wish to receive further details once the programme has been finalised, please contact: **Dr. Richard Dennis, Department of Geography, University College London, 26 Bedford Way, London WC1H OAP.** Tel: 071-387 7050; Fax 071-380 7567.

The meeting is times to precede the annual symposium of the Birkbeck College Centre for Canadian Studies, on the theme of Greater Toronto, to be held on Saturday 22 February 1992. Bridging the two meetings will be a reception and guest lecture, by Glen Norcliffe (Geography, York University, Ontario) on Friday evening. Further details of the Birkbeck meeting can be obtained from: **Dr. John Davis, Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, 7-15 Gresse Street, London W1P 1PA.**

Articles

Outline of Post-War Urban Planning in Poland

Slawomir Gzell
Warsaw Technical University

Two facts have to be taken into consideration when we would like to study or to judge the urban planning and the city/town development in Poland after the World War II. First, one should remember about the immense devastation caused by the war - 30% of buildings in towns were destroyed and Warsaw itself was 85% destroyed and its historic Old Town and other monuments were completely levelled to the ground. Secondly, a completely new relation between political, economical and social life and spatial solutions, both in planning and implementation, appeared[1]. Generally speaking, the political reasons dominated any other. Nothing was so important for the government as the introduction of new social order, a communistic one. In fact, such tendencies were prevailing till 1989 - each decision had to support it and no costs were too big in any field.

A third additional problem, perhaps not crucial but existing, was caused by the disparities in the development of different parts of Poland, inherited from the 19th century partition of Polish state and not resolved before 1939 - thus influencing planning after 1945.

To understand better this planning, it seems to be necessary to divide the whole period into parts. Each one has its own characteristics.

Reconstruction 1945-49

1945-1949 was a period of reconstruction with basic tasks guided by the obvious needs to restore war losses and to correct historic imbalances[2]. The main goal of the economic policy was to establish a solid foundation for the development of the national economy, first of all by building the key industries.

Social changes followed: mass movement to cities from countryside and small towns, nationalisation of the industry, partition of estates bigger than 50 ha., cancellation of private trade and craft, political police terror.

Within such a framework the period witnessed the rebirth of Polish architecture and urban planning, with even some confrontation of various ideas and philosophies. It was a time when both main groups of opponents could be satisfied: those historically oriented - as much attention was paid to the reconstruction of the destroyed historic town centres, and those who were close to the CIAM - as the first master plan of Warsaw, presented to the government in 1945, was based to some degree on the concept of 'Functional Warsaw' from 1934. So, we had from one side 'styl dworkowy' (mansion style) or 'zmodernizowany klasycyzm' (modernised classicism) and from the other former avant-garde solutions with its functional purity.

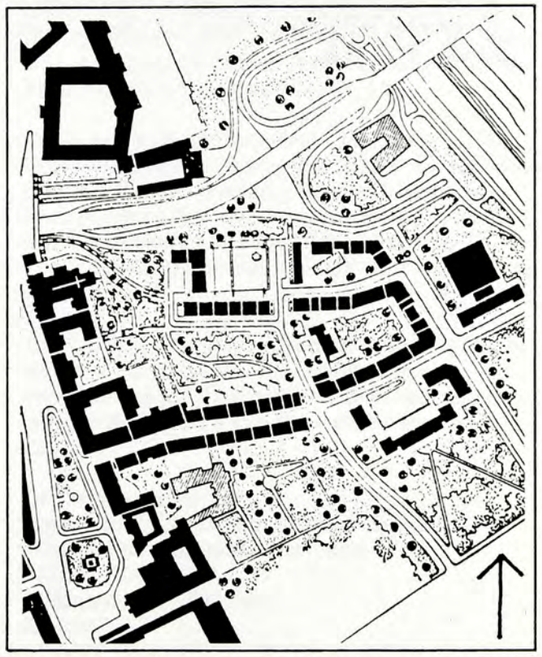


Figure 1: Mariensztat estate, Warsaw. Architects: J. Sigalin, Z. Stepinski, 1948-49. A - main square, B - Warsaw castle, C - Vistula river

A good example of the first trend the housing estate Mariensztat in Warsaw can be mentioned[3] as well as results of the so-called Simplified Plans Action (Akcja Planow Uproszczonych), which gave more than 60 plans for small towns in western and norther part of Poland[4].

Beyond doubt the most spectacular works of the period within the 'functional' trend were Maciej Nowicki's designs for the central part of Warsaw. It is clearly visible that he was influenced by Le Corbusier, but his proposals were not so grandiose. They were rather similar to those, later described by Lewis Mumford, when Nowicki went to India to work on Changigarh (he was, incidentally, too 'cosmopolitan' for Polish authorities and had to flee to the USA): 'he brought with him no ready-made stereotypes...(his) plans were wholly in the vernacular of modern building, yet were native to the scene'[5]. And again: '...the architect still can learn something from the 'innerness' of the medieval city, for it symbolised...the fundamental needs of the primary group. Nowhere, perhaps, has this sense of intimacy been better embodied that in Matthew Nowicki's studies.'[6]

The biggest venture realised during the first years after the World War II was Nowa Huta, an independent town near Cracow (now its district), next to the huge steel mill, built simultaneously with the town. The decision to build Nowa Huta was undertaken with the period 1945-1949 but the town design and implementation fully belonged to the period 1949-1956, called 'social-realistic'. The construction began in 1949 and by 1955 Nowa Huta had 80,000 citizens. The official direction of social realism played the determining role in the final shape of the town design. It based on the axial, geometric pattern of streets. Such a rigid structure almost totally neglected the most characteristic elements of the site. Building height followed: it was based on the principle of increasing verticality from two storeys on the outskirts up to six in the centre. Four residential districts (A-D), 20,000 inhabitants each, were designed. Each district was made up of three or four residential clusters. All these complexes vividly show changes in Polish urban planning and are the perfect field for comparison. The A group of clusters includes buildings constructed between 1949-1954 - they represent the prevalent tendency toward relatively free-form urban structure. B and C districts, constructed between 1950-1955, have smaller spaces between buildings than those in A and use the well worked out principles of built-up residential streets. According to the Nowa Huta general designer Tadeusz Ptaszycki there were no 'optical surprises'; composition of blocks was readable,

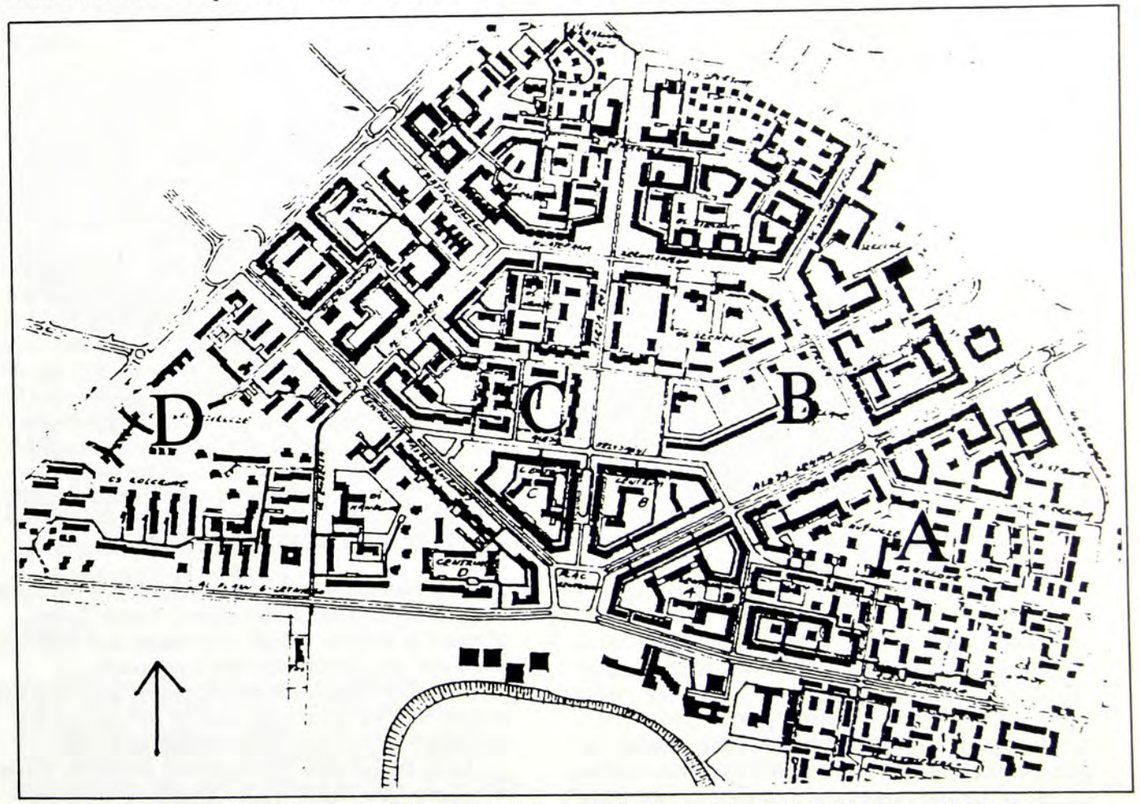


Figure 2: Nova Huta in 1960. General designer: T. Haszycki. A, B, C, D - town districts

regular and compact. Streets were corridor-like, entirely designed and contrasted with open space of squares. District D and next phases of Nowa Huta development (on the area of Binczyce village) were implemented after 1956 and slightly changed the formalistic pattern of the town[7].

Social Realism 1949-56

Why did Nowa Huta had to have the geometric street pattern and, generally what did social-realism mean for our urban planning? Some explanations are necessary.

The National Meeting of Architects - Party Members, held on 20-21 June 1949, introduced principles which had to be used in works of architects and urban planners. Had to - because those principles expressed the official policy of the state, governed by the 'leading power', the communist Polish United Workers Party. The Party 'led' the nation on all fields of its life and urban planning, so important tools of such a policy could not be left out of the Party's interest. It was a period of the ideological confrontation, the East vs. the West, and the battle had its front also in the arts, architecture and urban planning. The answer to 'capitalistic' concepts, as generally the western planning was called, was social-realism, which was supposed to connect dialectically aesthetical, functional and economical needs in urban planning. The good example of such an approach is quarter Marszalkowska Dzielnica Mieszkaniowa (MDM) in Warsaw. It is a complex of

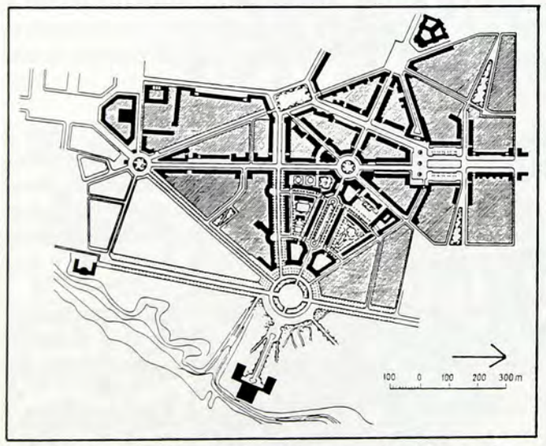


Figure 3: M.D.M. district, Warsaw. Architects: J. Sigalin, Z. Stepinski, J.Knothe, S. Jankowski, 1950-55

regular squares, connected by axes, surrounded by palace-like decorated multi-storey apartment houses, inserts in the remains of the 19th century city tissue[8].

The principles of social-realism said that any city/town is either capitalistic or socialistic, old - not so good, or new - good and promising. Big complexes, such as MDM for example, totally designed and built as the whole, should be within a new, socialistic city. The central district was considered as the most important and as such carefully composed. The other areas were subordinated to the central one and that link included each building constructed in the city. The architecture of those buildings had to be 'socialistic in meaning and national in form'. That slogan meant axial solutions, mirrored multiplication of elements, rhythm of strong, repeated accents, usually columns of pilasters - it had to express the strength of the socialistic society, so that it had the 'socialistic meaning'. Columns imitated those existing in various Polish historical monuments or, sometimes, columns had capitals decorated with Polish plants instead of acanthus - it was enough to secure 'national form' for architecture[9].

There were some exceptions to described rules. The most interesting example is Tychy New Town (Nowe Tychy), located in the southern part of Silesia,

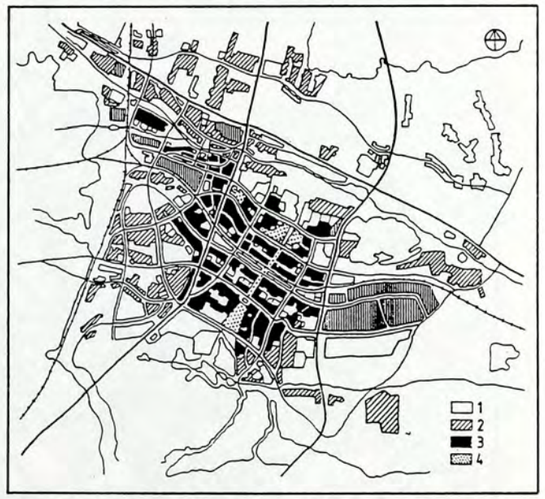


Figure 4: Tychy New Town. General designers: H. Adamczewski-Wejchert, K. Wejchert

initially planned as a 'dormitory town', on the fringe of a mining and industrial region. Nowe Tychy planned at first for 100,000 inhabitants and built since 1950, and has already reached a population of 200,000. The design and development following the competition for the master plan of the city are still continued in the same design office under the guidance of the same city's general architects, Hanna Adamczewska-Wejchert and Kazimierz Wejchert.

The principles of the 'crystallising element' organising the spatial pattern is consistently observed, though single implementation plans are

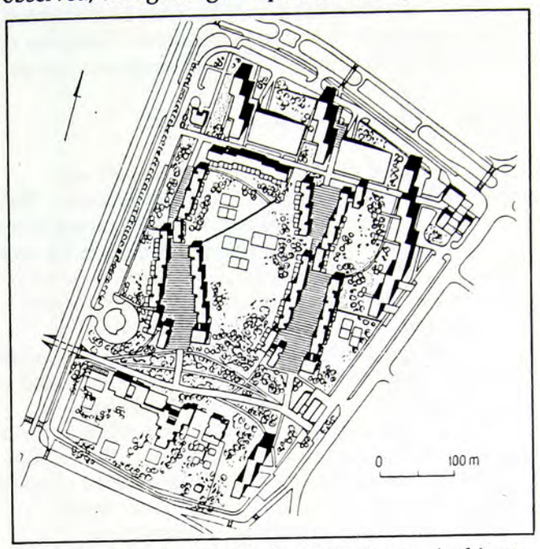


Figure 5: District 'M', Tychy New Town. Architects: H. Adamczewska-Wejchert, M. Czyzewska, K. Wejchert

subject to change due to actual housing standards, town planning norms and technological possibilities. Thus planning is sufficiently flexible while being subordinated to the main features of the master plan. The size of town allowed the separate complexes to avoid monotony and spatial uniformity[10].

Social-realism was finished in 1956. The All-Polish Meeting of Architects, 26-28 March 1956, was considered to mark the end of that period, and it was possible because of significant political changes. Social-realism left not only characteristic works of urban planning but also tendencies for the centralisation of planning and implementation processes. Very rigid standards, both architectural and urbanistic, huge governmentally-run planning offices, political leaders habits of steering professionals, organisation of building cooperatives, which became almost the only housing investor, also are the heritage of 1949-1956.

1956-64

The next years, till 1964, may be considered to be the best period of Polish post-war urban planning, especially its housing development. Designs for these years are highly valued not only by the professionals, but also by public opinion. The design of housing complexes of Nowe Tychy[11], or Sady Zoliborskie[12] (designed by Halina Skibniewska), a quarter in northern part of Warsaw, and many others date back to this period. These housing complexes are very different one from the other and the

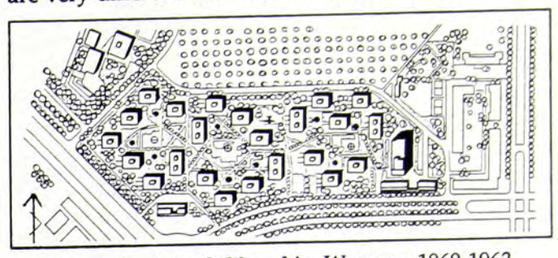


Figure 6: Sady Soliborskie, Warsaw, 1960-1963

individual character of each is visibly very good. During this period such ideas were born as 'the theory of thresholds' (Boleslaw Malisz, 1961)[13] and 'the crystallising element of a town plan' (Kazimierz Wejchert, 1966)[14] - and are presently widely known. This relatively good situation existed till the middle sixties. However, by about 1964 everything was changed. Pressure for new housing, promised to the nation by the government and the Party, introduced the supremacy of contractors' lobby over planners and architects. There was no time and money for design as economical difficulties of 1962-1964 resulted in slowing down the economic growth. They also influenced the implemented housing estates. Some 'austerity' measures were undertaken: dwelling floor area was decreased, equipment and finishing was reduced (in some places common sanitary facilities were installed). No other buildings except those made of large prefabricated elements were allowed (about 160 plants producing those elements were built, a big portion of them bought in USSR).

Standardisation 1964-80

The most common features of this period were the concentration of housing in new estates and the size of these new developments, which assumed the form and size of new towns though are still called 'housing estates'. New housing estates were built out of the city and town centres. Fringe terrains were easy to obtain (private ownership was rather neglected) and considered by monopolistic governmental contractors as proper for building. Proper meant profitable in that case, and sometimes the most important argument for the out of city location was not limiting the 'economic' length of crane rails!

The housing encroachment on new distant areas accelerated the enlargement of not only the technical infrastructure gap but also of communal infrastructure. The deficiencies were frequently caused by an unbalanced situation in decision-

making by participants in the investment process, investors, builders, designers, and from preferences

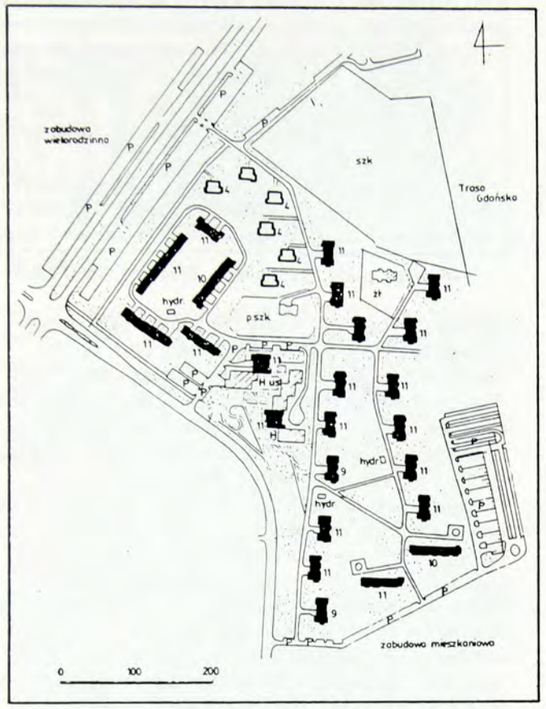


Figure 7: Bemowo IV estate, Warsaw. Typical solution of 1970s

of quantitative results, profitable for contractors as mentioned above. Of course the built-up projects of that period showed changes in the applied pattern[15]. But even with those innovations they were nothing more than a gathering of monotonous, standardised, concrete blocks with architecture of 5 and 11 floors, 'inspired' by the already mentioned crane needs.

However there were more ambitious and, frankly speaking, 'lucky' projects. Housing complex Ursynow North[16] (Ursynow Polnocny) in Warsaw is one of them. It was designed for 40,000 inhabitants. The basic design idea embraces the valuable elements of Polish cooperative housing tradition and also a progressive thought in housing.

During the design process certain principles were adopted. According to them the project should:

- provide to some extent for the users' influence upon shape, form and utilisation of built environment;
- arrange the service 'built in' functions along pedestrian routes;
- differentiate the character of particular spaces and elements of buildings in order for an easy identification of residents with their environment.

Most of the assumed principles were implemented, but some of them had to be put aside (flexibility of flats, the ground floor spaces for small services etc.).

The 1980s: A Wasted Decade

The described period started in 1964 and was finished in 1980, the year of a 'breakthrough'. That special year could be said to be the beginning of real reforms but we had to wait ten more years for them. So, the eighties were practically wasted in terms of progress and development. All the main factors describing the national economy faltered. For example the number of dwellings becoming available for use was constantly dropping. The renovation gap is the biggest ever, so the material substance of towns, including their technical infrastructure (never efficient enough) is in constant decay. The out-of-date technologies and wasteful exploitation of natural resources resulted in 27 regional zones under ecological threat, with some of them being additionally 'supplied' with extra pollution by the neighbouring countries, despite various common regulations and agreements.

The urban planning can do nothing but reflect the general situation and so it does. A new physical planning act, issued in 1984, connected planning even more strongly with the ineffective local authorities, maintaining the hierarchical dependence on the centrally managed national economy. Detailed data would make this pessimistic presentation only more depressing.

Of course, there are some efforts to change a situation both in the organisation of the planning process and in the planning principles, not to mention pure post-modern propositions (very formal and very close to social-realistic ones, as many projects from around the world). There is a need for new approach to the city, town, housing areas etc. We notice a growing awareness of the individualisation of user attitudes and activities, land ownership, and development of self-government. There is an attempt to scale down the housing development in order to enable public (social) participation and to diversify the form of the built environment.

Figure 8: Ursynow estate, Warsaw. General designer: M. Budzynski

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Housing Reform, Garden Suburbs and Statutory Town Planning at Bristol, 1900-39

Keith J. Skilleter

This article examines how town planning evolved in Edwardian and inter-war Bristol. The Edwardian era saw the increasing activities of local reform groups in the City. It is argued that the essentially voluntary or philanthropic housing experiments in the 'garden city' mould were too small to tackle a growing local housing crisis, a crisis also reflected nationally. The council's housing and town planning policies tended to follow national legislation; the separate development of statutory town planning following the 1919 Housing and Town Planning Act, rather than the 1909 Act. Early concerns at Bristol with suburban reform experiments and early statutory planning schemes in the suburbs remained until the 1930s and reflected the requirements of planning legislation. This account also illustrates growing municipal powers and planning responsibilities up to 1939.

Characteristics of Bristol

In the late 19th century the City was the main commercial and population centre in central western England, a position still enjoyed today. Traditionally the city developed around the old harbour in the city centre, about 4-5 miles up the River Avon, away from the Severn estuary. However, to improve commercial efficiency new docks were created at Avonmouth on the Severn estuary in 1877-1908 and the city boundaries were extended to cover development pressures to the north west. The population more than doubled between 1861 and 1911 from 154,093 to 357,173. By 1931 the population of the greater urban area, including suburban growth beyond the official boundaries, was 435,000[1]. Specialist shipbuilding as well as vehicle, aircraft and locomotive building evolved in the 19th century but no single industry dominated and the economic structure was varied and reasonably robust. Large family businesses were prevalent, notably Wills (tobacco), Frys (chocolate) and stationery and paper (Robinsons).

Social and housing problems in late 19th century and

Edwardian Bristol seemed less than in the conurbations. A national enquiry by the Board of Trade in 1908 into working class rents, housing and retail prices at Bristol gave a relatively optimistic report. Although there was a hard-core of poverty, overcrowding was less than in some other large centres and rents were lower than in London (but so were average wages). Helen Meller commented in 1976 that 'the vision of the future that was inherent in the first town planning Act of 1909 was not born in Bristol'[2]. However, the central areas were dominated by tenements and courts; clearance of the latter began by the end of the 19th century, the number declining from 320 in 1890 to 165 in 1912[3]. Over the same period the poorer residents of these areas were displaced by commercial development and municipal street widening schemes. House closures and demolitions were accelerated by the implementation of the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act. Between 1909 and 1915 over 1,200 houses were closed or demolished without any replacement[4].

'Social citizenship' and housing reform before 1914

At Bristol philanthropy had been the traditional response to such social and housing problems. The late 19th century saw growing links between philanthropic activity and local government. The emphasis moved away from concerns with the individual to temperance, youth work, education and environmental improvements. Such work was dominated by a small group, interconnected by religious, social and political ties, which became a 'governing elite'[5].

The reformist philosophy of this group was influenced by Samuel Augustus Barnett (1844-1913) who wrote a pamphlet titled 'The Ideal City', undated but around 1894. He became Canon of Bristol in 1893. This pamphlet came about as a result of his study of the educational, industrial and philanthropic conditions of Bristol. Barnett's vision was an idealised version of late Victorian Bristol with civic reforms, increased public expenditure, well directed philanthropic projects, slum clearance under the new Housing Acts and improved educational and cultural facilities. This vision was not a new garden city on Ebenezer Howard's model but rather the restructuring of an existing city with a population of 250-500,000. He promoted a socially conscious civic authority united behind a common political, economic, social and religious purpose[6]. His wife was Henrietta Barnett, who founded Hampstead Garden Suburb in 1905. Of her husband, the City and the pamphlet she wrote 'after using every effort to make the authorities ashamed (of its many slums) he wrote the pamphlet *The Ideal City*'[7].

Progress towards municipal housing in Edwardian Bristol was slow; only some Council tenement blocks were built between 1901 and 1907[8]. Before the First World War the Council was Conservative controlled and Liberal councillors formed most of the political opposition, led by the non-conformist Wills family. By 1910 there were 6 Labour (socialist) councillors and one Alderman. This picture survived in 1918 but by 1923 a growing Labour presence had precipitated on alliance between Conservative and Liberal councillors under the aegis of the 'non-political' Citizens Party. By 1930 Labour councillors and aldermen were able to form a major opposition party[9]. The first main recognition of Town Planning in the Committee structure occurred when the Housing Extensions and Town Planning Committee was formed in 1917. This Committee's main task was to plan the new Council estates. Before 1914 the Housing of the Working Classes Sub-Committee was concerned with housing, reporting to the Health Committee. Separate Committees for Housing and Town Planning were created in 1923 to separate out the housing and town planning requirements of the 1919 Housing and Town Planning Act. In 1933 the emphasis moved towards public works schemes and highway construction aimed at relieving unemployment and a Planning and Public Works Committee was formed.

Pressure for municipal suburban housing on 'garden city' lines grew from a loose coalition of religious groups, Liberal activists and the Labour movement; in 1907 a local branch of the national Housing Reform Group was formed under the leadership of councillor Frank Sheppard (who had become Housing Committee Chairman by 1924). Their report revealed that official density figures marked acute pockets of over-crowding in central districts and less prosperous suburbs[10]. Before the First World War members of the Health Committee visited 'and were impressed by' the municipal housing projects at Liverpool and Bath, as well as the garden village schemes at Port Sunlight and Bournville. A £50,000 legacy was made to the Council in 1910 by a local philanthropist for housing purposes (The Sutton Bequest). As a result Liberal councillors were encouraged to propose a low density development of 400 semi-detached and detached cottages but these schemes at Bedminster and East Bristol were delayed by the Council on cost grounds and faded away when war commenced in 1914[11].

The Bristol equivalent of Manchester reformers such as T. C. Horsfall and Thomas Marr were Canon Barnett and Elizabeth Sturge (the founder of the Bristol Garden Suburb). However, there were fewer

co-operative housing schemes in Bristol and they appear less successful than those in the Manchester area[12]. Yet the pressures to plan the suburbs at Bristol reflected national influences in the form of the garden city movement and the local tradition of urban based philanthropy. Whilst suburban municipal housing schemes were stalled, pressures leading towards the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act were evident in the suburbs. The earliest 'garden suburbs' at Bristol represented the desire of the wealthy middle classes to move to salubrious surroundings; in the mid 19th century large villas were built in North Clifton near the large public open space created by the Downs Act in 1861. Such development spread to the east of Durdham Down, commencing in 1865. In 1898 the architect Henry Dare Bryan designed handsome villas in the Queen Anne style of Bedford Park at Downleaze, west of the Downs[13]. As with many English cities it was the tramways system which opened up the suburbs. Filton Park was developed just beyond the northern city boundary at the tramway terminus between 1904 and 1933. The developer was the Western Wagon and Property Company, promoted by George White, Chairman of Bristol Tramways Company. Prospective purchasers were encouraged to take advantage of the lower rates in a rural district. This speculative estate was described as a 'garden suburb' in the hope of attracting purchasers and because only 5 houses per acre were intended[14].

In 1910 George White's solicitors suggested to him the model of Romford Garden Suburb, north east of London. At the latter suburb land was to be sold on freehold or lease with the option of purchasing the freehold within 5 years of lease commencement. Housing was to be 'conventionally' financed with building society mortgages[15]. Although experiments such as Bournville and Co-partnership Tenants Ltd., were investigated, major development was delayed by a local building slump and the estate was mainly developed between 1926 and 1933. The 112 houses were built for sale with freehold, but these were subsidised houses, subject to state assistance via the local authority under the Housing Act 1923[16]. The streets were regularly laid out with Scottish place names but the layout was generally unremarkable. However, at the same time as Filton Park was being planned, a more genuine 'reformist' garden suburb, inspired by Letchworth Garden City, was launched at Bristol.

The Bristol Garden Suburb

The first proposals for a garden suburb in north west Bristol were made in 1903 and 1906 when the owner of the 3,000 acre King's Weston estate, Philip Napier Miles, outlined a 'garden city' project[17]. The schemes were abortive but in late 1908 Alfred Lyttleton, chairman of Hampstead Garden Suburb, launched a Company at a public meeting in Clifton, attended by Ebenezer Howard[18]. The Bristol Garden Suburb Limited was launched on the 30th July 1909. The ordinary shares at £1 each were subject to a maximum dividend of 5%[19]. The chosen site, on a gentle slope down towards the south west, one and a half miles from the new Avonmouth Docks, was ideal. Thomas Adams prepared a plan for 280 houses on the 26.5 acres site[20]. The main promoter was Elizabeth Sturge. The industrialist George Willis J.P. was a shareholder. The social balance was intended to be mixed.

Local architect Frank Bromhead designed semi-detached cottages, 'L' shaped corner houses and longer blocks, generally in the 'vernacular' style of Parker and Unwin. Figure 1 is an idealised drawing but shows similar houses to types actually built[21]. The inspiration was co-operative artisan housing built at Bird's Hill, Letchworth Garden City, illustrated on the cover of a promotional pamphlet. It was hoped to sub-let all or part of the site to a co-operative housing society but it appears that the Company built its own housing[22]. By 1913 only 44 houses were built and after the 1914-18 war the half-completed road system was absorbed into the Shirehampton Council estate. The Company was created under the Companies (Consolidation) Act 1908. Its ordinary shares were deemed not suitable for the small investor and were aimed at the wealthy with a social conscience[23]. In 1918 a modest dividend of 2.5% was paid to investors. In 1923 the Company's assets were taken over by the Bristol Housing Company Ltd., later absorbed into the Bristol Churches Tenants Association[24].

In her notes Elizabeth Sturge expressed frustration over a lack of capital; she had found plenty of demand. The project was typical of the 'Five per cent philanthropy' schemes of the Edwardian era and had all the usual shortcomings of under capitalisation. Between 1916 and 1918 two attempts were made to build a large garden suburb or garden village on another part of the King's Weston estate between Shirehampton and Avonmouth (see Figure 2).

The Avonmouth Garden Suburb

The influence of the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act was more prevalent as co-partnership housing was specifically intended under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act. Such a public utility society was entitled to obtain from the Public Works Loan Board up to two-thirds of the value of

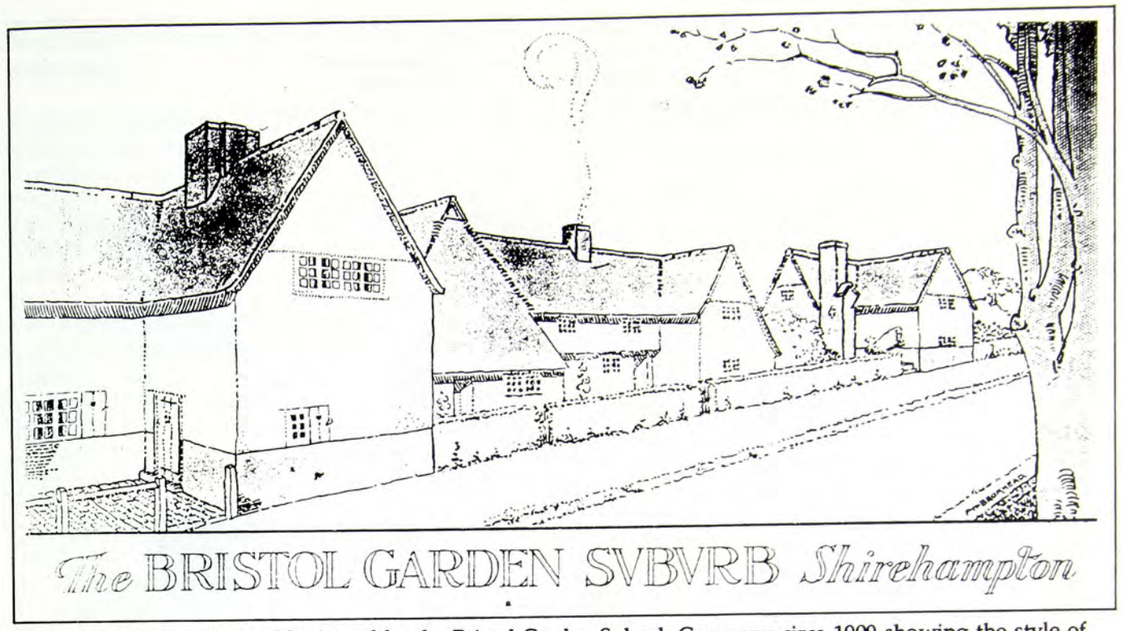

Figure 1: Cover of a booklet issued by the Bristol Garden Suburb Company circa 1909 showing the style of houses built on Springfield Avenue before the First World War.

its property. The 1916 project was promoted by the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers Union (later the Transport and General Workers Union). The Union said that there was a shortage of rented housing near the Docks and workers had to travel 6-7 miles out from the central city. The Secretary of the Avonmouth Tenants Ltd., was Alderman Frank Sheppard; Ernest Bevin was a member of the Committee. The national Union Secretary in London (Ben Tillett) attempted to raise the finance. The estate was to have 1,200 houses at a density of no more than 12 to the acre[25].

The Public Works Loans Board rejected its application for a loan based on housing need arguments, and said that only projects necessary to the national war interest were acceptable. Despite support from the War office and the Admiralty the scheme foundered on financial grounds[26]. The project was revived when Napier Miles asked the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association (GCTPA) to prepare a master plan for a new town on a 300 acre site. This coincided with the desire of the Ministry of Munitions to build works housing for the new Smelter Works under construction at Avonmouth. The 'munitions estate' was designed by George Pepler, previously of the Local Government Board, and place at the western end of the linear garden suburb site. The estate of 150 houses was built with a distinctly garden city movement influenced layout, with long back gardens; the open-ended streets left on the east side would have allowed the public utility society to have continued the development[27].

In an appropriate setting in which to plan a 'garden city' a conference was held on the 21st May 1917 'under one of the great trees in the garden of Kingsweston House'[28]. The initial master plan was drawn up by Ewart Culpin of the GCTPA. The planned ultimate population of 12-15,000 led the GCTPA to describe it as a 'garden city' and 'new town'. The association concluded: 'should this be carried out there is in this scheme more of the elements of the real garden city than in other proposal since Letchworth'[29]. This project helped to demonstrate the GCTPA's argument that public utility societies should take a leading role in the post-war housing programme, rather than municipal housing; the social programme planned at Avonmouth would not feature in any municipal scheme, nor would workhouses and laundries, as well as social and educational centres, several large shopping centres, swimming-baths, gymnasia and allotments[30]. Despite such support, the scheme failed because of difficulties over the acquisition of land and the raising of capital. However, following the anticipated requirements of national legislation, in 1918 the City Council was already planning a large scale municipal housing programme of low density cottage estates, having concluded that the munitions estate and charitable housing schemes would not provide for the estimated requirement.

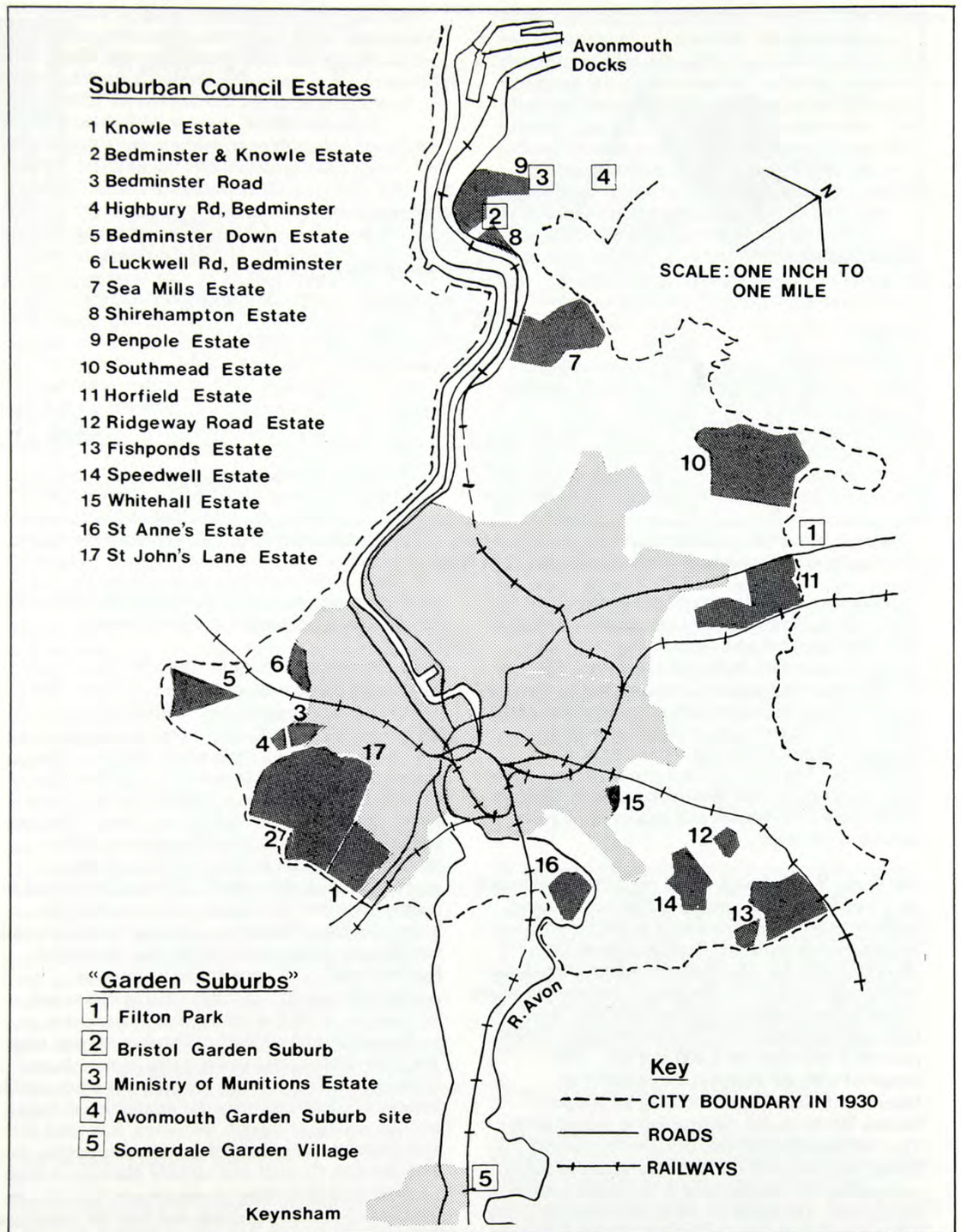

Figure 2: Location of 'garden suburbs' and suburban Council Estates at Bristol 1904-30 (main source: M. Dresser, 1984, p.175c).

Municipal housing estates and suburban extension

At the end of the First World War the national housing crisis was reflected locally, exacerbated by shortages of labour and materials. At Bristol by 1921 there were 11,773 more families than there were dwellings; the Chief Inspector of Housing and the Secretary of the Housing Department argued that the real need was closer to 15,000 dwellings[31]. The Local Government Board estimated in 1917 that 8,000 houses were required at Bristol, of which 2,000 were required at Avonmouth. A Council Sub committee resolved to ask the City Engineer to look for municipal housing sites as soon as possible[32]. From this process 'official' town planning at Bristol finally emerged. To plan the large new suburbs, a new Committee was formed on the 1st March 1918, called the Housing Extensions and Town Planning Committee, taking members from the Sanitary, Health and Select Committees. Only 10 days later the Committee resolved to purchase land to create five new village suburbs. At the recommendation of Sir Frank Wills, President of the Bristol Society of Architect, Mr C. F. W. Dening was retained as advisory architect to the Council[33].

A report went to the Council on 14th May 1918 recommending a 5,000 house scheme and land purchase of around 750 acres[34]. In *The Builder* journal of March 1919 the Council announced a competition to design 5,000 'workmen's dwellings' and offering cash prizes. It was intended that the winners would form a Board under the advisory architect, to carry out the scheme with the City Engineer. The two earliest housing schemes at Fishponds (Hillfields Park) and Sea Mills had formal avenues and landscaping in the Beaux arts style. This, and picturesque cottage designs, showed the considerable influence of the garden city movement. Unfortunately at Fishponds some tenders were as high as £1,500 per house and the architects had to find 25% cost savings[35]. The estates grew quickly and by 1936 Fishponds and Sea Mills had populations of 7,300 and 4,422 respectively[36].

With its central open space and radiating avenues Sea Mills was, and remains, the most attractive estate. Building work started after a formal 'opening' by Dr. Addison of the Ministry of Health in June 1919[37]. The avenue to the south leading to St. Edyth's Church is lined by short terraces of picturesque

Figure 3: St. Edyth's Road, in the model municipal suburb of Sea Mills which was commenced in 1920. St. Edyth's Church at the end of the formal Avenue was designed by Bristol architect Sir George Oatley (1990 photograph).

'cottages' (see Figure 3). The Knowle and Bedminster estate in South Bristol was on an extraordinary scale. By 1926 some 714.25 acres had been purchased, followed by another 411 acres in 1928. By 1936 the estate had a population of 21,912 - that of a reasonable town. The St. Annes estate, commenced in the late 1920s, had tree-lined streets radiating from the centre and tried to maintain earlier standards[38]. By 1936 some 15,653 Council houses had been built, all except 737 with government assistance. Dresser identified a progressive decline in the standards of house design and amenity provision after the 'axe' in subsidy of 1921. To a large extent this picture reflected national policy and design guidance[39]. The early 1919 Act estates at Bristol were a considerable achievement but as the volume of construction increased most estate designs became monotonous and lost direction. However, the Council's land holdings increased greatly and this encouraged land use planning, with land reservations for industrial use, public open space and new highways.

One of the main roads leading from the formal centre of Knowle Park estate was called Somerdale Avenue. This was a tribute by the Council to the only other significant 'garden city' development near Bristol, between the wars. When the chocolate manufacturers J. S. Fry and Sone Ltd moved from the city centre to a new greenfield site near Keynsham in the early 1920s, the Company called it Somerdale (the name resulting from a national competition). The layout of the industrial estate was based on Bournville and reflected the relationship between industry and co-operative artisan housing at Letchworth Garden City. The garden village was promoted by a public utility society created by the Company. This reflected the hopes of the 1918 Tudor Walters Committee Report that employers would build industrial villages on the outskirts of cities as an auxiliary contribution to the municipal housing programme[40].

The legacy of the garden city movement at Bristol was the programme of low density municipal estates; the idea of garden cities or new towns did not readily emerge in sub-regional planning beyond the city boundaries, although there were settlement expansion schemes.

Suburban growth and statutory town planning

Bristol's planning schemes were not as advanced as Birmingham, where a Town Planning committee evolved in 1910 and 1911 to administer four principal town planning schemes under the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act[41]. However at Bristol in 1914 a proposed Joint Scheme between the City and adjoining councils was overtaken by the war. In 1917, under the instructions of the Sanitary and Improvement committee, the City Engineer commended a Town Planning Scheme[42]. A Branch meeting of the Bristol Branch of the GCTPA agreed in October 1923 to recommend to the City Council that it organise a Joint Advisory Committee for Town Planning in the Bristol Region[43]. It was at this point that ideas on town planning stepped away from the dominant housing issue.

The Council created a separate Town Planning Committee on the 28th February 1923 to take up Section 46 of the Housing (Additional Powers) Act 1919, which required Schemes to cover undeveloped areas of land in the city. Under L. S. McKenzie, the City Engineer, Mr. B. F. Brueton became executive office of the Committee. This Committee decided to approach Birmingham City Council to borrow copies of town planning schemes already prepared there. The City Engineer said that because undeveloped land within the city boundary was not extensive, a scheme limited only to the city would drive development beyond the boundary and avoid planning controls. In the context of likely boundary extensions adjoining Council should be approached about their attitude to a joint planning scheme with Bristol[44] a meeting with the local authorities was arranged, and despite initial misgivings an agreement was reached with two Rural Councils north of the City[45].

In 1924 the City Engineers Department commenced work on a scheme for the city's expanding north western suburbs. This was the Bristol Town Planning Scheme No. 1, prepared in accordance with Section 2 of the Town Planning Act and was completed in June 1925. It included Filton, beyond the city boundary[46]. The scheme covered only 7,926 of the 18,455 acres in the city, with an additional 1,050 acres outside the boundary. Early statutory procedures were now in place and 42 objections to the Scheme were received, including one from the Company then building Filton Park[47].

An important influence on the further schemes which emerged at Bristol and beyond its boundaries was the Bristol and Bath Regional Planning Scheme. This was set up after a meeting on the 11th October 1923 between representatives from 15 local authorities and George Pepler, Town Planning Adviser to the Ministry of Health. Pepler presented a double-edged case, firstly in favour of town and regional planning, but secondly emphasising that a Regional Committee's powers could be made purely advisory; local authorities should be reassured that they would not be robbed of their powers and duties[48]. When the Committee started work on the 21st January 1924 it sought a town planning 'expert' and by April had appointed Professor Abercrombie. Mr. B. F. Brueton, by now Bristol's First Town Planning Officer, became Assistant Secretary to the Joint Committee, and would be joint author with Abercrombie of the Report[49].

Difficulties were encountered at an early stage; in the proposed plan area two Urban District Councils, two Rural District Councils and part of a third Rural Council would not join the Regional Committee. Whilst the two Urban Councils eventually joined in the three Rural Councils did not and the Committee decided to press on without them[50]. In 1929 the Joint Committee approved the Report for publication. The choice of the area was far-sighted, anticipating the area of the completely new creation of Avon County Council in 1974. However, like other Regional Plans for that period, it was an advisory document and the Committee had no real executive powers. Perhaps because of the area's inherent attractiveness and absence of extensive urban-based problems, the Plan strategy largely reinforced existing trends towards suburban growth around Bristol. It did direct some expansion to 'satellites', which were not new communities but rather 'garden city' influence was muted. There was no distinct green belt as in the Doncaster Regional Plan , Instead there were Special Landscape Reservations and a methodical analysis of landscape values. The scheme did summarise the few local schemes under preparation following the 1925 Town Planning Act[51].

By 1931 the Committee was urging all the Councils in the Plan area to commence schemes, assisted by the Local Government Act of 1929 which enabled County Councils to become partners in joint town planning committees. By 1937 most councils had started planning schemes and the Committee dissolved itself, asking the two County Councils to keep a strategic perspective in following the scheme's recommendations[52]. The earliest planning scheme at Bristol was followed by a further three schemes covering most of the suburbs to the north, east and south, as well as the immediate rural hinterland. The established urban core did not have a scheme, until the Bristol Planning (No. 5) Scheme which started in 1933; even this was only a small area of new municipal buildings and included College Green, near the Cathedral[53]. Early statutory planning at Bristol was essentially suburban in nature, influenced by the housing reform impetus of the 1909 and 1919 Housing and Town Planning Acts. During the 1930s some localised replanning of urban Bristol took place as part of slum clearance and municipal redevelopment schemes under the Housing Acts; the suburban areas experienced a 'boom' in unsubsidised private housing, a trend experienced nationally.

Replanning the City Centre

The replacement of the reasonably independent Town Planning Committee in 1933 with a new Planning and Public Works Committee signalled a change of emphasis towards urban redevelopment, public works and new highway projects. The Committee retained the Council's statutory responsibilities under the new Town and Country Planning Act, 1932 and continued to appoint members to Joint Advisory Committees for the Nos. 1, 2 and 3 Schemes. To a certain extent planning appeared slightly downgraded because the Committee had a much wider remit embracing new streets under the Public Health Acts, as well as administering the Road Traffic Act, 1932, the Public Works Facilities Act, 1930, and many other responsibilities[54]. Public works schemes were encouraged by national government as an antidote to massive unemployment. In 1935 the City Engineer, acting on a request from the Ministry of Transport, put to the Committee an ambitious five year programme of road works. Government grants would be available.

Accordingly in 1935/36 the City Engineer planned a new Western Road between the centre and St. Mary Redcliffe, and then a new Eastern Road north eastwards towards Old Market. This system was part of the Inner Circuit Road and Ring Road system. The section diagonally across the grassed centre of the mainly 18th century Queen Square was particularly controversial but the campaign to stop it was started too late in the planning process[55]. The emphasis moved to catering for traffic increases and car parking; to assist increased traffic movement the last remaining section of waterway in the Tramway Centre was covered over in 1938 and new office buildings in 'art deco' and modern movement styles were built around the edges. However, this emphasis from the mid 1930s on traffic planning and commercial redevelopment on a large scale acted as an introduction to post-1945 planning. The evident trends, the wartime blitz and the dominance of the City Engineer in planning are issues discussed by Dr. Punter in his recent book on Design Control in Bristol from 1940[56].

Conclusions

Late Victorian Bristol was distinguished by high levels of urban based philanthropy and 'social citizenship'. Early Town Planning in Edwardian Bristol had a narrow specialist basis, linked to the national housing reform campaign. All the City's housing reform schemes appear to have been under capitalised and failed to deflect a local housing crisis. The legacy of this local culture was a very high

standard in the early municipal 'garden suburbs'. One criticism of the 1909 Act is its permissive nature. Accordingly only a very small number of provincial cities (such as Birmingham and Sheffield) took up essentially suburban planning schemes before 1914. The compulsory requirement to prepare schemes in the 1919 Act was obligatory from the 1st January 1923, and it was that year that saw an independent Town Planning Committee at Bristol for the first time.

Although the 1932 Act extended the powers of local authorities by authorising the making of schemes for any land, urban or rural, scheme preparation became voluntary again[57]. At Bristol the result was that the Town Planning Committee's independent 10 year existence ended and statutory planning became an adjunct to public health obligations and public works. Although this superficially appeared a step backwards, there were some achievements; the suburbs and the urban fringes were covered by statutory schemes and if the core urban area was neglected that was as much a shortcoming of national legislation. Despite its limited powers, the Joint Bristol and Bath Regional Committee provided a central body to encourage neighbouring authorities to start on town planning schemes. However, this real benefit of the Regional Planning Scheme did not emerge until the late 1930s. Thus by 1939 the City had developed an early system of municipally-led land use planning. This was needed for the real challenge of urgent replanning and rebuilding after the wartime bombing in November 1940.

(The author is a Senior Planning Officer at the Department of the Environment; these are his personal views and not those of the Department.)

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Abbreviation: City of Bristol Record Office - BRO.

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5. H. E. Meller, 1976, op. cit. 'Philanthropy and the Elite', pp.74-7. See also *Case Studies of the Elite*, pp.91-5. The prominent Bristol families were the Wills, Fry and Robinsons. For the significance of the independent status of the middle-class suburb of Clifton, see *Social Change in City and Suburb*, pp.35-9.

6. Canon S. A. Barnett, *The Ideal City*, no date, but circa 1894. Held in County Reference Library, Bristol. Reference no. 29711. *The Ideal City* is reproduced and discussed by Helen E. Meller (editor) 'The Ideal City', Leicester University Press, 1979. See Introduction, p.9.

7. Henrietta Barnett, *Canon Barnett: His Life, Work and Friends*, John Murray, 1921, (2nd ed.), p.703. When he came to Bristol, S. A. Barnett had already spent 10 years as Warden of Toynbee Hall, the University Settlement in London's East End. He remained warden until 1906, and the Barnetts largely remained in London, going to Bristol only between July and September. See p.313 for Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel and Canonry of Bristol, pp.590-600.

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9. M. Dresser, 1984, op. cit., *Political structure and vested interests*, p.165, and *The Composition of the Housing Committee*, p.166.

10. Ibid., p.158. Also, BRO, 'Report of the Bristol Housing Reform Committee', October 1907.

11. M. Dresser, 1984, op. cit., p.159. Also, M. Dresser, 1983 op. cit., p.149. Also, BRO, Minutes of the Housing of the Working Classes Sub-Committee. Meetings dated 17 July 1914; 21st July 1914, 'Housing Schemes', p.6; 4 September 1914, 'Housing Scheme', p.16; 18 September 1914, 'Housing Scheme', pp.21-2; 16 October 1914, 'Housing Scheme', p.29.

12. M. Harrison, 'Housing and Town Planning in Manchester before 1914', in A. Sutcliffe (ed.) *British town planning: the formative years*, Leicester, 1981, pp.114-18.

13. Clare Crick, 'Victorian Buildings in Bristol, Bristol and West Building Society and City Art Gallery, 1975, p.68.

14. By 1909 the Company had purchased 73 acres of agricultural land and in 1912 it built 20 'model residences' in Filton. BRO, George White Papers 35810/WWP/F/D/5a. The Western Wagon and Property Company Limited, Report of Proceedings of ordinary general meeting of shareholders, 8th February 1909. Also, C. Harvey and J. Press, 'Sir George White and the Urban Transport Revolution in Bristol, 1875-1916'. Studies in the Business History of Bristol, Bristol Academic Press, 1988, pp.135-63.

15. BRO, George White Papers, 35810/WWP/F/19h. Letter from Stanley, Wasborough and Doggett, Solicitors to George White, dated 27th October 1910. Also, letter dated 28/9/10 to H. G. Doggett re Town Planning and Modern House and Cottage Exhibition to be held at Gidea Park, Squirrels Health, The Romford Garden Suburb, June and July 1911.

16. BRO, 35810/WWP/C/12b, 1926-1931. William Cowlin and Son Ltd. Letter to the WWP Co. Ltd., 20 May; Certificates under the Housing Act 1923. 8/6/26 and 30/4/29.

17. An account of the garden suburb is given in M. Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement, Britain, Canada and the United States, 1900-1940*, Mansell, London and New York, 1985, p.50.

18. Newspaper cutting from Bristol Times and Mirror, 'Garden Suburb. The Right Hon. A. Lyttleton on the housing problem. Shirehampton Project'. Undated. Enclosed with Annual Reports of the Bristol Garden Suburbs Ltd., 1912-1916 and 1918, Avon Central Library, acc. 20757.

19. City Record Office Catalogue of the George White Papers. Bristol Academic Press, 1989. 35810/WWP/F19c. Filton Park Estate. The Bristol Garden Suburb, Shirehampton. Prospectus and Plan of site of proposed garden suburb.

20. Avon Central Library. Acc. 20757. Newspaper cutting 'Daily Press'. 31 July 1909. 'Prospectus'. The 7.5 acres were obtained with an absolute option for 2 years from 29 September 1909, with a further conditional option for 2 years to take up the remainder of the site.

21. Ibid., Bristol Garden Suburb Ltd. Booklet containing examples of house plans and elevations.

22. BRO, Catalogue of the George White Papers. 35810/WWP/F/19c. Prospectus.

23. Ibid. Daily Press. 31 July 1909. op. cit. Also, two sets of handwritten notes by Elizabeth Sturge, one set dated 1939. The Company was launched with promises of £5,185 out of a £56,000 estimate.

24. Handwritten note by Elizabeth Sturge, op. cit.

25. BRO 12452 (1-6). Papers of Alderman F. Sheppard, Secretary of Avonmouth Garden Suburb Ltd. Paper titled 'Avonmouth Tenants', undated. The cost of the first 500 houses was estimated at £200,000.

26. Ibid. Letters to PWLB from Ben Tillett, 9/5/16, 20/5/16; letters to the Union from the PWLB, 13/5/16 and 16/6/16; letter to the Union from the War Office dated 1/6/16; letter to the PWLB from The Admiralty, dated 19/6/16.

27. 'Architect' Vol. 101 of 1919, pp.253-4.

28. Bristol University Settlement, Barton Hill, Bristol. Uncatalogued Archives. 'Notes on events in the history of University Settlement, Shirehampton'. In 1917 the Settlement was offered a cottage at a nominal rent on the munitions estate by the National Smelting Company; the Settlement's out-station opened on 1st June 1918, and it survived until 1931. The welfare workers there encouraged a Tenant's Association and started a 'mother's school'. Also present at the meeting were the Chairman of the National Smelting Company, Chairman of the City Docks Committee, Chairman of the Health Committee, Alderman Frank Sheppard, Dr. Davies of the Ministry of Health, and Ernest Bevin, national organiser Docker's Union.

29. Garden Cities and Town Planning Magazine. 'The Kings Weston Garden Village, 1918, pp.69-75. (Also described in 'The Labour Woman', September 1918).

30. Ibid., p.73-4. Also, M. Dresser, 1983, op. cit.

31. M. Dresser, 1984, op. cit., pp163-6.

32. BRO. Minutes of the Housing of the Working Classes Sub-Committee, 20th July 1917. 'Housing Scheme', pp.19-20.

33. BRO, Minute Book No. 1. The Housing and Town Planning committee. Meetings of the 1st March and 11th March 1918, pp.1, 2, 10-12.

34. Ibid. Meetings 8th April, 22nd April and 24th June 1918. Also, Report for Submission to the Council on 14th May 1918. 'Dwellings for the Working Classes'. Dated 22nd April 1918. At the 24th June meeting it was decided to submit the 5,000 house scheme to the LGB ('Enlargement of Housing Scheme', p.39).

35. 'The Builder', March 1919, pp.253, 282, 299, 328, 361. June 1919. 'Bristol Housing Competition (result)', p.608, 24 October 1919; 5th December 1919, p.572.

36. Report to the Housing Committee, 1935-36, from the Secretary, Housing Estates. August 1936 (Housing Department Library). Description of Corporation Housing Estates, pp.31, 34-6, 40 and 42. The Competition Drawings do not appear to be in the BRO. A considerable number of the later City Engineers housing layouts have survived, e.g. Proposed Housing Scheme Sea Mills, ref. 36(5). Housing Estates (pre 1944) 11/2500. Undated but circa 1919/20.

37. BRO. Sea Mills Drawing, op. cit. Notes on drawing. 'The Builder'. 11th June 1920, p.694 records the Inter-Allied Housing and Town Planning Congress bringing over 500 delegates from Britain, the Empire and the USA to the 'showpiece' Fishponds and Sea Mills estates on 5th June 1919. Delegates were shown the experimental houses built on a reinforced concrete system, designed by Professor Adshead of Liverpool University.

38. Report to the Housing Committee, 1935-36, op. cit.

39. Ibid., p.7, also M. Dresser, 1984, op. cit., pp.161-3. 'Standards and Amenities', p.189. The political structure of the Housing Committee is discussed pp.166-7. Building under the 1919 Act of 1,189 houses was under the national average; a further 5,000 houses built under the 1923 and 1924 Acts was a performance exceeding Leeds and Manchester for example.

40. See K. Skilleter, 'Works Housing and the Garden City Movement: A Study of Somerdale Village Housing Society Ltd.', *Planning History*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1988 pp.20-2.

41. G. E Cherry, 'The Place of Neville Chamberlain in British Town Planning' in G. E. Cherry (ed.) *Shaping and Urban World*, Mansell, London 1980, pp.162-6.

42. BRO, Minutes of the Housing of the Working Classes Sub-Committee, 20 July 1917, p.20.

43. Uncatalogued archive at Bristol University Settlement, Barton Hill. Advertising pamphlet on 'A Weekend School on the Housing Problem; minute book of Bristol Branch of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association. Meeting of 3 October 1923 and Annual Meeting 23 June 1924. On the 21-24 February 1919 the Association organised a Weekend School (at the Museum) on the Housing Problem. Raymond Unwin lectured on 'The Kind of House Wanted and the Lay-out'. There was a visit to the site of the Kings Weston (Avonmouth) Garden Village. The local Association was founded by Miss Hilda Cashmore, Warden of the University Settlement at Barton Hill; Alderman Sheppard was the President. In June 1924 members were helping the City Engineer's Department make a City Survey for a Bristol Town Planning Scheme.

44. BRO, Minutes of the Town Planning Committee, 28 February 1923, pp. 2-4. Also, paper attached to Minutes 'A few notes by the City Engineer on Town Planning'.

45. Ibid., 12 April 1923, pp.5-7 and 28 May 1924. 'Bristol Town Planning Scheme', pp.17-8.

46. L. P. Abercrombie and B. F. Brueton. 'Bristol and Bath Regional Planning Scheme'. University of Liverpool Press and Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1930. 'Local (i.e. statutory) Town Planning Areas', p.150.

47. BRO, Minutes of the Town Planning Committee, October 1925. 'Objections to the Scheme', pp.117-20. Also, BRO, The George White Papers. Ref. 35810, WWP/F/11. 'Town Planning'. City and County of Bristol (Town Planning Act 1925). The Bristol Town Planning Scheme No. 1 and Filton Section. Town Planning Dept., June 1925.

48. BRO, Minutes of the Bath and Bristol and District Joint Town Planning Committee 1924-36. Report of Conference of local authorities held at the Council House, Bristol, on the 11th October 1923.

49. Ibid., Meetings of 21st January and 20th March 1924, pp.7-8. Meeting of 10 April 1924, 'Engagement of Expert', pp.12.

50. Ibid. Meeting of 22 January 1925, pp.22 and 24. Also, 10 December 1925. 'Clutton, Long Ashton and Thornbury', pp.28-9.

51. Abercrombie and Brueton, 1930, op. cit. 'Special Landscape Reservations' and 'Open Space and Special Features', p.114. See also, 'Patrick Abercrombie 1849-1957' by Gerald Dix in *Pioneers in British Planning*, ed. G. E. Cherry. The Architectural Press, 1981, pp.109-11.

52. BRO, Minutes of the Joint Town Planning Committee, op. cit. Meeting at the Guildhall, Bath, 10 April 1931. 'Future Policy of the Committee', pp.53-5. Also, Meeting at The Council House, Bristol, 7 January 1937, 'Proposal to Dissolve the Committee', pp.58-9.

53. The Schemes were:

The Bristol (Chipping Sodbury, Kingswood and Warmley) Town Planning (No. 2) Scheme, which included only 4,150 acres in east Bristol and about 16,920 acres outside the city. (BRO Town Planning Committee Minutes, Meeting 6 July 1926, p.54). The Bristol (Keynsham, Long Ashton and Portishead) No. 3 Scheme (BRO Town Planning Committee Minutes. Meeting 19 March 1929 and 17 June 1929, pp.245 and 265).

The Bristol (Chipping Sodbury and Thornbury) Town Planning (No. 4) Scheme. (BRO Town Planning Committee Minutes. Meetings 1 September 1931, 6 October 1931, 7 September 1932, pp.465, 476 and 165).

The Bristol Planning (No. 5) Scheme. (BRO Town Planning Committee Minutes. Meeting 2 May 1933, p.65. Also, Meetings of the Planning and Public Works Committee, 14 March 1934 (Minute No. 197), 21 March 1934 (Minute No. 204), 2 May 1934 (Minute No. 296), 31 May 1934 (Minute No. 356), 6 June 1934 (Minute No. 379), 15 November 1934 (Minute No. 7).

54. BRO. Planning and Public Works Committee and Works Sub-Committee Minute Book November 1933 - October 1935. Meeting 21 November 1933. Minute No. 1 - Appointment of Committee.

55. Ibid. Special Meeting of the Planning and Public Works Committee. 13 February 1935. Minute No. 212. 'Five Year's Programme of road works'. Also, Minute No. 213. 'New Road from St. Augustine's Parade to Victoria Street'. Also, File of newspaper cuttings in Bristol Central Library 'Replanning of Bristol 1936-40'. Ref. B22193. e.g. 'Bristol Evening Post'. 13/2/36 for new Western Road, and 25/2/36 for new Eastern Road.

56. John V. Punter, 'Design Control in Bristol 1940-1990'. Redcliffe Press, Bristol, 1990, pp.23-9.

57. G. E. Cherry, 'Cities and Plans. The shaping of urban Bristol in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' - Edward Arnold, 1988, pp.91-3.

Planning Documents: As Value-Laden and Selective as Fiction? The Cumberland County Planning Scheme, Sydney, 1948

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To accept a text at its face value is to miss much of its content and significance. Planning reports are no exception. Like other forms of discourse, such reports need to be analysed in order to account 'for the positions and viewpoints from which people speak, and the institutions which prompt people to speak'[1].

This theoretical assertion is strongly supported by a recently completed research project on documents relating to three novels set in early postwar Sydney. This project compared the portrayal of certain elements of city life in three novels of the social realist school with that presented in the official *Planning Scheme for the County of Cumberland*[2] (referred to hereafter as the *CCPS*).

Whereas it is accepted that imaginative fiction is a source of social history to be used cautiously, the same reservations are less often expressed towards using an official, descriptive and analytical source, traditionally regarded as 'objective'. Commenting that 'the famous discussion regarding the relation between facts and values...has been going on probably since the very beginning of philosophy,' Boulding challenges the position that 'facts are objective and values are subjective'[3]. If we accept Boulding's proposition that images of fact and images of value are alike present in the image', then so-called 'objective' texts should be subjected to scrutiny to identify the values of their authors. In addition, the 'subjective' experience, e.g. of place, needs to be recognised, and this is an experience explored by many writers of poetry and imaginative fiction.

It is not proposed to discuss here at length the analysis of the novels, which has been published elsewhere[4], but to concentrate on the official

document - the *CCPS* wever, a brief explanation of the rationale for, and aims of, the novel analysis is appropriate.

Ruth Park's two novels, *Harp in the South* and *Poor Man's Orange*[5] (first published in 1948 and 1949 respectively), written and set in Surry Hills, Sydney, in the late 1940s, are a striking record of working class life at the time. Surry Hills is adjacent to Sydney's Central Business District. A third novel, by Dorothy Hewett, *Bobbin Up*[6], written in 1958, set in Sydney's inner suburbs and published in 1959, deals with working class life ten years later. All three novels concentrate on the everyday life of women. Both novelists had lived and working in the Sydney they describe, and wrote shortly after their experiences.

Using an existential framework of analysis, the research aimed to investigate the novels as a record of what it was like, especially for working class women, living and working in Sydney's inner suburbs in the ten years of so after the Second World War. The analysis was, therefore, less concerned with the actual geographical conditions of the time than with the nature of people's experience. The framework consisted of three pairs of parameters: security and stress, stimulus and ennui, status and stigma[7]. Both novelists were acutely aware of the city fabric which their characters experienced daily, and it was possible to identify, for example, places of security (e.g. the home, the neighbourhood and its community, and - for some - the Roman Catholic Church, the convent school, the pub, the corner shop, the parks) and places of stress (e.g. the home again, the factory shopfloor, and unfamiliar parts of the city).

Turning now to the official record of early postwar Sydney, it should be explained that the Cumberland County Council (CCC) was established in 1945 solely as a planning authority, and comprised 68 Municipalities and Shires as well as the City of Sydney. The *CCPS* was published as the first postwar planning document for the area. It is imbued with a sense of commitment and has a refreshingly personal style rather than the usual institutionalised tone[8]. A significant contrast with the novels is the male authorship; only one woman is listed among those staff with professional qualifications. All ten Aldermen elected to the council, one for each constituency (Fig. 1), were men[9].

As another record of Sydney in the late 1940s, the *CCPS* offers much that supports the social realism of Park's novels. To give just one example, the fact that 70% of the County's industrial employment was concentrated in the City and inner suburbs[10] can be

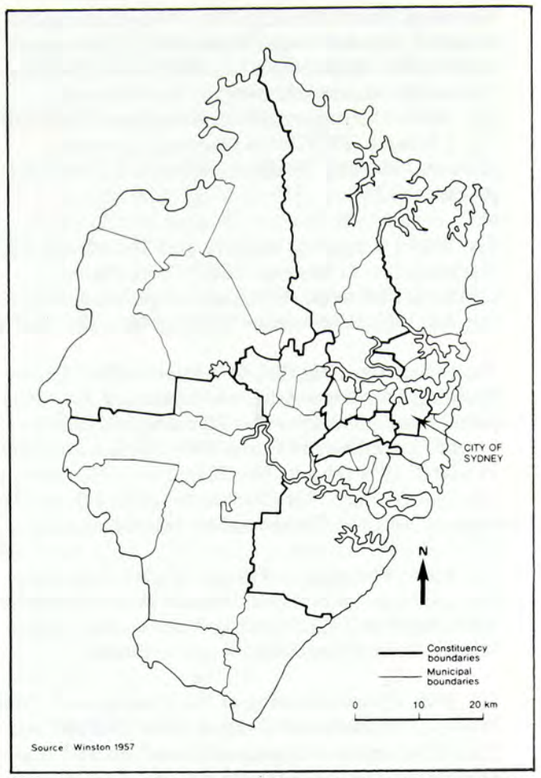

Fig. 1: Local Government Boundaries, Cumberland County Council, 1957. 41 municipalities remained, merged into ten constituencies.

set alongside Park's picture of an environment polluted by the emission of factory chimneys (Figs. 2 and 3).

Fig. 2: Illustration from *Sydney Morning Herald's* serialisation of *Harp in the South*, 1948.

Differing Images

However, the novels and the official report present differing images in several respects. Three will be discussed here: working conditions in factories; attitudes to inner city residential areas, and awareness of women's life patterns.

Fig. 3: Inner suburban backstreets; from *CCPS* 1948.

The description of Sydney's industrial establishments is the first area where the novels and *CCPS* present differing images. The authors of the *CCPS* acknowledged the substandard working conditions only briefly, concluding that 'spacious, modern, well-equipped factories are exceptional'[11]. As an understatement, this must be hard to beat. In *Bobbin Up*, Hewett described, from her own experience, shocking working conditions in the 'Jumbuck Spinning Mill' based on the Alexandria Spinning Mills. Daily health hazards (slippery floors and inadequate safety precautions) were combined with long-term threats to health (the wool fluff caused respiratory diseases) and several characters in the novel suffered ill-health as a result. Indeed, the fact that there was little public concern for those who worked in such conditions in factories was one of the reasons Hewett, a committed member of the Australian Communist Party at the time, wrote *Bobbin Up*[12].

It is unlikely that Sydney's factories were any better than Melbourne's, conditions in many of which two decades later in the mid 1970s were still strongly reminiscent of Hewett's description[13]. Whereas such working conditions received scant acknowledgement in the *CCPS*, the inconvenience to managers of cramped sites is emphasised. Was the *CCPS* carefully edited, so as not to offend major businessmen?

Whereas slum factories attracted little criticism, and inadequate acknowledgement, the *CCPS* is forthright about its condemnation of the appalling living conditions of parts of the crowded inner suburbs, using the pejorative term 'slums'.

Discussing the term 'slum', Gans points out that it is 'an evaluative, not analytic, concept' and involves two criteria, 'the social image of the area, and its physical condition'[14]. It is as much reactions to assumptions about the former as concern about the apparently poor physical building fabric that, in many countries, has motivated those with decision-making power to urge 'slum' clearance'. The *CCPS* authors generalised about the morals and behaviour of inner suburban residents, branding a quarter of a million people with immorality and crime[15], comparing ex-nuptial birthrates and delinquency rates unfavourably with those of 'three typical outer suburbs'. There was no recognition in the *CCPS* of the existence of local neighbourhoods with some social integration and sense of belonging; yet in the analysis of the novels, the neighbourhood and its community emerged as significant sources of security for Surry Hills residents, surpassed only by the individual's home. The compilers of the *CCPS* made no attempt to find out how many families there were in the inner suburbs trying to live respectable lives. In fact, discussing the desirability of the neighbourhood unit, the authors threw doubt on the existence of a 'community of interest' centres about local facilities in the existing built-up area[16]. Such misrepresentation led urban geographers to comment in 1975, in the context of policies for future metropolitan growth in Australia, that:

> the socio-economic problems assumed to be characteristic of citizen groups in inner suburbs need much greater examination than has occurred in the past[17].

These authors also recommended planners to ensure that 'redevelopment in the inner areas does not lead to the destruction of socially-integrated communities'[18], thus echoing recommendations made earlier by Young and Willmott[19] and by Gans[20] in London and Boston respectively. In an Australian context, Jones[21] recognised that such communities were likely to be more supportive than those living in the public housing, especially high-rise flats, that sometimes replaced them. However, in 1948, the *CCPS* gave no consideration to the potential impact of slum clearance, and assumed clearance would deal satisfactorily with the social problems characteristic of the inner city. The relationship between tenure, rent level and housing condition was not investigated, although passing mention is made on p.69 of the *CCPS*. Finally, it was assumed in the *CCPS* that the

housing fabric in 'slum' areas was generally poor - an assumption found to be unrue in the subsequent decades by house purchasers.

Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the differing assumptions of novelist and planners. The Chinese fruiterer depicted in Figure 4 is an integral and necessary part of the suburb. The caption under the photograph reproduced from the *CCPS* as Figure 5 reads 'old shops, disfigured by advertisements, occupying valuable land and overshadowed by modern offices'. Yet the corner shop played an important role in the lives of inner city residents, as Park's novels made clear.

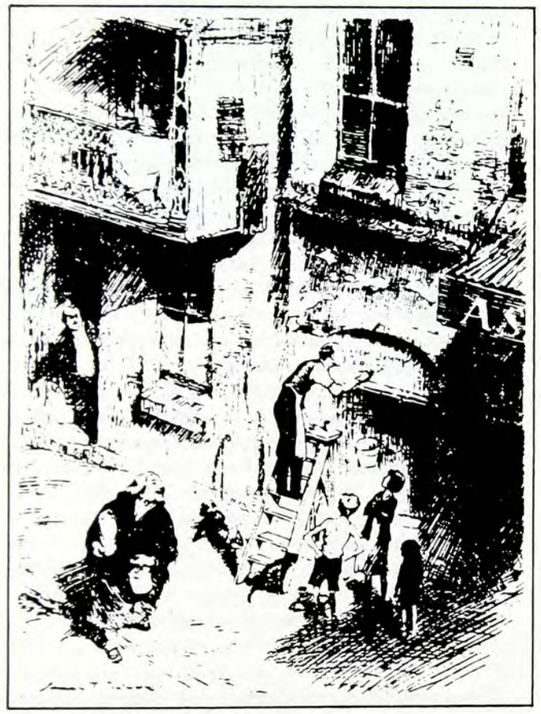

Fig. 4: Lick Jimmy the fruiterer opens shop. Illustration from *Sydney Morning Herald's* serialisation of *Harp in the South* 1948.

Women in the CCPS

Further unwarranted assumptions in the *CCPS* concern women. Although aware of the significance of women in the workforce (one third of the County's workers were female[22], the authors' vision of the ideal living area is such that

> the housewife should reach the local shop or baby clinic by a convenient walk; that the breadwinner should reach his place of employment without fatigue[23].

No attempt was made to identify the potential problems for working mothers of living in lower density suburbs at a distance from employment, facilities and relatives. And this was despite the prediction that married women - 'not usually regarded as employable' - would need to be attracted into the workforce because of the serious labour shortage[24]. Several of the mill workers in *Bobbin Up* were married and could only work because of the dense network of inner suburban public transport and the proximity of relatives to help in childcare.

The architects of the *CCPS* devised a plan to decentralise Sydney's industry and workers' homes into zones on the fringe of, or beyond, the existing built-up area. This coincided with the assumptions that demolition of certain inner suburban zones was necessary in order to eradicate areas where vice and delinquency was concentrated, and so that the area surrounding the CBD could be developed. The implications of this for many women was devastating. Not only were inner suburban kinship networks threatened, but women in the new outer suburbs were to face huge problems of travelling to work, let alone arranging childcare. Furthermore, the need for small-scale and local community facilities necessary for the social interaction of non-working women and for the successful development of self contained local communities, received scant acknowledgement in the *CCPS*[25] and rarely came into being. Yet the problems women faced in suburbia had been recognised, e.g. as early as 1943 by Mona Ravenscroft, a Sydney social worker. She had commented on the isolation, loneliness and aimless frustration - particularly of the wives - in an outer suburban community that she had surveyed. She felt that many women would not willingly leave their wartime jobs 'The rehousing scheme will have to take this aspect into account, and not aim solely at 'suburban isolationism''[26].

Fig. 5: Corner shops; from *CCPS* 1948.

Nevertheless, the strategy of the *CCPS* was based on assumptions that, in the postwar years, men and women would undertake separate roles, the women's being in the home, and that public transport could be organised around the 9-5 day worked by many men. In defence of the *CCPS* authors, it should be pointed out that it has only recently been widely recognised in academic circles that most working women to not and cannot operate on a 9-5 day nor separate their public from their private lives[27]. The two novelists, however, were well aware of this forty years ago. Unfortunately, maybe tragically, Sydney's postwar planners carried on to devise a city with low density suburbs that continue to pose problems even in later years of widespread car ownership. In 1974, a survey of 1,000 households in suburban Melbourne revealed that 18% of women left their home in daytime less than once per fortnight; 40% , once a week, or less[28].

The *CCPS* represented a responsible attempt at a meticulous account of the geographical and social conditions in the Sydney region in 1948. Nevertheless, its overall authenticity cannot be taken for granted. It gave an incomplete and value-laden version of the truth, phrases more usually applied to fiction than to factual accounts.

Conclusions

Two conclusions must follow. First, it is as wise to be as sceptical about the authenticity of official accounts as about that of fictional accounts. It would be quite inappropriate to use the *CCPS* to check the 'validity' of the novels' picture of Sydney. Of course, it would be unfair to criticise the authors of the *CCPS* for misjudging the roles of women. Most Australian women themselves succumbed to the dominant postwar ideology and moved optimistically back into the home and out to the new suburbs, discovering the problems as they settled into new patterns of life. And, after all, Australian sociologists have themselves recognised only recently that work they carried out and published quite recently was value-laden and incomplete[29]. What is more, the staff of the CCC was dominated by engineers, architects and surveyors and the *CCPS* lacked input from sociologists and social workers. Both the class and gender of the Aldermen and staff of the CCC were reflected in the attitudes to women's lives and to factory conditions. In this social and professional context, the failure to identify the vitality of working class family life, as opposed to the manifestations of anti-social behaviour deriving from underclass activity, in suburbs where both working class and underclass lived, is not surprising. Sociology was a relatively new discipline in the 1940s, and it may be that the mere recognition of those social problems that are raised in the *CCPS* is an indication of a forward-looking social consciousness on the authors' part.

The second conclusion is that, in their investigations of social and environmental conditions and issues, planners would do well to use a wide range of sources. Alongside analytical surveys and public participation exercises need to be put such sources as popular songs, plays, poetry and other forms of imaginative writing, street and popular theatre, and community-inspired events of various types, reflecting differences of class, ethnicity, gender and age. If elected representatives of local councils, and the professional staff of the Cumberland County Council, had read and taken note of *Harp in the South, Poor Man's Orange* and *Bobbin Up*, all three of which depicted lives typical of tens of thousands of women, it is to be hoped that they would have attempted to direct Sydney's postwar growth very differently.

Acknowledgements

Martin Auster and Chris Cunningham have both commented helpfully on this paper. Graham Fry drew Fig. 1.

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Notes

1. M. Folch-Serra, 'Place, voice, space: Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogical landscape', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol. 8, 1990, p.258.

2. Cumberland County Council, *Planning Scheme for the County of Cumberland*, Sydney, 1948.

3. K. E, Boulding, *The Image*, Ann Arbor, 1961, p.173.

4. E. K. Teather, 'Early postwar Sydney: a comparison of its portrayal in fiction and in official documents', *Australian Geographical Studies*, Vol. 28, 1990, pp.204-223.

5. R. Park, *Harp in the South*, Ringwood (Victoria), 1988. First published Sydney, 1948. *Poor Man's Orange*, Ringwood (Victoria), 1987. First published Sydney, 1949.

6. D. Hewett, *Bobbin Up*, London, 1985. First published Sydney, 1959.

7. D. Ley, *A Social Geography of the City*, New York, 1983, pp.143-164.

8. See especially pp.xv-xx and Chapter 1.

9. J. P. Tate, 'The Cumberland County Plan - The Early Years 1945-51 in Retrospect, *Australian Planning Institute Journal*, July, 1964, p.6.

10. Cumberland County Council, *op. cit.*, p.91.

11. *Ibid.*

12. See M. Lilley in D. Hewett, *This Old Man Comes Rolling Home*, Sydney, 1976, p.xvii.

13. D. Storer, *'But I wouldn't want my wife to work here'*, Victoria, 1976, pp.15-21.

14. H. J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers*, New York, 1962, p.308.

15. Cumberland County Council, *op. cit.*, pp.68-69.

16. *Ibid.*, p.79.

17. M. Logan *et al*, *Urban and Regional Australia*, Malvern (Victoria), 1975, p.105.

18. *Ibid.*

19. M. Young and P. Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, Harmondsworth, 1957.

20. Gans, *op. cit.*

21. M. A. Jones, *Housing and Poverty in Australia*, Melbourne, 1972, p.92.

22. Cumberland County Council, *op. cit.* p. 43.

23. *Ibid.*, p.67.

24 *Ibid.*, p.62.

25 However, see pp.73 and 79 in the *CCPS*.

26. M. Ravenscroft, 'The Housing Problem', *Social Horizons*, Vol. 1, 1943, p.52.

27. See, for example, S. Mackenzie, 'Balancing our space and time: the impact of women's organisation on the British city, 1920-1980', in J. Little, L. Peake and P. Richardson (eds.), *Women in Cities*, London, 1988, pp.41-60.

28. R. Egar, *et al.*, 'Coping with the Suburban Nightmare: Developing Community supports in Australia', in W. Van Vliet (ed.), *Women, Housing and Community*, Aldershot, 1988, p.41.

29. See, for example, L. Bryson and B. Wearing, 'Australian Community Studies - A Feminist Critique', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1985, pp.349-370.

Institutional Site Planning: The University of Birmingham, England, 1900-69

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The large extent of institutional land use is rarely acknowledged in models of the city.[1] Yet institutional sites are numerous, and the largest are comparable in size to city centres. Some contain sizable communities; for example, universities, hospitals, military establishments, and religious communities. Many institutions occupy particular sites for long periods, and their successions of development plans and their changing physical fabrics cast light on both their own historical development and larger-scale issues in urban planning and development.

There are numerous histories of individual institutions, some of them scholarly.[2] Systematic studies of the decision-making that underlies the site planning of institutions and the long-term development of their physical forms are, however, relatively uncommon. Yet institutions often have long-term records that are better preserved than those of organizations whose occupation of particular sites is short lived or whose interest in a site does not extend beyond a particular phase of constructional activity. This paper sheds light on, and underlines the wider significance of, the history of site planning by one large institution of a type that is characteristic of most major Western cities and also exists in some quite small towns.

After small beginnings as Mason College in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the University of Birmingham has gradually come to occupy one of the largest sites in the south-west quadrant of Birmingham. Particular attention will be given here to the insights that the University's records offer on the manner in which individuals entered into, and influenced, the processes of site planning and development. Factors responsible for the division of those processes into distinct phases will be briefly considered.

Edwardian Ceremonial

In the early 1900s, having outgrown its buildings on the edge of the city centre, the University began to shift its activities to the city fringe at Edgbaston. There a new site had been donated by the aristocratic Calthorpe family,[3] who were major landowners in south-west Birmingham. Records have been found of some 24 variations on schemes that were proposed for the layout of the campus between 1900 and the end of the 1960s.

The initial schemes, monumental in conception, were prepared by London-based architects Aston Webb and E. Ingress Bell. They consisted of essentially a semi-circle of buildings with a clocktower, a fashionable feature at the time,[4] located within it (Fig. 1). A substantial amount of building took place in accordance with these schemes between the early 1900s and the First World War, although by the end of this period the semi-circle was far from complete. A subsequent major planned elaboration, never implemented, consisted of a further semi-circle of buildings which, added to existing and previously proposed buildings, would have resulted in an oval shape (Fig. 2).

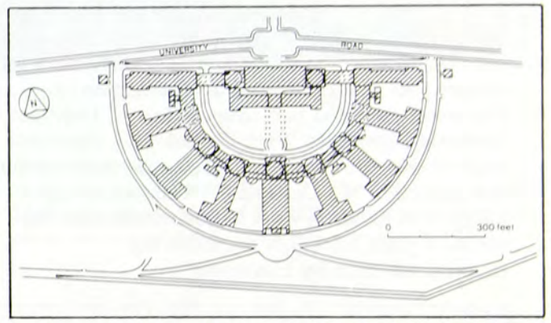

Figure 1: An early proposal for the layout of the University of Birmingham by Aston Webb and E. Ingress Bell.
Source: MS map, in Estates and Buildings Department, University of Birmingham.

Inter-War Axial

The next phase of development took place in the late 1920s, following a further gift of land to the University by the Calthorpe family. Instead of the addition of a further semi-circle, an avenue was proposed, leading north from the original entrance of the University on the base of the semi-circle. Sir Aston Webb was now 78 years of age and, since completion of the work would take some years, this was presumably a major factor leading to the commissioning of another architect. Although

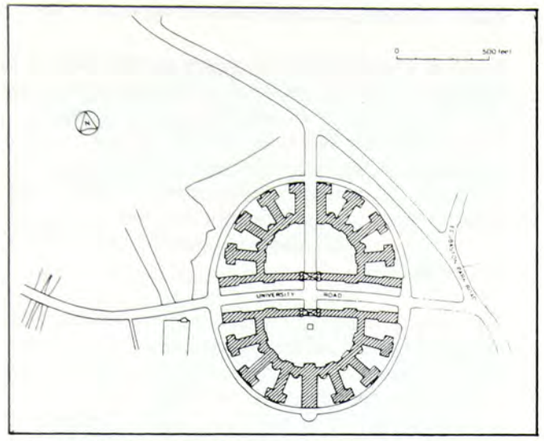

Figure 2: Proposed layout of the University of Birmingham, 1925.
Source: Birmingham University: suggested future developments. Unpublished plan, dated May 1925, in Estates and Buildings Department, University of Birmingham.

Maurice Webb, son of Sir Aston, had in 1925 been consulted about the new biology department,[5] local architect William Haywood was commissioned to design a layout for the expansion of the University with the avenue as its central axis.[6] The idea of an avenue had emanated from the Calthorpes. Haywood prepared two schemes for the University Grounds Committee.[7] The one adopted (Fig. 3) showed the main avenue as previously approved by the Council of the University.[8] Tenders for the lodges and building work in connection with the entrance gates were invited, following recommendations by Haywood.[9]

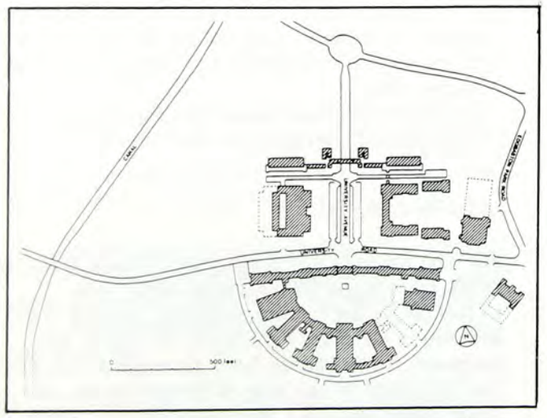

Figure 3: Proposed layout of the University of Birmingham by William Haywood, 1928.
Source: The Birmingham University proposed layout of grounds north of University Road, A. Unpublished plan by William Haywood, undated, in Estates and Buildings Department, University of Birmingham.

The lodges were in fact the only buildings in Haywood's scheme that were constructed (Fig. 4). Apart from these, the tree-lined avenue, and the premises of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, constructed in 1937 on the eastern extremity of the site, the new site north of the semi-circle was to remain as fields, sports fields and a gravel pit until after the Second World War. However, despite the reluctance of the University, a development that did occur was the extension of University Road across the railway and canal to a new hospital site. At the insistence of the City Council this became a public right of way, virtually bisecting the University site.[10]

Post-War Quadrangular

In the midst of the Second World War, in 1941, the University's Vice-Chancellor, Raymond Priestley, was already considering the choice of an architect to take responsibility for the major physical expansion that was envisaged as taking place after the war had ended. He had evidently sought the advice of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Reading on the qualities of Verner O. Rees, a London-based architect, and received an enthusiastic response.[11] In May 1942, Priestley presented a memorandum to the University Senate urging the preparation of detailed plans for all developments that involved building, anticipating that these might qualify as part of a public works programme that the Government was likely to launch after the war.[12] In the autumn of that year the University Secretary, C.G. Burton, sought the advice of the President of the Birmingham Architectural Association on the name of an architect 'who could prepare a schedule which could be issued to Architects in connection with competitive designs'.[13] Apparently acting on the advice received, the Pro-Chancellor, E.P. Beale eventually consulted the Acting Secretary of the Royal Institute of British Architects, C.D. Spragg, on whether the University should hold a design competition.[14] The upshot was that Spragg provided a list 'of the more outstanding architects who have had experience of University and College work'. The list excluded the names of Birmingham architects and those who had already done work at the University, on the ground that their qualifications would already be known to Beale. In his covering letter Spragg wrote: 'I think the two names I would recommend for your most serious consideration are those of Mr. Percy Thomas [at the time President of the Royal Institute of British Architects] and Mr. Verner O. Rees.'[15] These names, together with two others on the list and that of Robert Atkinson, a London-based architect who had previously done work at the University, appeared on the shortlist that

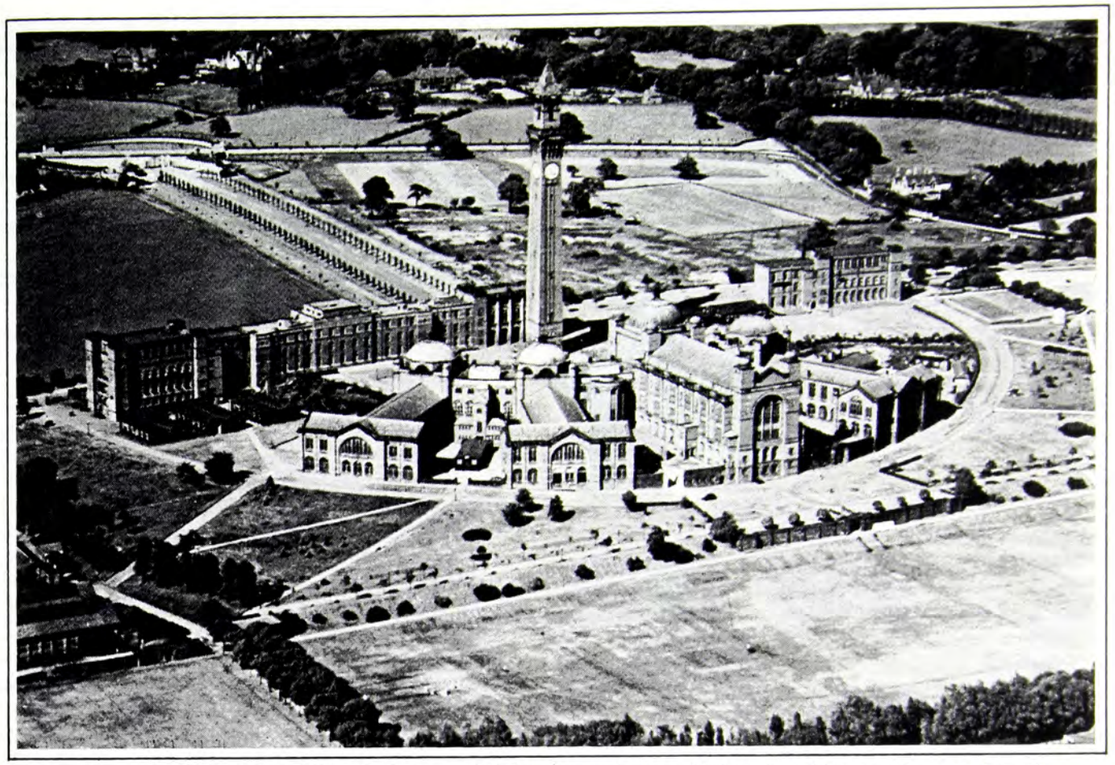

Figure 4: University of Birmingham, c.1930 (photograph from University of Birmingham archives).

Beale included in a subsequent letter to Spragg. The name of Haywood, then aged 67, was not mentioned. In the letter further advice was sought on how next to proceed, this being 'rather a delicate matter when dealing with men who are prominent in their profession, as it really comes to suggesting that they should submit outline plans in a sort of limited competition on the basis of details of the accommodation required which would be supplied to them'.[16] No reply to this letter has been found. Two months later, Atkinson and Rees had been interviewed at the University and Rees, about whom the Vice-Chancellor had sought advice 3 years earlier, had been appointed.[17]

Although the University had already appointed a local heating and lighting engineer (Hoare, Lea & Partners), it is clear that the layout and appearance of the University site in the immediate post-war years were primarily in the hands of Rees. But he felt constrained by the existing layout, and his first concern was to ascertain 'how much the layout of the future buildings is controlled by the condition that there should be a vista from the Entrance Gates'.[18] Burton's interpretation of the conditions attaching to the transfer to the University of the land north of University Road was that 'we are under at least a moral obligation to maintain the Avenue, but it could, of course, be modified.'[19] Rees concurred with this.[20] However, both of his initial proposed layouts

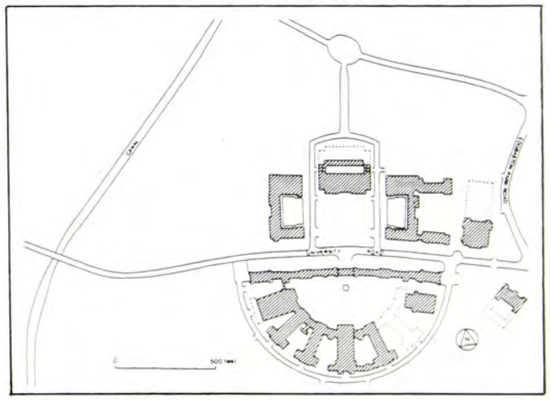

Figure 5: Proposed layout of the University of Birmingham Scheme A, by Verner O. Rees, 1945.
Source: University of Birmingham: lay-out of proposed new buildings, Plan A. Unpublished plan by Verner O. Rees, dated January 1945, being Plan No. H25 in Estates and Buildings Department, University of Birmingham.

departed considerably from Haywood's scheme that had been adopted in 1928. In one, Scheme A, the Avenue was to be bridged by archways about half-way along, linking the buildings on either side and converting that part of the Avenue closest to the existing buildings into a quadrangle (Fig. 5). In the other, Scheme B, a much more drastic departure, the Avenue was to bifurcate about one-third of the way from the gates to circumnavigate the proposed library, which was to be located across the existing line of the Avenue to form the northern side of a quadrangle (Fig. 6). This second scheme was practically the antithesis of the scheme accepted in 1928. According to Rees, as more detailed information became available about the requirements of different departments, his scheme to preserve the Avenue by bridging it, Scheme B, became 'less and less feasible'. He argued as follows:

The archways suggested across the main axis of the Avenue to link together the wings of the Arts departments, and to hold the centre of the plan seem unnecessary, and the omission of any accommodation for Education results in a smaller building insufficient in importance for its position. Plan 'A' devised to secure the maintenance of the Avenue, thus becomes unbalanced, with the Library over-weighting one side.[21]

This criticism by Rees of his own scheme to preserve the Avenue appears to be the only surviving documentary record of the arguments for and against a decision that was to re-orientate fundamentally the layout of the University. The report of the meeting of the Developments Committee on 4 July 1945 that endorsed Rees's crucial recommendation reads as follows:

Numerous points arising on these alternatives [Schemes A and B] were dealt with in Mr. Rees' letter in which he now advocates Scheme B. This would mean a considerable shortening of University Avenue and absorbing the lower area into the building scheme. It was eventually agreed that the Calthorpe Estate be approached with a view to their consent being obtained for the developments on the lines suggested in Mr. Rees' report and as per attached plan.[22]

There is no reason to believe that the letter from Rees referred to in the minutes of the meeting was other than the one dated 27 June 1945 from which Rees's argument against the scheme involving preservation of the Avenue has already been quoted. Running to six pages of typescript it deals primarily with matters pertaining to individual buildings and contains no more of substance on the relative merits of the alternative schemes than has already been quoted.

If written arguments about the future of the Avenue that have not come to light were presented it is surprising that no reference is made to them in extant documents. The only person present at the fateful meeting of the Developments Committee who is still alive is I.A. Shapiro. He has no recollection of those arguments being presented, which if anything reinforces the suggestion that the subject did not receive rigorous scrutiny.[23]

In this instance an argument attaching major importance to the genius loci[24] would certainly have favoured a proposal consistent with the scheme adopted in 1928. The Avenue was a well-established axial feature, with maturing trees lining it on either side. The Calthorpe family had apparently gone so far as to make it a condition of the transfer of the land to the University that the Avenue be maintained. Yet a contrary proposal was adopted with apparently little argument offered in its favour, and with no sense of the importance of the decision detectable in the surviving documentation or recalled by the one surviving person present at the meeting that approved the proposal.

The acceptance of Rees's recommendation by the Committee on such an apparently slender basis is probably indicative of the powerful position that he would have enjoyed as an architect commissioned by an organization to design a building complex for its own occupation. Quite apart from his professional

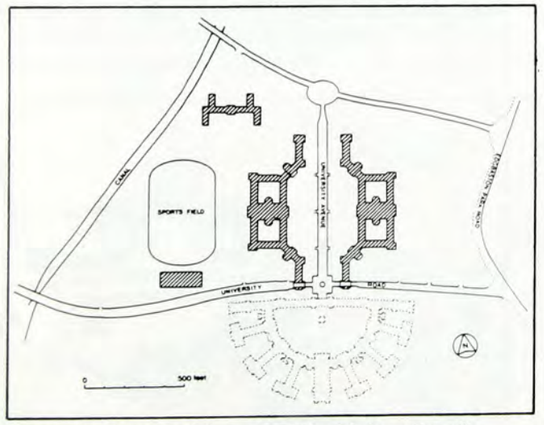

Figure 6: Proposed layout of the University of Birmingham, Scheme B, by Verner O. Rees, 1945. Source: University of Birmingham: lay-out of proposed buildings, Plan B. Unpublished plan by Verner O. Rees, dated January 1945, being Plan No. H24 in Estates and Buildings Department, University of Birmingham.

authority on matters of design, he was, as a result of his discussions with the heads of various University departments, in possession of more information about the University's building requirements than any other individual. He would be likely to have had greater freedom than an architect commissioned by a speculative housebuilder, who would have been subject to the changing pressures of the market as transmitted through house sales. As to the recommendation itself, it should be viewed in the context of changing fashions. The grand avenue of the garden city, so fashionable in 1928, was passing out of favour, as Rees would have been well aware. It is hard to avoid the speculation that it was this, more than the space requirements of individual University departments or groups of departments, that was at the root of Rees's preference for abandoning the central feature of the University site. However, his presentation of the issue as primarily an insoluble 'functional' problem was reinforced by his reaction to the Calthorpes' acquiescence in this proposal:

I am very happy to know that Sir Fitzroy Calthorpe accepts the idea of the formation of a 'University Quad' in front of the Tower.
I had, as you know, spent much time and energy in thinking of every possible way of incorporating the Avenue. He will be glad to hear that the Developments Committee has decided that the Boiler House shall adjoin the Canal, South of University Road.[25]

There then followed a series of modifications to Scheme B. By May 1949 a roadway had been proposed on the north-west edge of the principal group of new buildings,[26] making it possible for vehicles to encircle the main complex of existing and proposed buildings.

Much of this planning was to prove fruitless. During the early stages of the implementation of Rees's scheme there was a major split between him and the University, leading to a law suit. Thus, as with the schemes of Aston Webb and Ingress Bell and Haywood, events conspired to prevent completion of the proposals.

Ring-Road Functional

When the new architects for the layout of the site, Sir Hugh Casson and Neville Conder, prepared their initial report,[27] Rees's scheme had scarcely begun to take shape, although its centrepiece, the library, was under construction (Fig. 7). Casson and Conder adopted a standpoint distinct from that of all their

Figure 7: University of Birmingham Library, under construction in 1957, athwart the Avenue, which previously provided the main axis of the University campus. Some of the poplar trees that lined the Avenue are still evident in both foreground and background (photograph from University of Birmingham archives).

predecessors. On the Aston Webb buildings they commented that 'the strong half-circle encloses too harshly a north facing courtyard, while its northern range, fortunately not fully completed, sets up an unfriendly, indeed almost impassible barrier against

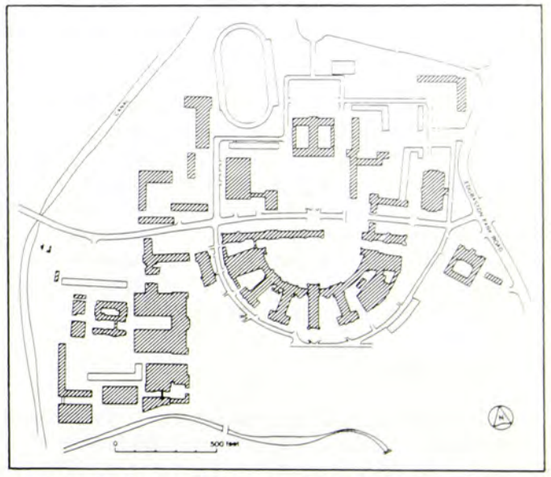

Figure 8: Proposed layout of the University of Birmingham, by H. Casson and N. Conder, 1957. Source: Development of the University site. Unpublished plan by Sir Hugh Casson and Neville Conder, dated April 1957, being Plan No. H10 in Estates and Buildings Department, University of Birmingham.

the rest of the University site.[28] The public thoroughfare running east-west through the middle of the site at the insistence of the City Council, they termed 'a merciless slice through the University's heart'.[29] Of the demise of the Avenue they said: 'The grand axis of the north approach has, since the building of the Library, become meaningless - we believe mercifully so. It has ceased to exist as a monumental conception.'[30] Here, then, was the seal of approval on Rees's decision. But in few respects did Casson and Conder's proposals of 1957 (Fig. 8) resemble those of Rees, except where the existing morphological frame virtually compelled conformity. Emphasis was placed on a ring road, a very fashionable conception as traffic increased in the 1950s. Some of the roads in Rees's scheme were incorporated. The development of this idea was to lead ultimately to the severance of the link between the entrance to the now severely truncated Avenue and the incipient ring road.[31] Already identified by Casson and Conder in 1957 as 'meaningless', by the end of the 1960s the grand entrance to the University that had been conceived in the 1920s gave access only to a car park. The southern two-thirds of the two lines of stately poplars that had flanked the Avenue had been felled, save for a few survivors in the quadrangle south of the Library. The residual one-third of the Avenue terminated abruptly in a 7m drop where the ring road had been excavated across it.

In relation to previous plans, two proposals by Casson and Conder are noteworthy. First, they proposed that University Road should be closed as a through route, thus reversing the decision of 1929/30 and providing a close parallel with the history of Imperial Institute Road within Imperial College London. Secondly, after consideration had been given to a variety of possibilities for filling in the gap that had been left in the original semi-circle of buildings designed by Aston Webb and Ingress Bell, they proposed that the semi-circle should remain incomplete. This curious decision stemmed, it would seem, from Casson and Conder's criticisms of the Aston Webb buildings noted previously.

Conclusion

This examination of selected aspects of the physical development of a single institution deals with a unique set of circumstances. However, it yields findings that would appear to be of wider significance. First, although the timing of developments was strongly influenced by key individuals within the University and the opportunities they recognized locally and nationally for obtaining funds, the plan of the site and how it evolved were largely determined by a succession of architects. Secondly, the justifications for the architects' recommendations on layouts, especially those involving reversals of recommendations by previous architects, appear to have had little substance, in so far as they were committed to paper. Although existing morphological frames acted as a powerful constraint, architects appear to have conformed to the fashions of their time, even when to do so created difficulties in relation to existing layouts. Thirdly, a strong element of cumulative causation was evident, especially in the post-war period. Rees's recommendation that the Avenue should bifurcate around the Library led to a succession of proposals each of which was plausible in the light of its predecessor but as a series led to a fundamental reorientation of the layout of the University. In this way a scheme based on the axis of the Avenue was transformed into one in which a number of roughly quadrangular 'cells' were a principal feature. At the same time a primarily axial system of vehicular access was changed to one in which a ring road was the main feature.

Acknowledgements

Figures 1-3, 5-6, and 8 were prepared for publication by Mr H Buglass. The author is indebted to a number of colleagues in the University of Birmingham for their help in tracing records, especially Mr I.A. Shapiro, Mr R. Barrow and Mr G. Davies.

Notes

1. An exception is J.W.R. Whitehand, 'Building cycles and the spatial pattern of urban growth', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 56 (1972) 39-55.

2. For example, P.H.J.H. Gosden and A.J. Taylor (eds), Studies in the History of a University 1874-1974, Arnold & Sons, Leeds, 1975.

3. F.W. Burstall and C.G. Burton, Souvenir of the Foundation and Development of the Mason Science College and of the University of Birmingham 1880-1930, n.p., 1930, pp. 29-33.

4. N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Warwickshire, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1966, p. 170.

5. University of Birmingham, Council minutes 9086, 4 February 1925, unpublished MS.

6. Idem, Council minutes 10900, 3 October 1928, unpublished MS.

7. Idem, Council minutes 11013, 5 December 1928, unpublished MS.

8. Idem, Council minutes 11014, 5 December 1928, unpublished MS.

9. Idem, Council minutes 11105, 6 March 1929, unpublished MS.

10. Idem, University of Birmingham Twenty-Ninth Yearly Meeting of the Court of Governors, 21 February 1929. Report of the Proceedings of the Council of the University, Birmingham, 1929, pp. 8-9; Idem, Council minutes 11043, 23 January 1929, unpublished MS; Idem, Council minutes 11721, 7 May 1930, unpublished MS.

11. Letter from Franklin Sibly to R. Priestley, 29 September 1941. This is contained in file 12 in the Senate Store Room, University of Birmingham. File numbers hereafter refer to files in this store.

12. Memorandum to Senate, 'Development at Edgbaston', 20 May 1942 [file 741].

13. Letter from C.G. Burton to Cyril Martin, 7 October 1942 [file 4].

14. Letter from E.P. Beale to C.D. Spragg, 21 April 1944 [file 12].

15. Letter from Spragg to Beale, 5 May 1944 [file 12].

16. Letter from Beale to Spragg, 3 August 1944 [file 12].

17. Letters from R. Atkinson to Burton, 20 September 1944, from V.O. Rees to Burton, 20 September 1944, and from Beale to Spragg, 12 October 1944 [file 12].

18. Letter from Rees to Burton, 24 October 1944 [file 12].

19. Letter from Burton to Rees, 27 October 1944 [file 12].

20. Letter from Rees to Burton, 31 October 1944 [file 12].

21. Letter from Rees to Pro-Chancellor, 27 June 1945 [file 42].

22. University of Birmingham, Meeting of the Developments Committee, 4 July 1945, unpublished MS [file 741].

23. I.A. Shapiro, personal communication.

24. M.R.G. Conzen, 'Geographical and townscape conservation', in H. Uhlig and C. Lienau (eds), Anglo-German Symposium in Applied Geography, Giessen-Wurzburg-Munchen, Lenz, Giessen, 1975, pp. 95-102.

25. Letter from Rees to Burton, 13 September 1945 [file 42].

26. V.O. Rees, University of Birmingham: keyplan of future developments. Unpublished plan in Estates and Buildings Department, University of Birmingham.

27. H. Casson and N. Conder, Report on proposed developments for Birmingham University: Part I - The University site. Unpublished MS.

28. ibid., p. 9.

29. ibid., p. 8.

30. ibid.

31. Casson Conder & Partners, University of Birmingham academic site: 1964 development plan, 1964. In Estates and Buildings Department, University of Birmingham.

Research

An Antipodean Ebenezer Howard: The Case of K. Van Gelder

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University of New England
Australia

In the Mitchell Library in Sydney last year, I cam across, quite by chance, a booklet by a certain K. Van Gelder, entitled *The Ideal Community: A Rational Solution of Economic Problems*, published in Sydney in 1922[1]. I spent some time trying, without success, to discover who Van Gelder was. It seems possible that this was his only publication. Having failed to catch the public imagination, it seems to have disappeared from human memory. I have never seen any mention of Van Gelder, or his work, in the literature of Australian planning history[2]. That is a little surprising, because *The Ideal Community* acknowledges Ebenezer Howard's ideas and presents a vision closely related to Howard's. How different the course of planning history would have been if Howard's work, like Van Gelder's, had sunk without trace - as it might so easily have done.

It is difficult to tell how much of Van Gelder's thinking was drawn directly from Howard. Van Gelder proposed the establishment of a more or less economically self-contained rural-urban co-operative community of about 10,000 people; not exactly an original concept, of course, and Van Gelder himself was aware that it was not. The 47-page book has an appendix devoted partly to Garden Cities - especially Letchworth - and partly to Elwood Mead's agricultural colonies in California. But Van Gelder worked out his own scheme in some detail, and presented it very much as his own. The overseas examples were used to demonstrate the practicability of such schemes, 'without implying necessarily that the methods followed ultimately will be identical'. The point he made was that 'there is nothing experimental in the planning of such a colony nor in the mode of financing it'.

In Van Gelder's case, as in Howard's the economic and social organisation of the community was more fundamentally significant than its physical design, although the design was by no means an unimportant part of the vision. Like Howard, Van Gelder was a man who wanted to carry out 'an experiment to realise a better and happier social order'. This scheme was to be financed by instituting a joint stock company, with share capital from outside, 'preferably from the State'. The money would be used to purchase 10,000 acres of irrigated land, 90 per cent of which would be reserved for agriculture. A range of farm sites would be provided, including 500 one or two acre sites for what today would be called hobby farming. On the remaining 1,000 acres 'a Garden City' would be built. At this point in the text a footnote directed readers to the Appendix, where the Garden City idea is introduced and Letchworth is described.

So far as production was concerned, the emphasis in the Van Gelder community was to be on up to date, scientific, progressive methods. Poultry farming, for example, would be 'scientifically conducted'. Experts in agriculture would be invited to become members of the community. Efficiency and economy were to be the watchwords. Labour saving machinery would be used in the factories. Priority would be given to production for the internal needs of the Colony.

On the consumption side, Van Gelder's prescriptions were less progressive and were considered in terms of basic human needs. For example: 'In a genial climate our clothes requirements are not really much. Why should so great a part of our income be spent on dress?' Humanity, asserted Van Gelder, would have to make a choice. 'Either it must limit its desires, making life more simple, more beautiful and more happy, or it will continue to increase wishes, which can never be fulfilled, thereby multiplying its worries and damaging its physical and moral health'.

There is no space here for a full summary of Van Gelder's book. The section headings are enough to suggest the flavour of the argument: Survey of the Economic Field; The Despair of the World; The Way Out; An Economic Community; Factories; Labour Conditions; The Financial System of the Community; The Elimination of Money Currency in the Community; Enterprises and Production; General Administration of the Community; Education; The Advantages of the Colony; How to Realise the Scheme. In his final section, A View of the Community and its Life, Van Gelder takes his readers on an imaginary trip through the Colony. It is in this section that one gets the clearest picture of the physical form of the place.

'Behold a community nestling in security upon rising ground with a good outlook and clear clean air', writes Van Gelder. 'Not crowded are the houses but each stands in its own grounds, well kept and fenceless, the road are straight and wide...

'The country is just astir, so we wander down the tree-shaded road and appreciate the beauty of the houses of different size and design, yet by some unifying principle of architecture each seems complementary to all the others...

'Across the spaces from the centre of the town a bell calls. It is a communal restaurant announcing that the meal is ready...

'Traversing the main broad avenues we pass the High School and Kindergarten and Creche, the Library, Theatre, and Administrative Building, the Communal Bank, etc., while further away the buildings of the industrial factories rise, isolated from the city, not because of smoke, because all things are run electrically in this community, but simply for reasons of quiet and a sense of the fitting. Even these buildings are beautiful though simple in design and they are surrounded by gardens and tree groves...

'What is that great block of buildings with dome and colonnaded wings?' asked one of us. 'Oh that', replied the Director, 'is the Hall of Brotherhood in the centre of which the Administrative Council meets and where people assemble at all times of the Communal Festivals or to receive announcements of importance. The hall to the left is the Hall of Truth, where comparative religion, philosophy and science are discoursed on to the people. The other colonnaded building, the one to the right, is the Seat of Learning for the Community, where the children, youths and adults are trained to joyous expression in balanced and useful action...

'While the Director was explaining the more detailed workings of the Community we arrived at the Central Square where from the Traffic Depot cars run in all directions and constitute an adequate service to and from the outlying farm lands. We pass through the beautiful Garden City out into the fertile valley lands. We pass rapidly through the fruit growing areas, all well laid out and irrigated; there seems no end to productivity as dairy farm after dairy farm and large wheat area after wheat area pass before our vision. The great tractors move with steady strength to further the effort of man to produce economically, systematically and efficiently'.

And so on. In some respects this is a book which belongs more to the nineteenth century than to the 1920s. In a small way, it is in the tradition of Robert Owen, James Silk Buckingham, Benjamin Ward Richardson, Robert Pemberton, and, not least, Ebenezer Howard. It is not particularly Australian. The first matter the provisional committee was to determine, in the realisation of the scheme, according to Van Gelder, was: 'What country the Community could most advantageously be started in'. Utopian community designers of that era, I think one can say, tended to rise above nationalist sentiment. (Perhaps the kibbutz movement was an exception.)

In a specifically Australian context, the Van Gelder work appears in what otherwise might be perceived as a 50 year gap between two periods of relatively intense utopianism, viz., the 1890s and the 1940s. On the other hand it may be more appropriate to see it simply as a residue of the 1890s. Despite its date, 1922, it was not a Soldier Settlement Scheme. Like Howard, Van Gelder was inclined to indulge in the belief that human nature would change for the better once the right social, economic and physical structure was established. 'True happiness', he wrote, 'consists in having a contented soul, capable of realising the truth and of seeing divinity in everyone'. The solution of our economic problems 'will be found in self-contained communities of people who think along the same lines and feel brotherly towards each other'. In general, however, Van Gelder's work does not seem to have been inspired by religious conviction. It would be wrong, too, to classify him as an agrarian of the Ralph Borsodi type. Certainly he was 'anti-urban', up to point - 'How unnatural are our cities', he wrote - but the community he pictured was a town of sorts, not a mere assemblage of farms. He was talking of a town of 10,000 people, not a commune of a few hundred peasant-farmers or homesteaders.

Van Gelder belongs with the early Howard; the Howard of pre-Letchworth days and certainly pre-Welwyn days, who was more interested in the possibility of a new kind of co-operative community than in architectural design and street planning.

To me, the interest of the Van Gelder proposal lies less in any minor originality it may exhibit than in the features it shares with other such schemes before and since. Is there something to be learned from the recurrent yearning for the model co-operative community and the archetypal characteristics of such proposals?

Notes

1. Van Gelder, K. (1922), *The Ideal Community. A Rational Solution of Economic Problems*. Publicity Press, Sydney. All the quotations in this article are taken from Van Gelder.

2. It is not mentioned, for example, in Robert Freestone's comprehensive review of the garden city movement in Australia. Freestone, R. (1989) *Model Communities. The Garden City Movement in Australia*, Nelson, Melbourne.

Sources

London Transport Museum and The National Tramway Museum

Library and Archive Services

The libraries and archives of the National Tramway Museum and the London Transport Museum are both outstanding sources of reference for urban transport. They also provide resources for the study of social and economic history, history of technology and the growth of cities and their public utilities.

The two libraries are to a large extent complementary, with different strengths, so serious students will benefit from our integrated computerise catalogues, and facilities for exchanging information. Brief requests for information can be handled by telephone, but more detailed enquiries requiring reference or research are more easily dealt with in writing, by post or fax. You can address your enquiry to the Librarian of either establishment; we can redirect your enquiry by fax to the most appropriate of the two libraries, or exploit the different strengths of the two collections to give the fullest possible answer. The library collections are also available to visitors for reference only, by appointment. Photocopying facilities are available at both establishments.

The National Tramway Museum

The National Tramway Museum's library holds a large collection of books and pamphlets, Acts of Parliament and Patent specifications, covering the history of British, North American and other foreign tramways, light railways and modern transit systems.

Our extensive range of journals includes *The Tramway and Railway World*, *The Electric Railway Journal*, *The Electrical Review* and *The Electrician*. Early *Scientific American Engineer* and *Engineering* are available on microfilm. The library holds some records of transport operators, including those previously lodged with The Bus and Coach Council, and the minutes of associations such as the Municipal Tramways and Transport Association and the Municipal Passenger Transport Association.

In addition to books and journals, we have a collection of workshop drawings, including those of Glasgow and the manufacturers Maley and Taunton. We hold track plans, tramway maps and timetables, guides, tickets, press cuttings and general ephemera. The photographic, film and video archive covers all the major tramway systems of Great Britain and the world. We also have postcards and livery prints.

The Museum
The library is open all the year. The Museum's collection of over 40 tramcars is open to the public and examples are in operation every day from Easter to October. In addition the Museum has both a gift shop and restaurant facilities. Please telephone or refer to the current leaflet for details of opening dates and times.

London Transport Museum

The London Transport Museum's reference library holds a large collection of published material, some London Transport archival material such as the Frank Pick collection of correspondence, and many specialist journals including London Transport staff newspapers. The core themes of the library collections are:

- History of London Transport
- Urban transport worldwide
- Design and transport technology
- London history

The library is complemented by collections of maps and printed ephemera, including the Reinohl Collection of transport tickets and ephemera from all over the world. The extensive photographic and film archive forms a remarkable pictorial record of London Transport and its predecessors, from which prints and duplicate transparencies may be ordered.

Most telephone or written requests for information can be dealt with free of charge. Where an enquiry is particularly demanding of staff time, however, there will be a research fee. Visitors using the library for research need only pay the standard Museum admission charge.

The Museum
Library users can also take the opportunity to visit the public galleries. On display is our unique collection of the omnibuses, trams and railway vehicles which have served London over the last 160 years, supported by extensive displays of graphic material, models and working exhibits. Open 10.00-18.00 daily.

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Tel: 0773 852565
Fax: 0773 852326

Librarian: Mrs Rosemary Thacker MA ALA Cert.Ed

Library opening hours:
09.00-17.00 Monday-Friday
(by appointment).

London Transport Museum
Covent Garden
London WC2E 7BB

Tel: 071 379 6344
Fax: 071 846 4118

Librarian: Ms Patricia Austin ALA C.Lib.

Library opening hours:
10.00-17.00 Monday-Friday
(by appointment).

Publications

Abstracts

David Pinder for the Institute of British Geographers *Western Europe: challenge and change*, London, Belhaven Press, 1990. 290pp, £32.50, ISBN 1 85293 032 2 (hbk) 1 85293 032 9 pbk)

Provides a thematically organised, structured analysis of contemporary Western European issues and their geographical consequences. In three parts, the first explores the pressures experienced by the production system, the second deals with the legacy of postwar change in the production system, taking a largely urban perspective, and the third part examines the impact of prosperity on rural areas and confronts key questions.

Charles Hoch and Robert A. Slayton, *New Homeless and Old: Community and the Skid Row Hotel.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989, 299pp., ISBN 0-87722-600-8, $32.95, cloth.

New Homeless and Old surveys the origins of Skid Rows in industrial cities and analyses their postwar demise. Focusing on the 'Main Stem' of Chicago's North Side, the authors describe the evolution of lodging houses and 'cage' hotels arguing their important functions. They trace the decline of such shelter to 'scientific reform' and to the massive slum clearance projects of the 1960s and 1970s. The authors conclude their book by calling for new types of transitional housing which mirror the earlier function of Skid Row housing. This is a spirited defence of Skid Row as a residential community and metropolitan resource.

Harold Carter and C. Roy Lewis, *An urban geography of England and Wales in the nineteenth century*, London, Edward Arnold, 1990, 226pp., £12.95, ISBN 0 7131 6549 9

Primarily concerned with the contribution that geographical or spatial analysis can make to the development of urban settlement, the volume seeks to establish the processes by which Britain underwent an urban revolution in the nineteenth century, and the inheritance that this has given to the contemporary urban pattern. Having examined the data sources, chapters focus on the growth of the urban population and changing structure of the city system, the demand for urban space, its supply in terms of land tenure and the urban fabric, and the constraints imposed by government and public utilities and services.

Neil Betten and Michael J. Austin with contributions by Robert Fisher, William E. Hershey, Raymond A. Mohl, and Marc Lee Raphael, *The Roots of Community Organizing*, 1917-1939. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990, 230pp., ISBN 0-87722-662-8, $27.95, cloth.

This history of community organising focuses on the years between 1917 and 1939, an era that the authors argue saw community organisation emerge as a component of the larger field of social work. The various essays in this volume, written by Betten, Austin and others, suggest that the history of this period is not just one of the professional legitimisation of a social work field but also one which included the efforts of others who worked to organise communities without grounding their activities in a social agency. Essays explore the intellectual foundation of community organising; organisational efforts within specific communities; the development of organisation techniques adopted by social planners; the social action approach to community organisation; and a look at the state of community organising as the depression of the 1930s winds down.

Andy Thornley, *Urban planning under Thatcherism. The challenge of the market.* London, Routledge, 1991, 253 pp., hardback £35.00 ISBN 0 415 05538 5, paperback £14.99 ISBN 0 415 05669 1

The town planning system was created by a post-war consensus. Since 1979, it has been the victim of a strategy of erosion. The volume links theory and practice to assess the changes that have taken place, analysing major trends by investigating the individual modifications in legislation and the new initiatives that have introduced procedures to by-pass the normal system. How far has that system collapsed under the challenge of a more market-orientated economy?

Peter Mitchell, *Memento Mori The Flats at Quarry Hill, Leeds*, Otley, West Yorkshire, Smith Settle, 1990. No pagination, cloth £13.95 ISBN 01 870071 49 2, paperback £8.95 ISBN 01 870071 48 4.

The largest and most modern of their kind in Europe, housing around 3,000 people, the Flats were constructed during the 1930s as part of a 'great social experiment' to accommodate an entire urban community. During the 1970s, the decision was taken to demolish them. Through the use of archival

material and photographs, the author details the ideas behind the Flats, their construction, and their eventual demise.

Abstracts prepared by John Sheail and Robert Fairbanks

Catalogue

Inch's Books: Catalogue Number 56: Cities and the Countryside: Planning, Development and Housing. Available from Inch's Books, 82, The Mount, York, UK, YO2 2AR. Telephone: 0904 627082/629770

Planning History Group

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

Chairman

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Membership

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

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