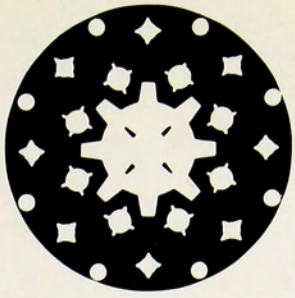
Planning History



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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

As I write this editorial Britain is in the middle of a general election campaign that seems more likely to produce a change of government than any since 1979. Readers have the advantage over me in that the result will be known by the time they read this, so it might be regarded as plain foolishness to address such a topic when I could comment on something much less controversial and uncertain. However I have to admit that the challenge to say something that will appear reasonably sensible even after the election has outweighed natural caution, so I will press on.

Planning, still less planning history, is far from being a major election issue, in which I suppose Britain is no different to most other countries. But elections provide opportunities for reflecting on the recent and likely future directions on many aspects of public policy, and I fancy the main trends in recent British planning history will have immediate echoes in many other countries.

Thus over the last thirteen years Britain has experienced the first serious attempt to dismantle the post-war planning consensus which had emerged in the 1950s and 1960s when the highly statist planning system created by the Labour government in 1947 was moulded into something more appropriate to a mixed economy welfare state. However since 1979, when the Conservatives under Mrs Thatcher first came to power, we have seen a radical change in the pattern and purpose of planning as part of a more general push of "rolling back the frontiers of the state". Much of general character of the resultant changes will, I think, be familiar to most overseas readers. Most countries have experienced at least some of the same medicine, if not always administered with the same highly personal style that Mrs Thatcher gave it in Britain.

There has accordingly been a strong reaction against what used to be called 'positive planning', whereby central or local government agencies directly undertook planned development, prioritising public interest objectives. Traditional instruments of such interventionist planning, such as the comprehensive development area or new towns, have rather gone out of fashion. The Thatcherite equivalent of these instead used state power to give greater encouragement and freedom to private developers. The classic example of this approach has been the Urban Development Corporations associated with the regeneration of the London Docklands and other inner city areas. Traditional public interest planning has been subordinated to market criteria. This has been underpinned by the assertion that the pursuit of private profits by developers in such areas has actually been synonymous with the 'true' public interest in a dynamic market society, a viewpoint which has not been widely accepted in planning circles.

And there were similar moves to change the impact of the regulatory 'negative' side of planning. In the early 1980s we were told that planners "locked up jobs in their filing cabinets every night when they went home". A great of effort was put into "lifting the burdens" of the allegedly unreasonable demands by planning development control on the legitimate desires of private developers to develop. Again the assumption was that the public interest would best be served by a planning system that aided the private developer. However the reality was that the public interest had to be pursued through the rather unpredictable mechanism of negotiating planning gain.

Not surprisingly these attacks on the two basic modes of public planning activity in Britain were viewed with considerable dismay in planning circles. The planning profession became convinced that planning itself would only survive in a radically slimmed down form. Several planning schools had professional recognition withdrawn on the strength of this assessment, forcing some to close completely. In the event though this judgement was well wide of the mark and planning authorities in the south of England found themselves short of qualified staff during the development boom of the 1980s.

Moreover the belief in a much more strongly market-led approach to planning and development itself soon ran into serious practical problems. It became clear by the late 1980s that many voters who supported the government actually valued a planning system that controlled private developers fairly tightly. The opposition to the proposed private new towns at Tillingham Hall, Foxley Wood and Stone Bassett brought this contradiction between Mrs Thatcher's pushes towards an enterprise culture in the field of planning and more traditonal Conservatism to a head, with the latter essentially winning the argument. Moreover as the development boom began to fade at the end of the 1980s, it became clear that relatively uncontrolled and uncoordinated private development in areas like the London Docklands was creating quite serious and costly problems. In addition growing

environmentalist pressures both within Britain and from European institutions have encouraged greater caution in relaxations of the planning system.

By the early 1990s therefore the classic arguments for planning are beginning to be relearned along with a few new ones. All of which bodes well for planning after the election. We can, I think, be reasonably confident that, whoever turns out to have won, planning will be a much more significant force over the rest of the 1990s than it was in the 1980s. Perhaps a new planning consensus, transcending party, is in the making, as my immediate predecessor as *Planning History* editor, Dennis Hardy, has been hinting recently. Or perhaps it is simply that, as his predecessor, Mike Hebbert, once sang in an Oxford Polytechnic planning revue of the 1970s, adapting the lyrics of Ira Gershwin: *In time the Rockies may crumble/ Gibraltar may tumble/ they're only made of clay/ but planning is here to stay.*

Stephen V. Ward

Notices

Bartlett International Summer School (BISS) 14

THE PRODUCTION OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT: EUROPE 1992
Brussels, Belgium, 5-10 September 1992

1992 marks a conclusion and starting point in the process of integration under the auspices of the EC. Simultaneously the disintegration of East European socialist states gives rise to novel relations between eastern and western Europe. What impact will this process of integration and disintegration have on building protection, particularly on the labour process, and on the development of the built environment in Europe and the rest of the world, especially so-called developing countries?

This is the main theme addressed in BISS 1992 to be held in Brussels, a city well reflecting the contradictions inherent in European development, coming under a traditional, provincial government, with scarce local income and unemployment, and confronted by massive destruction through international developers and local capitals.

BISS is a forum, constituted by agreement between different academic institutions world-wide, for the discussion, research and teaching of problems concerning the development of the built environment on the basis of the production process, seen essentially as a social process. This year's session will be hosted by La Cambre, Institute supérieur d'architecture de la Communauté Française, and co-sponsored by the European Federation of Building and Woodworkers, with contributions from the Museum of Architecture and Urbanism in Brussels.

As well as plenary sessions relating to the general theme and to Brussels, workshop themes planned include: Production and Built form; Labour in the Construction Industry; Legal, Technical and Financial Constraints; The Privatisation of Public Urban Space; The Role of the Professions; Top Locations as a Development Strategy.

Deadlines for papers are 22nd May 1992. For further information and bookings contact: The BISS Conference Secretariat, La Cambre, Marcel Pesleux, directeur, Place Eugène Flagey, 19, B - 1050 Brussels. Tel: 32-2-6409696; Fax: 32-2-6474655. For further information on BISS contact: BISS Secretary, Martin Schwartz, 10 rue Michel-Chauvet, CH-1208 Geneva. Tel: 41-2-468200; Fax: 41-22-468261.

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Recipients of prizes awarded by The Urban History Association in its 1991 competition for scholarly distinctions include:

Best dissertation in urban history, without geographic restriction, completed in 1990: Karen L Sawislak (Stanford University), "Smoldering City: Class, Ethnicity, and Politics in Chicago at the Time of the Great Fire" (degree awarded by Yale University).

Best scholarly journal article in urban history, without geographic restriction, published in 1990: David T Beito (University of Nevada at Las Vegas), "The Formation of Urban Infrastructure Through Nongovernmental Planning: The Private Places of St Louis, 1869-1920" *Journal of Urban History* 16 (May 1990), 263-303.

Best book in Non-North American Urban History published in 1989 or 1990: William Rowe (Johns Hopkins University) *Hankow, Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796-1895* (Stanford University Press, 1989).

Best book in North American Urban History published in 1990: David Hamer (Victoria University at Wellington, New Zealand) *New Towns in the New World, Images of Nineteenth Century Urban Frontiers* (Columbia University Press, 1990).

Articles

American Influence on Stockholm's Post World War II Suburban Expansion

Kermit C Parsons, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, USA

"Those that know the influence of Radburn outside America are probably best acquainted with the developments in Sweden, particularly Vällingby"[1]

The history of Swedish town planning in the last one hundred years is one of thoughtful continuous attention to the social and physical needs of all of its citizens who live in urban environments. The evolution of Swedish housing design including the layouts of residential areas, community facilities and aesthetics have been always responsive to human requirements and to the natural environment. The development of urban plans and their efficient, equitable and high quality implementations are among the most significant achievements of city planning in the world.

American community architect, town planner and urban statesman Clarence Stein was an unabashed admirer of the remarkable mid twentieth century accomplishment of Swedish town planners in the expansion of Stockholm in a structured process of building clustered communities. Stein wrote extensively and enthusiastically about the Stockholm planning and expansion process, about the quality of Swedish housing and community design.[2] He returned frequently to and stayed long in Stockholm to witness its extensive new suburban community development, and to confer with its planners and builders. He also, it will be argued here, had a significant influence on several of the major design elements of these new communities.

Stein's Third Career

Clarence Stein launched a third career in 1949. He was sixty-seven. His first career had been as an architect with Bertram Grovsnor Goodhue from 1912-1919 and on his own as an independent

architect in New York City in the early 1920s. His second career was as a community architect, planner and regional planning theorist, planner of some of the key projects in American planning from 1922-1948. This is the career that is so well documented in his own book, *Towards New Towns for America*, and in publications by Roy Lubove, Francesco DalCo and Carl Sussman.[3] In 1949 Stein began the third and most influential phase of his professional life. Now, as a writer and consultant, he worked to extend to others the ideas embodied in his community planning projects of the previous thirty years.

This new phase of his life, his third career, was initiated by Stein's good friend Gordon Stephenson, Editor of the *Town Planning Review* and Professor of Civic Design at Liverpool University. He suggested that Stein prepare a series of articles about his town planning and housing projects for the *Town Planning Review*.[4] These articles were to review in detail Stein's and Henry Wright's revolutionary American housing designs at Sunnyside, Long Island; Radburn, New Jersey; Chatham Village in Pittsburgh; Stein's Hillside Homes in the Bronx and Stein's consulting architect role in the design of the Greenbelt Townsend Baldwin Hills Village in Los Angeles, California. These projects had already by the late 1940s influenced a shift in the pattern of much American residential layout where traditional housing layout patterns were comprised of small blocks in gridiron or curvilinear street frameworks with the house fronts oriented to the streets. These patterns had already been shifting to designs in which houses and apartment buildings were laid out in larger blocks (superblocks) with major through automobile traffic restricted to perimeter streets and with extensive use of parking bays and garage courts in apartment projects and cul de sac streets in low density subdivisions. Some of these layouts now included pedestrian paths; landscaped centre block green spaces were frequently featured in the high density "superblocks".

Stein's third career as a consultant and urban statesman in America, Great Britain and Scandinavia was as a shaper of residential area design change. His and Henry Wright's prototype 1928 residential layout at Radburn in New Jersey was, by 1950, almost universally called the "Radburn Idea" or the "Radburn Plan" by planners in North America and Western Europe, especially in England and Scandinavia. Extensive publications about the plans and ideas of the new town of Radburn, New Jersey and Hillside Homes were a major factor in the shift to "superblocks" for large scale projects and the use of cul de sacs in subdivision plans and to increased traffic differentiation in town planning.[5]

During the spring of 1949, as Stein's articles for the *Town Planning Review* grew longer, he arranged to visit his friends Steen Eiler Rasmussen in Denmark, Yngve Larsson and Sven Markelius in Sweden and Gordon Stephenson in England to complete his rewriting, editing and assist with *Town Planning Review* layout designs. During his stay in London he lived near one of the scenes of his inspiration, Hampstead Garden Suburb.[6] The Steins stayed for almost a month at "Wyldes", the 17th Century manor house which had been the home of Raymond Unwin, one of the architect/planners for Hampstead Garden Suburb. At the Wyldes Stein began the writing and consultation that was to become his principal means of influencing change in the basic layouts of residential areas and new towns in Great Britain and Sweden, and later in America and many European countries as well as Australia and Japan. His writing about new communities and the Radburn Plan, as well as the writing of others about this idea, spread the new concept of residential layout throughout the western world.

How the Radburn Idea was Transferred to Sweden

Several scholars have commented on Clarence Stein's influence on the large post World War II suburban communities in Stockholm.[7] Even a casual inspection of plans of these projects reveals their consistent use of separate pedestrian and automobile circulation systems (see Figure 1). This account of Stein's influence on residential layout in Stockholm focuses on the nature of his influence, on the way it occurred, on his appreciation of the qualities of these residential layouts and finally on his respect for Stockholm's processes of planning and city building.[8] This article argues that the major Swedish town planners who adopted the Radburn Concept into their layouts of Stockholm's large scale city extension at Vällingby and Farsta and later at Skarholmen, Kista and elsewhere in Stockholm first absorbed this radical idea from many Royal Planning Association of America (RPAA) members' publications about Radburn in the early 1930s, from Lewis Mumford's description of Radburn and Greenbelt, Maryland in *The Culture of Cities*, and from Stein's publications in the *Town Planning Review* in 1949 and his 1951 book, *Towards New Towns for America*. These Swedish planners and city builders were also stimulated to use Stein's ideas by their visits to Radburn in the mid 1940s and by their interaction with Stein during his

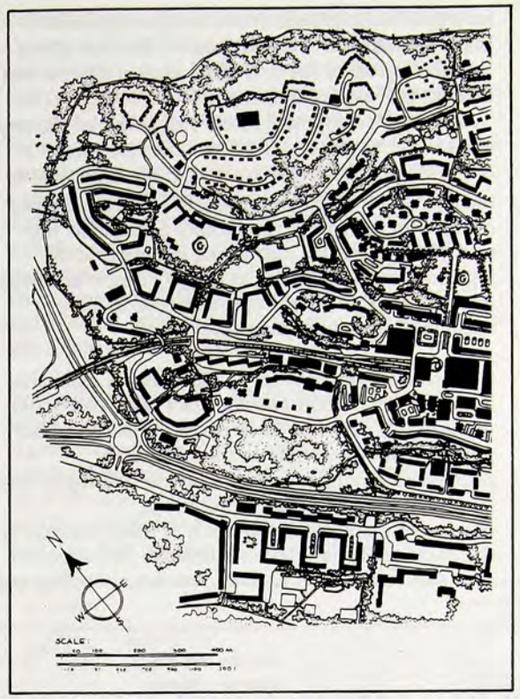

Figure 1: *Vällingby Central District* - Northwest Half. Tunnelbanen Station at **T** right centre. Typical Superblock Greens at **G**.

extended visits to Stockholm in 1949, 1952, 1954, 1960 and 1961.

Stein's discussions with Swedish town planners and city builders, including Yngve Larsson, Sven Markelius, Göran Sidenbladh and J H Martin strengthened their initial decision made in the mid 1940s to use of the Radburn concept in the design for Stockholm's new suburban city extensions.[9] Swedish planners may have first read about Radburn in RPAA members' 1930s publications about its plans and many may have seen them at their exhibition at the 1931 International Federation of Housing and Town Planning (IFHTP) meetings in Berlin and Stockholm. Steen Eiler Rasmussen in Denmark and Tage-William Olssen, town planner for Göteborg, Sweden, used illustrations of Radburn in their design studios in the 1930s. And Mumford's *The Culture of Cities* reproduced Radburn and Greenbelt plans in its Swedish translation in 1942.[10] Markelius probably met Stein when he designed the Swedish Pavilion at the 1939 New York World Fair. Stein was a member of the design review board for the fair. Markelius, Larsson's assistant and successor as head of Stockholm City Planning, visited America in the mid 1940s as a member of the international group of planners and architects advising on site selection and design for the United Nations permanent headquarters in New York. Stein took them to see Radburn. By the summer of 1947 Larsson and Markelius must have already decided to use the Radburn superblock system with its central green areas, structure of neighbourhoods and large pedestrian oriented shopping and cultural centre for the new Stockholm suburban districts. Markelius's 1948 visit to New York where he met with Stein and may have visited Radburn would have strengthened their decision. Stockholm's expansion was to be laid out around several rail transit nodes of the Tunnelbanen (rail transit) extensions planned west and south of the central city.

Clarence Stein visited Stockholm in the summer of 1949 to see first hand the early stages of building this new suburban community and to study the rational Swedish new concepts for building them. Early in his visit he could see that he had already greatly influenced the design of housing layouts and town centres in Stockholm's new communities.[11] Stein directed his studies to their metropolitan regional planning and land ownership policies and to the detailed design and real estate development processes that Swedish policy makers had established to implement their plans.

When Clarence and Aline Stein left Sweden for England in August 1949 Clarence wrote about his visit to Lewis Mumford: "I am so enthusiastic about the way the Swedes are developing great new communities, not just planning them on paper but actually determining the [site plans]...and building them..."[12] Stein later commented on his visit to Stockholm in a letter to Larsson summarising his admiration for their work:

> ...as I look over the summer, it seems to me that the strongest impression of progressive movement in planning was that which I got in the short time that I was in Sweden. It may have been that your hospitality and the thoughtful guidance of all others bewitched me, but I think not. I think that a tremendously valuable contribution is being made, not only in the orderly manner in which the remainder of Stockholm is being planned and built as a single process, but also in the design of the neighbourhoods as units related both the requirements of living and the form of the land. My first impression of the unusual approach of the Stockholm planners I received when I arrived by air and saw the new houses, partly hidden among the old trees that were left standing. This relating of every building and every group of buildings to the site

conditions impressed me even more strongly as I studied the developments on the ground with you and others.[13]

Stockholm's Expansion 1946-1976

Stockholm's suburban expansion policies guided a massive effort to meet post World War II housing shortages. They were shaped by public ownership of very large areas of land outside the city, by its evolving plans for rail transit and a realisation that more low density 'garden suburbs' like the city development of Stockholm 1904-1942 could not meet increased housing needs. Municipal land acquisition for housing and recreation at the outer edges of the city was long term Swedish policy. As early as 1904 the city of Stockholm had acquired very large areas of forest and farm land west and south of its built-up areas. The municipality, which had been active in housing construction since the early 1930s, took charge of formulating a new suburban expansion plan in 1944. After a relatively short period of internal debate a new set of policies for suburban expansion were adopted, general plans drafted and work started on detailed plans for developing of the first large area of city owned land to the west of the city at Södra Spånga (The Vällingby Development Area) and south of the city at Farsta Forsamling (The Farsta Development Area) (Figure 2 and 3). Each of these areas was to include six or seven city districts with populations of 6,000-15,000 each.[14] A parallel decision in the mid 1940s to extend rail transit west and south with new subway access to the city centre and with long (6 car) stations at suburban centres gave regional shape to the suburban plans.

Over the last thirty years of Stockholm's extensive large scale suburban development after 1947 most western city planners have come to identify these policies with these first and most densely populated suburban central districts (Vällingby and Farsta) of larger clusters of suburban neighbourhoods. Actually each of these districts is the main centre of a larger suburban development area and serves each as their primary shopping and

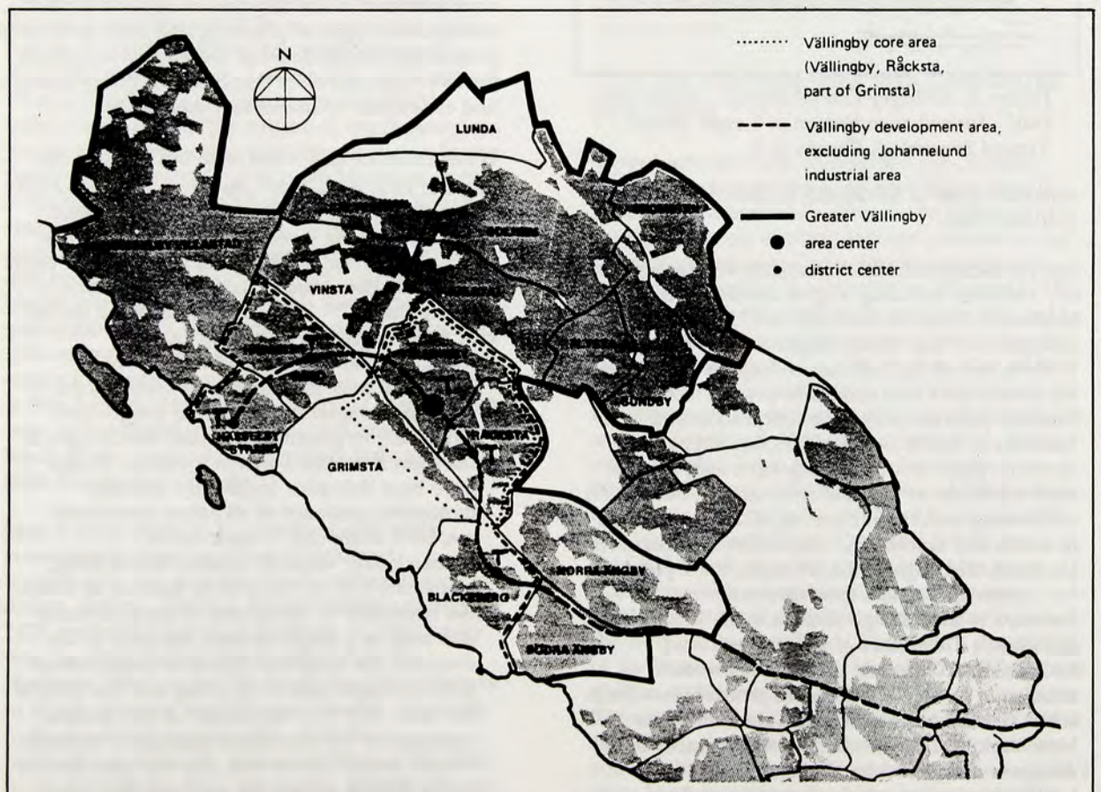

Figure 2: *Vällingby Development Area* including Blackeberg, Råcksta, Vällingby, Hasselby Gård and Hasselby Strand; Johannelund Industrial Area is at Vinsta with a T Station at South Corner.

cultural focus. The primary district of each area cluster is centred on a rail transit station and includes the area's highest density housing, three and four storey 'walk-up' apartment groups and elevator buildings in point blocks and slabs (see Figure 4). The 'area centres' (Vällingby and Farsta) serve five or six city districts located "like pearls on a string, linked to downtown [Stockholm] by a [rail] rapid transit line".[15] Each of the areas also includes employment opportunities in the area centres and in industrial districts in Stockholm. Those centred on Skarholmen southeast of the city and Kista at Jarva north of the city were built in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Stockholm's policy for the planning of these suburban expansion areas was first clearly expressed in its 1952 metropolitan regional plan which called for them to be 'small neighbourhood units' around 'common greens'. Each district would include separation of different kinds of traffic so that people could 'walk to the neighbourhood centre and children to school without crossing roads'.[16] 'Neighbourhood shops [were to be located] to make the consumers' walking distance as short as possible: 200 metres' or 700 feet to each high density district centre. An area of 44,000 population or more (several districts clustered around the higher density area centre was to 'be concentrated so that residents [would be]...at a walking distance [to the area centres] of 900 metres at most.'[17] The net residential densities of these core districts were quite high.

Diagrams of the 1952 Stockholm Regional Plan show the division of suburban development areas as 'groups' into 'city districts' (see Figure 5). They called for grouping these units with shared industrial areas around rail transit stations, spaced at 1800 metre intervals along two new rail transit lines west and south of the city centre. The Vällingby 'cluster' at Södra Spånga included Blackeberg, Råcksta, Vällingby, Hasselby Gård and Hasselby Strand residential districts and the

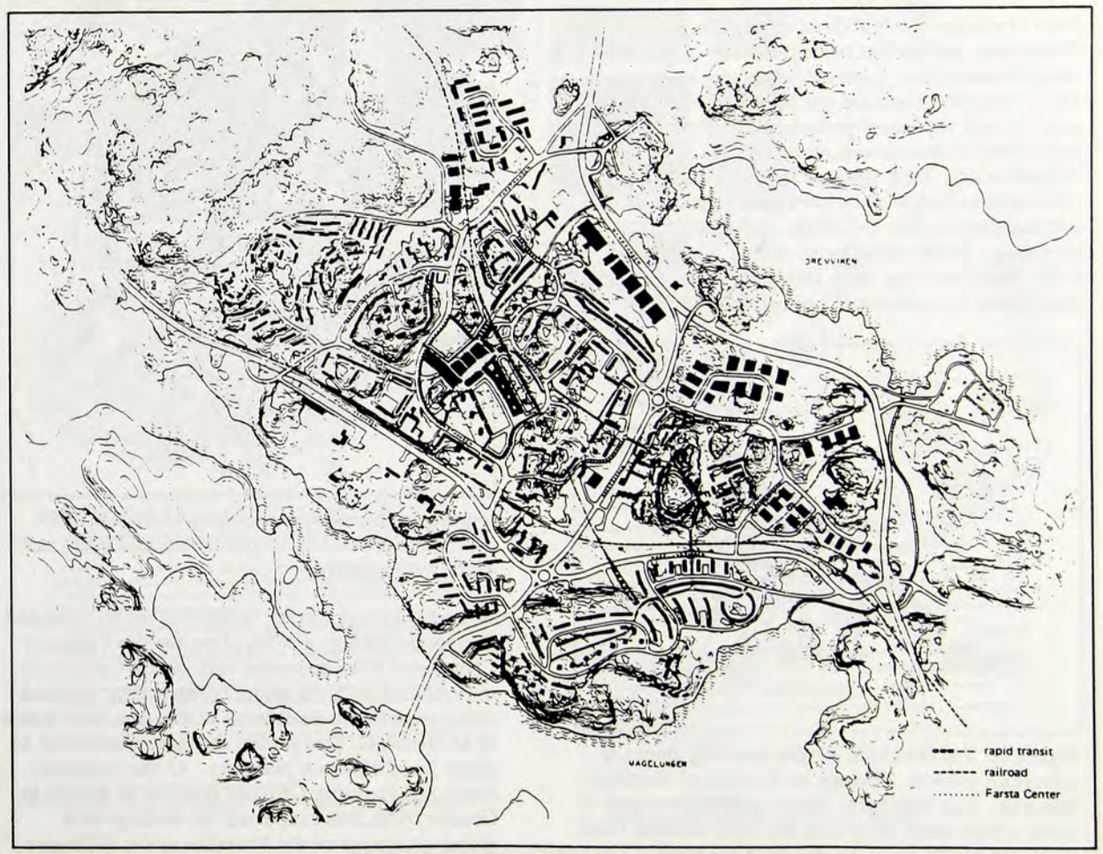

Figure 3: *Farsta Development Area Plan,* Industrial Area is along northeast edge of site plan. Farsta Centrum site plan at centre of drawing.

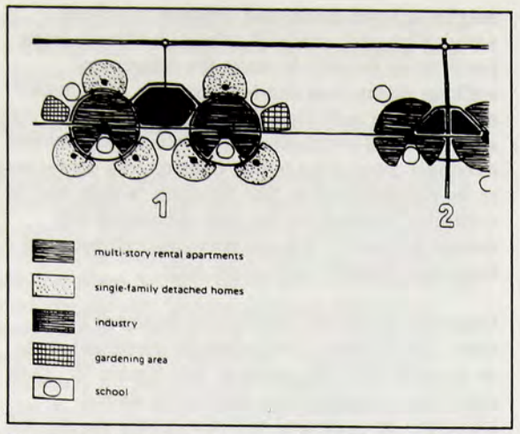

Figure 4: *Suburban Community Development Diagram* from General Plan for Stockholm, 1952.

Johanneslund industrial district. Its total population was to be about 44,000.

Sven Markelius's initial detailed site plans for Blackeberg, the district nearest the city centre on the rail transit line, were submitted for review in 1947. They incorporated the Radburn Plan layout type's grade separated pedestrian, pram and cycle paths, and central greens areas in their 'superblocks'. Their designs for pedestrian underpasses and bridges provided generous widths and excellent access to schools and district shopping. These plans faced strong opposition from Alex Dahlberg, then Director of the Municipal Real Estate Department,[18] because of their high densities (he favoured single family garden suburbs) and their extensive use of large blocks with connected green centres linked by pedestrian and cycle paths separated from the automobile circulation routes. His principal objection to these plans was that they were 'unnecessarily expensive and dangerous for unescorted women at night'. Dahlberg's opposition to Markelius's 'Radburnish' layouts within the framework of the new suburban residential districts was neutralised by his transfer to the finance department of Stockholm's city government in 1948. Markelius's subsequent plans for the Råcksta district (Figure 6) and the Vällingby centre (Figure 7) formulated in the late 1940s as the Director of Planning for Stockholm were soon approved. They provided for complete traffic grade separated pedestrian ways and cycle tracks from all residential areas to the shopping centres, schools and transit stations.

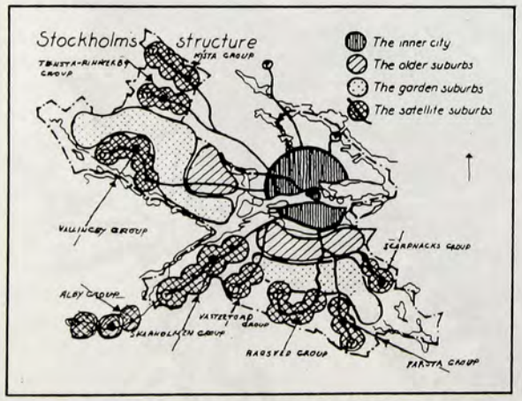

Figure 5: *The Stockholm Region* showing stages of suburban growth. Groups of districts of 'Satellite' Suburbs. The Vällingby, Farsta Skarholmen and some others were shown on the 1952 General Plan. all of the satellite groups shown have been developed. 'Older' and 'Garden' Suburbs were built between World Wars I and II.

Figure 6: Site plan for housing at *Råcksta*, 1949. Complete separation of pedestrian and cycle traffic from road system.

When Stein next visited Stockholm for an extended stay in the spring of 1952, plans for the Vällingby Centre had been approved and the first phases of the community were under construction. He and Aline returned to Stockholm to live in a little house in Mullerbeget, Djurgarden for two months and to study Swedish town planning. At the American Society of Planning Officials meeting in Boston in October 1952, Stein reported his findings in a glowing account of the livability of the Vällingby cluster, of its rational community layout, and of the urban efficiencies to be achieved by dispersing

population along rail transit lines in high density clusters. He also reported admiringly on the clarity and strength of Stockholm's administrative structure for detailed planning and implementation.

Stein's visits to Stockholm in 1949 and 1952 came at a time when the plan for regional expansion was well underway. Stockholm's principal planners, Larsson, Markelius and Sidenbladh, had incorporated many Radburn ideas in it. The work of his colleagues in the RPAA who had written a score of articles about Radburn in the early 1930s, the IFHTP's 1931 exhibition of the Radburn Town Plan, Mumford's endorsement in 1937 in the *Culture of Cities*, and Larsson's and Markelius's visits to Radburn itself had convinced all of them of the value of its innovations. They adapted it to Stockholm's special needs for high density suburban districts which were served by rail rapid transit, and they provided community site designs which exhibited high levels of sensitivity to the hilly, rocky landscapes of the western suburbs at Råcksta, Vällingby, and Hasselby Gård. They also developed an approach that made excellent use of the political possibilities of a progressive society which had great regard for the quality of housing and of community services for all family members,

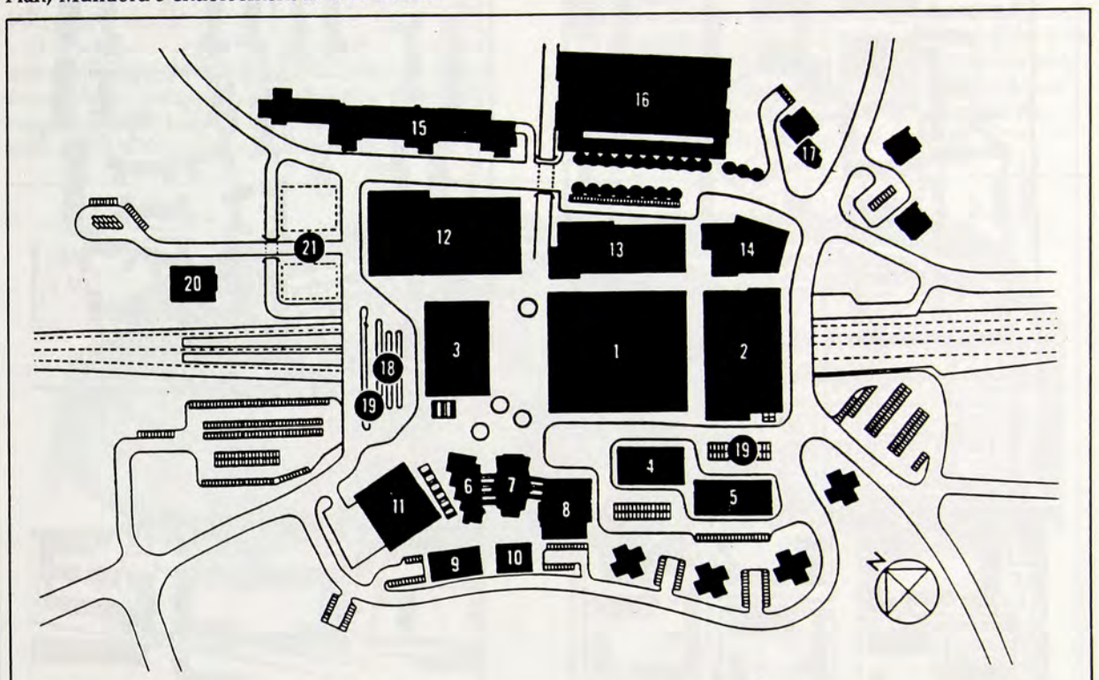

Figure 7: *Vällingby Centrum*, Cross-shaped buildings (point blocks) are the tallest of the multifamily housing types which surround the shopping core.

young and old, women and men, workers and professionals.

Stein's concepts of the best physical framework for a high quality of community life, which provided safety and quiet from auto traffic and excellent pedestrian and bicycle circulation, were only part of the innovation of these new layouts and the strong regional structure of the plan for Stockholm's growth. These plans were also influenced by the image of Le Corbusier's 'tall buildings in a park' and of course by the Swedish planners' modifications of these concepts and images in the informality of their site planning and in the human scale of their designs for high density residential areas. In only a few areas of the Vällingby clusters

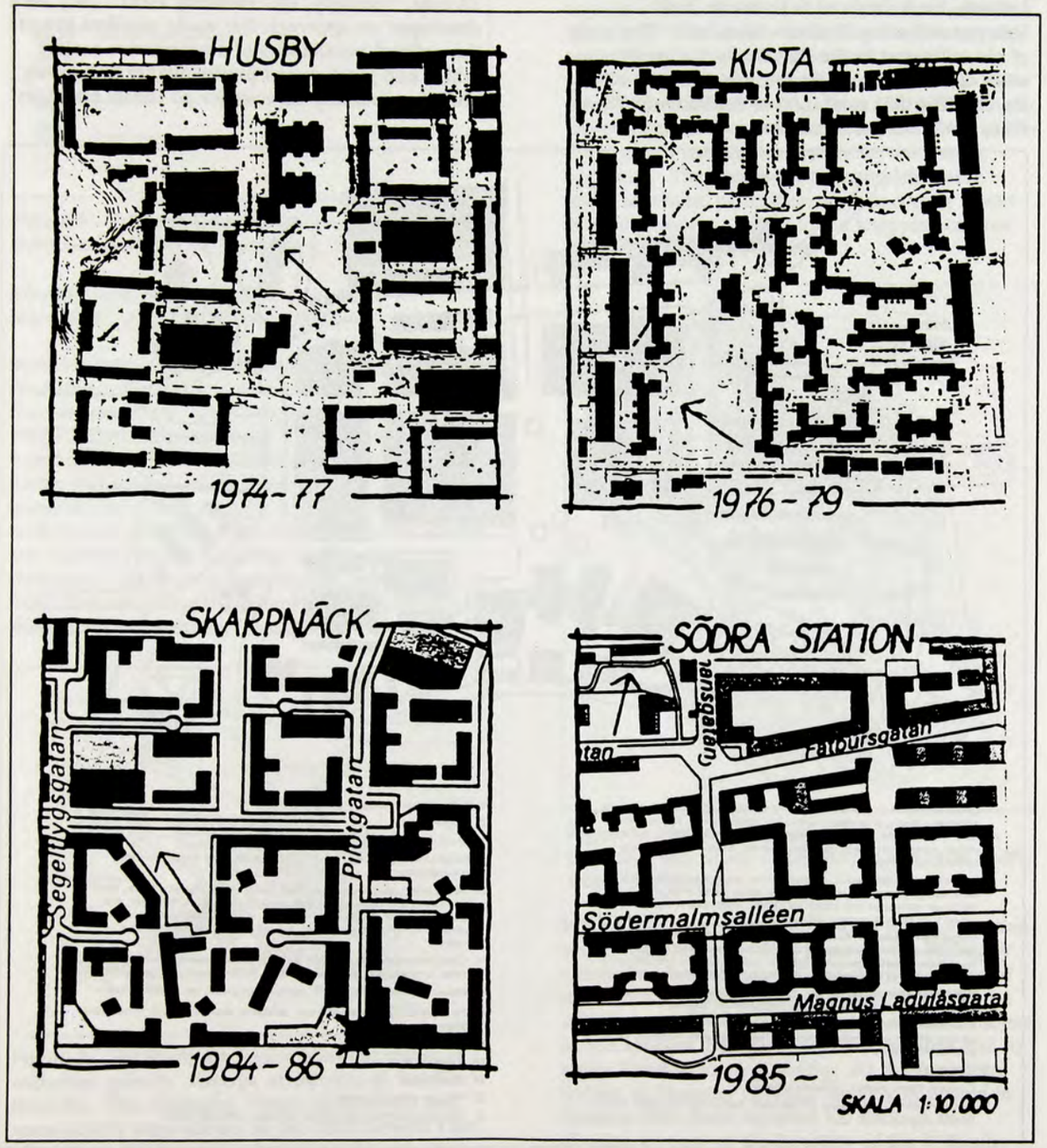

Figure 8: Site plans of later suburban districts. *Kirsta* represents a return to the right-angled courtyard. *Skarpnæck* plans show a return to street architecture and the gridiron plan.

of communities (for example, in the northwest section of Hæsselby Gård) does the residential site plan form exactly follow the details of the Radburn layout: alternating automobile access and park-finger pedestrian entrances to the houses with the walls leading down to a large park shared by several such sub areas. The details of site plan layout and the range of dwelling types are much more varied in the Stockholm suburban communities than in Radburn. The Stockholm residential densities are, of course, much higher, but the basic 'Radburn Idea' of layout is pervasive in these designs for thirty years.

Why in Sweden?

Stein continued to visit Stockholm over the decade from 1952 to 1962 and he maintained a steady correspondence with his Swedish friends.[19] He truly loved Stockholm and admired its historic values as well as its approach to city building. He optimistically hoped for opportunities to ignite similar new community programmes in the United States. But the different and diverse values of the US were not fertile ground for the idea of governments as real estate developers as Stockholm had been. The residential layout innovations of Radburn and its few US descendants did not dominate the patterns of US suburban growth in the 1950s and 1960s as they did in Stockholm

Use of the Radburn prototype layout is evident in the over twenty-seven Stockholm suburban residential districts built since 1950. Some, such as the Skarholmen group (Bredang, Satra, Skarholmen, Varberg) built in the mid to late 1960s and the Kista cluster (Kista, Husby and Akala), built in the early 1970s (Figure 8), are similar to the Vällingby and Farsta clusters in their objectives. All place the higher density housing groups near the

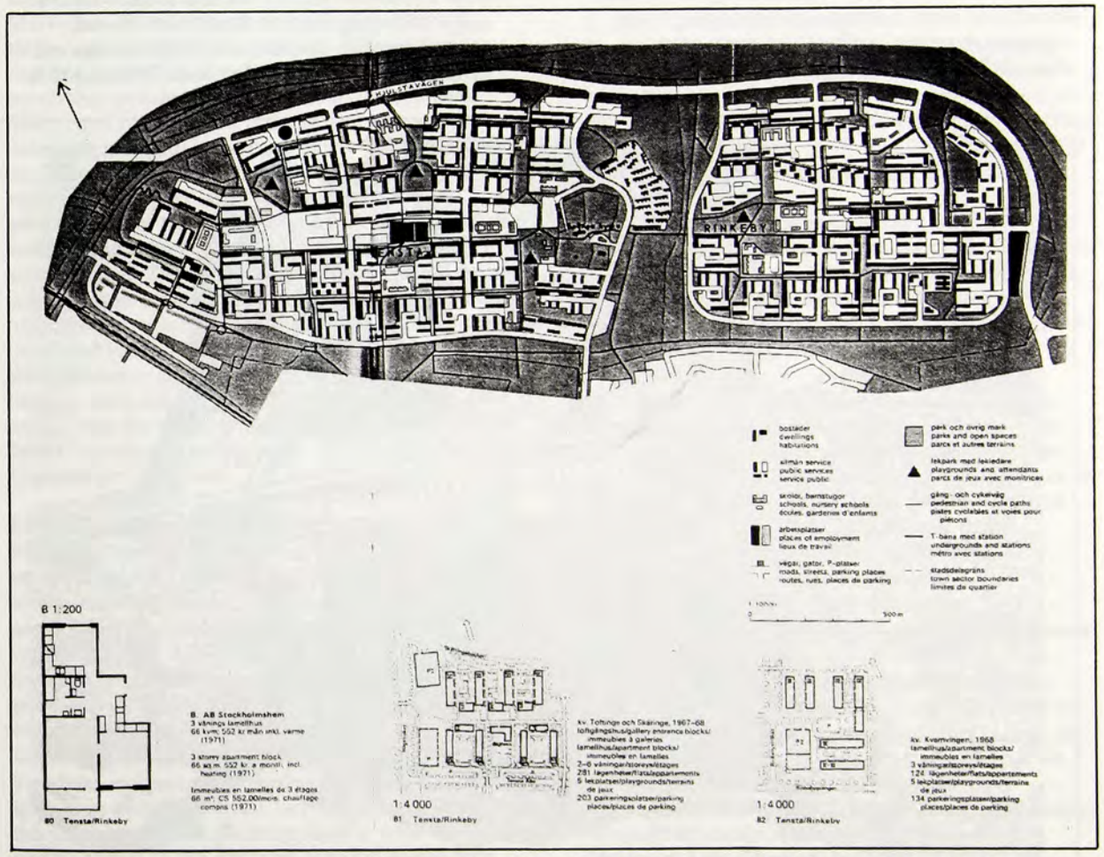

Figure 9: *Tensta Rinkeby* suburban clusters built in the late 1960s and early 1970s designed to achieve greater urbanity within the general pedestrian separation of the Radburn Concept but with higher densities and much smaller linear green areas between the clusters of housing. *Tensta* is comparable to *Cumbernauld*, the 1958 Scottish new town, in both traffic separation and walking distance objectives.

Tunnelbanen stations and commercial centre. All locate work places close to houses, preserve quality landscape features, provide separate systems for footpaths, bicycles, and automobile access. The Skarholmen group includes a wide range of housing densities and building types from very high density 3-8 storey step down groups of apartments to lower density terrace houses near Lake Märlaren. All are connected by footpaths through recreation areas to the centre of the three mile long linear cluster of 'districts'.[20]

The Tensta-Rinkeby group (Figure 9) built at about the same time as the Skarholmen cluster was designed to provide a more 'intense concentration and right angled regularity with an urban ambience' but continued most of the objectives listed above and included residential parking on several levels. All of these projects and many other 1960s and 1970s Stockholm suburban districts share the basic elements of the Radburn layout pattern. Some have more extensive core shopping areas (regional shopping centres) that serve other surrounding lower density residential districts.

Some have specialised industrial employment areas, such as Kista's concentration of electronic and computer related manufacturing. The concepts combined Radburn layout, clusters of differentiated suburban districts around rail transit stations, core shopping districts, manufacturing and service employment centres near residential districts, formed a consistent set of patterns for the fabric of Stockholm's urban expansion from 1946 to 1976. In this thirty year period the basic pattern formulated by Larsson, Markelius, Sidenbladh and their associates guided almost all development in Stockholm's suburbs so clearly typified by Vällingby (Figure 10).

Stockholm's development policy changed significantly after the mid 1970s period of recession/inflation. After 1975 fewer new dwelling units were built. In 1950 the number of dwelling units built was about 9,000. This rate climbed to over 27,000 per year by the late 1960s.[21] In the early 1970s migration to Stockholm slowed, unemployment increased and interest rates and prices went up rapidly. Between 1973 and 1976

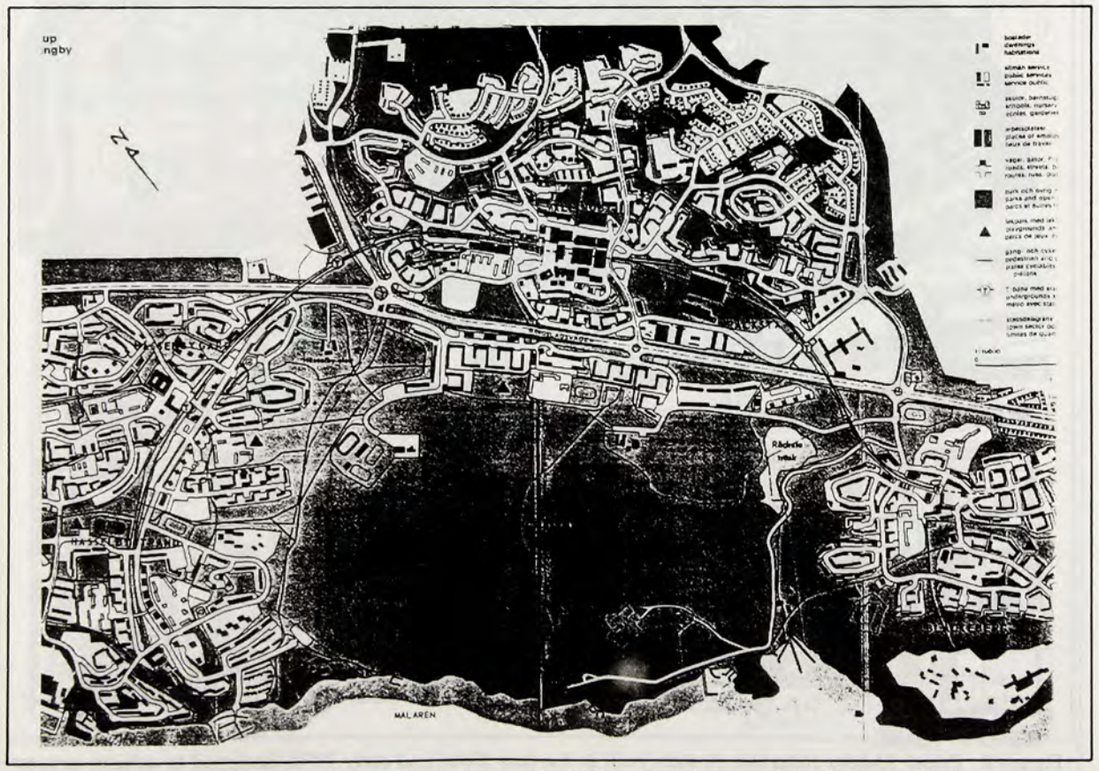

Figure 10: Overall plan o the entire Vällingby 'group' including *Blackeberg* south (right) of *Vällingby* (centre) the lower density districts of *Råcksta* southeast (left of the centre) and *Hæsselby Gård* and *Hæsselby Strand* southeast (left of the centre). The *Grimsta* area below the town centre along Lake Mälaren.

housing production fell from 23,000 units to 7,000 per year in the metropolitan area.[22] Stockholm's era of rapid growth came to an end in 1976. The very consistent development pattern of this era includes as one of its basic ideas the residential layout pattern evolved by Swedish planners and architects from the Radburn concept. This modified pattern of pedestrian favouring layout is as consistently used in Stockholm's suburbs as the curvilinear street/cul de sac/low density/single family/FHA 'subdivision manual' pattern is found everywhere in North American cities' suburbs built in the same era.

The influence of one of Clarence Stein's community design ideas, the Radburn plan, on Swedish planning was considerably greater in Stockholm than in any other western city. Almost half a million Stockholmers live and work in that new part of the city's urban environment shaped by ideas of Stein/Radburn inspired Larsson, Markelius, Sidenbladh planning for Stockholm's thirty year post WWII expansion. Why in Sweden and not in the US? Stockholm's municipal land ownership policies, municipal land development design and construction policies, and the policy of extensive municipal and cooperative housing construction and the policy of raising municipal revenue to support large public infrastructure programmes of rail transit and community services were the necessary conditions for this singular achievement. These policies were sufficiently cohesive and centrally administered to carry out the 'community regarding' ideas inherent in the 'Radburn Idea'. None of these policies, let alone their operation in concert over an extended period of time, have existed elsewhere in the Western world with the possible exceptions of the somewhat linear suburban expansion new communities of Copenhagen and Paris.

In Sweden the seeds of Clarence Stein's and the RPAA's Ebenezer Howard inspired macro ideas for an urban region planning structure of satellite towns and Stein's micro ideas for urban residential area layout structure fell on fertile ground. They were cultivated by a very astute, talented team of Swedish urban statesmen, politicians, planners, site planners, urban designers, architects and city builders. The Stockholm accomplishment is not universally admired by Western (including Swedish) architects and planners (especially the later high density district), but major elements of the City's expansion planning team's work were clearly rooted in the Radburn Idea for community layout and were greatly admired by Clarence Stein, one of its many coaches and perhaps its staunchest early cheerleader in America.

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References

1. Clarence Stein to Paul Ritter, 4 October 1961, Clarence Stein Papers, Cornell University Archives, Ithaca, NY, Collection No 3600 (hereafter CSP/CUS). Stein's six-page letter was a comment on Ritter's series of articles in the *Architects' Journal*: 'Radburn Planning: A Reassessment' published between June 1960 and February 1961.

2. Stein, Clarence, 'Stockholm Builds a New Town', *Planning 1952 Proceedings of the Annual Planning Conference*, American Society of Planning Officials, pp. 56-64.

3. Roy Lubove, *Community Planning in the 20s...The Contribution of the Regional Planning Association of America*, Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1963; Francesco DalCo, 'From Parks to Gardens', in *The American City from the Civil War to the New Deal*, Cambridge MIT Press, 1979; and Carl Sussman, *The Fourth Migration*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1974.

4. Stein's earlier published writing on town planning was extensive, first as Associate Editor for community planning of the AIA Journal after 1921, and in various professional journals through the mid 1940s, but none were so influential as his 1949-50 *Town Planning Review* articles.

5. The modern idea of using the 'superblock' in urban plans and traffic separation seems to have been arrived at simultaneously by Clarence Stein and Le Corbusier. Stein notes in a 1961 response to a series of articles by Paul Ritter on the 'Radburn Plan', that he and Henry Wright, and their associates in Radburn did not know that Le Corbusier 'had a scheme for separation of pedestrians and auto. In fact' he wrote, Le Corbusier 'did not publish the idea of two different levels for walkers and vehicles until 1929. We planned Radburn in 1928.' And, he noted, their approaches were different: 'Le Corbusier seems to have borrowed from Leonardo da Vinci.' And he continued: 'There were many precedents that we welded together to make the Radburn Conception...most important in regard to separation of communication...[was] Central Park, which Frederick Law Olmsted designed in 1851.' He might have added Clarence Perry's concept for the urban neighbourhood.

6. This work was first published in *The Town Review*, Vol XX No. 4 (April 1949) and Vol XX No. 3 (April 1950) and then republished by the Liverpool University Press in 1951 as *Toward New Towns for America*. For an account of the inspiration of Stein by Unwin and Parker's design for Hampstead Garden Village, and Stein's influence on British housing layouts after 1950, see 'British and American Community Design: Clarence Stein's Manhattan Transfer, 1924-1974,' my unpublished paper prepared for the joint ACSP-AESOP at Oxford in July 1991, shortly to appear in *Planning Perspectives*.

7. Kidder Smith, *Sweden Builds*, New York: Reinhold 1957, and David Pass in *Vällingby and Farsta, The New Community Development Process in Stockholm*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1973. Both report Swedish planners' expressed debt to Stein.

8. Stein believed that the residential layouts of Baronbackarna, Sweden (1952) also carried out most completely the basic Radburn Ideas of superblocks with continuous central green pedestrian access from all houses through garden courts (CSS to Ritter, October 1961).

9. Sven Markelius and Gorän Sidenbladh, 'Town Planning in Stockholm' in *Ten Lectures on Swedish Architecture*, Stockholm: 1949. These were printed from lectures given in England in 1947. Their description of the intention to use separate pedestrian systems is clear (pp. 73-74).

10. Gorän Sidenbladh, 'Planning Problems in Stockholm in *Stockholm - Regional and City Planning*, Stockholm: published by the Planning Commission of the City of Stockholm, 1964, p. 56. Mumford's book was translated and published by the Cooperative Wholesale Society, which meant it had wide circulation in Sweden.

11. Yngve L Larsson to Clarence S Stein, 11 June 1949. Larsson wrote to Stein, who was en route to Sweden and staying at Helsingør, Denmark while Aline McMahon Stein also was acting in a Danish production of Hamlet. In this letter Larsson recalls his most recent (summer 1949?) visit to Radburn with Stein. Stein's notes on his 1949 visit to Stockholm provide an excellent idea of the vigour and thoroughness with which he carried out his research and also provide a record of the people and places he visited (SSP/CUA Box 12, File No. 20).

12. CSS to Lewis Mumford, 6 August 1949 (SCP/CUA).

13. CSS to Larsson, 4 January 1950 (CSS/CUA).

14. David Pass, *Vällingby and Farsta*, op. cit. This the best English language account of the regional planning concepts and the technical and political development of ideas in the building of these Stockholm suburban communities. Pass's detailed descriptions of the politics, policies and programmes and his detailed chronologies of the development process provide an excellent understanding of the logic and the commitment of the several city builders who for three decades guided Stockholm's expansion from the mid 1940s to the mid 1970s.

15. Pass, pp. 2 and 8.

16. Pass, p. 8.

17. *Attbo* special issue, *The Master Plan for Stockholm*, Stockholm: Tidens Forlag by HSB 1953.

18. Dahlburg had been responsible for the extensive building of large areas of free standing single family houses in the 'garden suburb' plans of Stockholm's growth policy in the 1930s and early 1940s (Pass, op. cit. p. 116).

19. CSS to Sidenbladh, 24 September 1954, discusses the plans for Farsta Centre. CSS to Larsson, 3 February 1961, reports on Stein's pleasure with President Kennedy's plan for a Department of Urban Housing Affairs.

20. *Stockholm-Urban Environment*, Stockholm Information Committee, 1972, provides many detailed maps of housing layouts and general descriptions of four of these clusters.

21. City Administrative Office, *The Development of Stockholm*, published by the City of Stockholm, 1989, p. 20.

22. *The Development of Stockholm*, p. 32.

Metamorphosis of Corinth: From the Community of the Ottoman Era to the Neohellenic Town

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'La Grèce est un pays qui a, plus que tout autre, son génie et sone charactère propres, ne ressemblant à aucune partie de l'Europe, soit dans ses moeurs, soit dans ses institutions. Ce même peuple a pourtant besoin d'être, pour ainsi dire, refait, puisque tout à peu près y est arriéré, ou dans un état de délabrement; et cette régénération ne parait pouvoir s'opérer qu'en introduisant des lois et des usages qui appartiennent à une civilisation étrangère à son sol.

Quelle sera donc la marche à suivre? Faudra-t'il procéder de manière à ce que les nouvelles institutions effacent ce qu'on y trouve d'original et de caractéristique, afin que la Grèce, jétée dans le monde européen, en sorte entièrement changée, et façonée à notre manière de vivre, de penser et d'agir? Rien ne serait plus facile que de commencer une telle métamorphose...'

(Frédéric Thiersch, 1833, *De l'état actuel de la Grèce et de moyens d'arriver à sa restauration.*)

The quotation summarises the main issue the communication will deal with , using as an example the transformations of the city of Corinth during the 19th century. The urban history of this town, which has never in modern times succeeded in regaining its former importance, nonetheless presents a particular interest: in a way the town offered the field for testing the novel planning ideas and techniques introduced at the time by the newly established Greek state, aiming at the 'occidentalisation' of what was perceived as an 'oriental' society and of its spatial assets. The modernisation of Corinth is an account simultaneously of the transition of the traditional community into a modern town and of the formation of town planning, in the context of a profound and all-embracing change from Greek Independence in 1828 onwards.

Corinth is unique in the sense that it was the only town for which three different plans were drawn up within a short period (1829, 1836 and 1858), probably due to its excellent location on the Isthmus. Prominent French, German and Greek engineers successively projected the future face of the town, radically reshaping its traditional image. Their designs, although each one of distinct morphological reference and planning approaches - corresponding to different stages of planning evolution - reveal the predominant concern of State intervention in urban affairs: to move away from the Ottoman past towards a more European direction by consolidating the modernisation and rationalisation of urban structures, and to restore the nation's historical continuity by reconnecting the ancient world to the modern kingdom. To that end, the physical shape of the city, strongly reminiscent of Classical patterns, proved to be an efficient instrument of regulation, as well as a powerful means for ideological signification.

The paper will attempt to explore the four faces assigned to Corinth in the course of 19th century, tracing simultaneously the evolution of Greek town planning.

The structure of the town at the turn of the 19th century: history evolution and Ottoman heritage

In the beginning of the 19th century, Corinth was a provincial market town with typical features shared with other towns of Peloponnese. With a mixed population of about 4,000 Greeks and Turks, its position commanding the access to the peninsula, it occupied the same site of Classical and Byzantine city, one mile from the coast, at the foot of the old citadel of Acrocorinth. Chief town of the Vilayeti of Corinth, extending its jurisdiction over 80 villages and containing the most fertile plains of Peloponnese, it was also the head point of the postal service of the peninsula and the seat of the most powerful and wealthy family of Turk Beys of Morea after 1715.

The change of the city from a flourishing commercial and industrial centre of the early mediaevel era to a provincial town date from 12th century, when the Normans captured and plundered the city in 1147. Historians locate the

Fig 1: View of Corinth in the beginning of the 19th Century (O M von Stackelberg, *La Grèce, Vues pittoresques et topographie*, 1811)

decline of its prosperity in the period of Frankish conquest (1210-1458), during which Corinth remained an ecclesiastical as well as a political and military centre.[1] The adventures that followed the Turkish conquest in 1458, have reduced further the importance of the city transforming it into a rural town serving its agricultural hinterland.

The fortunes of Corinth during this long twilight cannot be easily traced. It seems though quite certain that above the fourteenth century settlement a community was established, which remained nearly the same until modern times; the organisation of the former Byzantine urban centre in fortress-bourg-suburb survived into the late 18th century. By the beginning of the 19th, the larger majority of the inhabitants resided in the lower town (the ex-suburb) and there were fewer in the outer castle, whose citadel was the post of the Turkish garrison. The lower town, modern Corinth, changed only slightly throughout this period, as is well indicated by the descriptions of travellers, who visited the region from the 16th to 19th centuries (R Lubenau in 1588, G Wheler and J Spon in 1676, C Thompson in 1730, W M Leake in 1805-6, F C H L Pouqueville in 1815, P E Laurent in 1818), as well as by recent archaeological evidence[2]; the survey plan of 1828 and that of 1835 (see below) confirm this and provide a detailed image of the town as it was in the third decade of 19th century.

The town exhibits the typical layout of settlements at the time of the Ottoman occupation: it consisted of separated neighbourhoods (mahalle), enclosing their religious and social edifices (the church or the mosque), with intervals of vineyards and cornfields. The buildings were not contiguous but surrounded by gardens of fruit trees, mixed with cypresses, and enclosed by walls lining roads; so that the town seemed made up of distinct villages structured around the main road, along which the centre of the town was situated. The streets formed an inextricable network of rugged lanes and impasses giving access to individual properties. The largest neighbourhood (Calamate mahalle) next to the Bazaar, consisted of about 100 houses and contained the small cathedral, the residence of the Archbishop, and the Greek school. The Bazaar occupied the centre of the town at the intersection of the principal roads, a little northern from the site of the Classical 'agora' and the Byzantine market; it was the locus of community life, concentrating the commercial and religious activities, and most of the public buildings (the shops, the coffee-houses, and the great mosque); next to it, the open-air weekly fair was located, and to neighbouring sites, the Menzil-hane (post office) and the Caravanserai (inn) were erected in the course of the 18th century. At the north end of the main road the Palace of Kiamil Bey, political and administrative centre of the town, stood in the middle of the cliff

Fig 2: The city and the fortress of Corinth in the year 1687 (Gennadeion Library, Athens)

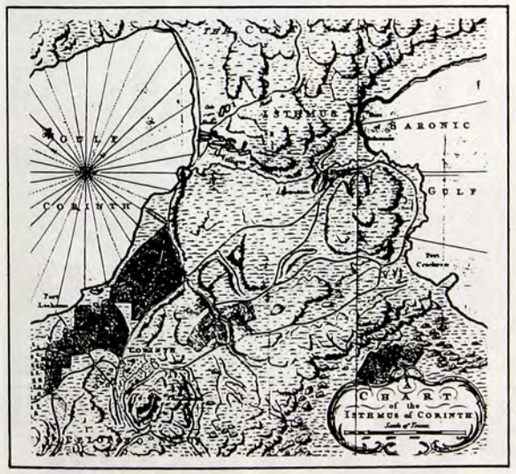

Fig 3: The topography of the Isthmus of Corinth by the end of the 18th Century (R Chandler, *Travels on Asia-Minor and Greece*, London 1817, 3rd ed, Joseph Booker)

commanding an enchanting prospect. It was erected in the course of 18th century, in a large enclosure with harems, baths, kiosques and gardens, and celebrated as a good example of oriental luxury. Seven columns of a Doric Temple, two or three masses of mason-work, and numerous springs were the only visible remains of its ancient glory.[3]

Yet this apparently confused topography conformed to a fairly regular plan, typical of the Ottoman town: the Great Mosque stood in the centre, with shopping streets (souqs) all around; then in a series of concentric circles the khans or caravanserai, the craftsmen and the open-air bazaar were ranged in a traditional order; then the quarters of habitations divided into distinct religious and ethnic neighbourhoods - another regular feature of the Ottoman town. At the outer end of the town, linked to the centre through the market street, the residence of the Turk prince was situated confirming his authority over the town.[4]

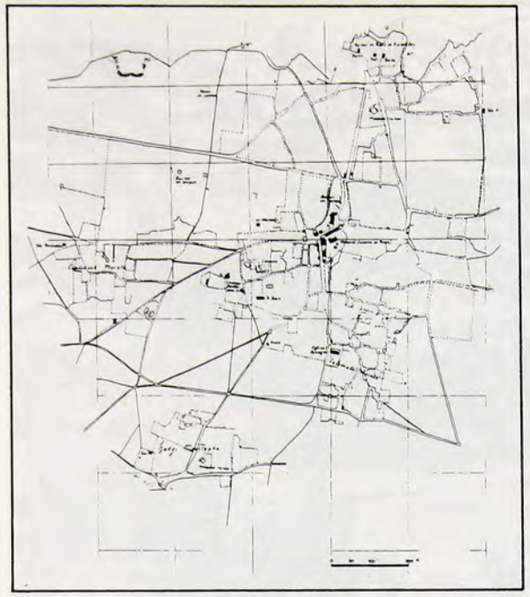

Fig 4: The layout of the traditional town (redesigned after the topographical survey on Peytier's plan of 1829)

Corinth had still its two ancient ports, although in miserable condition: Lecheum, on the gulf of Lepanto, where the small custom house and the warehouses of the Bey stood, and where some merchant vessels anchored in the year; the other, at Kenchreae, on the gulf of Aegina, where only few fishing boats anchored.

The plan of Peytier, 1829: the years of pragmatism and the prevalence of European rationalism

Corinth emerged from the war of Independence devastated. Only 154 families were left (1830 census), a few spruce houses still standing and a number of dilapidated shacks. Its public buildings were ruined and its market deserted.

As a result of a petition of the inhabitants demanding the reconstruction of their town, President Capodistrias commissioned the French military geographer-engineer Emile Peytier[5], a member of the French Military Expedition in Morea attached to his service, to draw up the plan for the town. Peytier, accompanied by his assistant, the Italian d'Islay, arrived on site before the end of 1828; after having drafted the survey map of the

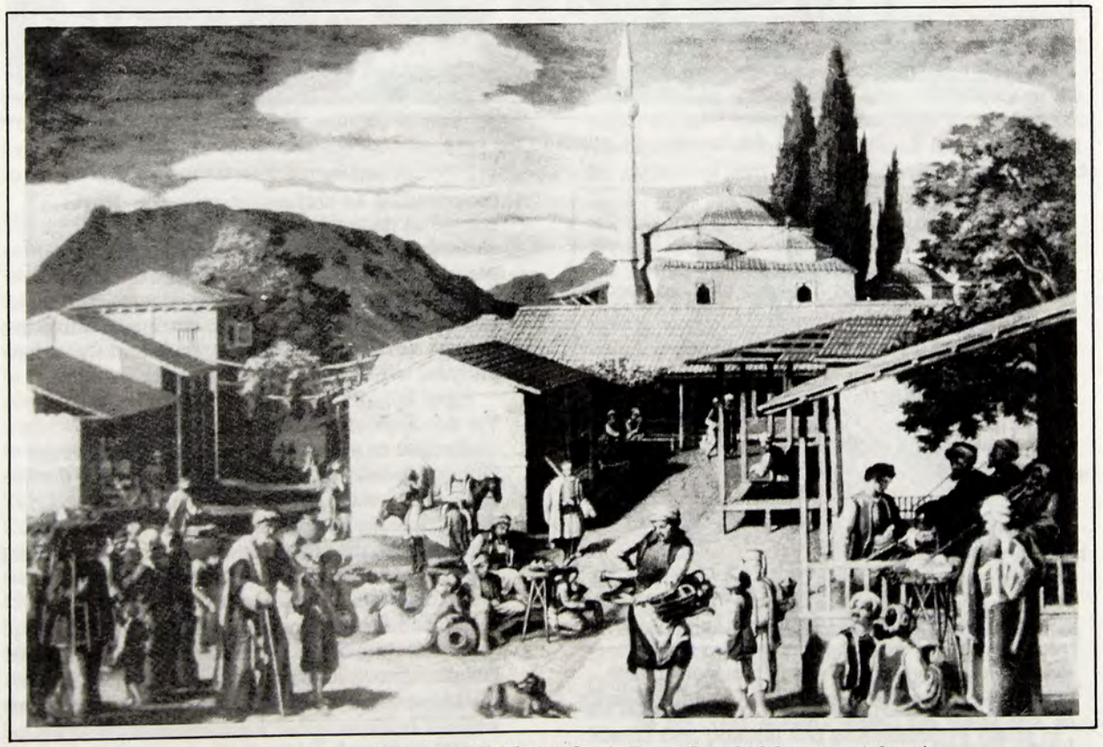

Fig 5: The bazaar of Corinth (O M von Stackelberg, Benaki Museum, Athens)

Fig 6: The caravanserai of Corinth (O M von Stackelberg, Benaki Museum, Athens)

town, he prepared the new plan which he submitted to the President in February 6, 1829.[6]

The plan is a characteristic example of the early urban designs made mostly by foreign engineers for important towns of the country, like those of Nauplia (1828) or Tripolis (1829). Its conception and approach are quite representative of the urgent initiatives (1828-1832) taken by the President to ensure the urbanisation of the country and to deal

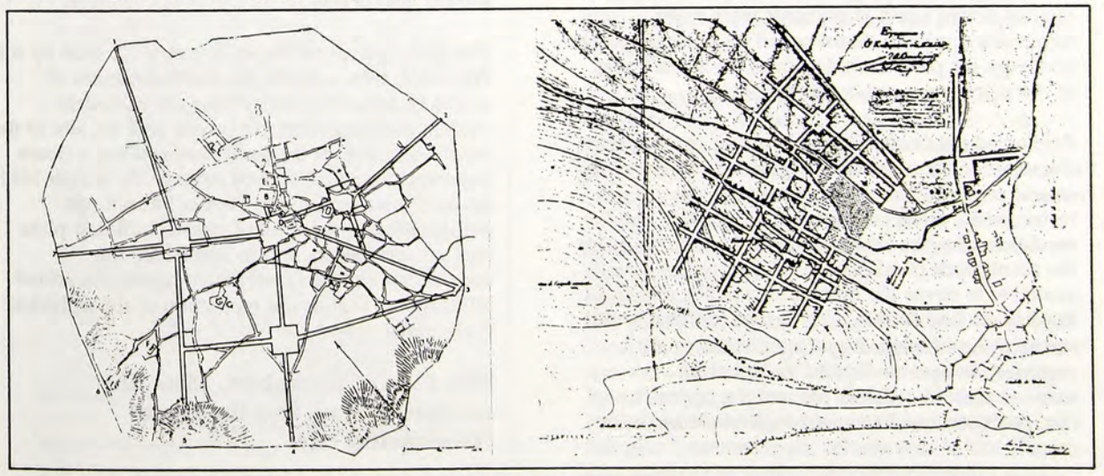

Fig 7: Plans for Tripolis (1828) and Modon (1828) (P Tsakopoulos 1986, and Archives of plans, Ministry of Planning, Athens)

with the reconstruction of towns devastated during the war of Independence.[7]

The plan[8], with its unaffected layout, reflected the military rationalism of its author, who nevertheless introduced the late 18th century Classical forms, particularly the closed-angled oblong square (reminiscent of Renaissance patterns) a generic element of his composition. Peytier proceeded according to the scientific devices of his time: sanitation, alignment and amenities, to establish regularity and order, to create the public spaces necessary to promote the commercial function of the town, and to provide administrative and cultural facilities. He preserved the existing network of streets, which were widened to 10m (except for the newly-traced main street crossing the town from east to westwards), and opened up eight regular squares on non-built sites, with dimensions and shapes varying according to particular features of each spot. A specific function and the relevant edifices were assigned to each of them as can be seen on Figure 8: IP, the biggest one where the seven Doric columns stand, was proposed for the administrative and ecclesiastical centre; 2P, for the central market place; 3P, for the quarter of Panagia with the small cathedral of the same name; 4P, for the cattle fair; 5P, on the ruins of Bey's palace, for the hospital, prison, and military academy; 6P, at the intersection of the main streets surrounded with the best-preserved houses; 7P, at the existing crossroads into a courthouse. Two main streets, from north to south and from east to west, linked the squares to an articulated structure framing between them the triangle-shaped building blocks with individual plots. As for the compensation of the properties affected by the new layout (chiefly in the Panagia quarter where street alignments were more rigorously applied), he proposed a sort of property exchange for plots excluded from the surface area of the plan or cut out by alignments.

Peytier was at once both conscious of the moderate character of his intervention, and fully aware of the means required for radical planning. Yet, he was restricted by the topography, the relatively good condition of some houses and the need to optimise the scant stock of edifices (Christian or Ottoman) available to cover the demand for public amenities. Besides, he had to make his design conform to the instructions addressed by Capodistrias to all engineers to operate limited and gradual interventions in order to prevent the opposition of the inhabitants and to avoid high implementation costs.[9]

Although, the plan brought about only limited alterations in the existing fabric, it nevertheless

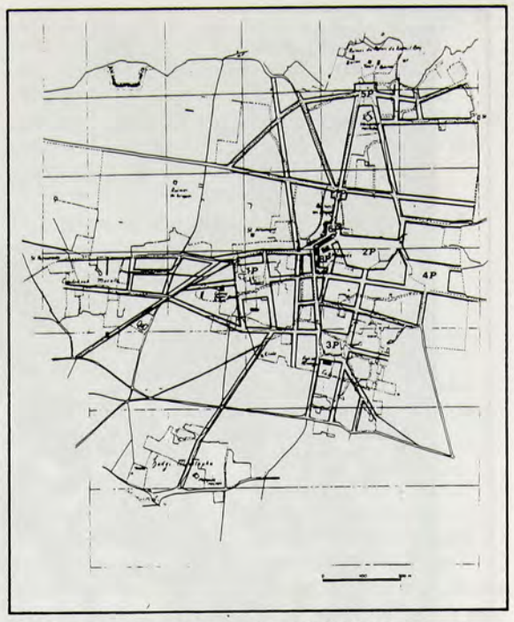

Fig 8: The plan of E Peytier, 1829 ((Redesigned after the original Archives of the Service Historique de L'Armée de Terre, Paris)

succeeded in reversing the previous multi-nucleated pattern, and to unifying the 'detached villages' into a coherent urban space, regularly laid out and containing places for new political, economic and social activities. The town plan was part of a threefold project aiming at the reactivation of the commercial role of Corinth,[10] and including the reconstruction of the port of Lecheum and the suburb of Examilia, for which Peytier had also started the survey.

The plan was approved in February 12, 1829 by the President, who ordered the commencement of works in order of priority from the cathedral square, the administrative centre, and the site of the central mosque, at the same time making a down payment of a small sum of money. By March 1829, under the supervision of Peytier himself, the demarcation of the lines of streets, building plots and squares began, and in April 1830 the construction of the Government house, the school building, as well as the reparation of the cathedral were under way.[11]

The Plan of Schaubert, 1836: the formative years and the rise of Neoclassical city

In April 1834 the inhabitants addressed a new petition for the rebuilding of the town, this time to

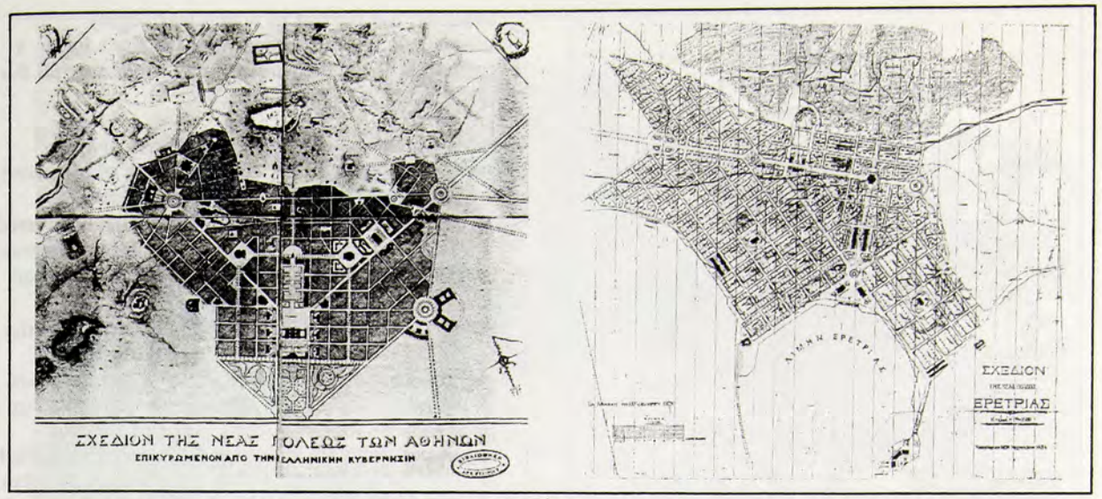

Fig 9: Plans for Athens (1833) and Eretria (1834) (Archives of plans, Ministry of Planning, Athens)

King Otto, who had arrived in Greece the previous year. We do not know what caused the petition. Probably the events which followed the

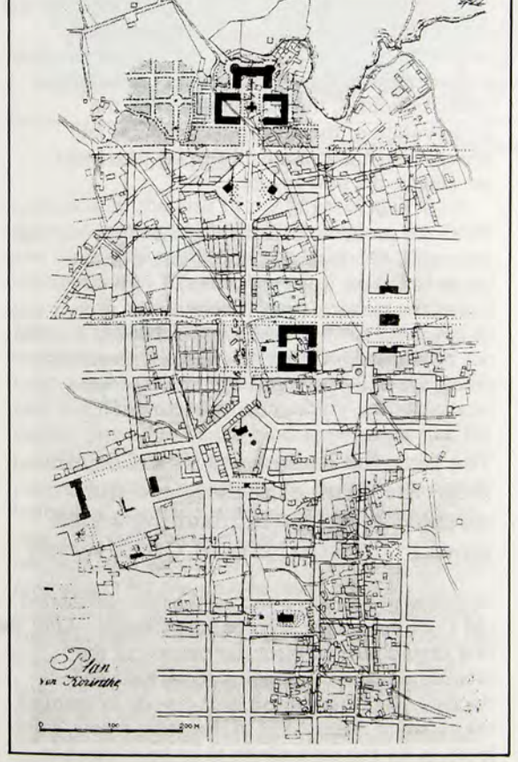

Fig 10: The plan of E Schaubert, 1836 (Archives of plans, Ministry of Planning, Athens)

assassination of Capodistrias in 1832, the scanty financial means available to the state for building towns, the vagueness as regards the management of national land, among other things, may have hindered the implementation of Peytier's plan. What we know with certainty is that by this time the condition of the town had scarcely improved,[12] and that Corinth had failed the candidature to become the capital of the country, having been rejected in favour of Athens. Anyway, Otto immediately responded to the demand, and commissioned the topographer Abelé to complete a new survey map (as well as with the levelling of the surroundings lands to be distributed to the inhabitants for cultivation).[13] This was followed by the new town plan drawn up by the German Eduart Schaubert and submitted for high approval in 1836.

The commissioning of the plan by Schaubert[14], Chief Architect of the public technical services, indicates the particular importance attached to Corinth and is closely linked with the endeavour of the Ottonian administration to found new towns on the sites of famous cities of antiquity; Sparta, Pireus, Eretria, Thebes, and naturally Athens, were typical examples.

The plan[15] had neither the splendour of his design for Athens (1833), nor the geometrical refinement of that for Eretria (1834), which was from the outset traced on virgin ground. Besides, Schaubert himself in his hitherto unknown report specifying the plan[16], seemed quite reluctant as to the necessity of the work, considering that the town should be rebuilt in a new location near the Isthmus, more adequate for its anticipated

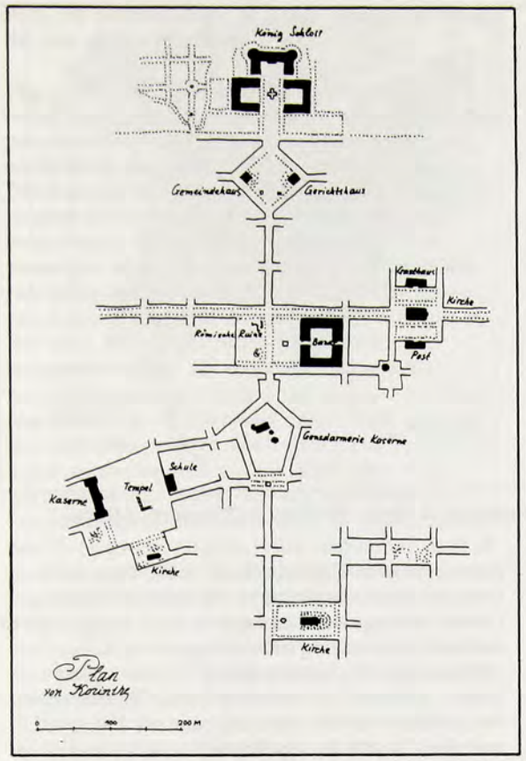

Fig 11: The monumental prospect of Schaubert's plan

development. Despite all this, the existence of 150 houses, the building material available, the plentiful water and the proximity of the port, restricted him to the original location. Projecting the new layout, Schaubert did not take Peytier's plan into consideration at all. His design faithfully depicted the concept of the Neoclassical city, legislated for in a series of laws and decrees - within the context of the broader institutional reform put forward by King Otto[17] - concerning the modernisation of the traditional town, on a physical as well as on a social level; innovations which have determined the making of the Neohellenic city ever since.

Despite Schaubert's declared intentions and his (detectable in the design) efforts to spare the best-preserved central sites of the town, in fact the plan completely neglected the old fabric, and proposed a homogenous urban space which occupied only the central part of the existing layout, and was confined to a surface (not including streets) of 28.4 hectares: an area which was considered adequate to accommodate 355 residences in a clearly higher density, after the incorporation of title-holders outside the plan. The density of the layout seemed to be for Schaubert a prerequisite for the desired urbanity, the pursuit of which was largely identifiable in his conception of the city's form: a miniature of the Neoclassical city containing all the novel traits of urban life.

A rectangular grid pattern was traced, shaping regular building blocks and a network of main and secondary streets (measuring 12 and 9 m respectively), whose hierarchy was suitably stressed with arcades and lines of trees. Baroque references and Neoclassical squares, related to specific urban functions, constituted its generative elements, culminating in the monumental composition of the central prospect. Its focal point was the royal palace, displayed symmetrically to the central axis, in the middle of a park. This axis articulated four civic squares with the Town Hall and the Law Court building; the square with the covered market (a novel building type which one meets in the plan of Athens); the square with the central mosque converted into a Tribunal or Prison; and the square with the church of Panagia. In connection with these, two more squares were created: one on the larger tree-lined street coming from Athens, laid-out around a new church with the Post office and Hotel on its sides; the other around the seven Doric columns (taking over Peytier's idea) flanked by the school and army barracks. The concern for embellishment was pervasive throughout the plan and manifest in the arrangement of squares and public buildings, the planting of trees, the conservation of the numerous fountains and springs, and the prominent display of ancient remains in the new layout.

There are grounds for believing that the plan was approved, although it is not certain that the implementation was ever started.[18] We do not know the reasons: was it because the project was so advanced for the local community that it could not be realised? Or because the initial reticence of Schaubert as to the suitability of the present location of the town to be well-founded?

The plan for Kalkos for New Corinth, 1858: the years of realism and the emergence of a town planning scaled down to the capability of Greek society

In February 1858, a severe earthquake devastated old Corinth and the surrounding villages. After the first urgent measures for the comfort of the inhabitants (such as sending tents, food and doctors), the Government sent experts to examine the situation closely and to designate a new, safer location for the community to be transferred to. Various disputes emerged among the inhabitants as to the new location of their town; they were

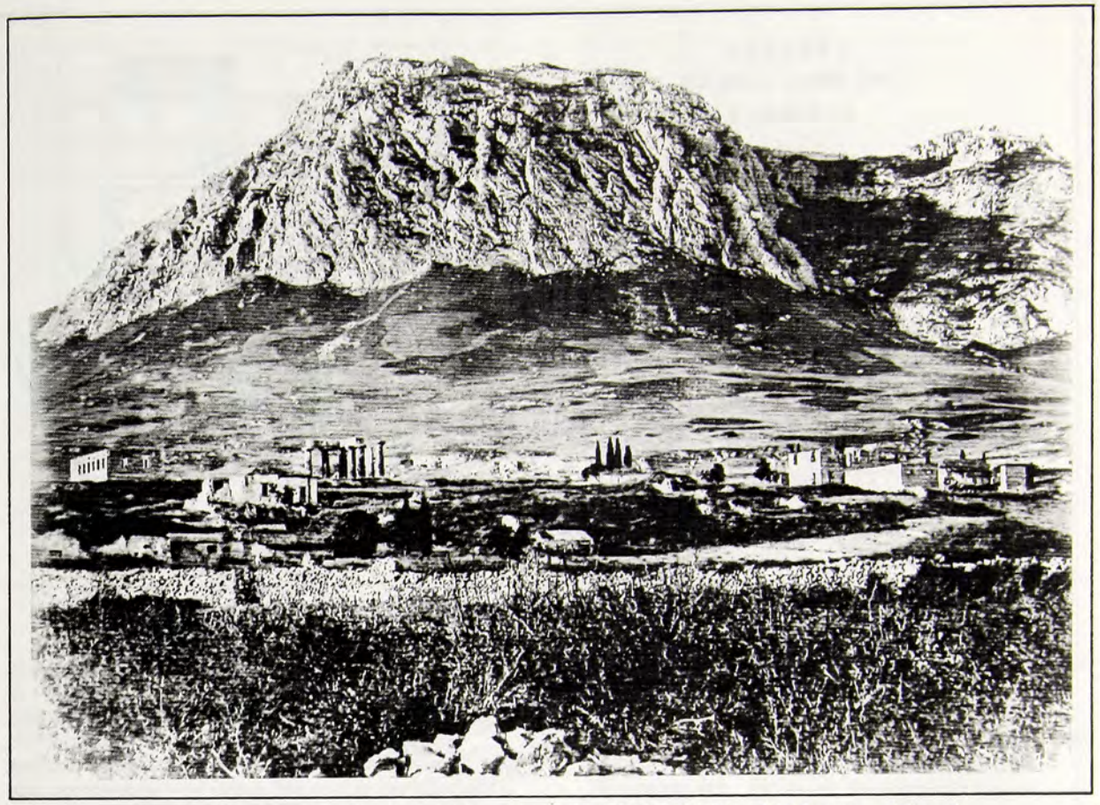

Fig 12: Old Corinth after the earthquake of 1858 (1875-85?) (Benaki Museum, Athens)

appeased by the visit of the Royal couple to the site, and reassured about the concern of the state and the urgency of the action taken for the construction of the new town.[19]

Indeed, within two months, in March 1858, the decision was taken to move the town to the location of Schinias on the shore of Corinthian Bay near the Isthmus, a location which a thorough survey proved to be the most appropriate 'for the health and future commercial and industrial progress of the Corinthians'[20]. In May, a series of individual laws and decrees were published[21] to deal with issues concerning the allocation of national land for the new town, the compensation mechanism for the private fields affected, the beneficiaries, the size of the plots to be allocated, and way they were to be allocated and shared out. They also provided for the reservation of urban land for public amenities, the way of financing them, and chiefly the financing of construction of the port in order of priority, the enforcement of specifically adopted building regulations, the controls applied for the good building of the town (ban on rough lodgings), and short deadlines for reconstruction. A special Commission was set up to deal with issues arising from the evaluation and distribution of properties.

This legislation drew on the former relevant experience, suiting it more to the particular conditions of Corinth. The speed with which the measures were published and the detail of their dispositions are indicative of the importance accorded to the whole enterprise. Together with the documents related to their application[22], they provide use with a very interesting and valuable example of building a new town.

The plan for the new town was drawn up by the Greek architect Panagiotis Kalkos[23] assisted in his task by I Vouros, president of the Medical Council and high official in the Ministry of the Interior[24]. It was approved in July 26, 1858 and widely published in newspapers, and stuck in public places in Athens, Nauplia and elsewhere.[25] Its form is significant in that it involved the simplification of the previous urban designs; this simplification, attested in a host of plans produced after 1843, constituted a prominent feature of planning

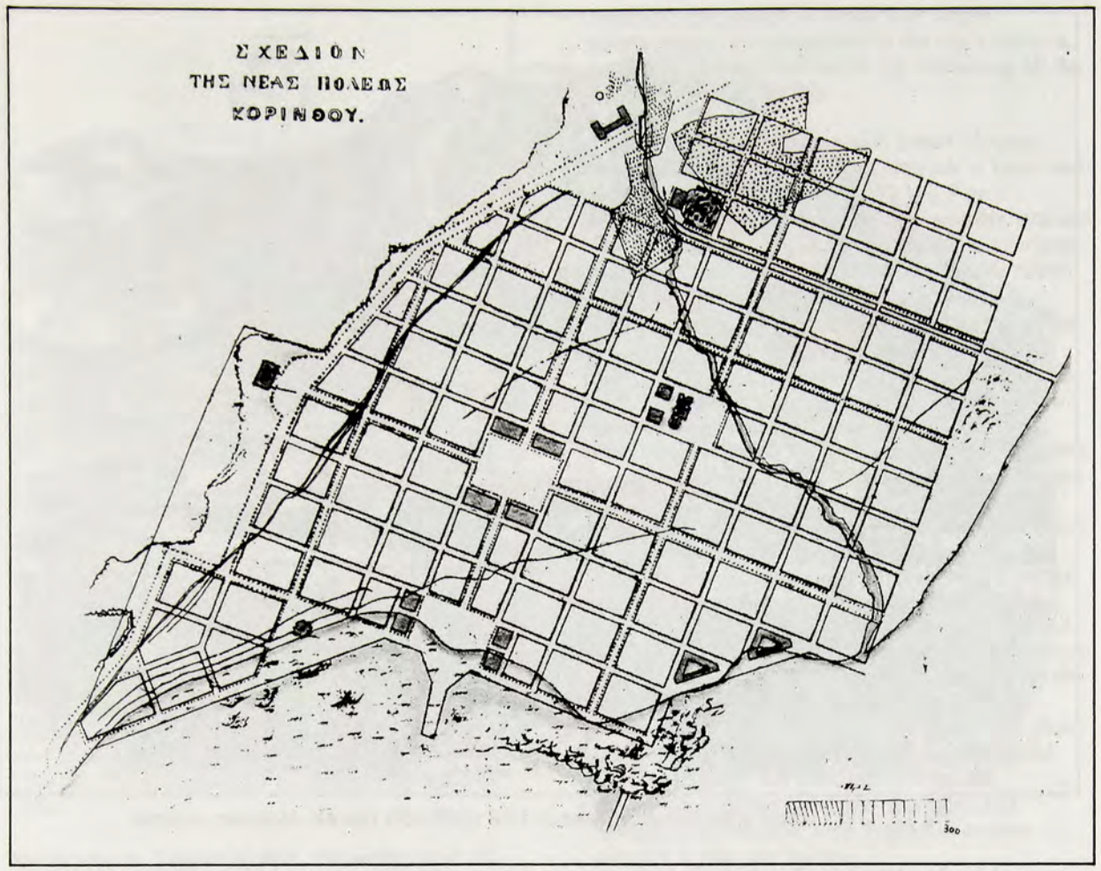

Fig 13: The plan of P Kalkos for New Corinth, 1858 (Archives of plans, Ministry of Planning, Athens)

operations in the second half of the century.

The plan[26] depicted a medium-size town, functional and rational, without excesses, yet not without care.

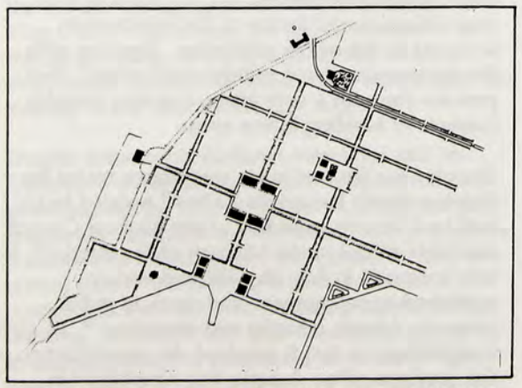

Fig 14: The structure of public spaces in Kalkos' plan

Here, a homogenous space was achieved by means of a complete morphological regularity, aiming at the full rentability of the urban soil, divided in equally sized building blocks (circ 55 x 60 m) and large straight streets (considered too large at the time). It consisted of the chessboard grid pattern, irrespective of existing natural particularities of the site, and placed obliquely to the cardinal points, which seemed to served a threefold purpose: to permit the convenient division and layout of lots to be distributed to the newcomers, to allow easy enforcement of building regulations, and to facilitate the creation of squares and open spaces. Yet, the effect was hardly plain and not at all without inspiration and concern for embellishment. The rigidity of the rectangular layout of the plan was applied more loosely in its perimeter. Two tree-lined boulevards crossed the composition and at their intersection the central civic square was created grouping around it public and municipal buildings. The civic boulevard ran down towards the sea, opening out into the square of the Quay

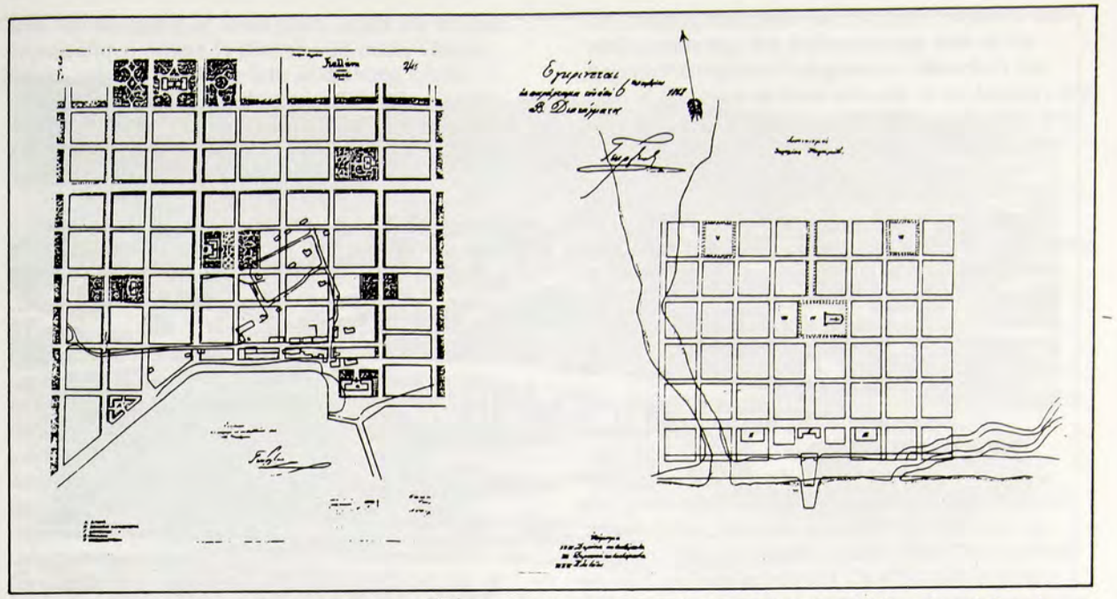

Fig 15: Plans for Cyllini (1864) and Calamata (1868) (Archives of plans, Ministry of Planning, Athens)

grouping commercial buildings and port facilities. A promenade created on the Quay, linked it to the triangular-shaped 'esplanade' where the church of Saint Nicolas stood, and with the small public gardens westwards. To these two centres - civic and commercial - or urban life, a number of other public places and squares were connected, to the outer ends of the boulevards, as well as a square with the church of Saint Paul and the school buildings laid out to the south. It is worth noticing that in this case the arrangement of public spaces resulted from the subtraction of building blocs, in a completely different fashion from those of the closed-angled square of Peytier or the monumental prospects of Schaubert. The composition was framed by a ring boulevard lined up with trees, and confining a total surface area of circa 130 hectares. The plan of New Corinth constituted the model for coastal settlement planning, like those of Cylini (1864), Calamata (1868), Cythere (1871) etc.

The reconstruction of New Corinth began in very favourable circumstances, related to the development of public works after 1860 (extension of road network, railways, harbour works)[27] and chiefly to the excavation of the Isthmus canal in 1884[24]. The forecasts for the range of influence of the canal as a pole for international trade, analogous with that of the recently completed Suez Canal, fed the expectations of the Corinthians for the future of their town. In 1882, Corinth was struggling into a quasi-European aspect: head city of the district, seat of the county council and bishop, it had accumulated 3,000 inhabitants, public services and edifices, had been rebuilt to a large extent, its two central squares were arranged, a mole was built, but the construction of the port was still in prospect;[29] in 1884 it was connected to Piraeus by rail. However, the expected bright future did not materialise; the proximity of more dynamic urban centres, such as Athens and Piraeus, did not allow New Corinth to overcome the image of a small harbour-side city.

Another natural disaster, the earthquake of 1928, offered the opportunity for a new planning intervention in Corinth, a hundred years after the first. With this operation a century of town planning comes to an end, and a new era commences for the modernisation of the planning and the reconstruction of Greek cities.

Conclusions

To sum up, the urban history of Corinth during 19th century permits us to trace the steps taken for the transition from a communal organisation of space to a modern urban environment. The successive plans drawn up for the town, despite their differences as to the morphological patterns and planning 'tools' adopted by each one, depict the pursuit of a common purpose: the modernisation of the traditional structures and the creation of the Neohellenic city. From the early efforts of Peytier's plan to regularise the 'straggling' settlement and to unify the separated 'villages' into

Fig 16: New Corinth in 1870 (Benaki Museum, Athens)

a coherent urban fabric, to the ambitious Baroque arrangements and Classical forms of Schaubert's project, and finally to the rational and functional premises and the concern of rentability of Kalkos' plan for the new town, the dedication to this aim is apparent. This conscious endeavour assumed by the State from the Independence onwards, to break with the oriental past and to link the desired constitution of modern Greek society to an innovative organisation of space based on European models, had a decisive effect on the nature of town planning; city was considered as an element without which the new society could not materialised and town planning as a powerful instrument capable to promote the new social values and norms, to induce the appearance of an urban way of life.

This article is the first publication of an extended research report concerning the urban evolution and the planning history of Corinth, from the late Ottoman era to the early 20th century. Like the previous paper it was first presented at the Richmond Conference 7-10 November 1991.

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1. cf for instance, R Scranton *Corinth, Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth* Vol XVI p 88, Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1957, and M Kordosis *Contribution to history and topography of Corinth region in middle ages*, Athens: Library of Historic Studies, 1981, pp 235-6 (in Greek).

2. cf R Scranton, op cit, pp 88-94.

3. Archaeological excavations which begun only after 1890 revealed the city of the Classical and Roman times, as well as parts of its Byzantine structures.

4. Of course every town varied slightly from this pattern, if only because of its origins and its importance, cf F Braudel *Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century*, New York: Harper and Row, 1981, Col 1, pp 507-509. Tripolis in Peloponnese presented a layout very similar to that of Corinth; cf P Tsakopoulos, 'Tripolis, from the Ottoman town to the Neohellenic city' in Proceedings of the International Colloquium on *Neohellenic city*, Athens: EMNH 1985 (in Greek).

5. Emile Peytier, engineer-geographer, came to Greece as captain of artillery, of the Corps Expeditionnaire Français de Morée, in July 1828. Many officers of the troops were commissioned with reparation works in coastal forts as well as with the designing of town plans, while the Brigade Topografique, where Peytier served under General Trézel, was assigned the task of drawing up the map of Greece. The work was concluded in 1849. cf P Tsakopoulos *L'urbanisme dans le Peloponnese au XIXe siècle*, PhD thesis, Université de Paris X, 1986, pp 122-3.

6. CF S Loucatos, 'The rebuilding of Corinth after the revolution' in Proceedings of the Local Conference of *Corinthian Studies*, Athens 1975 (in Greek).

7. The measures established by Capodistrias to meet that purpose consisted of: the formation of a special technical service staffed chiefly by foreign engineers; the adoption of obligatory drafting of the town plan and its application by an expert-Architect, to control the development of the town; the allocation of national land to establish new settlements; the reservation of urban land for the construction of public buildings; the adoption of regulations for the hygiene, solidity and security of the town; the clear distinction between public and private space, and the definition of appropriate size of building plots, including the regulation of the intervention in private ownership; the concern for preservation of architectural and urban elements of historic, aesthetic or local interest (i.e. ancient relics, religious or other buildings), as well as the use of existing buildings to accommodate modern functions. cf C Hastagolou-Martinidis, K Kafkoula, N Papamihos, *City plans in 19th Century Greece*, Annuar of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1990, pp 57-61 (in Greek).

8. The original plan is held in the Archives of the Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Chateau de Vincennes, France, Dossier, J 10.C.65 ('Plan de Corinthe, lévé pendant l'hiver 1828 et 1829 par Mr Peytier, echelle 1-2.000m').

9. Detailed information on the whole operation is provided by the correspondence of Peytier with Capodistrias, during the years 1829 and 1830. First published by S Loucatos 'The reconstruction of devastated towns in liberated Greece by I Capodistrias' in *The Year of Capodistrias. The Official Lectures*, Athens: National Printing-House, 1978 (in Greek).

10. To this end Capodistrias was anticipating the pening up of the canal of the Isthmus, but his plan was never realised. Cf E Tsakonas, *The Maritime Canal of Corinth*, Athens: P Leoni 1896 (in Greek).

11. Cf the letter of Governor of Corinthia to President Capodistrias of March 18, 1830.

12. Ludwig Ross who had visited Corinth in 1833, while inspecting the archaeological sites in the Aegean Islands and Peloponnese, described the state of the town in dark colours; cf his *Memoirs and reports from Greece (1832-1833)*, Athens: Tolidis Bros (Greek transl.). A similar account was given by Eduart Schaubert in his report (see below).

13. Cf Report of the Secretary of the Interior to King Otto (of June 14, 1835, General Archives of the State, Secretariat of the Interior, file 226-Corinth), where he mentioned the commissioning of lieutenant Abelé with the survey map of Corinth, from November 1834.

14. Eduart Schaubert studied architecture in Berlin under Schinkel, and afterwards in Rome in company with the Greek architect Stamatis Kleanthis. They both came to Greece in 1828, in the service of President Capodistrias, who besides other works commissioned them to draw up the plan for the new capital. After King Otto's arrival in 1833, he was appointed Chief Architect of the Department of Architecture in the Secretariat of the Interior. He was the author, either together with Kleanthis or alone, of the most elaborate town plans made during the first creative decade of Otto's administration, up to 1842, when foreign technicians were obliged to leave public services. Cf K Biris *The first plans of Athens*, Athens 1933 (in Greek).

15. The original plan is held in the Archives of Plans of the Ministry of Planning, Housing and Environment, Athens, Greece. It bears no date or signature of its author, only the inscription 'Plan von Korinth'.

16. Schaubert's report is held in the General Archives of the State, Secretariat of the Interior, file 226-Corinth, manuscript 8777, Feb 2, 1836 (in old German).

17. By 1833, a complete system had been worked out, concerning the modernisation of the country. It comprised: the formation of a centralised state apparatus and specialised technical services, associated with the general reform of municipal administration; the management of national lands and a colonisation policy as means to ensure urbanisation; the introduction of modern planning legislation, based on French model - particular mention should be made of its cornerstone, the decree of April 5, 1835 'On the salubrious construction of towns and villages', which stands as Lavedant says as a 'document historique de premier ordre'; the creation of the technical school for the training of engineers. Cf V Hastaoglou-Martinidis et al, op cit, pp 61-69.

18. Cf the official reports and documents held in the General Archives of the State, Secretariat of the Interior, file 266-Corinth, addressed to the King by the Secretary of the Interior and vice-versa, during the years 1834 and 1836, relating to the commissioning and the approval of the plan.

19. Cf G A *Corinth, from Ancient Times to its Demolition by the Earthquake of Febr. 9, 1858*, Athens: Koromila, 1858 (in Greek).

20. Experts of public services were immediately commissioned to survey of the most adequate location, and their choice was sanctioned by the decree of March 19, 1858.

21. The law of May 10, 1858, and the decree of May 25, 1858.

22. In the General Archive of the State, Ministry of the Interior, Reconstruction of cities and villages, file 32-Corinth, a series of documents is held containing information relevant to the implementation of the plan, such as petitions of individuals as to the compensation of their fields affected by the plan, reports of the City Council and the Architect of the Municipality, reports of the Minister of the Interior and ordinances of the King, etc.

23. Panagiotis Kalkos was one of the most distinguished Greek architects of the time. Having trained under Kleanthis and Schaubert in the design of Athens, he studied later architecture in Germany under Gärtner and in France, and he was strongly influenced by the early German Classicist models. He was employed in the Ministry of the Interior and drew up plans for a series of public buildings in Athens, such as the Varvakeion School, the Archaeological Museum, the Cathedral, etc. Cf A Kokkou, *Concern for Antiquities in Greece and the Early Museums*, Athens: Hermes, 1977 (in Greek).

24. Ionnis Vouros was a person of very upstanding position, personal physician of King Otto, president of the Medical Council and head of a department in the Ministry of the Interior. Born in Chios in 1808, he studied in Chalki (Istanbul) and completed his medical education in Berne and Paris, with the support of the eminent Greek scholar A Corais. He was appointed professor of Medicine in the University of Athens, from 1837 to 1848 (Cf Encyclopaedia Eleftheroudakis). In his capacity as expert in matters of public hygiene, he had also participated in the committee formed in 1860 'for the design of the final plan of the capital of the Kingdom', under the chairmanship of D Stavridis, Colonel, head of the Corps of Engineers, together with the French architect G Boulanger, the bridge-maker Daniel, the architect P Kalkos, the major B Petimezas, and the Mayor of Athens G Skoufos (Cf General Archives of the State, Ministry of the Interior, City Plans, f 8 Athens, document dated Jan 30, 1860).

25. Cf Journal *AVGI*, Dec 24 1858 and Jan 31 1859.

26. The original plan is held in the Archives of Plans of the Ministry of Planning, Housing and Environment, Athens, Greece. It bears the inscription 'Plan of the New City of Corinth', the signature of Queen Amalia, and the date July 26, 1858.

27. E Papayianopoulou, *The Canal of Corinth*, Athens: Cultural and Technological Fund of Industrial Bank of Greece, 1989 (in Greek).

28. E Tsakonas, *The Maritime Canal of Corinth*, Athens: P Leoni 1896 (in Greek).

29. M Grigoropoulou *Travels in Greece, or Description of the Principal Cities in Greek Kingdom*, Athens: Hermes 1882, p 317 (in Greek). Cf also the descriptions in *An Excursion in the Peloponnesus in the year 1858 by the Late Ston. Sir Thomas Wyse, KCB*, edited by his niece Winifred Wyse, vol II, London: Day & Son 1865, pp 63-65.

Street Widths in Victorian New Zealand

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Tucked away in the South Pacific, as far distant from Britain as it was possible to go, leaders of the early European planned settlements in New Zealand had a vision of an ideal society where the increasing problems of the rapidly growing English urban areas would not be recreated.

I am currently researching the planning and development of 19th century New Zealand towns. During that period 'planning' in New Zealand was seen in a very narrow sense. There was limited interest in, or concern about, the functional use of various areas of urban places, and what planning there was dealt primarily but not exclusively with streets. Earlier papers have already discussed the street patterns adopted in New Zealand last century, and the provision of open spaces.[1]

Early Colonial Settlements

New Zealand became a British colony in February 1840, and the country's early European settlement was different from many other areas of colonial endeavour in that a number of urban centres were established from the beginning. The New Zealand Company, using the ideas propounded by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, was responsible for the founding of the towns of Wellington (1840), and its offshoot Wanganui (1840), New Plymouth (1841), Nelson (1842), and later in the decade Dunedin (1848) and Christchurch (1850).

Starting with a clean slate, these towns were planned from the beginning. Surveyors employed by the New Zealand Company during the 1840s were given guidelines as to what was to be incorporated into the urban layout. But despite this bold and visionary start the New Zealand Company's good intention did not come to fruition, for as the 19th century finished it was evident that all was not well. Slums were obvious in the major cities, and this overcrowding was seen partly as a result of narrow street widths and small property sizes.

Although no definite recommendations as to street measurements were made by the New Zealand Company to its surveyors, they did direct F A Carrington, who was responsible for surveying New Plymouth, that all streets were to be 'of ample width'[2]. This was accepted advice for all the Company settlements, and resulted in the first instance in most New Zealand towns having streets wider than those to be found in English towns.[3]

But despite the fact that there was no pressure on the land, bold steps were not always taken to ensure wide streets. Within two years of its foundation in 1840, the streets of Auckland - a government rather than a New Zealand Company town - were being criticised by the local newspaper:

> 'The narrowness of the streets is another crying evil, and the formation of those horrible nuisances - 16½ feet lanes, are the means of causing the very evils which it was said to have been intended to avoid...Lower Queen Street appears the only main-street of decent width, and we maintain, that the others are too narrow for the due keeping of the health of the inhabitants of a populous district.'[4]

Over the next two or so decades similar criticisms were increasingly being made about newer parts of the original New Zealand Company towns. While the original plans were satisfactory as far as street widths were concerned, narrow streets came with a town's population growth. It was when subdivisions for residential purposes were made by land owners within or on the margins of established urban areas that the problems began to arise. Even new towns created in rural areas by the cutting-up of privately-owned lands did not escape the burden of narrow streets. The only way the situation could be resolved was by some legal control.

Administrative Response

From 1853 until 1876 New Zealand was split into several provinces which were self-governing in a number of administrative functions, including surveying and municipal affairs. In some provinces, such as Otago, the provincial survey department was far-sighted and saw to it that streets were laid-out in new towns on crown land with an adequate width. Indeed some towns, notably Invercargill, were criticised for having streets of excessive width.

Most provinces made some half-hearted attempts to

set minimum street widths, but often this was by means of ordinances which applied to specific towns already in existence. Auckland Province, however, under an 1862 Act set 40 feet as the minimum width for all streets open to the public, and gave Town Boards within the Province the power to close any street which did not conform. But the law had limitations in that a majority of electors had to apply to the Provincial Superintendent to have the Act brought into force in their town. Even if in force, ways could be found to evade its provisions. Many subdividers simply made narrow lanes or alleys which, being private, could be of any width. This naturally caused problems and the Auckland newspapers frequently brought abuses to light. For example, on 6 April 1864 the New Zealand Herald reported that in a subdivision of 30 cottage allotments off the town's main thoroughfare, one street was only 10 feet wide.

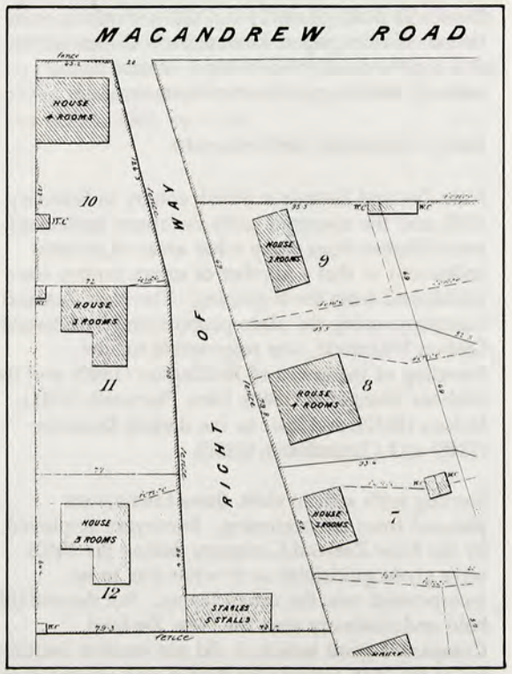
In 1867 a Municipal Corporations Act was passed by the central government, and this for the first time set a nationwide minimum width for streets of 40 feet. In 1876 this was increased to 66 feet. Two years later an Amendment to the Act prohibited Borough Councils from altering any street so that it fell below the 66 feet minimum. This suggests that streets were being constructed at the legal width and then subsequently narrowed, for much of New Zealand's 19th century legislation was in response to a situation rather than being forward looking. The 66 feet minimum width remained throughout the 19th century and into the 20th, though a backward step was taken in the Municipal Corporations Act, 1900. This allowed, by Order in Council, streets to be constructed less than 66 but more than 40 feet wide where the terrain was such that it was 'difficult or inexpedient' (never defined) to make streets the full width.

In 1871 a far-sighted politician, Charles O'Neill, introduced a 'Plans of Towns Regulation' Bill into the House of Representatives. Amongst other regulations was a clause which set the minimum width of all streets laid out in the future at 99 feet, with two main streets of 132 feet. But the Bill was defeated, as it continued to be when re-introduced in each of the next three years. In 1875 the Plan of Towns Regulation Act was finally passed, but many of its original wiser planning provisions had been either watered down or omitted - the price of getting the House's support. While the 99 feet width for streets was retained, the provision for wider main streets had been dropped, and worst of all, instead of the Act applying to all new towns as originally intended, the 1875 Act was to apply only to new towns laid out on crown lands. An attempt in 1879 to have the Act apply to town subdivisions on private land failed. Thus while the 1875 Act had a lasting benefit on some new small rural towns, the already established and growing urban areas were unaffected.

The 1875 concept of wider main streets was resurrected in the 1885 Land Act, which required all new towns, whether on crown or private land, to be laid out with two such streets. These were to be at least 99 feet in width, but in 1902 the Towns Main Street Act was passed which allowed the Governor by Order in Council to waive this regulation in specific instances, and for main streets of only 66 feet to be surveyed. This law was made use of in a number of new towns, but the reasons for the concession being granted require further research as no obvious terrain reasons were present which would justify them.

Private Streets

The 1867 Municipal Corporations Act set a low minimum of only 20 feet for private alleys and



By calling it a 'right of way' this street in Dunedin serving six houses was able to be made just over 13 feet wide at its entrance, though at the stables it was almost 50 feet wide. This subdivision on private land was made in 1877. Measurements on the map are given in links. (Hocken Library, Dunedin).

courts though even this low figure seems not to have been rigidly adhered to in practice. Private streets, while not specifically mentioned, were apparently included under the general clause which set the minimum width for streets being carriage ways at 40 feet. In 1876 private streets were placed on a par with public streets, the minimum width being set at 66 feet, but two years later this was reduced to 40 feet. It remained at this figure for eight years before again being raised to the standard figure of 66 feet. Provision was made in the 1886 Municipal Corporations Act for municipal councils to take private streets over and declare them public even though they were as narrow as 20 feet, so long as they had been constructed before 2 November 1878.

The Need for Wide Streets

The reasons suggested for why wide streets were necessary were the same as those constantly propounded throughout the latter half of the 19th century in New Zealand whenever any attempts were made at town planning, namely health and morality. These were eloquently if somewhat emotionally stated by William Swanson during a debate in the New Zealand House of Representatives in 1878.

> 'If they looked for crime, vice, destitution, and everything that was bad, they would go to the narrow slums and lanes, where these evils were actually engendered. If they made good wide streets, depend upon it that they would greatly promote the virtue, morality, and health of the people, so that, in the interest of every community, the Government should insist upon the laying out of wide streets.'[5]

Wide streets were seen as 'the great ventilators of the towns'[6] for they allowed the frequent winds (a feature of New Zealand's climate), to blow away the bad smells, and the possibly lethal disease carrying air which resulted from bad urban sanitation and drainage typical of most of the 19th century.

The health argument was generally not as altruistic as it may appear, however, for there was a fear amongst the better-off that narrow streets could be the breeding ground of epidemics which would spread into the more wealthy suburbs. So what support there was for wide streets often served self-interest as well.

On a more mundane level, narrow streets were seen as potentially dangerous where so many buildings, even in town centres, were built of wood, so that a fire could easily jump across narrow thoroughfares from one block to the next causing great destruction and monetary loss. Indeed, few New Zealand towns in the 19th century escaped from having at least one, if not more, major conflagrations.

Some more far-sighted citizens opposed narrow streets on the grounds of possible future traffic congestion, particularly from the 1870s onwards as tramways began to be built in the towns. Narrow streets also created problems when laying or repairing water and sewage services, as thoroughfares could be completely blocked whilst work was being carried out.

Opposition to streets being constructed to a set minimum width was based on the perception that such thoroughfares would be far too excessive for many of the country's small towns, where future growth was seen to be limited.

A further powerful argument used, particularly since the overwhelming majority of legislators were landowners, was the fact that when subdividing land into town properties, profits were potentially greater when land devoted to thoroughfares could be kept to a minimum. Not that the profit motive was emphasised. Rather, land subdividers tended to point out that by surveying their land into small property lots and narrow streets, they were creating opportunities for the poorer classes in the community to purchase their own land on which to build their homes.

And of course there was the widely-held Victorian belief that private property was just that - private. Therefore an owner had a right to do what he wished with it, even if his actions did eventually create social problems or environmental degradation.

By the end of the 19th century, despite all the good intentions, New Zealand cities and towns were still faced with having many of their streets too narrow, and these were the ones generally associated with slum housing. The problems were to become exacerbated as the 20th century passed, for the rising standard of living which in time allowed the majority of New Zealanders to own a motor vehicle meant that the 19th century streets were inadequate. In many instances costly widening of major and even minor streets has had to be undertaken, and present-day planners are still frequently struggling with the problem.

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2. *N Z Journal*, 1 (1840), p 193-194.

3. *Australian and N Z Gazette* (12 Feb 1859), p 144.

4. *N Z Herald*, quoted in *N Z Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, (2 Feb, 1842).

5. William Swanson, 'Plans of Towns on Private Lands Bill', *N Z Parliamentary Debates*, v. 29 (1878), p 692.

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Transatlantic Exchanges in Planning: the UK-US balance sheet

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In selecting a text around which to fashion this article I have turned to Christopher Tunnard who I was delighted to meet for the first time, late in his life, at the First International Conference of the Planning History Group in 1977. In an essay written in 1963 he observed that 'If we are to ensure that in our generation man's imprints will change from the careless to the premeditated, then the history of urban design is one of the most important tools at our disposal'.[1] He was making the point that while the historian of city planning may be concerned with the physical, behind each physical form lies an act of will - of a society, a group, or an individual. Hence it is necessary to be curious as to why certain societies prepare plans in the way they do.

Indeed this curiosity about the reasons for historical change in the morphology, design and appearance of cities, and the form of both townscape and landscape, has sustained planning history throughout its formative years. During this time, our international perspective has encouraged study into the transference of planning ideas and practice between nation states and across cultures. The Tokyo Conference of PHG in 1988 dealt specifically with the transfer of western ideas to southeast Asia. For many years Tony King, a British academic now with a US chair, has specialised in unravelling the make-up of urban phenomena as part of a larger world-system, of economy, society and culture.[2] Planning literature is in fact replete with examples of the transfer of dominant ideas in planning practice, and papers given in this Conference have maintained the tradition.

Given the joint nature of this Conference it seems useful to further stimulate the comparative dimension by considering the relative weights of a UK-US balance sheet in terms of transactive influence; and if a balance sheet cannot be drawn, at what points along the planning paths of the two countries have there been particular times of

convergence or departure. The spread of some ideas can be detected fairly readily, but the origin of others is much more uncertain, with particular fashions perhaps internationally current more or less at the same time, making any 'big-bang' theory difficult to sustain. The context of course is set by the fact that while urban challenges may be roughly the same (to secure an urban setting for its population to live in comfort and health), the responses will be conditioned by different administrative and legal structures, different political traditions and divergent cultural values.

The 19th century

With these thoughts in mind we can review some of the striking developments of the last century. Britain was already an urbanised nation by the middle of the 19th century, the census of 1851 showing England and Wales comfortably, Britain just marginally, with more than 50% of its population living in towns. By the 1890s London was a world giant of approaching 4.5 million people and there was a clutch of medium sized provincial cities, led by Manchester (700,000) with Glasgow, Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, Edinburgh and Sheffield, all over 300,000. In the USA a surge in urban population during the last quarter of the century gave New York a size of 2.7 million, Chicago and Philadelphia just over one million, Boston and Baltimore at over 400,000, and Pittsburgh and Minneapolis-St Paul at over 300,000.

The industrial city was well known therefore, and a consensus on both sides of the Atlantic held as to the dangers and limitations of the new urban phenomenon. Adna Ferrin Weber, appointed Chief Statistician of the New York State Department of Labor in 1901 had already concluded in his international review at the end of the century: 'that the townsman on the average is shorter-lived than the countryman is uncontrovertibly established; and it is commonly believed that the city man is also less healthy, vigorous and capable, both physically and mentally, than the countryman.'[3] In both Europe and the New World the big city 'aroused feelings of fear, disapproval and distaste',[4] quite apart from the ill effects of the physical environment; there was also an aesthetic aversion because of a prevailing chaos, disorder and ugliness. Critics of urban society in both the US and Britain expressed anxiety about the impact of city life on moral standards. The sheer abjectness of housing conditions and a prevailing poverty for substantial proportions of urban people attracted unfavourable comment in both London and New York. The Danish immigrant, Jacob Riis, finding his vocation as a reporter, wrote articles about slum life in New York; one published in Scribner's Magazine entitled *How the Other Half Lives*, was the basis for his first book published in 1890. More substantial perhaps, and certainly more scientific, was Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People of London*, published in 18 volumes between 1889 and 1905. There were many literary tours through the urban underworlds of the day, and in one case it needed an American to come to London, live in the East End and experience the underworld of the capital in the summer of 1902: Jack London's book, *The People of the Abyss*, was a powerful denunciation of the depths to which urban society had sunk.

The point about this reminder of urban history is that the thirst for environmental beauty, and the search for housing and social reform, reached their peaks on both sides of the Atlantic at the same time in the years around the turn of the century. In Britain the Garden City held out particular promise, while the benefits of low density suburban living were widely approved; in the US the City Beautiful was seen as the vehicle for improvement. Elsewhere, urbanised Europe as a whole cast a critical gaze upon its urban conditions: these were the years of Camillo Sitte and his call for sensitive design, and the various models for urban form - concentric city, radial city, linear city and satellite city.

During this time there was a number of shared British and American experiences. It began with an American attraction to an English landscape style of gardening. Indeed it developed into a commitment during the early childhood of Frederick Law Olmsted, on family trips through New England and Upstate New York. It blossomed during his first visit to England, setting sail for Liverpool in 1850 as a 28 year old. His first visit to Paxton's new public park in Birkenhead, and his subsequent experiences of the delights of rural England, ensured that the Pastoral would be the basic mode of his park designs. In due time Olmsted's suburb of Riverside, west of Chicago (1869-71) anticipated by a full generation the early steps of the Garden City movement (the plan for Letchworth was not commissioned until 1904), though to be sure Bedford Park in west London, and Bournville in Birmingham had already made their mark as low density suburban settlements.

The link with the Garden City is indeed intriguing. The very term was current in the US before Howard finally settled on it, after his earlier flirtations with Unionville and Rurisville; Howard's sojourn in Chicago after his failure as a homesteader must have familiarised him with

Riverside; on his Garden City diagram in *Tomorrow* (1898) Fifth Avenue adjoins Central Park (as it does indeed in New York); and he himself acknowledges a debt of inspiration to Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, a romance set in Boston of the state of US society in the year 2000.

In the meantime, urban speculation and experiment went hand in hand with a concern for housing and social amelioration. Both the US and Britain could share almost equal activity, with a good deal of interpenetrative effort. Lynn Pearson, for example, has shown how the British cooperative housekeeping movement was invigorated by the writings of the American Charlotte Perkins Gilman who first visited Britain in 1896.[5] Emphasising socialised domestic work, her books *Women and Economics* (1898) and *The Home, its Work and Influence* (1903) were very much part of the Letchworth cooperative housing scene. British feminism was a generally more moderate force than its American equivalent. American feminists found support in evangelicism, but British churches did not encourage women's active participation. British women, typified by Octavia Hill, were more likely to be attracted to philanthropic reforming activities which were not a challenge to the prevailing social structures. But perhaps the comparison is perhaps not quite as simple as that because from Britain we have to recognise the influence of Henrietta Barnett, the driving force behind Hampstead Garden Suburb, a formidable lady of whom it was once said 'she was the only person known who could recite the Ten Commandments as if she had just made them up.'[6]

This perhaps takes us to Hull-House, Jane Addams' famed settlement house in Chicago's west side slums. Like so many innovations in social welfare in the US, the settlement house was an English import.[7] An Anglican churchman, Henrietta's husband, Samuel Barnett, established the first settlement house in London's impoverished East End in 1884. Stanton Coit, an American member of the Ethical Culture Society, spent a few months at Toynbee Hall, returning to the US in 1886 to found the first American settlement, Neighbourhood Guild (soon renamed University Settlement), on New York's Lower Eastside. Jane Addams visited Toynbee Hall during an extended tour of Europe, after which she and her college friend Ellen Gates Starr opened Hull-House in 1889.

Planning movements

But to return to the early 20th century planning movement: whereas British innovation came to rest in cottage architecture, informal suburban layouts and the Garden City, American highlights focused on the City Beautiful. Even here however there is a blurred edge: the landscape architecture of Olmsted, already had British roots and was helped along by his British counterpart Calvert Vaux, and at least an echo of US civic boosterism can be seen in Mayor Joseph Chamberlain's civic gospel for Birmingham, England in the 1870s. Olmsted moved from designing single parts to comprehensive, multi-purpose parkland boulevard systems, providing a legacy of massive public works projects. Such instances of municipal improvement fused into the City Beautiful movement when it incorporated newly developed ideas of civic design. A progressive hope in clean, beautiful, well governed cities inspired middle class and upper middle class people keen to adopt business efficiency both in government and in private philanthropic organisations. The bible became Charles Mulford Robinson's book *The Improvement of Towns and Cities: or the practical basis of civic aesthetics*, published in 1901.

Reach ultimately exceeded grasp, but that is not to criticise the ideal. A similar fate awaited Britain's parallel planning contribution. Whereas Paris had been beautified and regularised by Haussmann, London's civic improvements, apart from a few street widenings, new thoroughfares and the construction of the Thames Embankment, had been largely underground where the Metropolitan Board of Works provided a comprehensive network of sewers and drains. Instead, the impetus came from 'a dying class of bourgeois social reformers connected with a threatened Liberal Party', as Sutcliffe[8] has described them, enabling a middle class, professional group to push forward with reformist ideas in working class housing. An obscure, and perhaps rather boring shorthand writer, Ebenezer Howard, trawled his ideas before various debating and philosophical societies before becoming the grateful recipient of a friend's £50 loan, which made possible the publication of his book which became the manual of the subsequent Garden City movement. Meanwhile, a socialist, engineering draughtsman and self taught architect, Raymond Unwin, together with his cousin-in-law Barry Parker, led the dramatic shift from the monotonous bye law street to the cottage-inspired dwelling, fronting winding, tree-lined streets. Unwin's contribution to planning literature, *Town Planning in Practice: an introduction to the art of designing cities and suburbs* (1909), confirmed the enduring power of the British design tradition, and Howard's Garden City and Town Planning Association (to give it its new name from 1907) took on an international breadth from 1913.

The two movements were clearly very different, but the turn of the century for both the US and Britain had many similarities. For example, planning in both countries operated in the emergent ground of new professions. In Britain, a dramatic rise in the number of professional bodies took place throughout the Victorian years. The Royal Institute of British Architects secured its royal charter in 1837; the Institute of Civil Engineers founded in 1818 spawned a number of engineering bodies, including one which became known as the Institution of Municipal and County Engineers in 1909. The Surveyors Institution was founded in 1868. All this was matched in the US by the American Institute of Architects (1866) and the engineering professions (1871).

There were other uncanny parallels between the two countries. The US got off to a head start in 1893 with the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and the model city it presented to the nation. Thereafter, the first decade of the new century saw a number of parallel developments. Britain was ahead with Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb, but the US responded in 1909 with the publication of Burnham and Bennett's Plan for Chicago and its region. Throughout these years plans for many cities were prepared in the City Beautiful tradition by Robinson, Nolen, Griffin and the younger Olmsted. In 1910 the plan for New Haven by Cass Gilbert and F L Olmsted showed residential areas separated by ring roads, and an inner greenbelt in the form of a continuous recreational area - echoing earlier indicative plans sketched by Lord Meath for London. The same sort of ideas were in circulation. In 1909 the first University course of instruction in city planning began at Harvard, the same year in which the Department of Civic Design opened at the University of Liverpool. The US celebrated its first National Conference on City Planning in 1909; 1910 saw Raymond Unwin's international conference for the Royal Institute of British Architects. The Town Planning Institute was founded and so too was the American City Planning Institute; both began publishing their journals.

Housing: common and divergent paths

Close contact did not cease even during World War I. From Walter Creese[9] we learn that Charles Whitaker, editor of the Journal of the American Institute of Architects sent Frederick L Ackerman to England in 1917 to investigate the housing of the munitions estates, for which Unwin was in charge. Strong relationships had been forged between the great personalities of the day: Barry Parker for example was friendly with John Nolen, through whom the Garden City influence was communicated. Nolen's book *New Towns for Old* began with a map of Letchworth and he looked forward to new towns of 30-50,000 population, which would result from the decentralisation of industry. Clarence Stein and Henry Wright visited Letchworth and Hampstead before the planning of Radburn, New Jersey, begun in 1928. In return Parker refers to the Radburn Plan in his Report on Wythenshawe Garden Suburb to the Corporation of Manchester in May 1928. Furthermore, the inspiration for the Princess Parkway at Wythenshawe (the first such highway in Britain) came from the parkway system of Chicago and of Westchester County, New York. A dominant common theme was the effort made to create American Garden Cities patterned after Letchworth and Welwyn. The most notable examples were the series of communities designed by Clarence Stein as at Sunnyside Gardens, New York City (1924-8) and Chatham Village, Pittsburgh (1932). As in Britain, truly satellite townships were stubbornly resistant to take off and Radburn was the only truly independent creation.

Intellectual harmony between the great figures in the two countries continued. Lewis Mumford acknowledged his debt to Patrick Geddes. In *The Culture of Cities* (1938) he wrote in the Preface that as far back as 1915, under the stimulus of Geddes, he began to collect material for the book. Unwin in particular felt at home in the US. From 1936 to his death in 1940, he was at Columbia University for four of the nine academic months. As Creese observes, 'Towards the end, Unwin seemed to be more attracted to and more needed by Americans than his own countrymen.'[10]

But by the 1930s the traditions of the two countries may have been moving apart. Inter-war Britain, after an early flowering of town planning, relapsed into a cautious conformity with planning practice grounded in the statutory work of local authorities. Welwyn (1920) was the second and last of the garden cities. In the US, however, the work of the Regional Planning Association of America and the New York Regional Plan encouraged the close interest of Britain, not least because of the involvement of Thomas Adams, earlier the first secretary of the Garden City Association, but the British counterpart was the modest work of Unwin for the Greater London Regional Planning Committee between 1928 and 1933. Practical steps towards decentralisation were the New Deal proposals for Green belt towns to be created under Federal Government auspices. Rexford G Tugwell,

the programme administrator wanted 3000; 25 were selected by the Resettlement Administration; Roosevelt approved eight; Congress reduced it to five; and three were built. But this record was better than the hopes of the Hundred New Towns Society in Britain, which were totally unfulfilled.

After World War II the divergent trends widened. One of the differences lay in regard to public housing. Britain's record was encouraged by 19th century antecedents when the State slowly but continuously breached the interests of private property, first in enforcing standards and then in establishing a new tenure group, that of the local authority council house. Between the wars, four million dwellings were built in Britain, one quarter being local authority provided; the die was firmly cast from 1919. After World War II an important argument was won, namely that the State would be the principal provider of post-war housing. It did not turn out that way, the private sector recovering its buoyancy, but nonetheless Britain's State housing sector, until the reversal of the 1980s, was internationally impressive in extent. Housing and planning in Britain were always inextricably linked, and provide an unmistakable flavour to the country's planning style, marked by incrementalism and pragmatism. Britain did not readily espouse forms of radical city planning, as for example the MARS Plan for London at the end of the 1930s (for which incidentally Christopher Tunnard chaired the Town Planning Committee).

By comparison, the US tradition of privatism resulted in a belated and uncertain involvement in provision of low income housing. Only in private groups, such as the Regional Planning Association of America, was there a concern for direct housing programmes. US planners tended to regard housing as too limited a subject, and although the gap between the two interests narrowed in the 1930s, an expert such as Catherine Bauer, author of the encyclopaedic *Modern Housing* (1934), remained an outsider in the planning profession though a vocal advocate for ambitious housing and renewal policies.[11] The contrast with Britain was striking: in Britain planning and housing entered into party politics and the work of Government at both central and local levels; in the US city planning, representing the interest of business groups, emphasised municipal efficiency, and while planning practice seemed to make strides, zoning was only popular because it was a means of protecting property values.

In the US the Federal Housing Association (FHA) had been created as part of the New Deal's efforts to provide public sector housing for the poor. By 1950 170,000 dwellings had been provided. There were certainly additional developments after 1945, notably the mortgage assistance programmes of the Veterans' Administration and the strengthening and extension of the slum clearance and public housing programmes. Later on, enactments in 1968 and 1970 provided a Department of Housing and Urban Development and a 'new communities' programme. Yet this was small beer indeed compared with the British experience of sustained rates of local authority house building and a vigorous slum clearance programme between the mid-1950s and mid-1970s when nearly 1.5 million dwellings were cleared, and their occupants rehoused.

Post-war developments

After 1947 British cities were the subject of a statutory planning system, whereby the whole country was subject to planning control, its forward planning based on regularly submitted and constantly reviewed Development Plans, and its day to day control of development exercised by local authorities who were given remarkable discretion by Parliament. That the system can readily be criticised for being unduly regulatory and restrictive, slow and cumbersome and a constraint on initiative and enterprise, should not detract from the fact that a mature and sophisticated democracy, able to accommodate the checks and balances of private and public interests, has been able for nearly half a century to provide an acceptable measure of guidance over urban development in which individual freedoms can coexist with State control.

A national, land use map has emerged as the product of a remarkable planning system, built up from Britain's New Town programmes, particularly active with designations in the later 1940s and throughout the 1960s; its town expansion schemes from the mid-1950s; its countryside reservations of national parks; areas of outstanding natural beauty, green belts and the like now totalling 40% of the land surface of England and Wales; and its regional programmes structured around motorway investment, economic aid and inner city recovery schemes. A change of ideology over the last decade and a neutering of many aspects of State-based programmes has not lessened the mark made by British planning, post-war.

This very British feature of planning has had a particular consequence for UK-US intellectual relationships. A British profession, steeped in history and proud of its exclusivity, served the State, three quarters of its members for much of the

period working in local government. It was never very good at being self-critical and is not renowned for its objectivity or analytical capacity. Its planning literature has no great strength of intellectual pedigree. The monolithic nature of the planning profession, wedded as it has been to a statutory frame of reference, has given little scope to academic scholarship, research and enquiry; typically, academic contribution to planning has come from outside the planning discipline, particularly geography and the social sciences. And some of the early post-war observers of British planning were in fact American - Harold Orlans, Lloyd Rodwin, Donald Foley and Walter Creese. Moreover, the fruitful interchange of ideas seen in the 1920s between Stein and Wright from the US and Howard and Unwin from Britain, expressed in similar designs for residential communities, resumed after 1945. Stein's approach to pedestrian and vehicular circulation systems fed into British planning, particularly in New Towns, first of all at Stevenage, and then more generally into Radburn-inspired housing layouts.

Thus it was perhaps that some US literature came to occupy a quite disproportionate place in the reading material of British planners. Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) was a case in point. The subtitle accounts for the shock: 'the failure of town planning'. British architects could rail against British planners, but that was internecine professional warfare. In 1955 Ian Nairn and Gordon Cullen had surveyed the state of modern English landscape for *The Architectural Review*, giving vent to their reactions in an article called 'Outrage'. The sense of anger about modernisation was certainly widespread, Peter Blake expressing it about American landscapes a few years later in *God's Own Junkyard* (1964). But Jacobs went further. To read an attack 'on the principles and aims that have shaped modern, orthodox city planning and rebuilding' (p13) sounded like heresy. But the point was there: dull, inert cities contain the seeds of their own regeneration. British planning had no critical dimension to challenge this.

Britain had caught up somewhat by the time of Robert Goodman's *After the Planners* (1972). His argument, that planning had become 'a sophisticated weapon to maintain the existing control under a mask of rationality, efficiency and science' (p211-2), was shared on both sides of the Atlantic under a barrage of fashionable criticism; from Britain Norman Dennis, Jon Gower Davies and David Eversley were saying the same thing. In a debate about 'planning for people' (and H J Gans' title was widely copied) planners were criticised as facilitators in a grossly manipulated system. This fuelled the enthusiasm for a marxist view of planning, dominant throughout the 1970s, though to wither as a cul-de-sac in planning. But a preference for seeing planning, not as an exercise in the arrangement and appearance of buildings and the manipulation of space, but rather as a social facilitator, helping people solve their problems and realise their goals, was to have a longer imprint.

During this time a greater congruence emerged between British and American planning experience. As Schaffer in his recent review of two centuries of American planning has remarked, 'Professional planners in the 1970s seemed not only to lose much of their purpose; they seemed to lose much of their constituency as well'.[12] Government bureaucracies stagnated. The poor were increasingly hostile. The planner's ability to deliver was in question. More people called for a direct role in decision making. Those who had tolerated planners as experts now looked to the market place and the corporate world to resolve problems. The planner's alienation in Britain was the more acute because of his prior protection in the welfare state, but both sides of the Atlantic presented a similar picture.

And so we see that by the mid-1980s the pendulum of divergence had swung. From the US, A J Catanese in *The Politics of Planning and Development* (1984) proclaimed that 'the future will be neither a Big Brother welfare state, nor a laissez-faire public-be-damned oligopoly. It will be an earnest search for a process by which private sector goals can converge with widely held public goals' (p10). At about the same time Cherry in *The Politics of Town Planning* 1982) put forward an enabling philosophy for a profession in change. But as the credentials and legitimacy of planning were under scrutiny, the critical gaze was dominated by US writers who for long had presented a rigorous, critical, enquiring mind to the activity. Writers including Paul Davidoff, Thomas Reiner, Melvin Webber, Martin Myerson, John Friedman, John Dyckman and others presented an intellectual face to planning which the British profession never matched. Britain's preoccupations remained with the practical work of planning, driven by the requirements of a statutory system. Hence in a rather turgid period of British planning in the 1970s when planning theory was fashionable, the British academic Andreas Faludi (Austrian born), wrestling with the issues of planning procedures and the structure of planning institutions, had to turn largely to US literature, rich in intellectual stimuli and accessible in language.

A summing up

It would require a much longer article to examine at all adequately the full story of UK-US interchange in planing. The post-war story in particular requires much fuller treatment in order to explore the dominant themes of the last forty years: urban renewal, townscape and architectural design, traffic planning, community participation and advocacy planning, the computer revolution, modelling and research techniques, and the thrust of new popular concerns, including environmentalism and greening. The fact is that urban affairs do not stand still: circumstances change, attitudes come and go, and cultures are dynamic. The course of planning history is charted against an ever-changing pattern of social relations, a truism which provides the remit for an academic and professional curiosity about urban phenomena.

But even an unfinished paper has suggested a framework for continuing analysis. The planning historian seeks explanations for processes of change, or lack of it. Just occasionally, pivotal periods marked by the pursuit of radical alterations in urban form, assume great significance, when ideas are borrowed and transplanted in very different institutional soil. Just as a hundred years ago both our national societies were making a break with the past to forge a new future, so today we are looking at new ways of doing things. This time round,the ease of effecting a transatlantic dialogue may ensure common international styles in the architecture of the post-industrial city; however, the main dimensions of an urban environment will remain stubbornly shaped by the transitory intangibles of political institutions, legal and administrative arrangements and the broad departures in cultural outlook between our countries. In drawing up the UK-US balance sheet neither will be in the debtors' prison; there will continue to be a fascinating interplay between two distinctive socio-political styles.

This article was first presented as a keynote address to the 4th SACRPH National Conference on American Planning History/5th International Conference of the Planning History Group, Richmond, Virginia, USA, November 1991.

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Reports

The Fourth National Conference on American Planning History/Fifth International Conference Planning History Group, Richmond, Virginia, November 7-10 1991

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Rarely if ever can planning historians have gathered in surroundings as splendid as those provided by the famous Jefferson Hotel in Richmond, Virginia. It was therefore with a sense of awestruck wonder that delegates arrived for the first ever joint conference of the Society for American City and Regional Planning History (SACRPH) and our own Planning History Group. Essentially the uniqueness of the gathering itself was being underlined by the marvellous grandeur of its setting. For non-American delegates particularly the experience of academic conferences based in plush hotels is itself fairly unknown, compared to the usual 'busman's holiday' of European conferences based in academic institutions and rather spartan students' residences. But the organisers at Richmond took the novelty of this whole North American conference experience a stage further, by using a hotel that was not only luxurious but a historic landmark in its own right, listed in the National Register of Historic Places and the Virginia Historic Landmarks Register.

From the outside the twin towers of the Jefferson gave it something of the air of an unusually large (and unusually clean) Victorian Town Hall, built in an Italianate style. But the interior almost defied description. The public spaces of the upper and more particularly the lower lobbies were, quite simply, breathtaking. Faux marble columns, stained glass skylights, a fine statue of Thomas Jefferson and a 36 step grand staircase were only the most prominent features of an outstanding display of late nineteenth century architectural exuberance, beautifully restored in 1986. The hotel was clearly one of the showpieces of the post-bellum 'New South', and its staircase is held by many to have inspired the set design for the great staircase in Rhett Butler's Atlanta mansion in the famous film *Gone With The Wind*. Certainly the story was good enough to support regular theme weekends offered by the hotel and at the conference itself the British delegates in particular were happy enough to go along with it. More than once I overheard droll exchanges that were obviously based on the famous "Frankly my dear I don't give a damn" scene from the film.

The Conference

The event was SACRPH's fourth national conference on American planning history and PHG's fifth international conference. It was also sponsored by the Urban History Association (UHA) and the Departments of Urban Studies and Planning and Art History of Virginia Commonwealth University. Approximately 150 papers were presented over a two day period, mainly in 56 simultaneous sessions. Most time slots saw six or occasionally seven sessions in progress concurrently, so that much inevitably had to be been missed.

There were however three plenary sessions, associated with the Friday and Saturday luncheons and the Saturday evening dinner. At each of these the presidents of each of the three main sponsoring organisations, PHG, SACRPH and UHA, delivered addresses to the assembled diners. The first, our own **Gordon E. Cherry**, spoke on 'Transatlantic Exchanges in Planning: The UK-US Balance Sheet', a long term chronological review of the planning interchanges between the world's two main developed English speaking nations. The paper is reproduced in the present issue of *Planning History*. The following day, the retiring SACRPH president, **Eugenie Ladner Birch** of Hunter College, City University of New York, offered her 'Reflections on Planning History', a fascinating account of her work on the New York Planning Commission and its relationship to planning history. Finally **Zane L. Miller** of the University of Cincinnati spoke on 'Planning History as Urban History', a thoughtful and thought-provoking reflection on the relationships between our two related but still distinctive concerns.

Figure 1: Benjamin Latrobe's 1798 map of Richmond, showing the grid plan devised by Thomas Jefferson in 1780.

Analysis of the programme for the simultaneous sessions reveals that almost two-thirds of the papers were by Americans on US topics. This immediately shows that the conference was primarily focused on American planning history, the purpose for which it was initially conceived. However a further 16 US presenters gave papers on non-US or comparative topics. Moreover, of the 35 papers given by non-US presenters, all but two were on non-US topics. In all the papers dealt with aspects of planning history in at least 28 different countries, so that despite its understandably heavy US bias, it was also an impressively international affair. Proceedings of the whole Conference will be published at some future date, available via SACRPH. In the meantime, it is possible to give only a limited flavour of the sessions and the papers in them.

Figure 2: The Jefferson Hotel, location of the Richmond Conference

The Sessions: Individual Planners and Cities

Four sessions were focused explicitly on the impact of individual planners. Thus Cynthia Zaitzevsky (Harvard University) and Jon A. Peterson (CUNY) presented papers in an early session on **The Olmsted Legacy**. Another session, on **Harland Bartholomew's Contribution**, included papers by Eric Sandweiss (Columbia University) and Eldridge Lovelace (Harland Bartholomew Associates). Bartholomew featured again in the American

Institute of City Planners-sponsored session on **Visions of Planning Pioneers: Nolen, Bartholomew, Whitten and Wilcox**. Papers were presented by Bruce Stephenson (Rollins College); William A. Randle (Attorney, Lakewood, OH); Suzanne Sutro (Montgomery County Planning Commission, PA) and Ronald K. Bednar (Pennsylvania Department of Community Affairs); and Daniel K. Slone, Attorney, Richmond VA). Finally, in a session on **Planner/Architects: Bulfinch, Tunnard and Hegemann**, there were papers by Lawrence W. Kennedy (Boston College), Ralph Warburton (University of Miami) and Christiane Crasemann Collins (New York).

No less than eight sessions concentrated on the individual experiences of particular (mainly American) towns and cities. Thus Robert A. Burnham (Macon College) and Andrea Tuttle Kornbluh (Raymond Walters College) spoke on aspects of **Planning in Cincinnati**, while Peter D. Paul (Architect, New York) and Marc Hirth (Richmond Renaissance) spoke about **Planning and Urban Development in Richmond**. Deborah S. Gardner (Encyclopaedia of New York City), Robert H. Fairbanks, (University of Texas) and John Hancock (University of Washington, Seattle) considered **Comprehensive Planning and Development: Seattle, Dallas and San Diego.**

There was also another session dealing with a more detailed aspect of the host city: **Planning the Avenue: Richmond's Monument Avenue**, with papers by Richard Guy Wilson (University of Virginia) and Robert Winthrop (Architect, Richmond, VA). Meanwhile Kathleen Kelly Broomer (Consultant, Natick, MA), Thomas W. Puryear (University of Massachusetts) and Mark Kenner (Spring Garden College) were considering **The Logic of Planning in Three Eastern Seaboard Cities**. The capital city received attention in a session on **Washington, DC's Plan., 1791-1991,** featuring papers by Elizabeth J. Barthold, Sara Amy Leach, (both of the Historic American Buildings Survey), David J. Murphy (University of Maryland) and Pamela Scott (Art Historian, Washington, DC).

There were two non-US sessions in this group. One of these took its focus as **Post World War II City Planning in Theory and Practice**. It featured papers on Vienna, London and Moscow by Jeffry M. Diefendorf (University of New Hampshire), Michael Hebbert (LSE) and Sergey Sergeyevich Ozhegov (Moscow Institute of Architecture). The other was concerned with altogether longer perpectives of planning change. Entitled **Planning Processes: The Long View**, it included the paper by Vithleem Hastaoglou-Martinidis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) which is reproduced in this issue of *Planning History*, together with papers by James Peter Higgins (University of Birmingham, UK) and John H. Martin (University of Massachusetts).

Suburbs and New Towns

Four sessions focused on the suburban experience, beginning with **Suburban Planning in the Twentieth Century Metropolis**, featuring papers by Greg Hise (University of California, Berkeley) and Thomas Hall (Stockholm University). Peter L Goss (University of Utah), Ann Durkin Keating (APA), and Stanley E. Sokol (University of Maryland) presented their papers in a session called **Planning the Post-World War II Suburb**. The following day Robert Bruegman (University of Illinois) and William Sharpe (Barnard College) and Leonard Wallcock (Hunter College, CUNY) spoke on **Defining the New Suburbia**. The theme was pursued further in **Planning the Ideal Suburb: Three Case Studies**, with papers by Roberta M. Moudry (Cornell University), Judith A. Quinn (National Park Service, Boston) and Michael A. Grimes (National Archives and Record Administration, Washington, DC).

Three sessions took the garden city/new town tradition as their subject. Thus Cathy D. Knepper (University of Maryland), Robert Wojtowicz (Old Dominion University) and Tracy Shew (SUNY) dealt with **Images of Radburn and the Greenbelt Towns**. Elliott Schlar (Columbia University), Anthony W. Schuman (New Jersey Institute of Technology) and Stephen V. Ward (Oxford Polytechnic) examined **New Towns: Planning and Ideology**. More recent issues were addressed in **New Towns in the 1960s and 1970s** with contributions by Robert Fishman (Rutgers University), Diane Kane (University of California, Santa Barbara) and Edgar Allen Pritchard (Attorney, Fairfax, Virginia).

Comparative and Cross Cultural Dimensions

Although these were addressed in a number of places in the conference there were several sessions explicitly set up to examine comparative and cross cultural questions. The first, entitled **Cross-Cultural Currents in Twentieth Century Town Planning** featured papers by Robert Beevers (Historian, Oxford, UK), Jeffrey W. Cody and Kermit C. Parsons (Cornell University). (The latter paper is featured in this issue of *Planning History*). A further session dealt with **Town Planning in**

Comparative Perspective with papers by David Hamer (University of Wellington, New Zealand), Laura Kolbe (University of Helsinki), S. Ilan Troen (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) and John Muller (University of the Witwatersrand). The third of these sessions was that on **Regional Planning and Development in Comparative Perspective.** Fred H. A. Aalen (Trinity College, Dublin), Mervyn Miller (Architect, Baldock, UK) and Robert E. Ireland (University of North Carolina) spoke on this theme.

Components of City Planning

Many of the sessions focused on distinct elements of city planning. There were two sessions specifically on transportation issues. Thus J. A. Chewning and Alice M. Cornell (University of Cincinnati) and Gregory L Thompson (Florida State University) dealt with **The Challenges of Mass Transit in American Cities**. Another session considered **Expressways and Mass Transit Since the 1920s**, featuring papers by John F. Bauman (California University of Pennsylvania). Peter Derrick (New York Metropolitan Transportation Authority) and Owen D. Gutfreund (Columbia University).

Slum clearance, social housing and urban renewal featured in three sessions. Papers on **Planning and Housing for the Poor** were given by Michael Musuraca (CUNY) and John T. Metzger (Columbia University). P. J. Smith, (University of Alberta) and Michela Barzi (University of Geneva) considered **Housing, Hygiene and the Industrial City**. A more contemporary picture was offered in **Urban Renewal in British and American Cities**, featuring papers by Helen Meller (University of Nottingham), Madeline L. Cohen (Community College of Philadelphia), A. Tappan Wilder (Historian, Washington, DC) and Heywood T. Sanders (Trinity University).

Park Planning in Europe and the United States was the subject of one session, with presentations by Joan Draper (University of Colorado, Boulder), Galen Cranz (University of California, Berkeley) and Maurits van Rooijen (Erasmus University, Rotterdam). Another session examined **Preservation Planning and Revitalization** featuring papers by Ronald Lee Fleming (Townscape Institute, Cambridge, MA), Robert Hodder (Cornell University), Susan Moffat (Swiss Bear Inc, New Bern, NC), and Wes Hankins (East Carolina University). A slightly more unusual session was that focused on **Private Interests and Public Spaces in Nineteenth Century Cities**, with papers by Peter Goheen (Queen's University, Kingston), Timothy Gilfoyle (Loyola University) and David C. Sloane (Dartmouth College, NH).

Approaches to Planning Theory and Practice

The more theoretical end of the spectrum was reflected in **Conceptualizing the City** with papers by Howard Spodek (Temple University), Koos Bosma (Dutch Architectural Institute) and Katherine Tehranian (University of Hawaii). A simultaneous session looked at **Planning, Theory and Urban Form** with papers by Albert Guttenberg (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign), David R. Hill (University of Colorado, Denver), Ed Traverne and Cor Wagenaar (University of Groningen) and Cliff Ellis (Columbia University). A more practical emphasis was apparent in **Planning and Design and Society** with papers by Tony Sutcliffe (University of Leicester), Eric Mumford (Princeton University) and June Manning Thomas (Michigan State University).

The 'nuts and bolts' of detailed planning practice were dealt with in **The Impact of Zoning and Building Regulations**, with papers by Patricia Burgess (Iowa State University), Satoshi Hagishima, Tae-heon Moon and Akira Ohgai (all of Kyushu University), Michael Holleran (University of Colorado, Denver) and Richard Harris (McMaster University). A related theme was apparent in the session on **Planning and Real Estate Patterns in Historical Perspective**, featuring contributions by Jeffrey A. Kroessler (CUNY), Alexander von Hoffman (Harvard University) and Marc A. Weiss (Columbia University). And there were echoes too in **New Perspectives on Urban Land Use Planning** with papers by John W. Reps (Cornell University) and Garrett Power (University of Maryland).

Regional, National and Imperial Dimensions

A further ten sessions focused on areas rather wider than the city. Martin Bierbaum and Linda Nowicki (New Jersey Office of State Planning) considered **State Planning in Historical Perspective. Regional Planning in the Western United States** included papers by Paul H. Gleye (Montana State University), Patricia Matthews (University of Delaware) and David R. Long (University of North Carolina). The south received the attentions of Charles E. Connerly (Florida State University) and Thomas W. Hanchett (University of North Carolina) in the session **Perspectives on Federal Policy and Planning in the South**. The last of the US based sessions dealt with **Planning and Community Development in California**, featuring papers by Carroll Brentano (University of California, Berkeley) and Henry C. Matthews (Washington State University).

Non-US examples were considered in three of the sessions. The first, **Planning in the Balkans**, included papers by Kiki Kafkoula and Alexandra Yerolympos (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki). Felipe Gorositza (University of Pennsylvania) and Felipe Prestamo (University of Miami) presented papers on **Latin American Planning History**. Finally Ursula von Petz (University of Dortmund) and Brian K. Ladd (Oglethorpe University) spoke on **Planning in Twentieth Century Germany**.

On the colonial theme, Francois-Auguste de Montequin, John H. Hoogakker and Melanie A Leigh (all of Virginia Commonwealth University) spoke on **The Laws of the Indies and Spanish Colonial Town Planning**. In another session Gilbert Stelter (University of Guelph) and Robert K. Home (University of Reading) offered their views on **Colonial Town Planning: Comparative Views**. Finally Goh Ban See (Universiti Sains Malaysia) and R. Gordon Echols (Texas A & M University) considered **Colonial Planting and Town Planning**.

Gender and Ethnicity Issues

A welcome emphasis in US planning historiography is the attention given to gender and racial matters. Gender issues were apparent in **Men, Women and Municipal Government During the Progressive Era**, featuring Marsha Ritzdorf (University of Oregon) and Patricia Mooney-Melvin (Loyola University). They were also firmly on the agenda in **Women and Planning in the Early Twentieth Century** with presentations by Susan Marie Wirka (UCLA) and Rosanna M. Barker (University of California, Santa Barbara). Racial questions were most obviously considered in the session on **African-Americans in City and Suburb**, where papers were given by Yale Rabin (University of Virginia), Andrew Wiese (Columbia University) and William H. Wilson (University of North Texas).

Wars, Disasters and Planning

Three sessions focused on this question, beginning with **Wartime Housing and Planning: Two Contrasting Approaches**, with papers by Michael H. Lang (Rutgers University) and John S. Garner (University of Illinois). **Planning and the Hand of Mars: Reconsiderations** included presentations by Josef W. Konvitz (Michigan State University) and Roger W. Lotchin (University of North Carolina).

On a slightly different tack, the session on **Planning for Lisbon and Central Tokyo After the Disasters** included papers by John R. Mullin (University of Massachusetts), Yoichi Kubota (Saitama University) and Akira Koshizawa (Tokyo Institute of Technology and Nihon University).

Miscellaneous

The remaining sessions included two focused on industrial issues and planning. Thus Lynn F. Pearson (Architectural Historian, Newcastle) and John F. Gilpin (University of Lethbridge) dealt with **The Regional Impact of Industry on Town Planning: Two Case Studies**. Lance Trusty (Purdue University), G. Joseph Socki (SUNY) and Takashi Yasuda (Setsunan University) addressed **Company Influence on the Planning of Industrial Cities**. The other two sessons where papers were presented were **(Re)Reading Maps and Plans** and the SACRPH **Student Prize Winner's Showcase**. The former combined the practical and the highly theoretical with papers by Seymour J. Mandelbaum (University of Pennsylvania), James C. O'Connell (Cape Cod Planning Commission) and Carl Abbott (Portland State University). The latter included only one of the two winning papers, by Michael D. Holmes (Auburn University). (The other, by John T. Metzger, was presented in the session on Planning and Housing for the Poor).

The remaining two programmed simultaneous sessions were not concerned with the presentation of papers, though were of particular significance to PHG members. One was an open discussion about the future relations of SACRPH and PHG, which came to no definite conclusions, but allowed a useful exchange of views. The other was, in some ways an even more extraordinary event, a taped open interview with PHG's President, Gordon E. Cherry, conducted by SACRPH's Executive Secretary, Larry Gerckens. Gordon had in fact stood in at short notice for an unwell Carl Feiss and clearly found the situation a rather novel one. However the tape will doubtless form a valuable oral history source on the foundation and development of our subject and our organisation. Future historians of PHG please note!

The Social Dimension

Not the least important feature of the Richmond Conference were the opportunities for social interaction. The walking tours of historic Richmond and Monument Avenue were both sociable and informative, belying European expectations of typical American cities by showing the extent of the surviving good quality historic built environment

in the central area. However it was noticeable that many downtown buildings were empty, in some cases near derelict, showing that the 'hole in the doughnut' syndrome is apparent, even in Richmond.

On a more completely social note, two splendid receptions were hosted for us by the Anderson Gallery at Virginia Commonwealth University and the Valentine Museum in downtown Richmond. They both provided relaxed and extremely pleasant settings for informal discussion. The fine food and drink which was provided can certainly be reported with approval. In particular the southern speciality of crab meat patties cooked for us as we chatted at the Valentine Museum reception were absolutely superb. The Jefferson also served two very acceptable lunches and the social highlight of the whole Conference was the excellent dinner on the Saturday evening in the splendid Empire Room opening off the upper balcony of the hotel's pillared lower lobby.

However even then it seemed that the professional side of the conference would not easily give way to the social. As we waited to go in to dinner, lingering around the base of the famous statue of Jefferson himself, a piece of historical theatre began to play itself out in the lobby beneath us. A large group of local enthusiasts were engaged in a public re-creation of the 'Old South' of the Civil War era, the men dressed in grey Confederate uniforms and ladies in crinolines. However despite the authenticity of dress and manners, it was all an eminently diverting and charming illusion - a playacted version of the 'Old South' parading itself in the extraordinary physical setting of the Jefferson Hotel, itself of course an embodiment of the post-civil war 'New South'. Meanwhile both these historical reconstructions were located within the social and economic realities of the real 'new' 'New South' of the post-civil rights era. It was comforting to know that the waiters and waitresses serving them with food and drinks were not slaves, since it allowed us to enjoy the theatre of it without having to take it too seriously as a historical re-creation. Ultimately it was not history of the type that we had been intensely engaged in over the previous couple of days.

Accordingly we could all relax and appreciate this thoroughly post-modernist end to the conference. The end that is as I experienced it since I had to leave on the Sunday morning, missing the last fieldtrips, including that to colonial Williamsburg. However even without having the complete experience, I can report, without any qualification whatsoever, that this was a marvellous conference.

Figure 3: The pillared lower lobby of the Jefferson Hotel, showing the 36 step grand staircase.

The team at VCU, especially Chris Silver, who bore most of the tremendous burden of organisation, deserve our thanks for organising such a important and memorable occasion. I, for one, will never forget it.

Publications

Abstracts

Keith Hoggart and David R Green (eds), *London. A new metropolitan geography*, London, Edward Arnold, 1991. 254 pp, £40.00, ISBN 0 7131 6580 4

Assesses economic, social and political trends of major significance to the capital's future, in the context of both the city and its wider regional, national and international role. Chapters include 'The metropolitan economy: continuity and change 1800-1939' by David Green, 'The emerging retail structure' by Barrie S Morgan, and 'The borough effect in London's geography' by Michael Hebbert..

Mervyn Miller, *Raymond Unwin, Garden cities and town planning*, London, Leicester University Press, 1992, 299pp, £42.50, ISBN 0 7185 13630

By the early 1990s, public health and housing reform had been followed by controls over the use and development of land, characterised as 'town planning'. The best known pioneer was Sir Raymond Unwin. The design of twentieth century housing, new suburbs and new towns owes more to him, and to his great works in New Earswick, Letchworth and Hampstead Garden City, than to any other individual. The biography is both an appreciation of his life and a critical study of his works, encompassing his planning activities in Britain and more generally in America and international planning, his role in the founding of the Town Planning Institute, and contribution to the architectural profession.

Harold L Platt, *The Electric City: Energy and the Growth of the Chicago Area, 1880-1930*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991, 432 pp, ISBN 0-022667-075-9 cloth $34.95.

Using Samuel Insull and the Chicago Edison Company as the means, the book explores the foundation of an energy-intensive society in the twentieth century. The author effectively weaves together economic, technological, political and social history to achieve his goal. Along the way he illuminates just about every major issue in urban history between the Gilded Age and the New Deal including the role electrical power in the emergence of the city planning profession's community ideal.

John Fraser Hart, ed, *Our Changing Cities*. John Hopkins University Press, 1991, 261 pp, ISBN 0-8018-4087-3 cloth $48.00, ISBN 0-8018-4088-0 paper $16.95.

The essays in *Our Changing Cities* are rather diverse - from explorations of the role of transportation technology on urban development to an examination of the relationship between civil rights litigation and social structure and pattern in the American city. Most are authored by urban geographers and are concerned with broad patterns that characterise, and issues which affect, American cities. Being an anthology that developed from a lecture series, the book's essays vary in focus and quality. Nevertheless, the book conveys something of the diversity and breadth of interests represented by urban geographers in the 1980s.

Urban History

Planning History Group members may be interested to note the following articles in *Urban History*

Vol 19 1992

Integrating architectural, social and housing history, Roderick Lawrence (Geneva)

Geographical space, social space and the realm of the department store, Jeanne Lawrence (Yale)

Celebrating Calcutta, Parthod Datta (Delhi)

School in the city: educational historians and the urban variable, David Reeder (Leicester)

Planning versus Administration: the Independent City Planning Commission in Cincinatti 1918-40, Robert Burnham (Macon College, Georgia)

Vol 18 1991

Special American Feature:
International cities in the dual systems model: the transformations of Los Angeles and Washington, Carl Abbot (Portland State University)

Pieces of the puzzle: Chicago in fragments, Mel Holli (Chicago)

Gemeinschaft into ghetto: black communities and white urban America, Peter Ling (Nottingham)

Forming urban culture: environmental perception and design in nineteenth century America, Josef Konvitz (Michigan State University)

Vol 17 1990

Planning theory and women's role in the city, Helen Meller (Nottingham)

Spatial configuration of class solidarity in London's west end, Peter Atkins (Durham)

The Society for American City and Regional Planning History: Working Papers

The aims of the SACRPH Working Paper Series. The **WPS** aims to circulate papers between the 'mature draft' or conference paper stage, and the accepted refereed journal article stage. The Series gives researchers review comments on the papers, publishes them, advertises them to a national audience, and markets them to interested individual buyers and libraries.

The general topics of papers that the WPS publishes. The policy of the **WPS** is to accept a broader rather than narrower range of research papers. In terms of time, papers are welcome from Native American periods up to recent events that are sufficiently distant to allow reasonable historical objectivity. Suggested topic areas include the historical dimensions of city, regional, state, and national plans. Also, when architectural, urban design, engineering, landscape architecture, and general urban form matters have physical or social planning implications, they are welcome. Further, investigations of major planning leaders, planning law, public policy, private development, social movements, and all the 'sectoral' areas of planning are very important. Studies of the history of American planning ideas with these topics are also of interest. Finally of course, when in doubt researchers should call or write the editors.

Expected quality of the submitted papers. The papers should be structured as formal historical research papers, not book chapters or informal articles. Typically, the papers are written by planning professionals, local historians, historical agency administrators and researchers, advanced graduate students, independent scholars, or college and university educators. The papers should be carefully proofed, clearly typed and printed for future photocopying, and with standard margins. Single spacing is accepted, but with large lettering and spacing. An accepted and consistent system of documentation and paper formatting is required. Length is variable, but about thirty pages single-spaced begins to be an upper limit. Two photocopies should be send for the review. Standards for evaluation are the usual: depth, breadth, documentation, relevance, originality, consistency, clarity, and so forth.

The evaluation process. The editors will make a first cut. In a few cases, the papers will be such quality,or have such obvious difficulties that the editors will be able to make early decisions themselves. In the vast majority of cases, the editors will send them to a **WPS** Advisory Board member for review assistance. Reviews are not 'blind', and the reviewer and writer are encouraged to communicate.

Where to send your papers. David R Hill, Editor. Graduate Program in Urban and Regional Planning. The University of Colorado at Denver. Campus Box 126. Post Office Box 173364. Denver, CO 80217-3364. Telephone (303) 556-3479.

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Treasurer's Report

1. After the rise in subscription income in 1989, there was something of a fall back in both home and overseas receipts in 1990. The group continues to benefit, however, from the generally high interest rates experienced during the year.

2. The Bulletin Reserve Fund covered some transitional expenditure from 1989 on Vol XI of Planning History. Monies set aside in the Seminar Fund and held over from 1989 were used to defray the Group's contribution of £186.00 to the expenses of the 1989 Bournville Conference. Among other expenditure items, the mailings to members included an additional mailing about the international conference in Japan. The membership list was renewed during 1990 involving a one-off payment for word-processing. There were no calls on the Thesis Directory Fund established in 1989.

3. The excess of receipts over payments of £1,901.26 for 1990 has been allocated to the Bulletin and General reserve funds with some minor adjustments to the Group's other funds.

4. On behalf of the Group I would like to express our thanks to Mr E. G. Elms for once more checking the accounts and acting as our Hon. Auditor.

David W. Massey
University of Liverpool

Planning History Group: Accounts for 1990

1. **Summary**

Balance brought forward from 1989	7,837.20
Receipts 1990	3,033.42
	10,860.62
Payments 1990	1,132.16
	9,728.46

2. **Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31.12.90**

Receipts	
Subscriptions	
UK	978.00
Overseas	1,123.56
Other years	52.11
Interest on deposits	871.75
Back issue sales	8.00
	£3,033.42
Payments	
Bulletin Production	239.00
Membership Mailing	561.45
Administration	145.71
Bournville Conference	186.00
Excess of receipts over payments	1,901.26
	£3,033.42

3. **Balance Sheet as at 31.12.90**

Seminar Fund	560.00
General Fund	168.46
Thesis Directory Fund	1,000.00
General Reserve Fund	1,500.00
Bulletin Reserve Fund	6,000.00
	£9,728.46

4. **Represented by:**

Giro current a/c	63.58
Bank current a/c	62.81
Bank deposit a/c	9,602.07
	£9,728.46

Audit Report	9 January 1992
Audited and found correct	E. G. Elms

Job Vacancy

The Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich invites applications for a position of

Professor of the History of Urban Design

The curriculum comprises urban history from antiquity to modern times and includes urban morphology and the typology of residential buildings. Focal points include the history of urban development from the industrial revolution to the present from a cultural point of view.

The teaching duties within the Department of Architecture include lectures and seminars in art history in close collaboration with the professors of design. Research should concentrate on urban investigation in the context of existing and new programmes at the Institute of the History and Theory of Architecture (gta).

Applicants should have training in the history of art and urban design and be able to furnish proof of successful and independent research activities in these areas. Experience in teaching is an advantage.

Applications with a detailed curriculum and a list of publications (no publications) are to be sent by May 31, 1992, to the President of ETH Zurich, Prof Dr J Nüesch, ETH Zentrum, CH-8092 Zurich. In its effort to increase the number of women in academic top positions, the ETHZ specifically invites applications from female scientists.

Planning History Group

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

Chairman

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

021-414 5537

Membership

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

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

061-736 5843

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