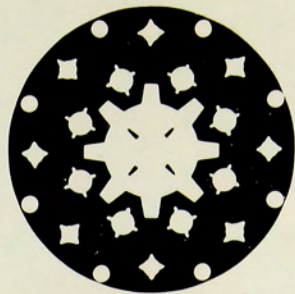


# Planning History



Bulletin of the  
Planning History Group

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# 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.

## Editorial

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# Editorial

Sooner or later most editors of most journals will take the opportunity to remind their readers just how much work they and their fellow producers do behind the scenes. Now, at the mid-point of my tenure as editor of *Planning History* and also poised on the brink of a change in its production technology seems as good a time as any. Quite understandably, most readers probably think relatively little about how *PH* is actually produced. However as editor it usually turns out to be my main concern. The real business of editing the text is in fact the least of my worries, helped by the generally high quality of contributions from readers. The pictures and illustrations can certainly be more problematic, since contributors do not always have suitable material to hand, requiring a bit of prodding from me. But otherwise the assembly of the content is easy bit.

However it is at that point that the real work starts. My predecessor, Dennis Hardy, was fortunate in having access to a highly sophisticated desk top publishing (DTP) system. It was this that allowed the great improvements in format that accompanied his editorship, thanks mainly to the graphic design work of Steve Chilton at what is now Middlesex University (formerly Middlesex Polytechnic). When I took over last year as editor, we at Oxford Polytechnic School of Planning were able to present the text in all the fonts that Dennis and Steve had used, thanks to Wordperfect and Laser Printers. But we had no hardware or software that would enable us to compose pages on the screen as DTP allows, integrating pictures into the text within the two column layout. Thus we have had to rely on a literal 'paste-up' method, whereby Rob Woodward, our graphics technician at Oxford, made up each page in the time-honoured method, even to the extent of pasting individual page numbers.

You the reader will probably have noticed no difference between the more sophisticated means that were used under the previous editor and the more basic paste-up skills used for the last few issues. However there are a few differences that the ultra-observant may spot by comparing issues from 1988-90 and 1991 onwards. For example Rob and I have been unable to manually reproduce the centrally placed picture with text 'wrapped around' that Dennis and Steve often used, simply because the text is supplied in the standard column width. However we like to think that manual methods have produced generally higher quality

photographs, because we have not been tempted to use (because we have not had available) the scanner facilities of DTP.

However we are now on the threshold of moving back to DTP - not so much back to the future as forward to the past - so readers may begin to see slightly more flexibility in page layouts returning. We intend to try and maintain the generally high quality illustrations, (so far as the originals permit, of course). Overall this reinforces the notion that technology makes easier and quicker the achievement of better quality, but in most cases human skill is necessary to achieve the very highest quality. The hope is that I will be able to think ahead more about the actual content of *Planning History*, developing new features.

Some signs of that are apparent in the present issue. One particular example is Ralph Warburton's piece on Chris Tunnard, which I hope will be the first of a series of biographical sketches of major planning figures. I am approaching other planning historians to contribute to this feature, though readers are warmly invited to put in any ideas they have on this. It seems also that we could do more on discussions of source materials of various kinds. Again readers' contributions will be most welcome, especially from outside the UK. I would also like to see a widening of our concerns to include, for example the environmental and ecological themes that are represented in Bruce Stephenson's article on Florida. Finally I would say that none of this is intended to prevent other ideas from readers. *Planning History* is a forum for planning history and planning historians of all kinds and from all countries. I will always try to include any material that is sent to me, be it letters, notices of events, reports of meetings, details of research or sources, or articles. So, keep it coming!

Stephen V. Ward



# Chairman's Message

In *Planning History*, Vol 13 No 2 (1991) I alerted members to the fact that the Group's Executive Committee was considering possible changes in the organisation of Planning History Group. An opportunity to take soundings was presented at the Fifth International Conference at Richmond last November. Since then the Executive Committee has been considering a number of proposals.

Some clear views have already emerged. First: in recent years two US bodies, the Society for American City and Regional Planning History (SACRPH) and the Urban History Association (UHA) have developed similar interests to our own. Discussions have established that there is agreement on all sides that Planning History Group's remit is to **international** planning history. Accordingly, invitations have been extended to SACRPH and UHA to be affiliates of our organisation and co-sponsors of international meetings. These invitations are being considered and indications are that they will be favourably received.

Second: considerable importance is attached to *Planning History*. It is agreed that an Editorial Board be set up for *Planning History*, chaired by the Editor.

Third: international conferences are valuable and productive. It is agreed that they should be held regularly (every two or three years). Arrangements for these will be the responsibility of a Conference Convenor.

The Executive Committee have come to a line of general intent on two other fronts, but the detail requires to be worked out. A new name for the Group is advocated, and at the moment the International Planning History Society (IPHS) is favoured, but other options are in the frame. And then, importantly, it is thought that the cumbersome Executive Committee should be replaced by a Board of Management, but questions of structure and composition require careful consideration.

There is a momentum for change. The next phase of development for the Group is falling into place.

To give definition to what is required, I have cancelled this summer's elections to the Executive Committee. The present Committee will stand down and I am appointing an Interim Board of Management, charged during the period from 1 August to the end of the year with the task of preparing the future constitution and working arrangements for the new Group (IPHS or whatever name), to come into being on 1 January 1993.

For over a quarter of a century planning history has been one consistent contributor to the discipline of town planning; other fashions, important in their way, have largely come and gone. The Planning History Group has played quite a part in this formative development. It has more to do still and I am confident that the new arrangements now being worked out will serve the membership well.

Gordon E Cherry

## Notices

### Development vs. Tradition

#### THIRD INTERNATIONAL IASTE CONFERENCE

The third conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments (IASTE) addressing the theme *Development vs Tradition; the Cultural Ecology of Dwellings and Settlements* will be held October 8-11, 1992, at the Union International des Chemins de Fer in Paris, France. The conference will focus on the dialectic tension and the potential balance between development and tradition, given the ongoing effects of modernisation. The final schedule includes 125 papers from scholars representing 40 countries. Keynote speakers include Oleg Grabar, Anthony King, Paul Oliver, Zmarak Shalizi, Wolf Tochtermann, and Gerard Toffin. For registration information please contact: IASTE '92 Conference, Center for Environmental Design Research, 390 Wurster Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720, USA. Tel: (510) 547-7814, Fax: (510) 643-5571.

Interested scholars who wish to register for the conference should send a request with name, affiliation and mailing address. Payment should be in US Dollars in the form of cheque, money order or international bank draft made payable to "Regents of University of California". Registration fees of \$275 include reception, conference abstracts, programme materials and entry to all plenary and theme sessions. The conference will be held at the Union International des Chemins de Fer, Paris.



# Articles

## The Replanning of the Destroyed Villages of Eastern Macedonia after World War I: The influence of the Garden City tradition on an emergency programme

Kiki Kafkoulas, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

Soon after the end of World War I the Greek government launched an ambitious programme for the reconstruction of the destroyed villages of Eastern Macedonia. The scheme meant not only to tackle the devastation caused by military actions, but also to introduce agrarian reform, to influence the structure of the rural network in Eastern Macedonia and finally to establish model settlements in the place of the old destroyed ones. It was a remarkable piece of comprehensive and positive planning, which remained unsuccessful for reasons which lay outside the programme itself.

### The background

The programme for the reconstruction of the towns and villages of Eastern Macedonia was brought into existence by a variety of facts, which gave rise to the necessary actions, or gave the outcome its final shape:

First of all, there was an urgent need to house the population that was made destitute by the war. From 1916, when the Bulgarians occupied Eastern Macedonia, till the autumn of 1918, when the war was over, 170 settlements were completely destroyed and another 67 partly destroyed.<sup>1</sup> They lay along the Strymon valley and the Bulgarian and Yugoslavian borders. The two enemy forces had been ranged there, and the most decisive battles of

the war took place along this front. In an area containing 165,000 inhabitants 51,000 people were thus made homeless, whereas 43,000 more faced serious problems. To these should be added a number of refugees who had not yet been included in resettlement schemes.<sup>2</sup> Most of them were looking for a place to settle in Macedonia, which was fertile and more sparsely populated than southern Greece. Obviously, the permanent restoration of rural workmen to the land, and the establishment of new centres of agrarian activities seemed of utmost importance. That did not look feasible though, without the introduction of some measures of land reform, since the vast majority of the land had hitherto belonged to big land owners - Greeks or Turks (we should remember that Macedonia was under Ottoman rule until 1912).

Secondly, right on the eve of World War I Greece had entered an era of reform. In 1914, and again after its reinstatement in 1917, the Liberal Party had taken serious steps towards the rationalisation of civilian life and particularly of urban affairs. The formation of new administrative bodies, responsible for town and country planning, the organisation of technical schools and the formulation of new procedures for controlling urban growth were successfully tried. Among others, the Ministry of Communications, responsible for all town planning activities, was set up in 1914, and the School of Architecture, Topography etc. in 1917. The formation of farmers' co-operatives was facilitated in 1914, whereas the first agrarian law, a comprehensive piece of legislation on land reform, was enacted by the end of 1917.<sup>3</sup>

The happiest turn of events was the appointment of the sociologist Alexandros Papanastasiou as Minister of Communications in 1917. Papanastasiou (1879-1936) had for a long time been familiar with the planning practices of Western countries. He was a discerning observer of the changes in the management of social housing, and an active supporter of the co-operative movement. As a student in Berlin from 1902 to 1905, he was a disciple of *Katheder Sozialisten* and happened to have two members of the *Verein für Socialpolitik* (namely Gustav Smoller and Adolf Wagner) among his professors.<sup>4</sup> He had read about Charles Gide and the French co-operative movement. But most of all he was influenced by Fabian thought and activities. During his stay in England from 1906 to 1907 he kept abreast of debates on political, social and economic issues. He read B Webb's *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain* and visited co-operative farmers' societies.<sup>5</sup> His ardent interest in co-operativism and agricultural reform made him the most articulate advocate of land reform in

Greece, which started in 1917 and led to the creation of small sized agricultural homesteads.

Thirdly, the incidental presence of a number of foreign architects and civil engineers in the Army of the East, which had been stationed in Macedonia since 1915 left its mark on the overall planning and the outcome of the reconstruction programme. Far more decisive was the involvement of John William Mawson (the son of Thomas Hayton Mawson, the well known British town planner and landscape architect), who had been in Greece since the spring of 1918, as an adviser of the Greek government on Housing and Town Planning. John W Mawson had conducted an investigation into the social and economic conditions of the agricultural communities in Thessaly and the implementation of the agrarian law.<sup>6</sup> By early 1919 he was appointed head of the team for the replanning of the destroyed villages. In view of the magnitude of the work, his father T H Mawson was recruiting in England an army of experts.<sup>7</sup>

### Government action

For the Greek government directed resettlement on a large scale had to begin immediately. Greek administration was not unfamiliar with the planning of new settlements since the modern state was created in 1828. The installation of towns and villages in the previous century facilitated migration from the highlands to the plains and coasts or gave shelter to people from as yet unliberated parts of Greece.<sup>8</sup> However, it was of a more individual character, and it did not involve state intervention in the sense that it was known later. People willing to settle in new places were granted consent and free land to build their houses, provided they would do so within a limited period

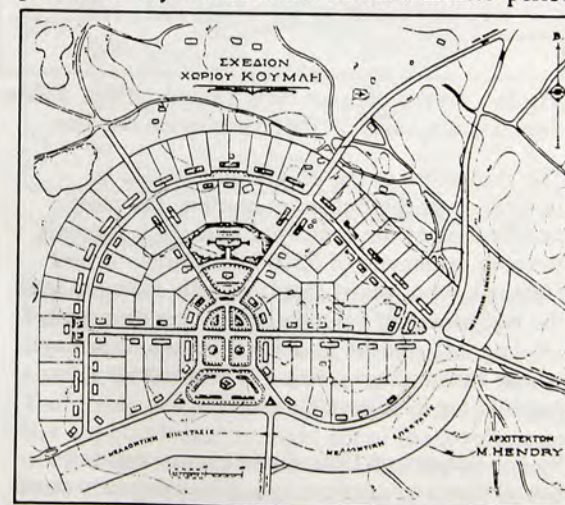


Fig 1: Hendry's plan for Koumli village, in upper Strymon basin.

of time on what was usually a rudimentary street plan drawn up by the Ministry (of the Interior at that time). By the beginning of this century, the massive population shifts, that were described earlier, placed the problem in an entirely different context. From 1914 onwards the government's initiatives<sup>9</sup> aimed to create communities of peasant proprietors and thus cope with numerous related problems, like the prospect of accelerating migration from the country to towns, the rural depopulation, and the recovery of farming in general.<sup>10</sup>

Sufficient powers for compulsory land acquisition and subsequent wholesale division and allocation to Greek settlers from abroad were provided by Law 350/1914. The responsibility for the design of the refugee settlements was placed into the hands of the newly formed Ministry of Communications by a subsequent measure; the Ministry would also see to their construction by individual contractors. Whether any housing was actually built under that law is unknown, since the years to come were among the most turbulent ones in Greek history.

As may have been noticed, Greek planning was a very centralised business. The creation of a national administrative mechanism can be traced back to the formation of the modern Greek state in the previous century. The setting up of the Ministry of Communications in 1914 was based on the French model of public administration, which seemed to suit Greek conditions better. However, the existing form of organisation contained serious shortcomings for the case in progress. A more flexible procedure was needed, which could bypass the bureaucracy of the Ministry and also cope with an emergency situation. Papanastasiou opted for the same framework that he successfully introduced into the replanning of Salonica, when the old central quarters were burnt out in 1917: he decided

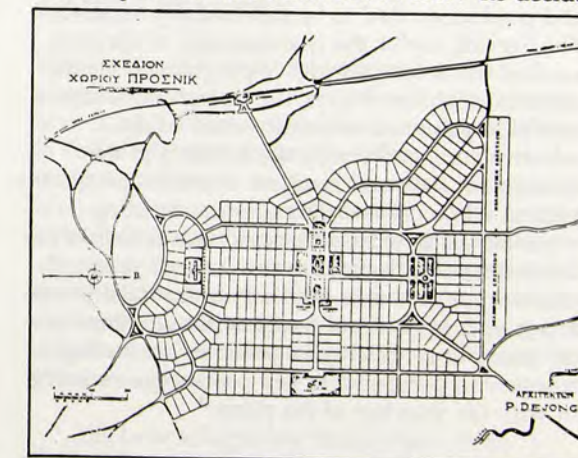


Fig 2: Dejong's plan for Prosnik village, near Koumli.



to form a committee of foreign experts closely attached to him, with experience on the various aspects of town planning and site layout. Administrative disfunctioning would be eased by substantial delegation of powers to local authorities. The Governorship of Eastern Macedonia, a position formed to facilitate the reinstatement of the Greek authorities in newly annexed Macedonia, was empowered to approve the plans and allocate funds. That was made feasible by Laws 1728/1919 and 1746/1919, which dealt thoroughly with all aspects relating to the reconstruction of Macedonian towns and villages. What was then left was to find the appropriate people to start afresh on a new and inventive programme. That the people in need should be housed in accordance with the newest knowledge about the planning of new communities was clearly stated to J W Mawson, who felt quite safe to proceed to what was meant to be an exemplary scheme.<sup>11</sup>

### The programme

By February 1919, J W Mawson was appointed head of the Service for the Reconstruction of 130-150 small towns and villages in Eastern Macedonia, or for the building of approximately 12,000 houses.<sup>12</sup> The size of the Service was considerable: according to the decree that approved its formation<sup>13</sup>, 511 people were to be employed, ranging from architects and civil engineers to builders and workers. The laying out of the new street plans and house plans was left mainly in the hands of foreign architects.

While the surveyors of the Ministry of Agriculture were tracking down and recording land suitable for acquisition and division, Papanastasiou was in touch with Greek firms for the draining of marshlands along the Strymon river, as sanitation and production had to be substantially improved. The Service, under the chairmanship of Mawson, worked out a comprehensive programme for the selection of the new sites, the laying out of streets and thoroughfares, the construction of the infrastructure, and finally the building of the cottages for the rural families. A crucial part of the scheme was to secure the necessary building materials, as there was 'not sufficient timber left in the destroyed villages to repair a single house'.<sup>14</sup> Mawson suggested to obtain them from the British Army, and worked out a system for distributing the materials as quickly as possible, by sending experienced personnel to key posts, before starting on with the drawing of the plans.<sup>15</sup>

Most of the street plans which have survived up to the present day are signed by foreign architects<sup>16</sup>:

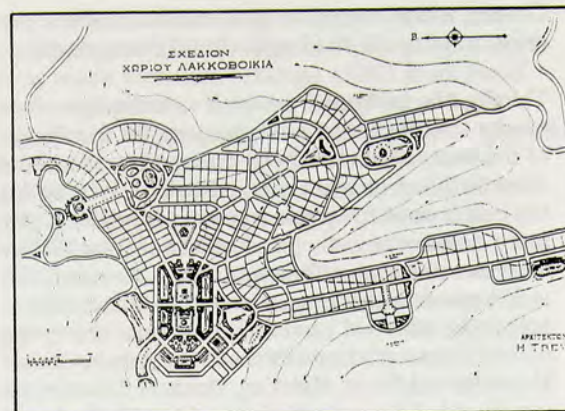


Fig 3: Trew's plan for Lakkovikia village, near Strymon estuary.

the Englishman Harold Fletcher Trew, the Scot Morrison Hendry, and also A Harisson and the Frenchman or Belgian P Deyong or Dejong. From the identification of the villages on maps, it is clear that the architects dealt with the settlements located in areas familiar to them through former military operations. Greek high-ranking civic officials were responsible for the supervision of major public works.<sup>17</sup>

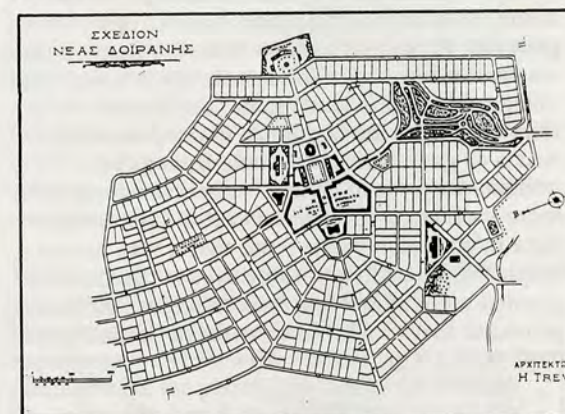


Fig 4: Trew's plan for New Doiran village, Kilis, near Doiran Lake, on the Yugoslavian borders.

The showpiece of the programme would be Jumaya, near the Bulgarian borders, the most outstanding of the destroyed villages, a formerly thriving settlement of 5,500 inhabitants. Ernest Hebrard, who was at that time fully engaged with the replanning of Salonika, in co-operation with P Deyong laid out the plan for the town of Jumaya, whose resurrection seemed to be a matter of prestige for the Greek Government.

By the autumn of 1920, the work was nearing completion and construction of housing was about to begin. According to the available evidence<sup>18</sup>, the land had been surveyed and recorded on cadastral

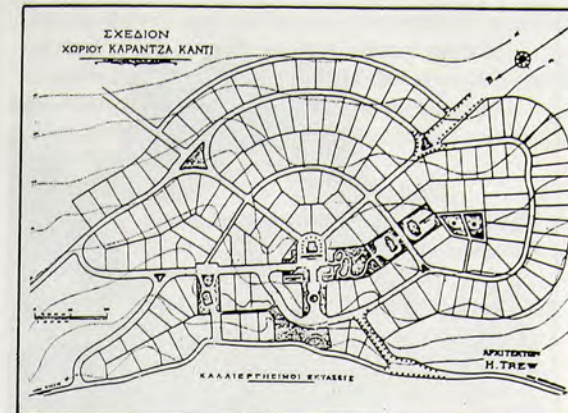


Fig 5: Trew's plan for Karadza Kadi village, in Kilis plain.

maps, the new sites had been designated, street plans (of an unknown number) and house plans had been produced, roads were laid and the individual plots of land had been marked out. It seems that there was no time (or money) for the construction of a proper road system, or water supply to each house, or the public buildings. Yet, it was clear that preparation of the layout plans received the proper attention and that substantial houses would be erected for the convenience of rural families.

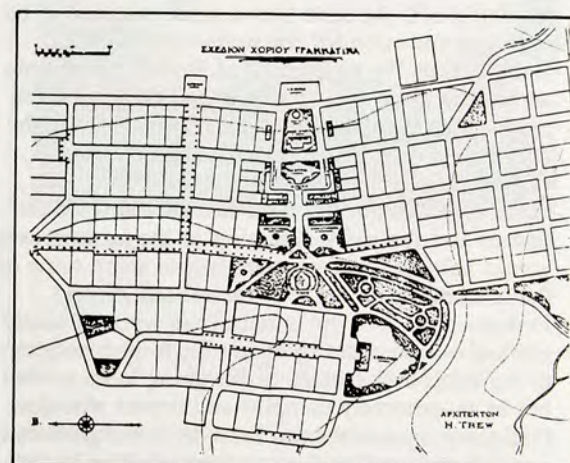


Fig 6: Trew's plan for Grammatina village, in Kilis plain.

However, by that time large groups of refugees from the Caucasus, fleeing from the Russian Revolution and its aftermath, had swollen the number of the people who had to be taken care of. That made the carefully elaborated plans gradually less applicable and brought about the involvement of other governmental bodies. Another adverse factor was the increasing shortage of funds as the disastrous Asia Minor campaign went on. But the blow which finished the Reconstruction Service off

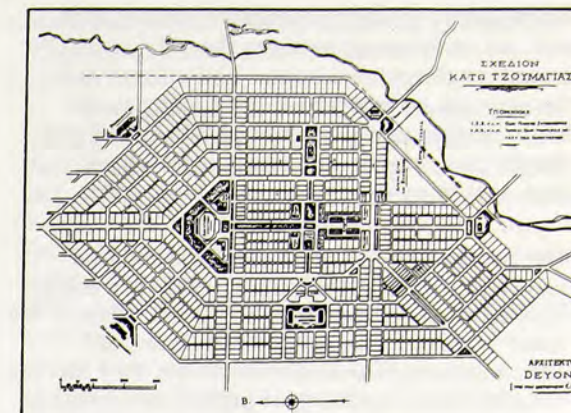


Fig 7: The plan for Jumaya, in upper Strymon basin, signed by Deyong and Hebrard.

was the unexpected fall of the Liberals in December 1920 and the election of the People's Party (conservative). At that point the project got stuck between unforeseeable elements of Greek political life: the rivalry between liberal and non-liberal forces resulted in the rejection of the work of the Service, which became inactive and fell into disrepute.<sup>19</sup> Mawson left, even earlier perhaps, and so did the rest of the above mentioned foreign architects and engineers. The local staff was eventually incorporated into the services for the rehabilitation of the refugees (who later on, i.e. in 1922-1923 came in enormous numbers from Asia Minor). Not one of the plans was implemented, the exception being the one made by Hebrard - Deyong for Jumaya, where a substantial amount of good quality refugee housing was eventually built. This, however, happened later, in the early thirties, when the Liberals came back to office, for the last time before World War II.

### The programme: comprehensiveness and detail of treatment

What we regard as the key element of the programme, namely the overall will to produce new, model settlements, allowed for new qualities in Greek planning to emerge. The comprehensiveness of the programme has already been pointed out. The construction of the housing, as the last act of a carefully elaborated plan was quite new to the Greek planning. Also new, and most striking, was the view that certain qualities in site layout were perceived as an integral part of the social objectives of the scheme. To quote John W Mawson again:

'...the new villages and houses have to be planned and built according to the most modern and enlightened conception of



convenience, efficiency, sanitation and comfort and...no compromise between the old insanitary dilapidated houses and villages and the new can be entertained for a moment...if I lent myself to anything short of this I feel that I should be betraying...the very people I have been sent to serve.'

The street plans that were produced reflect a knowledge of layout standards, making a sharp contrast with the contemporary Greek plans of the time. Although connections with European planning thought were firmly rooted, they had not resulted in any updating of professional training. Drawing up plans 'on garden city lines' was not included in the curriculum of the newly founded School of Architecture. The few road plans that survive<sup>20</sup> remind us of the plans for garden suburbs on several design aspects:

- The streets abandon the rigidity of the grid iron, following the topographical features of the sites. Although applied rather immaturely in a number of cases, this is perhaps the most striking element, the one which distinguishes the plans among contemporary ones. Straight lines pressed at the expense of any beautiful natural features was a universal phenomenon in Greek town design, which has persisted till today.
- The road network adopts different road widths, to take into account the nature of the traffic (most were of course carriage drives).
- There is ample provision of public spaces around the centre, providing vistas for the carefully arranged public buildings.
- Finally, the most elaborate plans group together properties in such a way that they form units of interesting shape (particularly the ones signed by Trew, where one can also notice the careful widening of streets at certain points).

We know very little about the people that worked in the programme<sup>21</sup> apart from Hebrard and Mawson. It seems that at least one of them, H F Trew (1888-1968) from Churcham in Gloucestershire, had previously designed plans for garden villages in France (in Sermaize-les-Bains, Parguy, and Marne). The head of the team, John William Mawson (1886-1966) was, of course, fairly well known as a member of a leading firm in landscape and civic design. The plans that have survived (though not signed by him) undoubtedly vary in the style of design, a result of differences in education and individual preferences among the members of the team. Yet, there is an overall unifying element: the careful consideration of the central areas, which are designed and landscaped with the greatest care, with sites reserved for

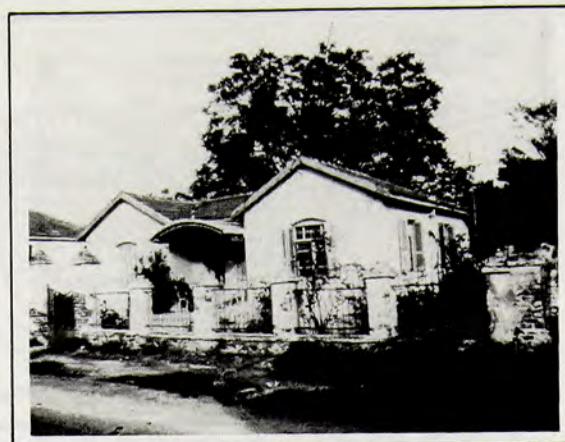


Fig 8: The model housing in Jumaya (today Heraklia).

school, church, town hall, shops and public gardens, even if they are going to serve minor settlements.

### Overall assessment

Through that programme, which reminds us, in terms of the state's involvement, of the 'Homes for Heroes' schemes<sup>22</sup>, Al Papanastasiou applied the radical ideas of a paternal state socialism. To recall the Fabians, if the state was a social machine to be captured and used for the promotion of social welfare, then the replanning of Eastern Macedonia was a first class opportunity to put these views to work. Like a huge philanthropic organisation, the Greek state would create ideal settlements in agricultural settings, radically restructuring the entire area. In the last stage it would allocate the houses and the individual plots to the farmers, who would have to form co-operatives to share some of the construction costs.<sup>23</sup> A centralised utopia? Perhaps, yes. Yet, the practicalities were all neatly worked out, in order to secure the implementation of the programme, since it was going to be carried out in an extremely complex and urgent situation. Had the programme been brought to completion, it would have acquired a prominent position in the history of Greek town planning, and in fact it has been referred to as such ever since. However, its structuring turned out to be a weak point once things got really tough. The fact that all that effort remained without further initiatives of the same character, that it did not stimulate creative imitation, and eventually was considered to be no more than a single isolated episode in Greek planning, can be explained if we take into consideration the following:

Firstly the reforming elements of the project were not related to previous attempts at social housing.

Greece lacked applications of co-operative or other reforming ideas. Even if and when a public concern emerged, it usually did not spread beyond the columns of technical journals of the capital. Macedonia, a former Ottoman province, was too far away from all that.

Moreover, taking into consideration the lack of pressure groups of any size, reform ideals and social housing objectives would then have to be imposed by the state, and the Liberals were quite keen on that. Yet, leaving aside the fact that the fall of the Liberals put an end to the programme, the Service of Reconstruction, as it functioned, remained an alien body within the Greek civic officialdom. There was very little handed down to the Ministry of Communications, which was the most likely to establish higher planning standards. The attempt at the reconstruction of Eastern Macedonia did not create a precedent in Greek town planning, in terms of organisation and outcome.

From an architect's standpoint, the implementation of the programme at that period would have



Fig 9: One of the houses in Jumaya.

produced new decent rural settlements 'to equal, if not surpass, the best agricultural housing in England and France', where beauty in design and layout would be matched by the practical aspirations of sanitation, convenience and comfort. Harsh political circumstances deprived Greek planning of a significant contribution, particularly during the inter-war time, a period of innovations, and also a formative period of town planning.

### References and Notes

1. See the reports sent to the Governorship of Macedonia by the Greek authorities of Eastern Macedonia in late 1918: *The Governorship of*

*Macedonia Records*, File 95, Historical Archive of Macedonia, Thessaloniki (in Greek).

2. Greeks from areas outside the mainland were moving into Greece, seeking safer places to live than in their old homelands. They were: a. 5,000 and 10,000 people from the Greek cities of southern Bulgaria and Yugoslavia respectively, after the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913; b. 25,000 from Russia, at the same time; c. 100,000 from Asia Minor in 1914. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, 60,000 more came from Russia (Caucasus), who settled in Greece from the beginning of 1920 onwards. Pallis Al 1928, 'The Refugee Question', *Great Greek Encyclopaedia*, Vol Hellas (in Greek).

3. Law 1072/1917, Government's Gazette No 305/1917

4. Psalidopoulos M 1988, 'Alexandros Papanastasiou as an economist', in *Venizelism and State Modernisation*, ed. by G Mavrogordatos and C Hajiosif, Heraklio, University of Crete, p. 329-344 (in Greek).

5. Letters of recommendation to the Newfoudpool Co-operative Allotments Society and to Ayleston Co-operative Society are kept in Al Papanastasiou Record Office, in his birth place Levidi, Peloponnese. See Kyrtis A A 1990, 'A Papanastasiou and the Theories of Social Reform in the Beginning of the Century', in *Alexandros Papanastasiou, his social, economic and political views*, Athens, Pandios School of Social and Economic Studies (in Greek).

6. In the beginning of 1918 J W Mawson came to Greece to assist his father who had been working on the plans of Salonica and Athens. T H Mawson left soon after, while his son was commissioned with the investigation. See T H Mawson 1927, *The Life and Work of an English Landscape Architect*, p 289, and J W Mawson 1919 'Address to the Central Council for the installation of Refugees in destroyed areas of Macedonia', File *Reconstruction of E Macedonia and Thrace*, Al Papanastasiou Record Office, Levidi, Peloponnese.

7. See T H Mawson's letter to Al Papanastasiou from Lancaster on 24 June 1919 '...we had between four and five hundred applications nearly all from English officers of good standing and good professional degrees'. File *Reconstruction of E Macedonia and Thrace*, op cit.

8. See, D Katifori-Themeli 1985, 'The concern of Greeks from Abroad to Found Cities', in *Neohellenic City: Ottoman Heritage and Greek State*, Athens, Society for the Study of Modern Hellenism (in



Greek), S Loucatos 1978, 'The rebuilding of Ruined Towns in Liberated Greece under Capodistrias', *Capodistrias' Year: 200 years since his Birth*, Athens, Ministry of Education (in Greek), and V Hastaoglou, K Kafkoulas, N Papamihos, 1990, *City plans in 19th Greece*, Thessaloniki, Scientific Annual of the School of Architecture, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Vol 1B, supplement no 15, p 89-98 (in Greek).

9. They materialised in Laws 350/1914, 351/1914, 1728/1919 and 1946/1919 (the last two originated by Papanastasiou), which dealt with the establishment of refugees or the re-establishment of local people to their homes, and the various problems related to the fact that Macedonia was again subjected to Greek law after over four centuries of Turkish occupation. (The laws appear in Government's Gazettes no 318/1914, 322/1914, 31/1919 and 39/1919 respectively).

10. Greek radicals shared the view that land misuse and undercultivation would be tackled only by the abolition of big land ownership, something which was going to be achieved on a large scale later, by the gradual implementation of the above mentioned agrarian Law 1072/1917.

11. J W Mawson refers to the instructions of the Minister of Communications: '...the Minister has repeatedly told me that his ambition is to create something in Macedonia to which the whole world will look with admiration'. 'Address to the Central Council...etc.', 1919, op cit.

12. Copy of order signed later by Minister of Communications, in File *Reconstruction of E Macedonia and Thrace*, op cit. Also the local papers of the time provide with enough information about the setting up of the Service of Reconstruction, the number of villages to be replanned and the frequent visits of the Minister to the Eastern Macedonia (*Macedonia*, *Ephimeris ton Valkanion - Newspaper of the Balkans*, and *L'Opinion*, issues of early 1919). A detailed account of the intervention is presented in K Kafkoulas 1990, *The Garden City Idea in Greek Inter-war Planning*, PhD dissertation, Thessaloniki, Scientific Annual of the School of Architecture, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, vol 1B, supplement no 4, pp 79-144 (in Greek).

13. Government's Gazette no 106/1919.

14. All J W Mawson's quotations are taken from the 'Address to the Central Council...etc.' 1919, op cit.

15. 'The whole system is really based upon a military system of lines of communication and

zones, indeed, the plan is not unlike that actually in operation under the Allies during the campaign' 'Address to the Central Council...etc.' 1919, op cit.

16. In 4 December 1919 Papanastasiou reported to the Greek Parliament that in the Service for the Reconstruction of Eastern Macedonia 3 Greek engineers and 26 Englishmen were employed. At least 15 of them had been selected in England: they arrived in Salonica in 3/16 September 1919 (local paper *Nea Alitheia*, 3 Sept 1919).

17. The most outstanding having been the civil engineer An Dimitracopoulos, who later published a concise account of the project. A few Greek architects and engineers also cooperated: I Makris and S Dolgopolof, M Delladetsimas and E Gravaris (though some of them at a later stage).

18. See about the progress of the works, An Dimitracopoulos 1937, 'Town Plans', in *Technical Annual*, Vol 1, no 2, chapter, Athens, Technical Chamber of Greece (in Greek). Dimitracopoulos must also be the author of the *Extract of Town Plans*, mentioned below.

19. According to T H Mawson, already in Spring 1920, the Service had faced several problems of disfunctioning (1927, op cit, p 326). But from the beginning of 1921 onwards it seems that the Service was simply paralysed: long articles in *Ephimeris ton Valkanion* severely criticised the fact that it was made completely inefficient (issues of 10.1.1921, 24, 25.6.1921 and 21, 22.9.1921).

20. Most of them were recorded in the *Extract of Town Plans*, published in 1930 in Athens, by the Ministry of Communications, Section of Public Works, Department of Town Plans (in Greek), from which the plans published in the paper. A few additional ones were found in the Record Office of the Ministry of the Environment and also in the Planning Department of the town of Kavala.

21. For the identification of the architects and engineers there were consulted: local record offices and RIBA biographical files, the *Archives d'Ecole nationale superieur des Beaux-Arts* in Paris and the *Archives d'architecture modern* in Brussels. See also, *Who's who in Architecture*, 1926, and J W Mawson's obituary in *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* no 7, 1966.

22. Papanastasiou had already been aware of T H Mawson's proposals about 'Industrial Villages for Disabled Soldiers', when Mawson came to Athens in late 1917. During his stay Mawson presented his ideas to Athenian public, after an invitation by the *Sociological Society*, which had been founded by

Papanastasiou and others in 1909. Mawson attributes the invitation to Papanastasiou (1927, op cit, p 276).

23. According to the above mentioned Law 1728/1919 'On the construction of the cities, towns and villages of Macedonia'.

## Saving Eden: The Merging of Ecology and Planning in Florida

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### Introduction

Florida enjoys the only subtropical climate in the continental United States. Its burgeoning population and robust tourist economy attest to the Sunshine State's special allure. Unfortunately, all is not well. The state's rapidly expanding urban landscape exposes both Florida's glory and shame. Maybe pioneer city planner John Nolen said it best in 1926, after viewing the state's development: "Almost everything that is good and bad is to be seen there in the flesh."<sup>1</sup> Wetlands have been drained, mangroves cleared, sand dunes levelled, bays filled and orange groves platted for a maze of tourist attractions, billboards, strip shopping centres, crowded roads, oversized beachfront condominiums, convenience shops, and an endless series of characterless subdivisions. At the same time, the state possess some of the most beautiful and highest priced real estate in the world. In addition, innovative new towns like Miami Lakes and Seaside, and established communities, such as Winter Park and Coconut Grove, detail Florida's beauty and potential. Florida remains a paradise under siege; but there is just enough hope to imagine, "what if..."

### St Petersburg: A Microcosm of Florida

St. Petersburg and its surrounding communities on the Pinellas peninsula perhaps best embody Florida's fortunes. Located between the Gulf of Mexico and Tampa Bay, the Pinellas peninsula is a microcosm of the state. Balmy temperatures, white-sand beaches, and waterfront living serve as a year round lure to tourists and a haven for retirees. Since 1940, Pinellas County's population has grown by over 900% from 91,852 to 850,000. With only 280 square miles, Pinellas is Florida's most densely populated county. As population continues to funnel into the Sunbelt, this small peninsula offers the rest of the nation a glimpse of the future. With its large elderly population, rapid growth, and



fragile environment, St. Petersburg and her sister communities are dealing with the problems that will confront the rest of the state and nation. St. Petersburg is the bellweather city for the nation's "premier bellweather state"<sup>2</sup>, according to John Naisbitt, author of the bestseller *Megatrends*.

In April 1990 the Department of Community Affairs (DCA), Florida's lead planning agency, awarded St. Petersburg for designing the state's best comprehensive plan. Not only did this work meet the criteria established by the 1985 Growth Management Act, but its plan for wetland preservation excelled because it reflected past successes and future possibilities. Since over half of Florida municipalities have flunked DCA's review, St. Petersburg urban vision is a valuable commodity in a state holding the nation's most innovative and complex planning agenda.<sup>3</sup>

Since the early 1920s, St. Petersburg has been Florida's lead city in the experiment of city planning. In 1921, it formed Florida's first city planning commission and hired John Nolen. Nolen envisioned a new style of community. It would not be a contrived environment to amuse tourists, but a city integrated with the natural landscape, a modern version of Eden. St. Petersburg would be a community dedicated to preserving, Nolen wrote, "for future generations the glories of today."<sup>4</sup>

Nolen's plan was never adopted and a half century would pass before the city adopted an environmentally based plan that approximated Nolen's vision. Sadly, it was only after the region's delicate ecosystem was strained to the point of collapse that officials moved to protect these priceless natural assets. This article explores Florida's awakening to ecological responsibility.

### Boca Ciega Bay and Environmental Awareness

Between 1950 and 1964 over 20 percent of Boca Ciega Bay (Figure 1) a coastal lagoon lying between St. Petersburg and the outlying barrier islands, was filled in to provide waterfront housing. These actions sparked a political controversy that was not resolved until the early 1970s. During this period, elected officials, courts and agencies, from the local to the federal level, were entangled in a confusing mix of legalities and politics as they tried to resolve the demands of both developers and preservationists. This contentious affair was more than just a local political spat. Besides the *Zabel v Tabb* case, which set a national precedent for environmental regulation, the events surrounding

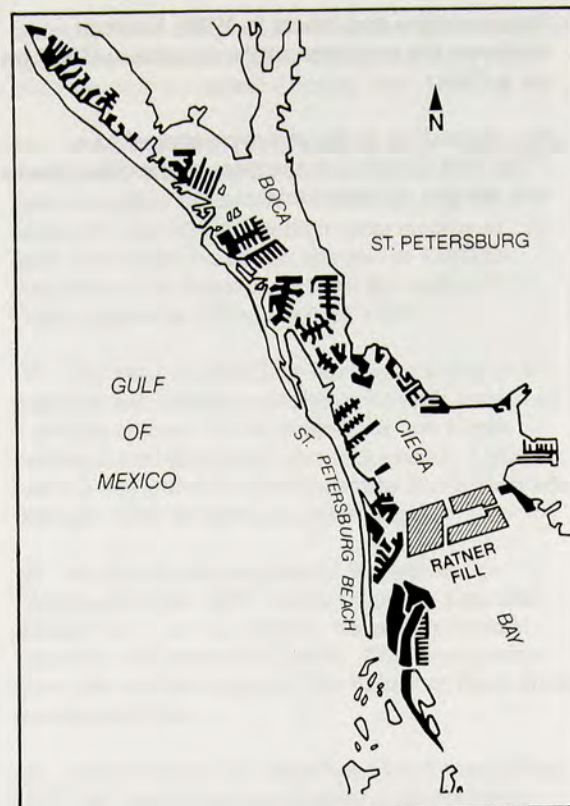


Fig. 1: Infilling of Boca Ciega Bay 1950-64.

the dredge and fill projects in Boca Ciega Bay were reflective of a revolution in American values.

By 1955, the American lifestyle had progressed to a new plateau. The standard of living and educational levels had reached the point where growing numbers of people were not satisfied with just material goods, they also wanted qualitative experiences. With more time for leisure and travel, there was a corresponding interest in enjoying beautiful, natural settings. For some Americans, it had become vitally important that nature's aesthetic wonders be preserved.

In the mid-1950s, a national, grass roots movement arose demanding the preservation of valued natural resources. It was a spontaneous happening, with no central organization or coordinated actions. Yet there was an expressed and common desire. Whether fighting dams in the Southwest, clearcutting in the Northwest, or dredging projects in Florida, local activists were battling for a new set of public priorities. In contrast to earlier generations, which viewed the natural world as an item to efficiently exploit, postwar Americans wanted to safeguard some natural areas from development. It was felt these assets were important elements in maintaining a certain

quality of life and regional identity. A radical notion had slipped into the main-stream of American thought. Across the nation, the traditional commodity logic was being challenged by activists not only imbued with an environmental aesthetic, but espousing the reasoning of a nascent science, ecology.<sup>5</sup>

By 1970, the environmental movement was no longer just concerned with preserving beauty. Ecologists had revealed that unless the integrity of natural systems were maintained the nation's health and its long term survival were in peril. A dramatic shift had taken place. The effort to preserve pristine natural settings, as a means to a more rewarding lifestyle, had evolved into a reform movement trying to preserve the life process itself. In seeking this goal, environmentalists brought into question a common core of American values. Besides testing the validity of unfettered property rights and limited governmental responsibility, they revealed to a wide audience that a society predicated on growth and consumption could be as destructive as it was creative.

The Boca Ciega Bay tragedy details the evolution of the environmental movement between 1955 and 1970. As an urban bay, it was far from pristine even in the mid-1950s. In 1933, the Army Corps of Engineers channelized Boca Ciega Bay to make it part of the Intercoastal Waterway. In dredging the 15 foot deep channel, the Corps left behind spoil islands and a siltation problem. In addition, partially treated sewage and storm water runoff flowed into its waters. The bay was no longer a clear, shallow, sand-bottomed lagoon. Nevertheless, in the mid-1950s, it was relatively healthy and remained one of the state's most prolific marine systems.

Mangroves still dotted its shores, and vast expanses of turtle grass, the bay's most productive natural habitat, remained. The largest concentration of turtle grass, and one of Tampa Bay's most fertile fisheries, laid off shore of Cat's Blank Point in southwest St. Petersburg. It was from this point and south that a thriving fishing industry still cast its nets. In 1953, over four million pounds of fish were taken in Pinellas, more than any other county in Florida. Boca Ciega Bay brought in about 40 percent of this impressive haul. This fertile bay also supported a \$170,000 a year shrimping industry.<sup>6</sup>

In 1953, Albert Furen, a local developer who owned six acres of shoreline property at Cat's Blank Point, purchased the rights from the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund (IIF) to fill 504 acres of bay bottom offshore from his holdings. The fill (Figure 2) was an immense rectangle that would

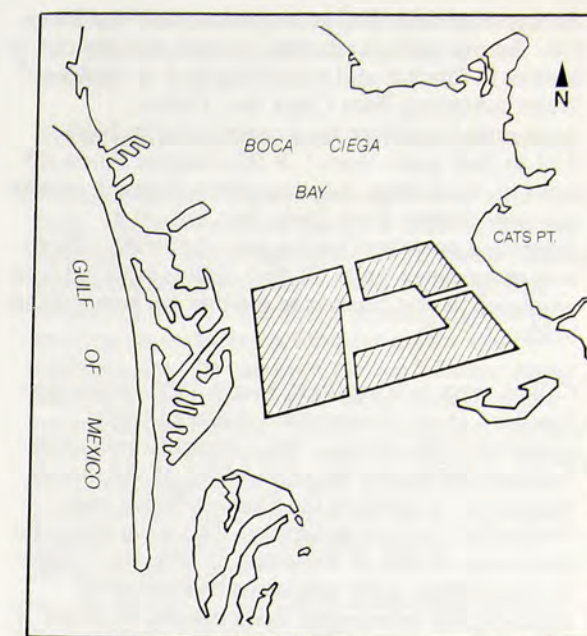


Fig. 2: The Ratner Fill: The most controversial dredge and fill project in Florida's history.

almost block off the bay. This proposal became one of the most controversial dredge and fill projects in Florida's history.

The IIF was established in 1850 after the Federal Government deeded to Florida all unowned public lands "wet and unfit for cultivation." The IIF Board was headed up by the Governor and a body of cabinet members. From its inception, the IIF was the principal revenue generating source in the state. Without any mineral resources Florida had to rely on the sale of its lands to generate wealth and investment. Traditionally, the trustees for the IIF had sold its properties without any restrictions.<sup>7</sup>

### A New Governor

This changed after LeRoy Collins was elected Governor in 1955. In response to a campaign pledge, Collins moved to regulate the indiscriminate dredging and filling of Florida Waters. Perhaps Florida's most progressive governor, Collins is best known for challenging segregation's strangle hold on the Sunshine State.<sup>8</sup> Collins championed the cause of another underdog when he shouldered the mantle of conservation. In 1956 he initiated a new policy requiring those buying land from the IIF to certify before their purchase whether their development would have an adverse effect on the natural environment. In addition, the Governor established the State Land Use and Control Committee (SLUC) to explore methods for regulating the indiscriminate building that was going on in Florida waters.



At the same time, Collins moved against the Furen Fill. As one aide put it, "things were entirely out of control in Pinellas and something had to be done."<sup>9</sup> When surveying Boca Ciega Bay, Collins commented, "pretty soon we are going to have to drill to find water there." If the massive Furen fill went in, the Collins Administration feared it would not only destroy Boca Ciega Bay, but set a disarming precedent for the rest of Florida. Furen was proposing a huge fill that Collins believed was unrelated in any manner to his tiny six acre upland holdings.<sup>10</sup>

Collins went into action in March 1957, when the Pinellas County Commission made an initial approval of the project. The County Commission had been mandated by a special act of the Florida Legislature to serve as the Pinellas Water and Navigation Control Authority. This gave them the final word on fills in Pinellas. At first, the Collins Administration gave serious consideration to regaining the submerged lands deeded to Furen through condemnation. Since this would probably require passing an act through the Legislature, most likely with severe opposition from the Pinellas delegation, other alternatives were put forth. Tampa attorney Thomas Shackleford was retained by Florida's Attorney General Robert Ervin to oppose Furen. If the Pinellas County Commission gave their final approval in April, Shackleford was ordered to request a complete rehearing of the proposal and if this was denied he would file a suit with Circuit Court.<sup>11</sup>

The Collins' initiative received strong support from the St. Petersburg *Times* and its influential editor Nelson Poynter. Poynter was not only a strong supporter of the Democratic governor, but a stern opponent of fill projects. The Furen Fill especially galled Poynter. "Furen and his partisans equate progress with quick profit," one editorial read, "opponents think progress has a much wider and infinitely deeper meaning -- Growth can be benign or cancerous." Poynter advocated a moratorium on all such projects until a study of the relationship between fills and natural resources was completed. This study could then be used as the foundation for a comprehensive plan that could better regulate development. "It is not good business to not plan," he argued, "and spoil our most important assets."

The Furen Fill was especially distressing for citizens interested in good planning and preserving natural resources. "We have been chopping down the trees, filling up the bays, that gleam just never died in the 'Progress Boys' eyes," one resident wrote in 1957, "Why must we destroy these very assets that are the siren call to the people who

chose our environment." St. Petersburg was at a loss because its city plan offered no direction for the incorporation of fills into the overall design of the community. The problem was that city's existing plan lacked a guiding philosophy that, according to the *Times*, was tied to "human motivation." People came to the Pinellas area for its pleasant amenities yet the plan failed to address how these assets were to be protected.<sup>12</sup> Fortunately, the Collins' administration had commissioned a study of the effects of dredge and fill on the ecology of Boca Ciega Bay. Entitled, *The Ecology of Boca Ciega Bay with Special Reference to Dredging and Filling*, this seminal work presented St. Petersburg with the information to construct a comprehensive plan set on an ecological foundation.

### An Ecological Study

This study was the outgrowth of a report on Boca Ciega Bay completed by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service in 1955. The report concluded that the value of Boca Ciega's fish and wildlife resources was a priceless asset. Given "the serious threat of impending dredging projects and the need for a comprehensive plan to insure preservation of these resources," it was recommended that a prompt and intensive study of this problem was warranted. Since the fill projects were under Florida's jurisdiction, this federal agency requested that the state undertake the necessary investigations.<sup>13</sup>

The *Ecology of Boca Ciega Bay* marked the first time in the Florida's history that an ecological study was used to assess the problems of development. Robert Hutton, a former professor of marine biology at the University of Miami oversaw the project, and Ken Woodburn, one of the state's first designated ecologists, did much of the fieldwork. The state had established a marine laboratory in Boca Ciega Bay in the early 1950s, so the staff was familiar with the local environment and a good body of research already existed.

The *Ecology of Boca Ciega Bay* concluded that the Furen Fill would do irreparable damage. Not only would it destroy a large stand of turtle grass, but if this trend in development continued fisherman would be driven out of business. Fills and the dredged out areas where the fill materials were excavated did more than just destroy turtle grass. They also dispersed enough silt to cover the bay bottom and choke out the remaining stands of this vital habitat. Besides serving as a nursery for marine life, the turtle grass' root structure kept the bay bottom solid much like tree roots on land. Without this seagrass the silting problem would

only worsen. Finally, by dredging out so much of the bay bottom, channels and pools were created that were too deep for turtle grass to survive.

Without flourishing stands of turtle grass, Hutton predicated that Boca Ciega's health would go into a steep decline. Besides damaging the bay, Hutton and his colleagues feared the Furen Fill would set a forlorn example for Florida's future. While dredging and filling was the most profitable way for developers to create waterfront real estate, it produced, as Woodburn put it, "permanent pollution." The destructive potential of the Furen project "should be weighed," Hutton concluded, "against expected benefits of the project before dredging is permitted to proceed."<sup>14</sup>

### Proposals for New Legislation

In March, 1957, the findings of this study played an important role in a legislative initiative being developed by the SLUC to control dredge and fill. The proposed Bulkhead Law would restrict the riparian rights of land owners by setting a bulkhead line from the shoreline. Development would then be prohibited in the zone between the coast and the bulkhead line. This act effectively granted all cities and counties the authority to regulate fills through zoning. Whereas owners would be guaranteed access to existing channels there would be no automatic right to fill. In addition, projects outside of the bulkhead line would have to be tested against standards of health, safety and welfare. The *Ecology of Boca Ciega Bay* helped the SLUC define welfare as the conservation of wildlife, prevention of erosion and damage of natural beauty, while health included the prevention of pollution.<sup>15</sup>

A month later, Governor Collins called for the SLUC's proposals be introduced to the State Legislature when it met in May. Included in the SLUC report was a special recommendation advising Collins to recover title to the bottom lands encompassing the Furen Fill either by negotiation or, if necessary, eminent domain. The troubles and controversy in Pinellas were foremost in the Governor's mind when he commented, in a public address, how some of Florida's "magnificent bays have been ruined by indiscriminate dredge and fill." These were among the "most beautiful public lands in America," yet too many local municipalities not only had abused this public trust, he found, but had "actually encouraged their misuse." The definition of the public welfare was shifting: development was no longer an unmitigated good. The State Legislature now faced the formidable challenge of overturning a century

of *laissez-faire* development practices for a model more intuned to the workings of the natural world.<sup>16</sup>

### A New Developer and A Confrontation

Meanwhile, the Furen project had taken on a new look. On March 6, Lee Ratner, a multimillionaire developer from Chicago bought out Furen. Ratner predicted that the project would fill a gap that existed in the St. Petersburg housing market by creating an exclusive setting for northern businessman. "It has been proven," Ratner stated, "buyers of this type tend to bring their business enterprises to Florida." Ratner's attorney, Leonard Bursten, a young lawyer who had received his start as an investigator for Senator Joseph McCarthy, indicated that his client was willing to negotiate with all governmental agencies to improve the design of the project.<sup>17</sup>



Fig. 3: A Dredging Operation Beginning in the Ratner Project.

On April 11, 1957 the Pinellas County Commission approved the Ratner Fill, as the project was now called. After the meeting ended, Shackleford handed a petition to the Commission requesting a rehearing and warned he would take the issue to the circuit court if necessary. Bursten stated the effort to block the project was "just because the people in Tallahassee disliked his client." Had described the IIF Board as a "bunch of bleeding



hearts." Moreover, he doubted the honesty of the biologists who had prepared *The Ecology of Boca Ciega Bay* and testified against the fill. Following in the steps of his former employer, Joe McCarthy, Bursten derided Hutton as a state paid lackey who had "deliberately set out to wreck his client's plans."<sup>18</sup>

On April 23, 1957, Ratner's lawyers and William Windom, St. Petersburg's City Manager, appeared before Governor Collins and the IIF. Windom explained that Ratner would modify his project in exchange for the deeds to some additional bay bottom land. When Windom admitted, that the area covered by fill would be greater than under the existing deed, Collins was incredulous. To begin with, the Governor could hardly believe that

Windom was representing Ratner, especially when the project was still in a flux and "contrary to the interests of the city." Until the protests against Ratner were resolved, Collins was not about to make any concessions. "We have not counted ourselves out of the picture," he scolded Windom, "even if you have." Windom meekly drew away from the Governor, apologizing for giving the impression that the city wanted Collins to change his position.

Gerald Gould, a Ratner lawyer in charge of marketing for the project, followed Windom. He objected that private citizens were put in jeopardy because state agencies were constantly changing their positions. The previous administration had deeded the lands which his client held and Gould claimed Collins' actions were inconsistent with his clients legal standing. In addition, Gould held a letter which tied the executive of Florida to "our legal position and moral position." Collins was bristling, as he responded to Gould. "I don't know who told you what," he tersely stated, "but I do think I have pretty good knowledge of what has been said at this table which is the official place that governs our conduct."

Florida's Chief Executive quickly went on the offensive. He reiterated the faulty basis of the entire Ratner project. It was ludicrous that such a small piece of upland could be tied to such a large fill proposal. What's more, this was only accomplished by what the Governor termed "a considerable stretching of state policy." Collins then asked Gould to produce his letter. By now the counsellor's confident veneer was cracking as he haltingly admitted, "I'm not sure just where that letter is." The Governor cautioned him on the way "you throw these things out." Gould managed to stammer, "I'll try to get that letter." Then he made the mistake of referring to what the Governor had

"told Mr. Ratner." Collins quickly froze the discussions, because he had never spoken with Ratner. As the Governor confirmed that the state would do whatever it could to "prevent the taking of this property," Gould slowly backed away until he slumped down next to Bursten and began murmuring into his brief case.<sup>19</sup>

### A Reversal

Collins' stand signalled the ushering in of a new era in Florida. Development, even a multimillion dollar project funded by northern capital, was no longer an unquestioned good. Turning productive estuaries into wastelands may have added to the tax roles, but such actions also diminished a community's quality of life. As Gould learned, the preservation of valuable natural resources was becoming just as important to the public welfare as the rights of the private citizen to make a profit from a speculative venture.

In June, despite opposition from the entire Pinellas delegation, a scaled down version of the Bulkhead Law was passed.<sup>20</sup> This Act was an important first step in regulating dredge and fill, but it was more inclined to promote good intentions than enforce strict controls. The bill encouraged cities and counties to establish bulkhead lines, but it issued no specific guidelines. The state also failed to provide either the technical or financial assistance needed to properly design bulkhead lines. The act did give the IIF Trustees the right to withdraw lands from sale if the conservation of natural resources were imperiled. Unfortunately there was no language detailing what this meant. This flaw would be apparent when the state gained a rehearing on the Ratner project.<sup>21</sup>

In December, 1957, the Pinellas County Commission opened proceedings on the Ratner proposal.<sup>22</sup> Both the state and Ratner used the expert testimony of marine biologists. James Lackey, a marine biology professor from the University of Florida, testified that the Ratner Fill would "encourage fish and marine life." By building deep channels on each side of the project water would be flushed into the most polluted section of the bay (north of the project). This would improve water circulation and the habitat for marine life in Boca Ciega Bay. John Dequigne, a fish biologist backed up Lackey's testimony and added that fishing opportunities would actually improve. With dredging there would be deeper pools where fish could congregate and new underwater slopes which would attract fish. "The heights of sophistry were reached," according to Ken Woodburn, "when one consultant testified that seagrass beds were of little consequence to fish

populations in Boca Ciega because fish came and went with the tides."<sup>23</sup>

Testimony was not limited to Ratner's consultants. Robert Hutton, author of *The Ecology of Boca Ciega Bay*, held to his premise that the destruction of turtle grass beds would lead to the bay's general decline. Since a large portion of the Bay north of the development would be shovelled out to a depth of 10 feet, even with replantings it would be impossible for turtle grass to be reestablished. In his research, Hutton never found turtle grass below a depth of six and half feet. He reiterated his concern that without this vital specie to hold down the fine sediments of Boca Ciega Bay siltation would increase. This would also accelerate the rate of pollution as anaerobic muck spread across the bay bottom. He doubted fishing could be enhanced by trading channels for grass flats. "In my opinion," he concluded, "the elimination of Cats Point Blank would materially and adversely harm marine life."

Despite Hutton's appeal, in January, 1958 the Pinellas County Commission once again approved Ratner's proposal. It was hardly surprising. Dewey Morris, the lead County Administrator, had warned opponents to the project that the Ratner Fill

would come "hell or high water."<sup>24</sup> There was more bad news for the anti-fill forces. Shackleford challenged the Commission's decision in the local circuit court and lost. Judge S.H. Harris ruled that the IIF original sale to Furen was consistent with sound governing policy and the public policy was irreversible.<sup>25</sup>

### Counter Attack and Failure

Despite pleas from Ratner's lawyers, Collins and the SLUC immediately contested the ruling. Attorney General Ervin argued that the original sale of land was not in the public interest and should never have been made. The Governor was even more adamant in his opposition to the project. "We will resist to the fullest extent we can under the law," he announced, "and under legal obligations we have in the premises."<sup>26</sup>

In February, the State Appellate Court ruled that the permit issued by the County Commission in 1957 was valid. Next, The Collins administration petitioned the State Supreme Court, arguing that the IIF had exceeded the powers granted them by selling lands outside its jurisdictional boundaries. This motion, however, was denied in February



Fig. 4: Water into Land, Boca Ciega Bay.



1960. The Supreme Court maintained that it was not their duty to hear complaints against the actions of a state agency. With no legal standing, the Collins Administration had little choice but to cut a deal. Ratner agreed to a slight modification, decreasing the project's size by 60 acres to 445 acres. A gift of land was granted to Eckerd College and right-of-way was dedicated for the Bayway, a tollway that would link the beaches to south St. Petersburg.<sup>27</sup>

In 1962, the land was dredged and the fate of Boca Ciega Bay was sealed. While this project alone did not ruin the bay, its location and size symbolized society's priorities. The desire for development had degraded this once vital ecosystem almost beyond recognition. By 1986, of Boca Ciega Bay's 20,000 acres 5,000 acres were filled for homesites, while another 10,000 acres were dredged for fill materials. Boca Ciega had been transformed from a shallow bay with vast meadows of turtle grass, to a channelized cesspool. It was Florida's most polluted bay; its waters were discoloured, stagnated and clouded. The bottom was barren and covered with anaerobic muck. Hutton was correct. Dredge and fill projects were hazardous to marine life. Fisherman now only passed through Boca Ciega on their way to work in the Gulf.<sup>28</sup>

After 1968, Boca Ciega Bay's dreadful condition would not worsen. In that year, it was designated as an aquatic preserve by the State Legislature. It was a bipartisan effort, spurred by Dorothy Sample, a Republican attorney from St. Petersburg and head of the Save Our Bays Committee. The Act preserved what remained of the bay from development.<sup>29</sup>

### Federal Initiatives and A Historic Ruling

State initiatives were not the only reason Boca Ciega Bay was being saved from dredge and fill. In 1968, Congress passed the National Estuary Protection Act which encouraged local municipalities to protect the biological integrity of estuarine areas in the city planning process. It also called for a strict review of the ecological impacts of development projects in coastal areas. In 1970, the federal courts first interpreted the act in *Zabel v. Tabb*. National attention was focused on this important test case as the federal appellate court in New Orleans deliberated over whether to allow one more fill in Boca Ciega Bay.<sup>30</sup>

Since 1958, Alfred Zabel had been trying to fill in 12 acres of Boca Ciega Bay so he could expand his trailer park. While much smaller than the Ratner Fill, it received similar attention and opposition from local citizen groups. It was one thing to fill

the bay with exclusive homes, but a trailer park was another matter. The issue went to the Florida Supreme Court twice before the trustees of the IIF reluctantly granted a permit in 1965. Zabel's final step, which seemed merely procedural, was to request a permit from the Army Corps of Engineers.

Something unusual happened. After the Corps' Jacksonville office was flooded with protests, Colonel R.A. Tabb called for a public hearing to be held in St. Petersburg. In November, 1966 over 100 citizens showed up to speak against the project. Outside the Zabel's attorney Thomas Harris, who declared, "It's our land we can do with it what we want," only one other person endorsed Zabel's proposal. The Corps decided to delay on their final decision until consulting with other agencies.

The Corps was most influenced by the biologist at the Marine Research Laboratory in Boca Ciega Bay. Robert Ingel, who had worked with Hutton on the *Ecology of Boca Ciega Bay* now headed the group, and he repeated much of what Hutton had said a decade earlier. He could, however, add that dredging and filling in Boca Ciega Bay had cost the fishing industry \$1.4 million a year.<sup>31</sup>

In March, 1967 for the first in its history the Corps denied a project on environmental grounds. Harris immediately filed suit against the Army and Tabb. A federal judge in Tampa ruled that the permit should be issued because this development would not interfere with navigation, protecting the environment was only an ancillary issue. The government appealed and across the nation developers and environmentalists waited to see if the dictates of the National Estuary Preservation Act would be enforced.

In a stunning ruling, the court ruled that potential environmental damage was a valid reason to turn down the request. The court ruled that while such proposals such as Zabel's were routinely granted a decade earlier, times had changed. Ecology had arrived. Society was "aware of civilization's potential destruction," Judge Brown stated, "from breathing its own polluted air and drinking its own infected water and the immeasurable loss from a silent-spring disturbance of nature's economy." Harris' appeal to the Supreme Court was not heard, leaving a new precedent for Boca Ciega Bay and the nation.<sup>32</sup>

### Postscript

*Zabel v. Tabb* made it clear that ecological considerations were now an important item on the public agenda. In 1972, Ratner's attempt to build a

cluster of highrise condominiums that would house 20,000 people was met with such resistance that the city issued a building moratorium and restructured its entire planning process. Following the Ian McHarg model, St. Petersburg developed a plan based on ecological constraints and carrying capacities. This work was adopted in 1977, and St. Petersburg became a model for other municipalities struggling with the problems of ecological degradation caused by growth.<sup>33</sup>

Although still plagued with problems, Boca Ciega's condition has improved. St. Petersburg's new ecological orientation helped mitigate storm water runoff and a tertiary sewage system led to some gradual improvements. Nevertheless, like any victim of an assault Boca Ciega Bay carries scars that will never heal.<sup>34</sup>

The Bay's battering was so notorious that it was featured in a film, *Estuarine Heritage*, distributed by the U.S. Department of Commerce on what not to do to a bay. While there are other polluted urban bays, none have been so extensively damaged in less than a generation. In 1940, Wilson Hubbard spent five months aboard a 14 foot skiff in Boca Ciega Bay. With only a hook and a line he pulled in over 100 pounds of speckled trout a day. "You could look right through to the bottom and see the fish swimming around." Today he runs charter fishing boats but Boca Ciega Bay is never a destination. The County's top health official also discourages swimming in its waters. "Why swim in it," he asks, "if you don't have to." Shell fishing is banned most of the bay and while the replanting efforts have helped some, they have generally failed. Since Boca Ciega's waters are so poorly flushed, heavy siltation makes reintroducing this vital specie extremely difficult.<sup>35</sup>

The most poignant reminder of Boca Ciega's demise comes from Governor Collins. Still vital and active until his recent death, Florida's senior statesman despaired that more was not done during his administration to protect the state's natural resources. While history will treat him kindly for the initiatives that came through his office, the rape of Boca Ciega Bay still haunts him. When flying over the Tampa Bay region, the Governor noted he was forced to turn away from the coastal lagoon off St. Petersburg. What happened there, he said, was a "monstrous desecration." So terrible, that he could never bring himself to view it.<sup>36</sup>

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## Christopher Tunnard: Outline of a Career

Professor Ralph Warburton,  
University of Miami, Florida, USA

### Educational Foundation

Born in British Columbia, Canada (1910) and educated at its Victoria College, University of British Columbia (1927-1928), Christopher Tunnard received a diploma from the College of the Royal Horticultural Society, Wisley, England in 1930 in horticulture and landscape design. He studied building construction at London's Westminster Technical Institute in 1932. Tall in stature, he became so in scholarship, receiving an honorary M.A. from Yale University in 1962, a D.F.A. from Union College in 1964 and LL.D. from Victoria in 1970. His long record of influence in the academic area and beyond can be substantially related to his awesome genteel intellect, supported by Wheelwright (1943-44, from Harvard University), Guggenheim (1950) and Fulbright (1956, at the Institut d'Urbanism of the University of Paris; 1961 at the Academic of Fine Arts, Istanbul, Turkey), Fellowships, broadly informed and powerfully employed for anticipatory planning.<sup>1</sup>



Christopher Tunnard, 1957.

### The Early British Years

Prior to his appearing in the U.S. in 1939, he had practised site planning in London and at his new garden abode at St. Ann's Hill, Chertsey, Surrey (west of London), and his Modernist landscape design work had been awarded with a silver gilt medal in the 1937 Paris Exposition. During this time he completed an important pace-setting garden design, including sculpture by Henry Moore, for the Bentley, Sussex residence of architect Serge Chermayeff. (Chermayeff, who later also emigrated to the USA and taught for several decades at Harvard and Yale Universities, reportedly cooled toward Tunnard's aesthetics during his Harvard years.)<sup>2</sup> And Tunnard prepared the garden design for "The All Europe House" project design by housing reformer Elizabeth Denby for the Ideal Home Exhibition. These rowhouses featured private gardens opening onto a common garden.<sup>3</sup>

He began writing for *The Architectural Review* in 1937, and assembled some of these serial articles with other material in the impressive *Gardens in the Modern Landscape*. The subject of many reviews, as in the case of most of his books, this first one was hailed as a response to a Modern environment which "...has created the necessity for a revision of the standards of garden design;" "...unquestionably the most important book on landscape planning written by a living author;" "...invaluable..." making "...a plea for close cooperation between town planner, landscape architect, engineer, and architect;" etc. Tunnard then said: "The town planner as coordinator cannot do without the help of the landscape architect, the engineers and the architect, whose functions through the years have become interdependent and interwoven."<sup>4</sup>

Tunnard's early revolt against the "Styles", including Art Nouveau, was described in this first book which described three approaches: functional, empathic and artistic.<sup>5</sup> His description of the latter

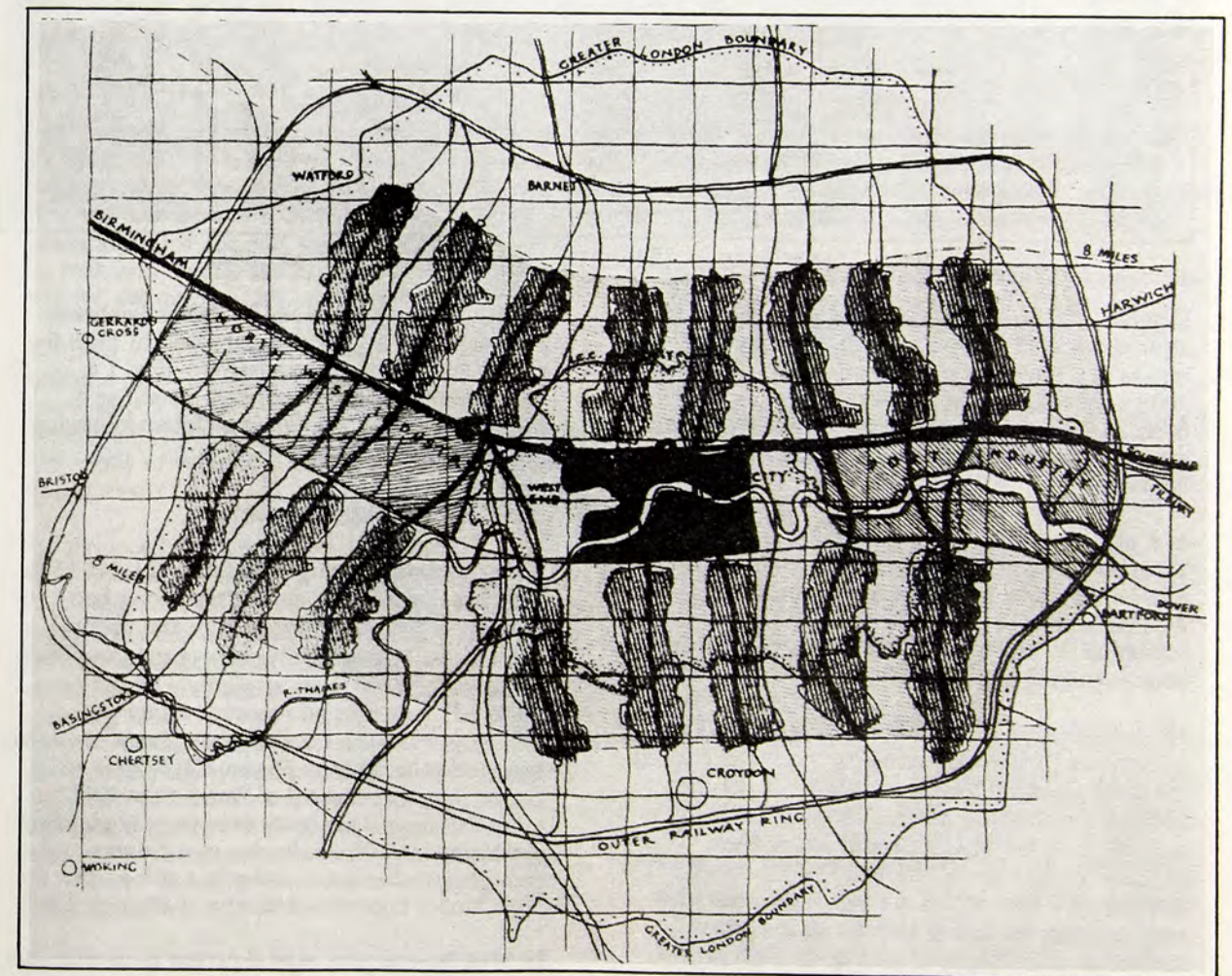


Fig. 1: The MARS Plan for London, 1939. Source: Johnson-Marshall 1966.



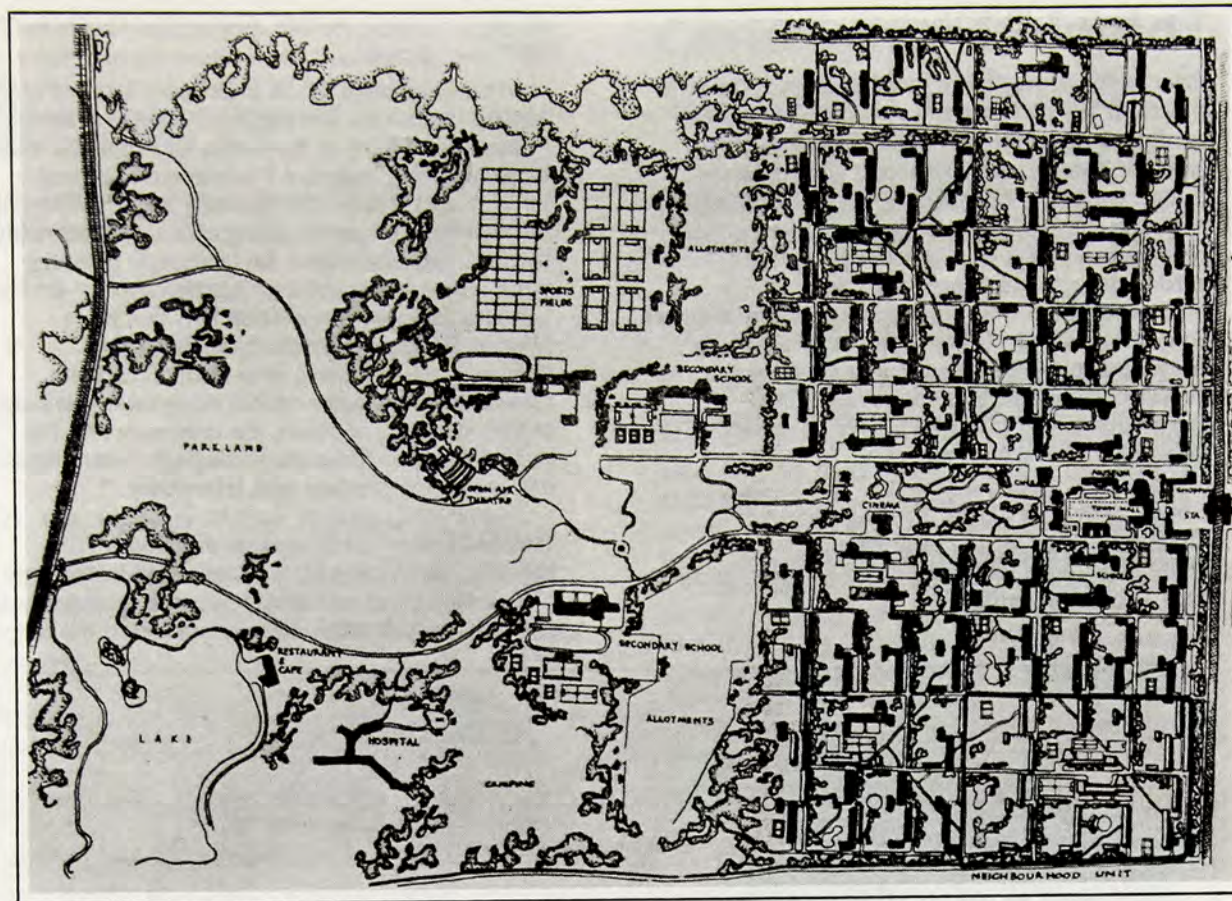


Fig. 2: The MARS Borough Unit, 1939. Source: Johnson-Marshall 1966.

includes: "An appreciation of the interrelation of all true forms of art and of artists themselves results in a broadening of the power of expression and in the cooperation needed..." This search for functional, empathic and artistic approaches to all physical planning continued to be characteristic of his work.

In a pair of socially concerned 1939 papers, Tunnard discussed getting rid of the railings around the parks in London's squares, making them accessible to the public; and covered the history of the city's public drinking fountains from their beginning in 1859.<sup>6</sup>

He was elected honorary secretary of Britain's new Institute of Landscape Architects (1939) and chaired the town planning committee (1938-1939) of the Modern Architecture Research Society (sometimes referred to as the MARS Group) which also included Arthur Korn, Maxwell Fry, F Samuely, G Samuel, W T Brown and A Ling. This committee was no doubt formed to remedy an important theoretical omission evidenced in the 1938 MARS Exhibition in London.<sup>7</sup> Thus Tunnard helped to

produce the important MARS alternative linear plan (initiated in 1937 and published in 1942) for post-war London redevelopment.<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 1 & 2). As late as a 1950s resumé, he listed himself as a member of CIAM, the Congress Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne.

### Yale University Support

Tunnard served during World War II (1942-1943) with the Royal Canadian Engineers, and he lectured in landscape architecture and regional planning at Harvard University - producing lively illustrations for a paper by the then Dean.<sup>9</sup> Tunnard worked as an Associate Editor with *Architectural Forum*, married Lydia Evans of Boston, MA, and came to New Haven, CT, to Yale University's then School of Fine Arts in 1945 following Josep Luis Sert's one-year city planning appointment.<sup>10</sup> The following year he was commissioned to propose a new north garden for New York's important Museum of Modern Art.<sup>11</sup>

In 1948, he was part of an 8-person team who won the \$10,000 3rd Prize (selected from 172 entries) in

the major Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Competition for the planning of the St Louis, MO riverfront site now occupied by Eero Saarinen's winning arch. The Jury commented: "A single great idea carried through with conviction, in the form of a terrace..."<sup>12</sup>

In his presentation at The Ann Arbor Conference on Aesthetic Evaluation, held in 1948 at the University of Michigan, he discussed architects, city planners and landscape architects: "When the three professions can be brought together...there is a good chance to develop a new kind of artist, who in the years to come may yet weld the three media into one perfect instrument for human happiness and enjoyment."<sup>13</sup>

He became a US citizen in 1949 and soon after discussed its national scene in some detail:

"...there are even now far too many people in high places who are unable or unwilling to recognise chaos when they see it. It is up to American planners to convince the people that over-all planning for metropolitan areas is an immediate necessity..."

He recommended adopting the potential of citizen: "...pride and pleasure in civic form...The task is no more difficult than it was in Jefferson's day; in fact, the time is ripe."<sup>14</sup> Note that the metropolitan government for Toronto, Canada was implemented in 1953, and that for the 2,000 sq. mile Dade County (Miami area), FL was established in 1957.

Tunnard guest lectured at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Clemson University, University of California (Berkeley), University of Minnesota, North Carolina State University, University of Winnipeg, University of Rome (Italy) and Harvard University.

He advanced through the academic ranks at Yale from assistant professor to full professor in 1961, (declining an offer from fellow Canadian native Isaacs to switch to Harvard University), retiring in 1975 from the School of Architecture, while directing the graduate degrees/studies in city planning 1950-1960 and 1966-1975, which included a joint certificate programme in transportation. (Introducing city planning studies in 1941, Yale University offered the two-year Master of City Planning degree 1950-1970, and included the highway traffic certificate specialisation 1959-1968. The current Master of Environmental Design degree programme began in 1969.<sup>16</sup>

These efforts built on major comprehensive university resources including strong programmes

in architecture, forestry, history, public health, law and transportation; exemplified by such important figures as architect Louis I. Kahn, ecologist Paul B. Sears and historian Vincent Scully. Visiting lecturers included regional scientist Walter Isard, powerful New York bureaucrat, Robert Moses, eminent Greenbelt planner Elbert Peets, attorney and planning commissioner Norman Williams, Jr., etc. Gaps in easily available teaching materials were filled by modest new programme publications.<sup>17</sup> Class studies were often inspiring to the students.<sup>18</sup> And there was the atmosphere of continuous research for and production of important seminal papers and books, discussed herein. As Professor David Johnson remarked at the 1991 ACSP-AESOP Conference, Tunnard "...planted a lot of seeds."

The distinguished Yale planning programme of modest size prepared some who would later be leading education in this field at other universities (including Hyung C. Chung at the University of Bridgeport, James DeAngelis at the University of Pittsburgh, Howard H. Foster, Jr. at the University of Rhode Island, David Gosling at the University of Sheffield - and now an Eminent Scholar at the University of Cincinnati, David Johnson at the University of Tennessee, Peter Marcuse at Columbia University, Robert Tennenbaum (formerly) at the University of Maryland and Ralph Warburton at the University of Miami).

Some alumni have headed academic programmes in the related fields of architecture, architectural engineering and landscape architecture. Other leaders include some in university campus planning such as Lewis Roscoe at Cornell University; and those whose practice contributions have been noteworthy (Hunter Morrison, Rai Okamoto, etc.) Morton Isler (The Urban Institute) and Boris Pushkarev (Regional Plan Association) have made important research organisation contributions. Tunnard probably influenced through his teaching other Yale students of that period who have become professionally important in planning (such as Richard Bolan, Bernard M. Boyle and Robert Freilich).

Results of a 1981 survey of members of the Yale Planning Alumni Association provided broader information as to Tunnard's academic legacy; over 20% had engaged in university teaching in the United States or Britain. Though local scale government and consulting activities dominated alumni work settings, state and regional positions occupied by responding alumni included: Vice President of the New York Urban Development Corporation, Deputy Attorney General of Maryland, Senior Water Resources Planner of the



Missouri River Basin Commission, Chief of the Transportation Planning Division of the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Executive Director of the Central Naugatuck Valley Regional Planning Association (Connecticut), etc. National positions which had been held then by survey respondents included that of Director of Transportation and Land Use Policy for the Environmental Protection Agency and the author had formerly served as Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. One respondent reported being Assistant Deputy Director of the Organisation of American States.<sup>19</sup>

### Planning Practice and Public Service

The New Haven based consulting practice of Christopher Tunnard, AICP<sup>20</sup>, was occasionally in conjunction with fellow planning professor Walter D. Harris, Jr. (Tunnard and Pushkarev 1963; 154, 437). His United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) consulting work included reports as well as missions to Indonesia, Jamaica and Nepal.<sup>21</sup>

Among his public service activities in his adopted country, Tunnard served on the Connecticut State Site Selection Committee for the United Nations in 1947. He rose to chairman of the energetic urban renewal-oriented New Haven City Plan Commission (1957-1960) and also served for many years as president of the New Haven Preservation Trust.<sup>22</sup> He served as a member of the Regional Planning Agency of South Central Connecticut.<sup>23</sup>

On the national scene, he was an active participant in the 1965 White House Conference on Natural Beauty. In a conference presentation on water and waterfronts, he recommended a five point national programme to address the problems and potentials of the nation's urban waterfronts, including the establishment of "...urban waterfront districts along the lines of the soil conservation districts..." and significant regional planning. Perhaps the 1981 formation of the private Waterfront Center organisation is an indication of stimulated interest.<sup>24</sup>

Having produced important papers on the role of American historic preservation, Tunnard participated with other invited planners - Carl Feiss, Arthur S. Goldman, David K. Hartley and Ralph Warburton - in the National Trust for Historic Preservation's noteworthy 43-person Principles and Guidelines Workshop at Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia in 1967.<sup>25</sup> Later, with landscape architect Lawrence Halprin and others, he served as an initial member of the U.S. Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 1967-1969, helping

guide policy on implementation of the very important Historic Preservation Act of 1966. He was also a member of the USA Committee for the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and was made a Fellow of UK's Royal Society of Arts in 1966.<sup>26</sup>

### Major Contributions to Planning Theory

Tunnard was a prolific theorist and, for example, in an edited collection of 1955 Yale research conference papers<sup>27</sup> was the first to identify and analyse the Atlantic Urban Region, that linear settlement from north of Boston to south of Washington called *megalopolis*<sup>28</sup> and, later BOS-WASH by 'futurist' Herman Kahn - who said this was a "...Basic, Long-Term Multifold Trend...".<sup>29</sup> Tunnard's principal conference paper was entitled *The Landscape of the Big Street* (Fig 3).

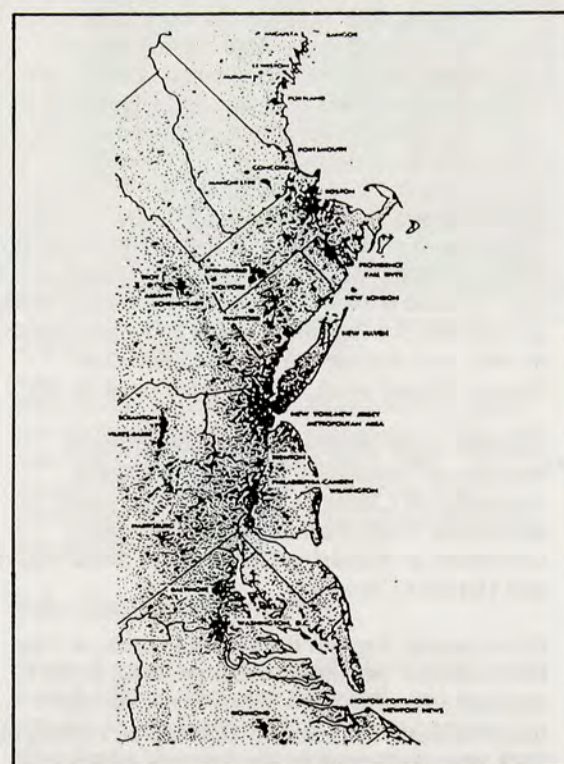


Fig. 3 The Atlantic Urban Region Population, 1950. Source: Tunnard 1956.

In addition to *Gardens in the Modern Landscape*, his major books are *The City of Man*, *American Skyline*, *Man-Made America: Chaos or Control?*, *The Modern American City* and *A World With A View*, the latter published shortly before he passed on in 1979.<sup>30</sup> Tunnard's extensive writings are filled with erudite references to such authorities as Henry James, Schopenhauer, Kerouac, Thomas Wolfe, planner F. J. Osborn, etc., as well as up-to-date detailed technical

information. The references and discussions of some writings in this paper are merely outline examples of his scholarship, intellect and direction and they should encourage further study and reflection.

In *The City of Man*, Tunnard warns against advocating all the fashionable architectural clichés of the day in developing a city.<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 4) In his review of this work, MIT planning professor Frederick J. Adams stated his opposition to what he

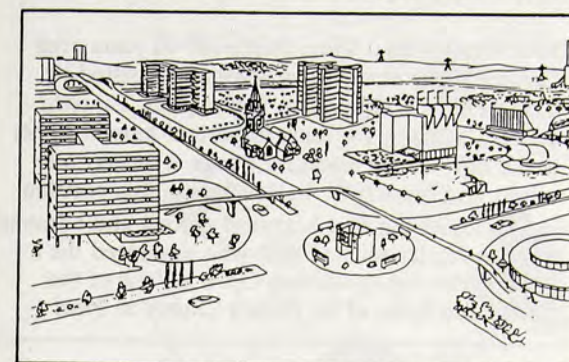


Fig. 4: The Hydra. Source: Tunnard 1953b.

called a "...government-sponsored 'City Beautiful' movement...".<sup>32</sup> Since more recent events, beginning with the 1954 Supreme Court decision supporting community aesthetics, have shown the wisdom of most of Tunnard's caring comments, negative remarks such as those above have to be viewed simply as reactions to the implied criticisms of the limited comprehensiveness of the reviewers own planning approaches. Had this "hydra" warning of Tunnard's been heeded effectively by authorities, there would be little current need for the commitment of The Prince of Wales - 35+ years later - to push an international discussion on appropriate urban planning, design and architecture.<sup>33</sup>

Then, Tunnard wrote two short articles for the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*. In the first, challenging Adams' views, he was outspoken in support of creating "A Government Bureau of Art"; (the above idea partially established in 1965 as the National Endowment for the Arts) and in the second he said: "Good architecture is always friendly...This should be the test of regional building...coupled with large-scale planning..."<sup>34</sup>

Later, he co-authored *The American Skyline* which discussed the history and potentials of the city.<sup>35</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable, longtime critic for *The New York Times*, wrote: "...this is a provocative and contradictory book...Whatever we may think of Tunnard and Reed's reactionary view of

contemporary building, we are deeply in favour of their conscientious effort to...reawaken an awareness of the importance of civic design."<sup>36</sup>

Further developing his regional planning research at Yale, Tunnard then published a description of "Super-problems for Super-regions" (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5: Super-regions, 1950. Source: Tunnard 1958. (The Kansas City Super-Region is mis-illustrated south of its correct location).

Defining fifteen Super-regions of the United States, "...the biggest population dispersal of all time", he proposed 7 propitious planning directions: (1) Conservation of space - land banking; (2) Federal action - supporting a White House Conference on urban regional problems; (3) Helping the Do-It-Yourselfers - through advisory professional help in outlying areas; (4) New regional centres - preserving the best of the past; (5) Start a "Society for the Preservation of Rural America"; (6) Regional planning - following the Toronto example; and (7) "...in too few (planning schools) is the structure of the city-region taught or even understood...There is no discipline which cannot contribute to our knowledge of the new environment, no questioning more important than that which explores its nature and form."<sup>37</sup>

Appointed by the then New York City Mayor Robert Wagner to advise a metropolitan regional council, Tunnard advocated metropolitan government in a discussion which included noted retail planner Victor Gruen: "...that this loosely cooperative body should be given some teeth on the government level in order to carry out some of the reforms...connected with water and air pollution, housing, delinquency and so on..." He suggested that as there are several scales of urban problems, there need to be several related scales of urban governmental units.<sup>38</sup>

In a "Review Article" related to Lewis Mumford's 1961 *The City in History*, Tunnard advocated going beyond the culture of cities to the history of physical planning as expressed in "...general



settlement patterns and the cities themselves..." A third aspect dealing with three-dimensional urban design quality is also proposed.<sup>39</sup>

The very important *Man-Made America: Chaos or Control?* (co-authored by Boris Pushkarev in association with Geoffrey Baker, Dorothy Lefferts Moor, Anthony Penfold, Ann Satterthwaite and Ralph Warburton) was financially supported by the Rockefeller Foundation.<sup>40</sup> In a lengthy review of this synthesis work, planner Robert C. Weinberg said: "...in no other volume that has appeared recently is so much ground covered, and so much of it covered well."<sup>41</sup> It received the U.S. National Book Award (1963) in the category of science, philosophy and religion and has been reprinted several times, the latest in 1981. The Award Committee commented that: "Urban expansion...is discussed with technical mastery and a sense of trend in the broad perspectives of space, time, ethical and aesthetic values" (Fig 6-13).

*The Modern American City*, which includes chapters

by others, contains a significant note: "Until the mayors listen to their ignored constituency...we may expect the city to face even worse prospects...The modern American city has been...the locus of American hope for the future...and its replacement has not been found."<sup>42</sup>

In a paper in UNESCO's book, *The Conservation of Cities*, Tunnard discusses concisely the history of American historic preservation and presents several urban district case studies including New Orleans' Vieux Carré and La Villita in San Antonio, Texas.<sup>43</sup>

In *A World With a View*, published 40 years after *Gardens in the Modern Landscape* and assisted by Yale's Philip H. McMillan Foundation, Tunnard stated: "Among the most important human rights is the right to see beautiful things wherever one might find oneself."<sup>44</sup> In developing this position he discussed the first botanical garden and admired the London citizens of 1825 who organised the "Committee for Preserving Open a View of the Tower and Spire of St. Bride's Church in Fleet

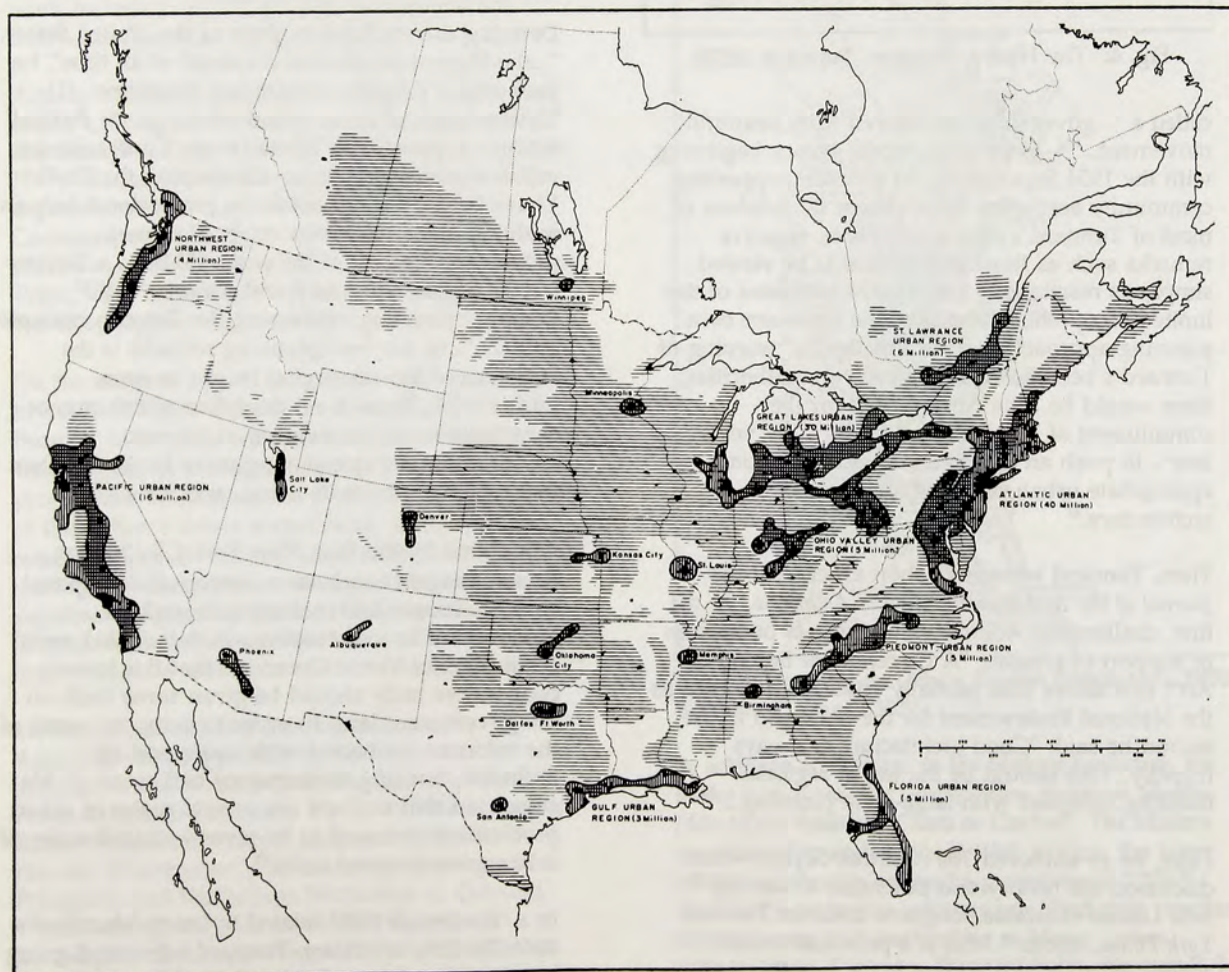


Fig. 6: Major Urban Regions, 1960. Source: Tunnard and Pushkarev 1963.

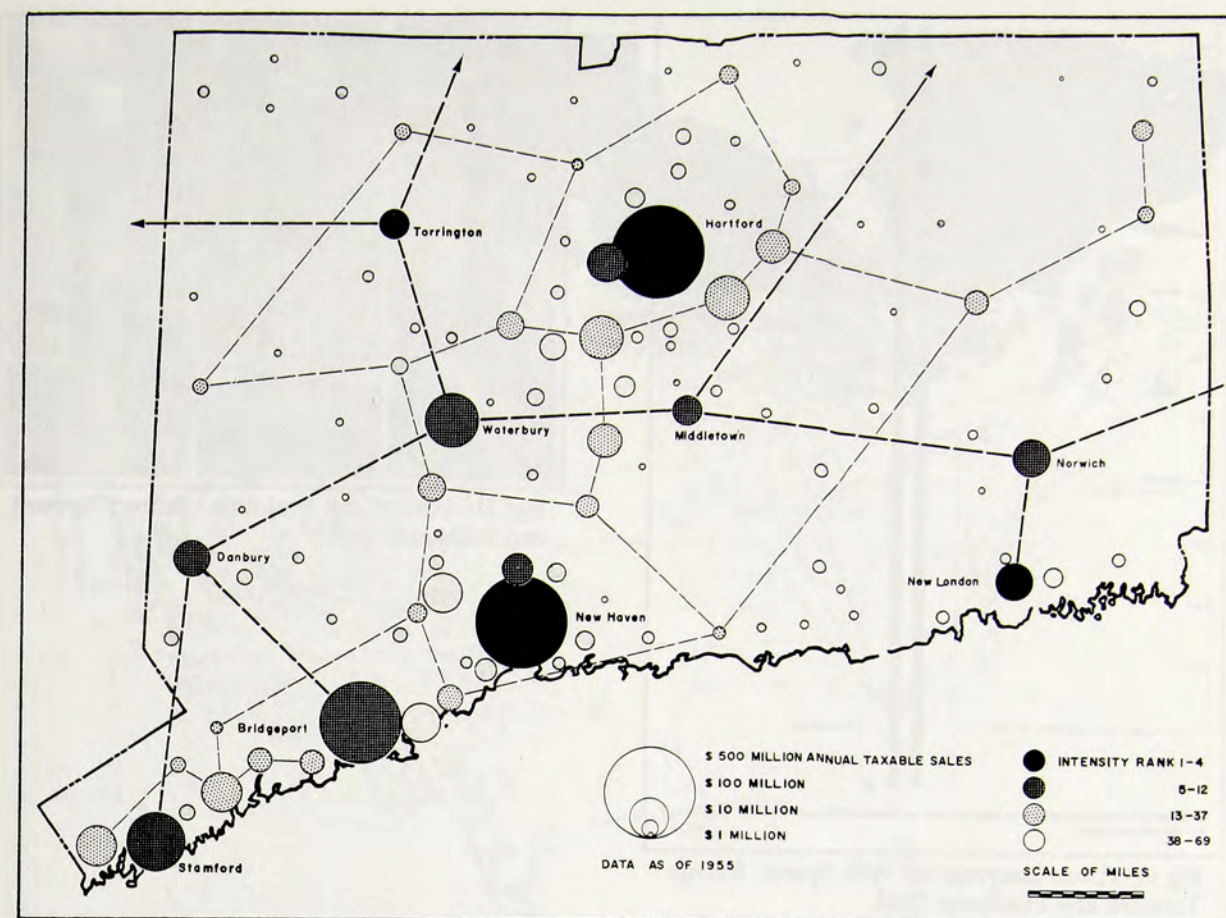


Fig. 7: Retail Centres in Connecticut, 1955. Source: Tunnard and Pushkarev 1963.

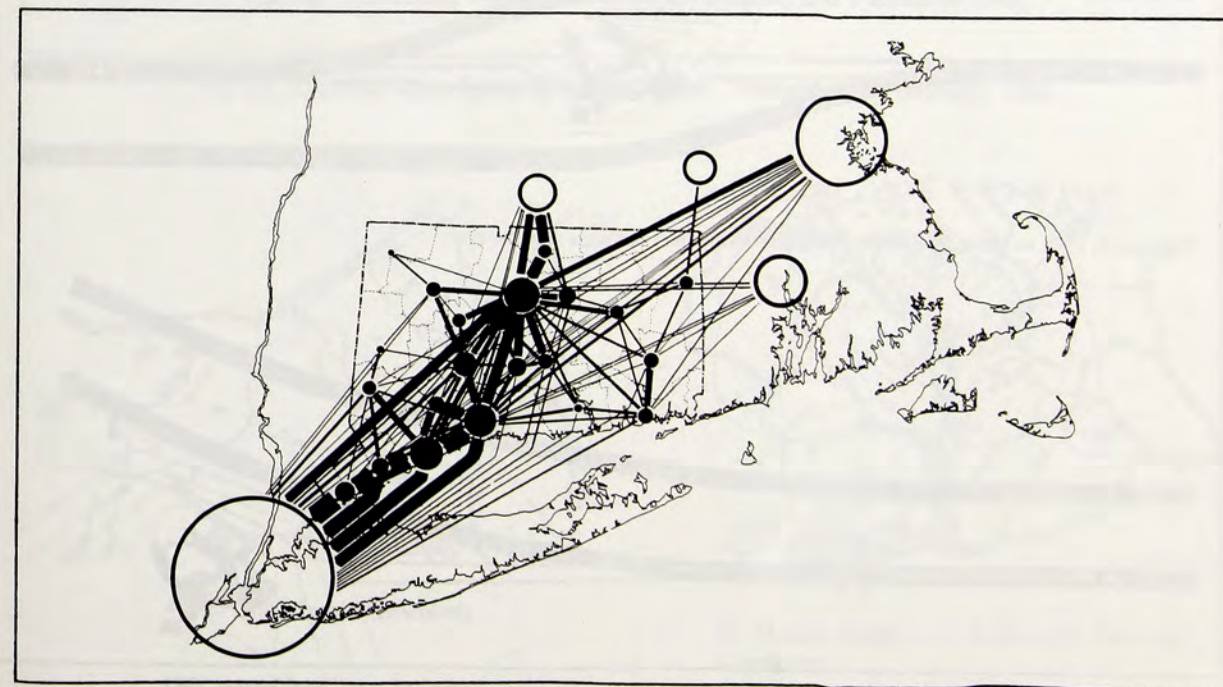


Fig. 8: Telephone Toll Calls in Connecticut, 1957. Source Tunnard and Pushkarev 1963.



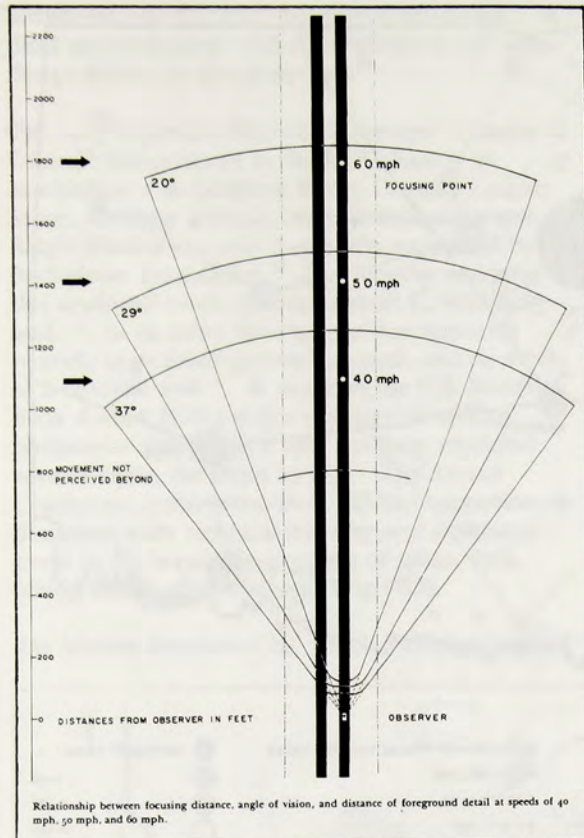


Fig 9: Vision Convergency With Speed. Source: Tunnard and Pushkarev 1963.

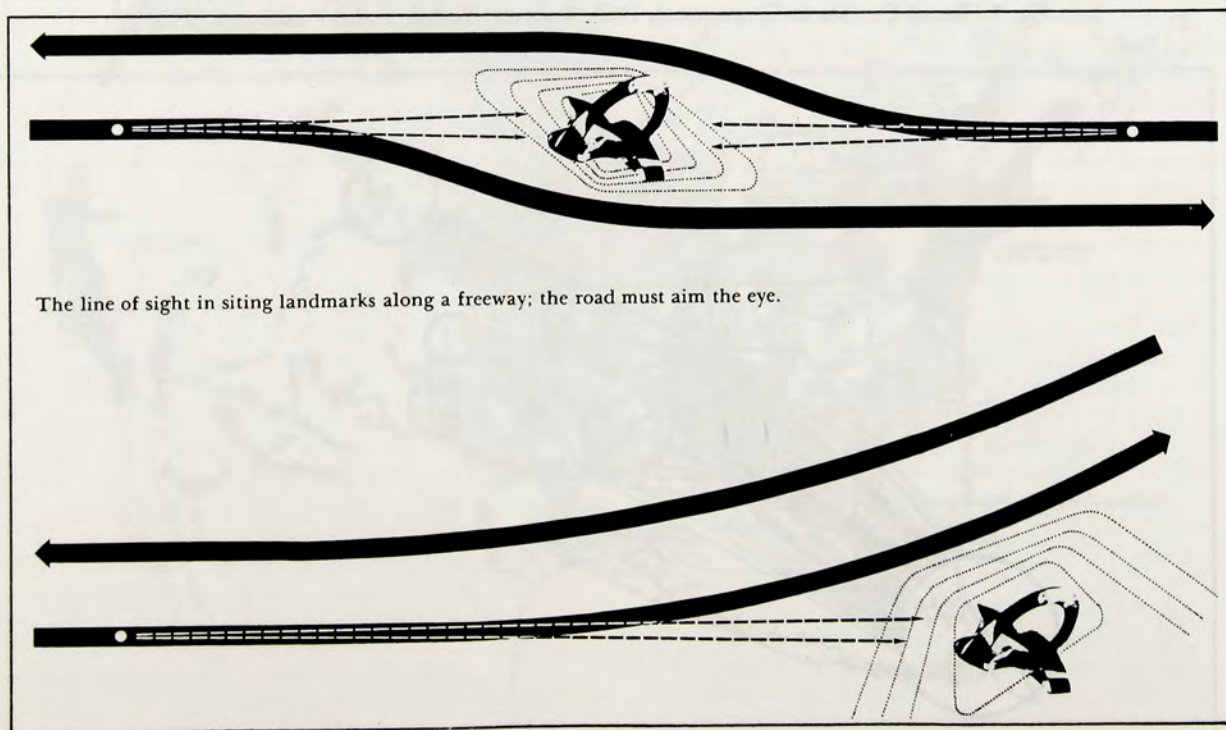


Fig. 10: Freeway-Landmark Relationship. Source: Tunnard and Pushkarev 1963.

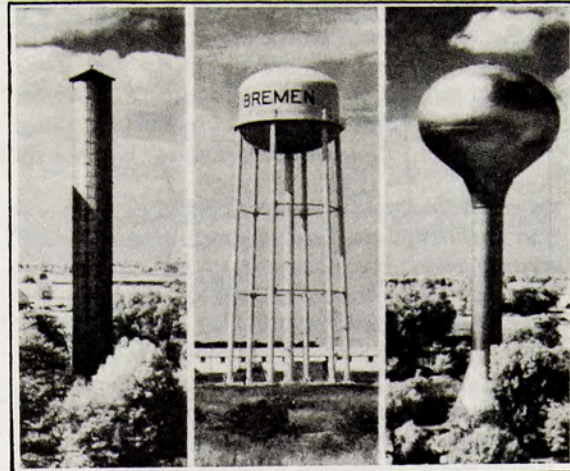


Fig. 11: Water Tank Evolution. Source: Tunnard and Pushkarev 1963.

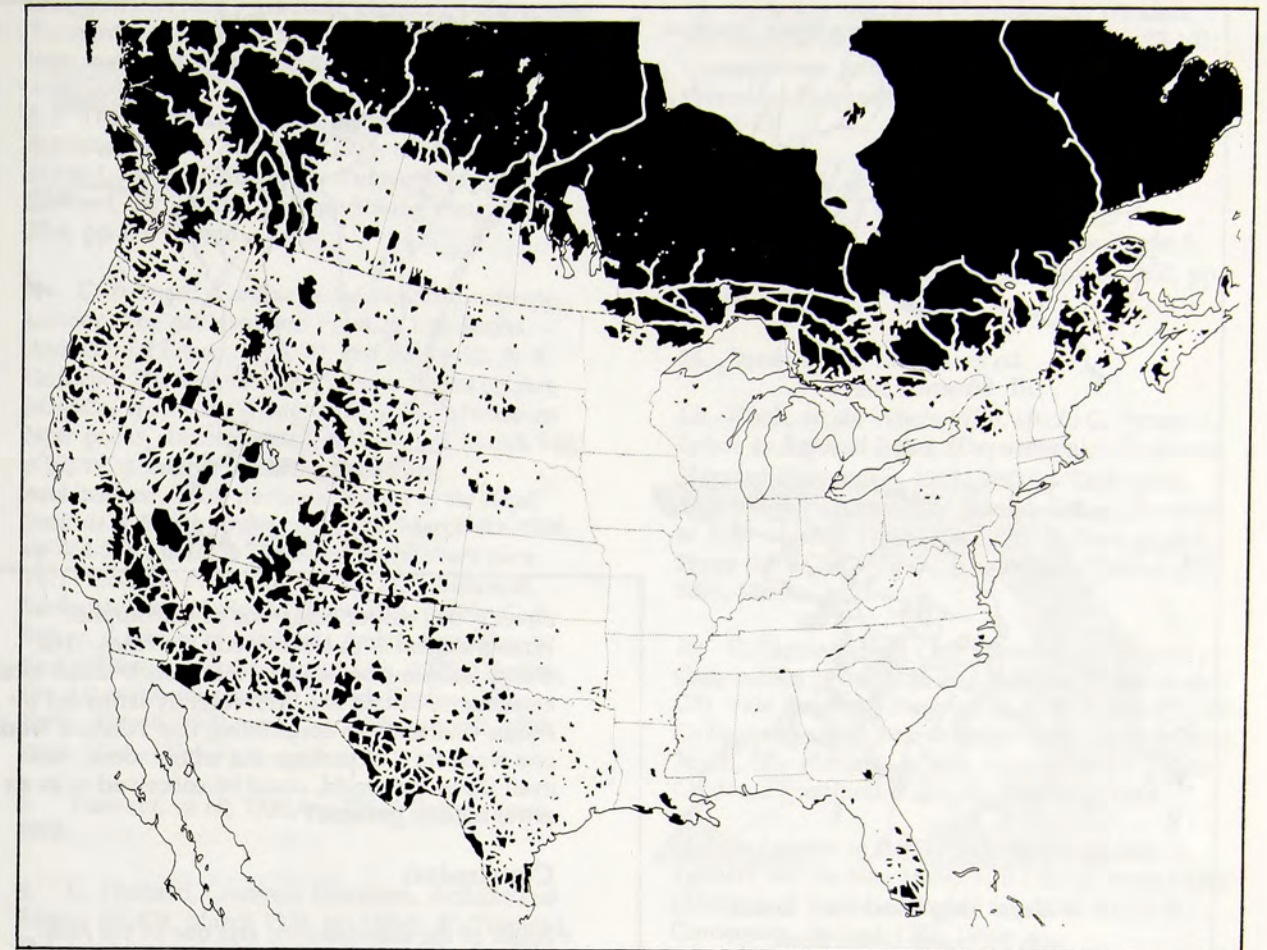


Fig. 12: Remaining Wilderness. Source: Tunnard and Pushkarev 1963.

Fig. 13: Types of Open Space Systems. Source: Tunnard and Pushkarev 1963.



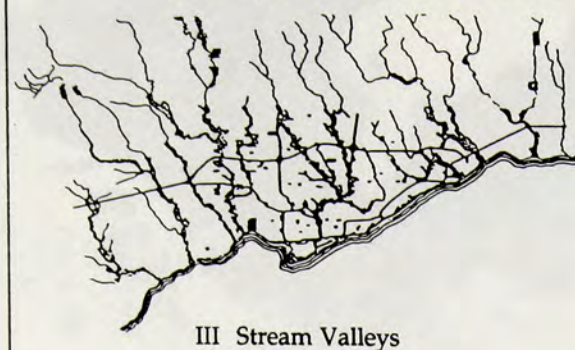
I. The Classic Greenbelt



II. Stream Valley and Areas with Parkway Corridors



Fig. 13: Types of Open Space Systems. Source: Tunnard and Pushkarev 1963.



III Stream Valleys



IV Valleys, Ridges and Park Roads with Proposed Green Zone



V Areas Connected by Parkway Corridors



VI Isolated Areas

Street"; this edifice being one of Christopher Wren's elegant 17th century city churches. The disappearance from sight of many such urban focal elements in Britain has been recently lamented by Prince Charles.<sup>45</sup> In considering this Tunnard work, one wonders "...if perhaps the whole scenic view, even the entire world, could be conceived of as an artful botanic garden."<sup>46</sup>

### Conclusion

As all of the above shows, and one of the *Man-Made America...* reviewers<sup>47</sup> (Clay 1981) correctly observed, Tunnard was a planning prophet deserving our continuous attention: "Ahead of cue, and right on target as usual..." and much that was predicted has or should come to pass.

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charge of Harvard's graduate planning programme. Tunnard was a 1960-1 Visiting Lecturer at Harvard; then Instructor Mann assisted him.

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# Sources

## The Thomas Cook Archives 1851-1990

These are a collection of 150 years of travel books, magazines, and ephemera relating to Thomas Cook. They contain information about all the world's railways, steamship companies, hotels that worked with Thomas Cook and complete information about the Cook services.

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1. The Excursionist (newspaper) 1851/1903.
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4. Brochures c.1900 onwards.
5. Cook's Railway Timetables.
6. Cook's Guide Books 1880/1939.
7. Guard Books on specific subjects, - Cook's Nile steamers, Air Travel, Road Travel, Kaiser Wilhelm's Cook's Tour etc.
8. A modern travel library.

The main categories of visual material are:

1. Posters (about 100) from 1900/1989.
2. Photographs (black and white) from 1890.

Other Material:

Cook's correspondence, contract books, ledgers (various years)

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The Thomas Cook archives provide a number of services to organisations and individuals.

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They are open to the public from Monday to Friday 10am - 5pm. Visitors are asked to telephone for an appointment.

Student groups are welcome and a lecture on the history of tourism and travel subjects can be arranged on request.

There is no charge for visits or research carried out by individuals. However research carried out on behalf of people who cannot visit the archives is charged at £15 per hour. This includes 10 photocopies of relevant material.

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## Films for the Planning Historian

*Planning History* readers may be interested in the following films which are available for purchase in video format.

Readers should note that because of international variations in television formats, VHS cassettes from one country may not be playable on at least some equipment in other countries. However this should not prove an insuperable problem. Many better quality VHS machines in Europe at least have conversion switches or tapes can easily be copied into other television formats. But readers should take advice before purchasing, particularly regarding copyright implications of copying.

### Lewis Mumford Films

By arrangement with the National Film Board of Canada, the six classic films prepared in 1963 by Lewis Mumford are now available for purchase in VHS format. The titles are:

*The City in History*  
*Cars or People*  
*The City and Its Region*  
*The Center of the City*  
*The City as Man's Home*  
*The City and the Future*

The purchase price for the series is \$295 US. For further information: Center City Films, 325 W. Willetta, Phoenix, Arizona AZ 85003. Phone: 602-258-5261

### 12 Views of Kensal House

Kensal House in the North Kensington area of London is an important early British example of modern movement social housing architecture. Designed by Maxwell Fry in 1936 for the Gas Light and Coke Company, it was intended as a demonstration project for the rehousing of slum clearance tenants. It was innovative structurally and socially, and the important housing reformer, Elizabeth Denby, was also closely associated with the scheme.

This video, made for the Arts Council in c1984, incorporates excerpts from a 1938 film made about the scheme and follows up with extensive

# Publications

## Journal of Planning Education and Research

The *Journal of Planning Education and Research* is seeking to expand its horizons. Our decade-old journal is received and read by almost every university planning faculty member in the United States, but subscriptions outside the US borders are limited. Similarly, manuscript submissions from scholars outside the US have been few. We see these as serious limitations. There is much to be learned by international cooperation, a lesson underscored by last year's Joint AESOP/ACSP Congress.

We don't want to challenge for turf. Instead, we want to promote international dialogue. To move in this direction, we have been building our use of non-US scholars as referees for manuscripts. You can help us by letting us know if you would be willing to review manuscripts for *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, and if so, sending us a curriculum vitae or biosketch that makes your fields of expertise clear. You can also help by finding out if your university library subscribes to *JPER*, and if they do not, recommending that they begin to do so. Of course, we would be pleased to have your personal subscription.

Finally, but most importantly, we hope you will consider *JPER* as a place to publish your scholarship. We would be most pleased to have your submission in the areas of planning theory, planning pedagogy, empirical research on planning practice, or the range of substantive theories and methods used in planning. In particular, manuscripts with international or trans-national orientations are desirable.

If you are considering a submission, you might want to discuss it with any of our editorial board members, two of whom are Europeans - Andreas Faludi at Amsterdam, and Patsy Healey at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Also, if you've never seen *JPER* and would like a sample copy, let us know and we will send you one.

interviews with original residents and particularly Maxwell Fry himself. A strong theme of the film is the subsequent deterioration of the scheme, particularly after the Gas Light and Coke Company relinquished control in the 1950s. Kensal House is now listed as being of architectural and historic interest and is undergoing a rehabilitation programme.

The VHS cassette (which lasts just under an hour) costs £50 and is available from the Concord Video and Film Council, 201 Felixstowe Road, Ipswich, Suffolk IP3 9BJ, UK. Phone: 0473 726012/715754. Check with the same supplier for loan details.

### Housing Problems

This film, made in 1935, was a classic of the 1930s documentary movement, directed by Edgar Anstey and Arthur Elton for the British Commercial Gas Association. It was one of the first British films to portray the harsh realities of slum life, with slum residents talking directly to camera about problems of vermin etc. It also shows several proposed schemes for slum clearance and rebuilding, showing several notable flatted schemes of the period. These include Kensal House and the famous Quarry Hill scheme in Leeds.

It has been re-issued by British Gas Film and Video, to accompany a more modern film about the rehabilitation of a 1930s flatted scheme in Hackney. It is sold under the title of this second film, *Housing Solutions*. The price is £17.04 for a VHS cassette with both titles or it can be borrowed free of charge (in the UK). It is available from British Gas Film and Video Library, Park Hall Road Trading Estate, London SE21 8EL. Phone: 081 761 3035.

The editor would welcome details of any other similar material that is readily available for teaching or research purposes from any country. Please provide as full details as possible.



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## Abstracts

Roger W. Lotchin, *Fortress California 1910-1961: From Warfare to Welfare*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, 420pp, ISBN 0-19-504779-6, cloth \$45.00.

This impressively researched work explores how urban leaders in California cities - particularly San Diego, Los Angeles and Greater San Francisco 'used' the military and defence establishment to help their cities in their race for urban success. The book explores the close relationship between California cities and the military before World War II and the Cold War. Lotchin also documents how urban boosters and government leaders helped shape the very nature of military policy throughout the twentieth century. Finally, the book challenges the notion of a military-industrial complex and argues that in reality a metropolitan-military complex existed.

Dennis Judd and Michael Parkinson, eds, *Leadership and Urban Regeneration: Cities in North America and Europe*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1990, 311pp, ISBN 0-8039-3980-9 \$38.00, cloth, ISBN 0-8039-3981-7 \$19.95, paper.

This volume of twelve case studies is the product of an international conference held in Liverpool, England in 1989. Together, they provide a wide variety of perspectives linking urban leadership and economic revitalisation. The preface, first article and conclusions provide summaries of the case studies as well as providing some analysis, contextual material, and a wider historical perspective from which to view the remainder of the book.

Jan Cigliano, *Showplace of America: Cleveland's Euclid Avenue, 1850-1910*, Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1991, 306pp, ISBN 0-8733-8445-8 cloth, \$45.00.

This book attempts to answer the questions how and why Euclid Avenue developed into one of the nation's most elegant residential boulevards and what factors ultimately forced its demise. Within this framework, Cigliano devotes the bulk of her

narrative to the rise of the grand homes along the boulevard and to the families who built them.

Oren Yiftachel, *Planning a Mixed Region in Israel: the political geography of Arab-Jewish relations in the Galilee*, Aldershot, Avebury, 1992, 367pp, ISBN 1 85628 255 4, £37.50.

The study area, the Yehiam region which forms part of the Galilee, was selected because it has been traditionally populated by Arabs, with increasing Jewish settlement over the last forty years. As such, it offers an opportunity to assess the impact of Israel's planning and settlement policies on the political behaviour of a minority in its traditional 'homeland' area. The policy of the Israeli authorities to settle Jews in the region since 1975 has created new spatial, social and political circumstances, that have yet to be fully evaluated.

Michael Murray, *The Politics and Pragmatism of Urban Containment: Belfast since 1940*, Aldershot, Avebury, 1992, 280pp, ISBN 1 85628 245 7, £35.00.

Reflecting the influence exerted by the State on the physical surroundings of the population, insights into the planning process may be drawn from both planning theory traditions and from the discipline of policy analysis. Having traced the centrality of development restraint within the town and country planning system, and the part played by the concept of the Green Belt, the author highlights the distinctive elements in the emergence and implementation of an urban containment policy in Northern Ireland, and the extent to which it has been moulded by a unique set of wider political and institutional circumstances particular to the Province.

Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped, Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1992, 352pp, ISBN 0 500 34118 4, £24.00.

Amalgams of the living and the built, cities are repositories of cultural meaning. Hundreds of photographs, historical views and specially commissioned drawings accompany the text, organised under the general headings of organic patterns, the grid, the city as diagram, the Grand Manner, and the urban skyline.

Rob Kling, Spencer Olin, and Mark Poster, eds., *Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County Since World War II*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, 307pp, ISBN 10-520-06716-9 cloth \$34.95.

Adopting an interdisciplinary approach, the book features ten chapters concerning the development of this 'emerging postsuburban' county. While the contributors share no common theoretical framework, the book adheres to four unifying concepts: postsuburban spatial organisation, information capitalism, consumerism and cosmopolitanism. Several chapters are especially important for planning scholars including M. Gottienner and George Gephart's examination of Orange County as a multinucleated 'new form of settlement space' and Martin Schiesl's history of the Irvine Company's planning activities in the county.

James Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1983*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991, 279pp, ISBN 0-226-29317-3 cloth \$27.50.

*Perfect Cities* examines Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893 and the planned industrial satellite of Pullman, Illinois in this extended essay in cultural history. The author uses these developments, as well as the success of evangelist Dwight Moody, to illustrate ways in which Chicago's civic elite struggled to adapt their very specific American heritage to evangelical Protestantism. He focuses on the civic elite and their efforts to 'hold' the emerging middle class to traditional values.

Jon C Teaford, *The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalisation in America, 1940-1985*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990, 383pp, ISBN 0-8018-3971-8, \$48.50 cloth, ISBN 0-8018-4134-8, \$16.95, Paper.

Jon Teaford provides a comprehensive survey and description of urban renewal policies, local politics, and economic trends through examining the experiences of twelve large central cities of the Northeast and Midwest from 1940 to 1985. The author argues that the strategic drive for urban renewal was a local phenomena in the United States. Relying heavily on newspaper accounts and planning documents, Teaford provides a valuable summary of postwar urban politics and urban renewal.

J W R Whitehand, *The Making of the Urban Landscape*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1992, 239pp, ISBN 0 631 17634 9.

The communities and individuals who are most affected by urban development are all too frequently those whose views are either unheard or, even if articulated in protests and movements, nevertheless have little bearing on the final outcome. The author argues that a clear analysis of

the roles of those influencing urban change (landowners, building owners, building contractors, developers, architects and planning authorities) is essential not only for an understanding of present-day urban landscapes, but for their sensitive management in the future. An important insight is provided into the dynamics of contemporary urban change.

William H Mullins, *The Depression and the Urban West Coast, 1929-1933: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press, 1991, 192pp, ISBN 0-253-33935-9, cloth \$35.00.

This effort in comparative urban history of the American West focuses on the problem of how these four cities provided relief for the unemployed and needy in the early years of the depression. There is little here to surprise anyone who knows the literature but the value of the book is the details it provides about discrete trends in four cities. After a brief introduction and prelude, separate chapters examine the experiences of all four cities chronologically. The book is strongest in its treatment of Seattle and weakest on Portland and San Francisco.

Linda Clarke, *Building Capitalism. Historical change and the labour process in the production of the built environment*, London, Routledge, 1991, 316pp, ISBN 0 415 01553 7, £19.99.

The building activity which produced the metropolis of London illustrates how the emerging capitalist mode of production finally replaced the remnants of feudal social relations. By the turn of the eighteenth century, masters attached to workshops and journeymen on piece-rates were being superseded by general contractors employing wage labourers on time-rates. Political control over building development passed from landowners to Commissions. The volume follows the complete development process, from materials extraction to housebuilding, the builders involved, and the working environment and politics of the new communities.

Norman Edwards, *The Singapore House and Residential Life 1819-1939*, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1990, 281pp, ISBN 0 19 588910 X £35.00.

Architectural history is bound up with the multi-cultural nature of Singapore society. Divided into four parts, the book first describes the emergence of the detached house as an ingredient of Sir Stamford Raffles' trading post and as a product of external cultural influence. The second part portrays the



process of suburbanisation, arising from developments in England and India during the period 1880-1939. The third part focuses on the house in terms of domestic life and attitudes and social change. Finally, the author discusses the house in architectural terms, technical and stylistic. The 200 illustrations form an integral part of the text.

**Christina DeMarco** (ed) *Gordon Stephenson, On a Human Scale: a life in city design*, Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1992, 260pp, ISBN 1 86368 016 0, \$A34.95, paper.

The autobiography of Gordon Stephenson (1908-) spliced with extracts and quotations from original documents and judiciously chosen illustrations. The chronology starts as a student in Liverpool, moves onto Le Corbusier's office in Paris in the 1920s, MIT (1936-38), the years with the Ministry for Town and Country Planning, and subsequently as the fourth Lever Professor of Civic Design (1948-53). Then comes the initial stint in Perth (1953-54), preparing the city's first metropolitan plan, before taking up the Chair of Town and Regional Planning at Toronto (1953-60). He returns to Perth as foundation Professor of Architecture at the University of Western Australia (1960-62) and two more decades of influential professional activity in development planning, civic design and campus site plans. There is also a chapter on Lewis Mumford. This is an important book of interest to readers on at least three continents. Inquiries to Fremantle Arts Centre Press, P O Box 320, South Fremantle, Western Australia, 6162.

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Saturday 10th October 1992

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- 9.15 Registration: coffee
- 9.30 Welcome
- 9.35 Introduction: Miles Glendinning
- 10.00 Rt. Hon. Dr. J. Dickson Mabon  
Scottish 'Development':  
The Role of Government
- 10.30 Ronnie Cramond  
The Housing Drive
- 11.00 Pat Rogan  
Re-housing Edinburgh
- 11.30 James P. McCalferly  
Glasgow Inner Ring Road
- 12.00 Discussion
- 12.45 Lunch

### Afternoon session: Architects

- 14.00 Mark Baines  
Post-Coia Coia
- 14.35 David Page  
The Censorship of Neglect
- 15.05 Charles Robertson  
Basil Spence and  
Hutchesontown 'C'
- 15.35 Miles Glendinning  
Sam Buntin and Red Road
- 16.10 Discussion

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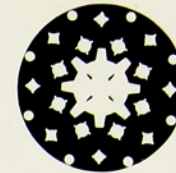
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