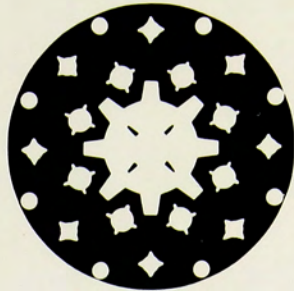


# Planning History



Bulletin of the  
Planning History Group

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# Planning History

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Planning History Group

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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.

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# Editorial

In this issue, the Chairman, Gordon Cherry, confirms the shift that we have been considering over the last 18 months, the change in the name and character of the Planning History Group. Gordon tells me that he has received many intimations of support to the course of action signalled in the recent mail circulation to the Group membership. There have apparently been no objections to the intended changes. It would of course be surprising if there were. We have long been aware of the international dimensions of our common activity. It is certainly something which has been reflected in the pages of this magazine for many years and its more academic and younger, relative, *Planning Perspectives*, since its inception.

In that sense the changes to *Planning History* consequent on the translation of the Planning History Group to a new International Planning History Society will not be dramatic. Perhaps the most noticeable immediate shift will be that its sub-title will be changed to reflect the new organizational name, and some of the internal cover details will also be altered. In the slightly longer term though a new editorial board will appear to ensure a more systematic feeding through of non-UK material to the present editor. This already occurs for Australia and New Zealand, thanks to the great diligence of our Pacific editor, Rob Freestone, whose efforts can be seen in the present issue. The hope is that we can identify similarly committed individuals for other parts of the world, an idea which Rob himself has long pressed. The editor would welcome suggestions of suitably enthusiastic and committed individuals. I want to create an active editorial team, so that ultimately the magazine will be truly international in its editing, not just its content.

Paradoxically the present issue might seem to have much more of a UK flavour than of late. We take the opportunity to celebrate the publication of Mervyn Miller and Stuart Gray's book on Hampstead Garden Suburb, one of the great achievements of early English planning. There was not enough time to prepare a review of the book itself for the present issue. As Mervyn reminds us, however, the suburb's impact was international. And non-UK readers will receive an important lesson in important cultural and national distinctions within the United Kingdom in Miles Glendinning's article on Sam Bunton. In a fascinating account he portrays the battle between an English-inspired decentralist strategy for Glasgow and the high density big city solution, inspired both

by modernism and Glaswegian municipal admiration for New York. Again therefore there is an international (and divergent national) perspective.

This article derives from a conference by a relatively new organization that we hope to report more fully on in a forthcoming issue - DOCOMOMO. Headquartered in Eindhoven in the Netherlands, but with an international membership, it is concerned with the DOcumentation and COnservation of the MOdern MOvement in architecture (and of course planning). David Whitham's report in the present issue on the whole conference gives a little more information on it, including contact addresses.

Much of the rest of the issue has a much more firmly international flavour, however. Elwin Robison provides a valuable insight on early American colonial town planning in a long-delayed publication from the 1991 Oxford AESOP Conference. And we have notices from the USA and Australia, conference reports from South Africa and the Netherlands and reports of research from Finland and Australia. There is also a fascinating piece on the Australian planning cartoon by Rob Freestone. (Incidentally, readers with access to the *Australian Planner* magazine should also not miss Rob's fascinating recent account of the rise and fall of the Sydney Green Belt as told by cartoons. Planners have clearly been frequent targets for the cartoonist's pen in Australia, perhaps more than any other country. I wonder. Readers may wish to address this question by bringing forward examples of planning cartoons from other countries. *Planning History* will of course be glad to print the results).

Meanwhile the editor of what is, for the moment at least, the *Bulletin of the Planning History Group*, wishes you a Happy New Year.

Stephen V Ward



# Chairmans's Message

Members of the Planning History Group will recall that I wrote to all on 30 October to intimate a number of recommendations of the Interim Board of Management with regard to certain institutional changes for the future. I have received some letters of unqualified support; I have received no objections. This cheers the Interim Board because the way forward for an important departure in our organisation is now clear.

On 1 January 1993 the Planning History Group will become the International Planning History Society (IPHS).

The Secretary/Treasurer will shortly be arranging for the election of a Council, by and from paid-up members of the Society. The Council will then proceed to elect a Board of Management, when the Interim Board will stand down. By the summer of 1993 these steps should have been completed.

The Editor of *Planning History* will set up and chair an Editorial Board.

The Conference Convenor will be making arrangements for an International Conference: the first is expected to be held in Hong Kong in late June 1994.

To remind you, your Interim Board is:

President: Gordon Cherry, School of Geography, University of Birmingham.

Secretary/Treasurer: David Massey, Department of Civic Design, University of Liverpool.

Conference Convenor: Robert Home, Department of Estate Management, University of East London.

Planning History Editor: Stephen V Ward, School of Planning, Oxford Polytechnic

Maurits van Rooijen, European Centre, Erasmus University, Rotterdam.

Anthony Sutcliffe, Department of Economic and Social History, University of Leicester.

Shun-ichi Watanabe, School of Architecture, Science University of Tokyo.

SACRPH representative: Larry Gerckens, Cincinnati.

UHA representative: Michael Ebner, Department of History, Lake Forest College, Illinois.

Welcome to the International Planning History Society!

Gordon Cherry  
December 1992.

# Notices

**THE URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION**  
Department of History  
c/o Lake Forest College  
555 N Sheridan Road  
Lake Forest, IL 60045-2399  
USA  
Phone: 708-735-5135  
Fax: 708-735-6291

The Urban History Association is conducting its fourth annual round of prize competitions for scholarly distinction.

1. Best doctoral dissertation in urban history, without geographic restriction, completed during 1992.
2. Best book, non-North American urban history, published during 1991 or 1992 (edited volumes ineligible).
3. Best book, North American urban history, published during 1992 (edited volumes ineligible).
4. Best journal article in urban history, without geographic restriction, published during 1992.

Deadline for receipt of submissions is June 15, 1993.

To obtain further information about the 1993 round of competitions, please write to: Professor Margaret Marsh, Department of History, 913 Gladfelter Hall, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122. Do not send any submissions to Professor Marsh.

## CALL FOR PAPERS

The Society for American City and Regional Planning History

## THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN PLANNING HISTORY

The Chicago Historical Society  
Chicago, Illinois, USA

November 18-21, 1993

Papers are most cordially solicited on all aspects of

the history of urban, regional, or community planning. Proposals may be submitted for either individual papers or for thematic sessions with two or three presenters. In recognition of the Centennial Celebration of the World's Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago in 1893, sessions focusing on the turn-of-the-century origins of planning or on planning in Chicago are especially welcome. (Sessions will be 1.5 or 2.0 hours in length.)

Those submitting proposals should send five (5) copies of a one-page abstract with a title and a one-page author vita for each participant by **MARCH 1, 1993** to:

Professor Patricia Burgess, Program Chair  
Planning History Conference  
Dept of Community and Regional Planning  
Room 126, Design  
Iowa State University  
Ames  
Iowa 50011  
USA

Phone: (515) 294-7759  
Fax: (515) 294-9755

Notification of final acceptance (contingent on receipt of the one-page author vita) will be early May of 1993.

Organisational co-sponsors of the conference include:

The Urban History Association  
The Public Works Historical Society  
The Chicago Historical Society

## CALL FOR PAPERS

## PLANNING HISTORY SEMINAR

School of Town Planning  
University of New South Wales  
Sydney, Australia

Saturday, 13 March 1993

**THE AUSTRALIAN PLANNER: Critical perspectives on the contributions of individuals to the development of urban, regional and environmental planning theory and practice.**  
Keynote address by Professor Gordon Cherry, University of Birmingham



In early March 1993 the School of Town Planning at the University of NSW will host the first Australian conference devoted exclusively to planning history. The general theme will be *The Australian Planner*. The aim is to explore the roles of influential theorists and practitioners on the Australian planning landscape from the colonial to the postmodern era. The seminar will provide a forum to explore influences and impacts, ideas and institutions, concepts and contexts, success and failure. Special guests will be Gordon Cherry from England, chairperson of the International Planning History Society.

Papers are now invited from academics, practitioners and research students. Presentations of approximately 20 minutes are envisaged. Contributors will be asked to contribute a short paper for post-conference publication.

Conference fees will be modestly priced to cover lunch, morning and afternoon teas, printing, and distribution of the proceedings.

Commitments, expressions of interest, preliminary registrations and enquiries by **30 December 1992** to:

Rob Freestone  
Town Planning  
University of New South Wales  
P O Box 1, Kensington  
NSW 2033  
Australia

Phone: (02) 697-4837; 697-4836.

Fax:

(02) 663-4278.

A second circular will be distributed in February 1993.

# Articles

## The Saga of the 'Suburb Salubrious'

Mervyn Miller, Architect and Town Planner, Baldock, Herts, UK.

### Introduction: Opinions of Hampstead Garden Suburb

The historian who would compile an account of Hampstead Garden Suburb very soon comes across strongly held, and sometimes divergent assessments. That doyen of architectural historians, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, called it 'the most nearly perfect of that unique English invention and speciality, the Garden Suburb'<sup>1</sup>, taking his cue from H E von Berlepsch-Valendas, observer of the *Englische Gartenstadtbewegung*, who wrote in 1912 'everywhere is an agreeable simplicity of architectural expression. Mass and silhouette play the essential part, not a crowding of decorative motifs...The highest places are receiving public buildings so that they can dominate the whole composition...Monotony of the building line is avoided by staggering...by courtyard grouping with only the entrance side left open and by the most careful treatment of places where streets fork...'<sup>2</sup>.

The influence of Camillo Sitte on the planning of Hampstead is evident from Berlepsch-Valendas' account. Yet at the same time, C B Purdom, English chronicler of the Garden City Movement wrote disparagingly of 'the fearful exactness, the almost painful sense of tidiness, and the self-conscious aestheticism that one encounters in the new suburb at Hampstead.'<sup>3</sup> But then, to Purdom, the Garden Suburb was an absurdity, a fatal weakening of the wine of the Garden City with the water of town-planning.

Sometimes initial adulation turned to contempt. Charles Edouard Jeanneret (Le Corbusier) traced photographs and drawings of Hampstead Garden Suburb from an illustrated article by Berlepsch-Valendas, and even designed several garden suburbs, with layouts and house types derived from Parker and Unwin<sup>4</sup>. Yet in the early 1920s he deci-

sively rejected the intimacy of Camillo Sitte's technique for enclosing urban space, so strikingly shown in Unwin's layout for Hampstead Garden Suburb, as he strove towards the technocratic openness of *La Cité Contemporaine*. However, at the same time he was engaged in designing a small garden suburb of Pessac on the western outskirts of Bordeaux<sup>5</sup>, where the house types updated the linked groups of Head Close or Reynolds Close to the machine age. The eclipse of the Arts and Crafts, and neo-Georgian architecture of Hampstead Garden Suburb by Modernism proved to be only transitory, and from the 1960s onwards it received greater recognition.

### The Social Dimension

Socially, the achievement of Hampstead Garden Suburb has always been recognised as a partial success. Notwithstanding Henrietta Barnett's aims

ties of the Co-partners' subsidiary, Hampstead Tenants Ltd, was criticised in a report prepared for the Ministry of Reconstruction during the First World War as having failed to meet the need for social housing, despite the opportunity<sup>7</sup>. Throughout the interwar period housing subsidies operated in favour of local authorities rather than privately financed cottage societies, and the Co-partners restructured their activities to concentrate on the virtually uniform middle-class development of the 412 acre 'New Suburb', which had been added to the original landholding in 1912<sup>8</sup>. Since the Second World War, Hampstead Garden Suburb has, through the workings of the property market, inevitably become a wealthy community, with many of the smaller artisans' cottages now supporting ownership of two or three cars. The larger houses in Ingram Avenue and Winnington Road have passed into the ownership of the diplomatic corps, and



Figure 1: Wyldes Farm, c1914. The wing added by Unwin in 1910 can be glimpsed behind the converted barn.

of 'a Garden Suburb for all classes', it was accepted that it was the skilled artisan and his family, rather than the lower paid labourer, who would occupy the smaller cottages in the 70 acres set aside for 'the industrial classes'<sup>6</sup>. Henrietta Barnett saw co-existence on the basis of 'a place for everyone', with, as a corollary, 'everyone in their place'. The activi-

applications for massive extensions, detached servants' quarters and underground leisure complexes are not uncommon. The social dynamics of the past 85 years must be viewed against the physical framework of buildings and spaces, private and public realms.





Figure 2: Golders Green Underground Station shortly after opening. (Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust.)

### Origins of the Garden Suburb

To begin at the beginning, it was the development of

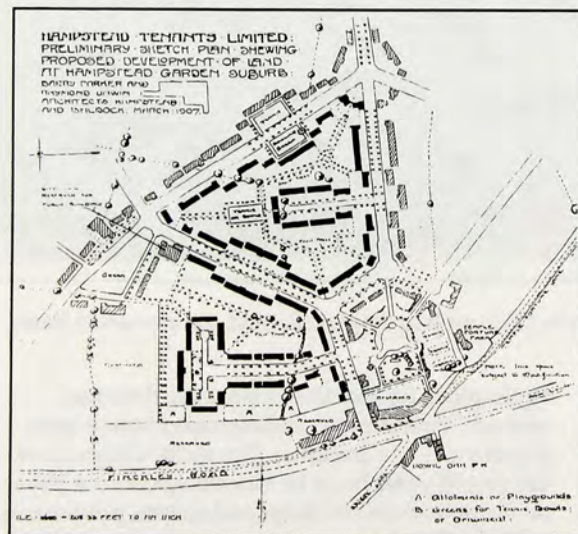


Figure 3: Preliminary layout for "The Artisans Quarter", March 1907.

a viable transportation infrastructure and the protection of amenity, initially on a personally motivated basis, which acted as a catalyst for the concept of Hampstead Garden Suburb. The first of the 'deep tube' underground railways, the Charing Cross, Euston and Hampstead Railway had been sanctioned in 1893, but only became a viable proposition with the addition of an extension to Golders Green, and ultimately Edgware, approved in 1902<sup>9</sup>. It was financed by a syndicate led by the American, Charles Tyson Yerkes.

Henrietta Barnett (1851-1936) and her husband, Samuel Augustus Barnett, later a Canon of Bristol and Westminster, had worked untiringly since the 1870s to bring spiritual and moral enlightenment to the Parish of St Jude's, Whitechapel, a district notorious for the outrages of Jack the Ripper. They had acquired a weekend cottage near Hampstead Heath which provided temporary respite for themselves and their parishioners. The sanction of the Hampstead Tube revealed the development potential of the land to the north of "The Spaniards". Fearing the worst onslaught by the speculative builder on the idyllic pastures of the Wyldes Estate,

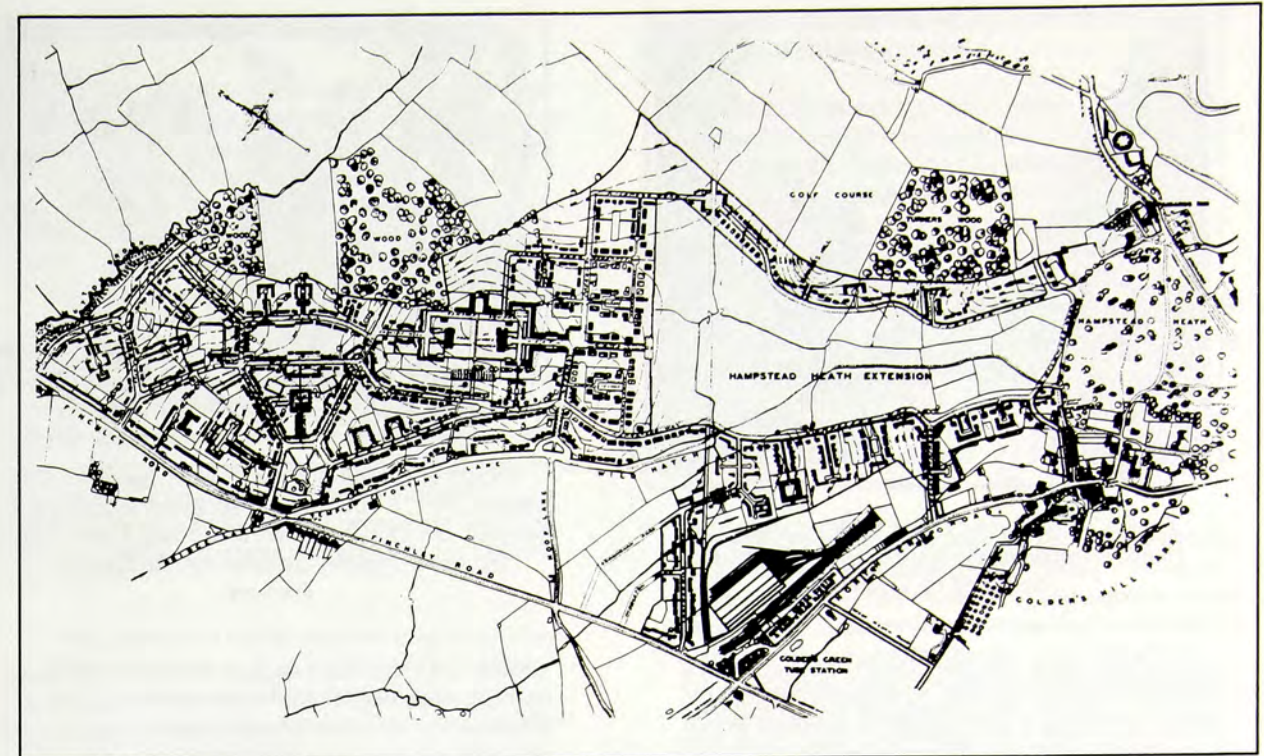


Figure 4: Unwin's definitive layout plan of 1911, incorporating Lutyen's layout of Central Square with its twin churches.

owned by Eton College, Henrietta Barnett's first campaign sought to preserve an 80 acre Hampstead Heath Extension, to be presented to a reluctant London County Council<sup>10</sup>. In November 1903 she

announced her grand strategy for a suburb to provide housing for all classes on the remaining 240 acres of the land<sup>11</sup>. She gathered together a 'veritable showman's happy family' of trustees - 'two Earls,



Figure 5: Asmunds Hill from Hampstead Way, c1912. The pair of cottages to the left of the junction marked the inauguration of the suburb in 1907. The central garden, with its proposed reflecting pool, was regrettably built over in 1928 for Queens Court. (Unwin Collection, Manchester University)



Figure 6: Reynolds Close, c1912. Designed by Parker and Unwin, this close shows the care taken with the design of grouped housing for middle-class residents. (Unwin Collection, Manchester University.)



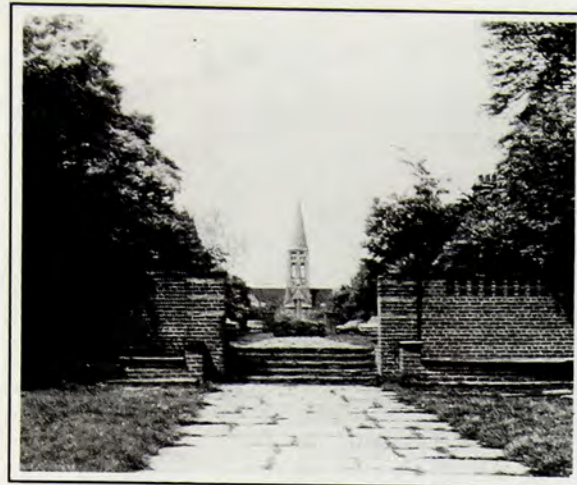


Figure 7: Sunshine Corner, looking along the Heathgate axis to the spire of St Jude's Church, designed by Lutyens.

two lawyers, two Free churchmen, a Bishop and a woman' to lend credibility to negotiations for an option on the land, and sought an architect to prepare a plan which incorporated her specific requirement of providing accommodation for 'all kinds and conditions of men'.

On May 2 1907 a gathering of leading figures in the housing reform movement and in politics witnessed Henrietta Barnett cutting the first sod for the foundations of Nos 140-142 Hampstead Way, the first pair of artisans' cottages to be developed by the Hampstead Tenants Housing Society<sup>12</sup>. Appropriately enough it was Raymond Unwin, who had worked for two years to translate her social ideals into the practical reality of the layout plan, who handed her the spade with which to perform the ceremony.

### The Role of Raymond Unwin

Her choice of Raymond Unwin (1863-1940) had a ring of the inevitable: he had some 20 years previously asked Samuel Barnett's advice as to whether he should take Holy Orders, and had subsequently pursued his ideal of democratising design with evangelical fervour, fired by the gospel of William Morris's Socialist League. Together with his partner, Barry Parker, Unwin had designed the layout and housing for New Earswick, the Rowntree-sponsored model village outside York (1902 onwards) and Letchworth Garden City (1904 onwards)<sup>13</sup>. Unwin's first Hampstead layout was prepared in February 1905<sup>14</sup>, and can be regarded as an illustration to Henrietta Barnett's article on her ideal community in the *Contemporary Review*<sup>15</sup> the same month. While



Figure 8: 'Gentility in our Garden Suburb'. This cartoon by C F Townsend is set in the gardens at the junction of Hoop Land and Meadway. Like others in the series it gently deflates middle-class petty snobbery.

Unwin had originally attacked the suburban development following Morris<sup>16</sup>, his experience of the Garden City Movement enabled him to redeem its environment through the breaking up of the rigid by-law grid pattern streets and the injection of greenery based on a careful survey of existing trees, hedges and field boundaries. He was assisted in achieving these improvements through the passing



Figure 9: Nothing gained by overcrowding, 1912. The contrast between the lush Arcadia of Hampstead Garden Suburb and the serried monotony of the by-law suburb was used by Unwin to underscore his campaign for low density housing.

of the Hampstead Garden Suburb Act, 1906, the first town-planning legislation on the British Statute Book. In 1906, even before the option on the land had been finalised, Unwin moved to 'Wyldes', the 17th century farmhouse nestling below the heights of 'The Spaniards'. It remained his home for the rest of his life.

### Architectural and Planning Elements

Most of the elements which were realised through the building of the suburb pre-1914 were present in embryo on the earliest plan, but the self-conscious informality of an overgrown feudal village was modified by a tightening up of the overall framework. Nowhere was this more strikingly apparent than in the Central Square, for which Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944) was appointed consultant in 1906<sup>17</sup>. His twin masterpieces - St Jude's Church and the Free Church - have downward sweeping barn-like roofs, whilst their steeple and dome dominate the skyline and distant views, and they in turn frame the imposing institute whose Queen Anne detailing is developed with a Baroque intensity. The linked houses of North and South Squares, Erskine Hill and Heathgate were included in Lutyens' concept, but only a small portion was completed to his detailed design<sup>18</sup>.

The architecture of the Suburb has long been recognised as providing a 'Who's Who' of Edwardian domestic architecture. Among those who have provided detailed accounts, Pevsner was a notable pioneer<sup>19</sup>, followed by Nicholas Taylor, who contributed to the Shankland-Cox Conservation Study commissioned by the New Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust Ltd<sup>20</sup>. A Stuart Gray, a retired architect turned historian<sup>21</sup>, has long been a resident of the Suburb, and has compiled inimitable 'vignettes' of the principal roads and groups of buildings, together with concise biographies of the architects involved, for this present book.

The Central Square provides an ideal starting point for a walk around the present day Suburb. It still bears witness to the change of taste in British architecture as a new formality eclipsed the Arts and Crafts picturesque of much of the housing of the Artisans' Quarter, the most celebrated Parker and Unwin contribution to the early 20th century revolution in the design and layout of mass housing. Set between Willifield Way, Hampstead Way and the Finchley Road, the plan of the 70 acre tract exploited setbacks of building lines, short terrace groupings, half quadrangles, stopped vistas and the cul-de-sac elements illustrated at length in Unwin's classic book, *Town Planning in Practice* (1909)<sup>22</sup>. They give evidence of his close study of the analytical work on historic townscapes by the Austrian, Camillo Sitte<sup>23</sup>. Asmunds Place (1907-1908) remains a classic exemplar of grouping around a T-shaped cul-de-sac, flanked by houses which reflect the informality of Garden City pebble-dash, or the richness of dark stock brick with immaculately detailed tile-creasing, simple cottage casements and handsome 50-degree pitch

plain tile roof, punctuated by dormers and a lively rhythm of chimney stacks.

The middle-classes also found homes in corporate developments such as Reynolds Close or Heath Close (both by Parker and Unwin), or Waterlow Court (a Baillie Scott design intended for 'the working lady'). There were also individual houses by C M Crickmer, Michael Bunney, Herbert Welch, Geoffry Lucas, C H James and C Cowles Voysey, each designed to fit into a harmonious overall street picture. Henrietta Barnett encouraged the development by cottage housing societies of flats for the elderly ('The Orchard', a magnificent Parker and Unwin quadrangle of 1909 was demolished, sadly, 20 years ago), and also housing for destitute children, retired servants and, later, war widows.

The first Unwin plan included a plethora of community buildings and shops lining the approaches to Central Square. The shops were subsequently swept away to the Finchley Road where they were incorporated into two imposing blocks, with flats above, crowned by an eclectic mixture of half hipped roofs, exposed timber studwork and wrought iron balconies, multiple shafted chimneys, and a tower based on the Markusturm at Rothenburg, one of Unwin's favourite Bavarian hill towns<sup>24</sup>. Detailed design was entrusted to Arthur Penty, a guild socialist<sup>25</sup> and one of a talented group of assistants, (including Ernst May, later the internationally famous city architect of Frankfurt).

The early residents included many liberal free-thinkers and artists<sup>26</sup>. 'Life in our Garden Suburb' was captured to perfection by C F Townsend, Art Editor of *Punch*, who built a home and studio in Hampstead Way in 1911. His cartoons, which appeared regularly until his death in 1920 showed the social *minutiae* of the middle-classes with meticulous accuracy. In the pre-1914 era, social life flourished and a handsome clubhouse was built on Willifield Green (destroyed in the Second World War). The Institute in Central Square, which proudly hosted international summer schools of architecture and town planning alongside Suburb events, found its accommodation incorporated into the Henrietta Barnett Girls School in the 1930s.

### Later History

Under J C S Soutar, Unwin's successor as consultant architect from 1914, the interwar development of the New Suburb proceeded uneventfully, if tastefully, enlivened by a few closes of Welch, Lander and Cachmeille Day's flat-roofed, streamform sunspan houses. Expediency triumphed with the Ministry of



Transport's 1928 upgrading of Falloden Way as a link road from the Barnet By Pass to the Great North Road through Highgate. The severance of the northern portion of the Suburb has been exacerbated since the 1950s by Department of Transport policies<sup>27</sup> but an untried scheme of tidal flow traffic management using 'runway' lights was fortunately rejected by the Inspector at one of the many Public Inquiries.

It was left to the Conservation groundswell of the 1960s to rediscover the unique character of the Suburb, at a time when the original Trust was embroiled in a takeover battle in which Charles Clore was involved. Eventually a New Trust was constituted to act as landlord with control over alterations to Suburb properties<sup>28</sup>. In addition to four elected members, the Trust Council includes appointees by the RIBA, RTPI, Law Society and Victorian Society. In 1969 the London Borough of Barnet designated the Suburb as a Conservation Area, later assessed by the Secretary of State for the Department of the Environment as of 'outstanding architectural or historic interest'. The New Trust appointed Shankland-Cox in 1970 to prepare a major conservation study which touched upon all aspects of Suburb life, including the already acute problems of traffic circulation and parking. Residents are highly articulate and keenly critical of Trust and Local Authority through the Residents' Association and Conservation Area Advisory Committee - a salutary reminder that the quality of life in 'the Suburb salubrious' is still a live issue to the residents 85 years on.

### Writing the History of Hampstead Garden Suburb

The compilation of the history of any community is dependent upon the quality of archival material. The archives of the Suburb are administered by the Hampstead Garden Suburb Archives Trust. The Minute Books and papers of the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust record the role of the Trust as developer. Plans of each building were deposited, to be approved by Unwin in his capacity as Consultant Architect. These form a comprehensive account of how the Suburb was built, and who designed it. The Suburb Archives also include numerous documents, photographs and ephemera detailing social life, and the *Hampstead Garden Suburb Record*, published during the early years. Papers relating to Henrietta Barnett and Raymond Unwin are not extensively represented. The two volume life of Canon Barnett 'by his wife' contained an extended chapter on Hampstead Garden Suburb, and Mrs

Barnett published her own account of its foundation, and early development in 1928<sup>29</sup>. The late Archivist of the Suburb, Brigid Grafton Green, was working on a biography of Henrietta Barnett for several years before her death in 1991. Most of Unwin's personal papers were lost when an incendiary bomb hit an outbuilding in the grounds of 'Wylde's' where his papers were stored during his absence in the United States - he died in June 1940, having been unable to return to England as planned. However, there is useful material on the Suburb in the Architecture and Town Planning Library at the University of Manchester, including a fine set of glass plate negatives of views of the Suburb taken shortly before the First World War. The First Garden City Heritage Museum at Letchworth office, including some not built. There is also a battered photoprint containing one of the transitional layouts of the Central Square recording the first influence of Lutyens following his appointment as Consultant for the central area. The RIBA Library houses the correspondence between Lutyens and Lady Emily, his wife<sup>30</sup>. The letters contain his frank assessment of Henrietta Barnett, and later confirm that his relationship with her was often stormy - as in 1908 when she engineered his dismissal by the Co-partners after he had triumphed over her about the design of St Jude's. The RIBA Drawings Collection contains several preliminary designs for St Jude's and the surrounding housing in North and South Squares.

The recent history of the Suburb includes the takeover battle and reconstitution of the Trust. Accounts have been written by Brigid Grafton Green and Christopher Ikin, who were both involved<sup>31</sup>. The Archive coverage of Hampstead Garden Suburb is extensive enough to cover most aspects of its development and social history, although there is scope for supplementing the documentary records through oral history, and other recent techniques. However, archive material acts as a point of departure, and is capable of interpretation in many ways. In preparing this history of 'the Suburb Salubrious', Stuart Gray and I have inevitably focused on the richness of its architecture and planning, as it is these aspects which made Hampstead Garden Suburb internationally acclaimed, virtually from its inception. I hope that I have tapped enough of its rich vein of social history, and of its varied institutional basis to provide a context for its design significance.

[*Hampstead Garden Suburb* (by Mervyn Miller and A Stuart Gray) is published by Phillimore, Shopwyke Hall, Chichester, Sussex PO20 6BQ, UK.]

### References

1. Writing in the *Souvenir Brochure of the Golden Jubilee of Hampstead Garden Suburb*, London HGS Trust 1957. 'The most nearly perfect' designation received wider currency in an article in *The Times*, 15 January 1962, during the campaign to restructure the 'old' Trust.
2. H E von Berlepsch-Valendas, *Die Gartenstadt-bewegung in England*, Munich, Oldenburg, 1912, p 163. The translation of the quotation is by Pevsner, who cited it in his foreword to A W Lester, *Hampstead Garden Suburb. The care and appreciation of its architectural heritage*, London, Hampstead Garden Suburb Design Study Group, 1977.
3. C B Purdom, *The Garden City*, London, Dent, 1913, p 61.
4. The illustrations, which also appeared in Berlepsch Valendas's book (vide 2 supra), included Lucas Square, Hampstead Way, and projected courtyard housing for Meadway, as well as the site plan. They were included in Brian Bruce Taylor, *Le Corbusier et Pessac 1914-1928*, Paris, Foundation Le Corbusier, n.d.
5. The classic account of Pessac is given in P Boudon, *Living-in architecture* (translated by Gerald Onn), London, Lund Humphries, 1972. For a recent review of Pessac and its relationship to the Garden City Movement see M Miller, 'The First Machines for Living in', *World Architecture* 19 (September 1992), pp 48-53.
6. Henrietta Barnett's comments were handwritten on an early printed copy of Unwin's 1905 layout plan. It is held by the Hampstead Garden Suburb Archives.
7. Bryce Leicester, *Public utility services and housing*, RECO 1/482, Public Record Office, London, p 42.
8. Unwin had actually prepared a preliminary version of the 'New Suburb layout at sea, en route to the Philadelphia City Planning Conference in May 1911. His plan was first published in *The Record* (HSG) I (1), August 1912. The plan was subsequently altered and adapted by the Co-partners in the interwar period.
9. The relationship between the development of the underground railway, and its surface extensions, and suburban development is discussed in A A Jackson, *Semi-detached London*, London, Allen and Unwin 1973, and D Edwards and R Pigram, *London's Underground Suburbs*, London, Bloomsbury Books, 1988.
10. Henrietta Barnett described her campaign in *Canon Barnett - His life, work and friends*, London, John Murray, 1918, II, pp 312-313, and in *The story of the growth of Hampstead Garden Suburb*, London, HGS Trust, n.d. c1928.
11. 'Garden Suburb for the Working Classes', *Hampstead and Highgate Express*, 28 November 1903. The cutting was pasted into the Garden Association press books by Thomas Adams.
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13. For a detailed appraisal of Unwin's career see M Miller, *Raymond Unwin: Garden Cities and Town Planning*, Leicester University Press, 1992. A detailed account of the planning and development of Letchworth is contained in M Miller, *Letchworth, the First Garden City*, Chichester, Phillimore, 1989.
14. Unwin's first plan was prepared in his Baldock office, and was dated 22 February 1905. Copies are held by the Hampstead Garden Suburb Archives and First Garden City Heritage Museum, Letchworth.
15. H Barnett, 'A Garden Suburb at Hampstead', *Contemporary Review*, February 1905, pp 231-237.
16. R Unwin, 'Building and Natural Beauty', in B Parker and R Unwin, *The Art of Building a Home*, London, Longmans Green, 1901, p 84.
17. Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust Ltd, Board Minute 74, 28 May 1906, Hampstead Garden Suburb Archives. A typewritten copy 'Mr Unwin's appointment' is in the Unwin Collection, Library of Architecture and Town Planning, Manchester University.
18. The standard works on Lutyens include a discussion on his works at Hampstead Garden Suburb, see especially A S G Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, London, Country Life, 1950; C Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, London, Country Life, 1950; L Weaver, *Houses and Gardens of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, London, Country Life, 1913. Early sketches for Central Square and its buildings are described in M Richardson, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the RIBA: Lutyens*, Farnborough, 1973.
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23. The classic study of the influence of Camillo Sitte is O and C C Collins's *Camillo Sitte and the birth of modern city planning*, London, Phaidon, 1965. The influence of Sitte on Unwin is discussed in M Miller, *Raymond Unwin: Garden Cities and Town Planning*.

24. Discussed in Miller, *op cit*; 23 *supra*.

25. The significance of Penton is assessed in M Swenarton, *Artisans and Architects*, London, Macmillan, 1989.

26. Suburb celebrities are numerous. Those who are deceased have been entered by K Slack in 'The book of repute and renown' held by the Hampstead Garden Suburb Archives. A roster of the best-known is included in the Phillimore publication. See also K Slack, *Henrietta Barnett*.

27. The complex history of the upgrading of Falloeden Way and its consequences is contained in the forthcoming Phillimore publication. The best account to 1980 is found in J Rutland, 'The lorry route: an updated account', pp 45-55 in *Suburb 1981*, the year book of the HGS Residents Association.

28. The battle for the reconstitution of the Trust is recounted in B Grafton Green, *Hampstead Garden Suburb 1907-1977*, London HGS Residents Association; C W Ikin, *Hampstead Garden Suburb. Dreams and Realities*, London, New Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust Ltd and HGS Residents Association, 1990.

29. H Barnett, *The Story of the growth of the Hampstead Garden Suburb*, London Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust, n.d. c1928.

30. A comprehensive section of letters was published in C Percy and J Ridley (eds), *The letters of Edwin Lutyens*, London, Collins, 1985.]

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### Further Information

The Hampstead Garden Suburb Archives are open by appointment. Enquiries should be made to:

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## 'Public Building': Sam Bunton and Scotland's Modern Housing Revolution

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### Introduction: A Scottish Perspective on Modernism

In Scotland, there emerged, during the 20th century, severe problems of architectural evaluation in those areas where 'British' cultural norms conflicted significantly with our established national patterns. The area of Modern architecture where this discrepancy was at its most acute was urban housing. Here the all-British norm was taken to be the, in European terms, unusual pattern of the small-scale, Picturesque 'urban cottage'. This led to obvious problems in the evaluation of this country's housing patterns,



Figure 1: Sam Bunton (on left) seen setting off in the late 1950s with a party of young golfers on an exchange trip. (sponsored by him) to Chicago.

closely affiliated as they have traditionally been to the European high-density urban mainstream - an affiliation which continued into the postwar years. The result has been a vicious circle of 'devaluation' of our Modern architecture, on grounds that it does not conform to English values of individualism, but relates rather to the 'Hard Modern' of mainstream CIAM. Just as Ruskin in 1853 blasted the Edinburgh New Town as 'a wilderness of square-cut stone, for

ever and for ever', so present-day English architectural commentators have lambasted the 'dumb monumentalism' (Williamson, Riches and Higgs), 'nightmare sublimity' (Nicholas Taylor), 'barrenness' (Gavin Stamp), or 'deadness' (Alan Powers) of Modern buildings in Scotland or by Scots architects<sup>1</sup>. The only way out of this 'vicious circle' is painstaking investigation of the work, and the values, of the architects of the time.

In this article I want to investigate the work of the architect Sam Bunton, who, although today little known, was Scotland's most forceful innovator in the field of Modern housing design and construction. So varied and hectic was Bunton's career that all I can do, today, is put down a few markers for further research (Figure 1).

### Bunton's Formative Influences Pre-1939

First, a little about his early upbringing in Glasgow. He was born in 1905 into a skilled working-class family in Govan: his father was an engineer, and subsequently a senior trade-union official. He showed no early inclination to become an architect. Instead, with typical impetuosity, he entered the profession by chance, leaving Bellahouston Academy on the spur of the moment to become a draughtsman<sup>2</sup>. Eventually, he went into architectural practice as an LRIBA. Early work in the 30s was straight Art Deco, including various striking bar-fronts. But before long, Bunton began to be fascinated by International Modern architecture, and to be drawn towards the focus of that movement's Utopian theories: mass housing.

Now all lively young architects at that time needed a world view on which to build their visions. Bunton was no exception - but, as a largely self-trained architect, he was not conditioned by the world-view of avant-garde 'social-reforming, artist-scientists' such as Tecton or the MARS Group. Instead, like many European architects of the time, he looked across the Atlantic, and there found his own enduring utopian ideal: not 'Gemeinschaft', but 'Gesellschaft'; not 'Community', but 'Big Business'. One might think this, for a stalwart of the Labour Party, even the Labour Party right wing, was slightly strange. But what Bunton understood by 'Big Business' was very far from today's ideas of unfettered, speculative capitalism, of '80s City of London yuppieism.

We have to recall the atmosphere of Glasgow, in the '30s. Those were the years when not only were ordinary citizens fascinated by the cinema-borne imagery of America, but when the new Labour municipal leaders (in a paradoxical reversal of



Glasgow's previous role, before 1914, as mecca of municipal socialism) looked to Mayor La Guardia's New York as a model of charismatic big-city government. The climax of this process was the visit, or rather pilgrimage, to New York in 1939 by Patrick Dollan and the Corporation leadership<sup>3</sup>. And for the Labour Party at municipal level, the focus of their activity and the bedrock of their power was housing - plentiful, low-rent housing, built if possible by direct municipal labour. So Bunton's own utopia of 'Big Business' - a partnership on Clydeside between interventionist municipal and central government, organised working class (through the Labour Party and the trade-unions), forward-looking building contractors, and scientifically-minded architects - all this was naturally focused on housing.

By nature a gregarious person, Bunton began to build up a vast circle of contacts. In a society increasingly orientating itself around public enterprise, this essentially meant contacts within municipal and central government. Even before the war, this was beginning to bring him an increasing amount of work. He became involved in that major Government initiative of the late '30s, the founding of the Scottish Special Housing Association, and under SSHA auspices began to discover a fascination for experimental concrete building construction. Here we should remind ourselves of the importance of concrete construction in this country between the wars: its use had been advocated by an official committee in 1920 following a public outcry against the use of 'alien' brick in the new council housing programme: concrete blockwork was advocated as much closer to stone building, and many thousands of dwellings were built, especially by Glasgow Corporation, where ingenious methods were developed by the Director of Housing, Peter Fyfe<sup>4</sup>. Now, for the moment, the emphasis was on in-situ methods; and Bunton helped the SSHA develop the Dutch-inspired technique of 'no-fines' concrete building (a rather opaque term, meaning coarse aggregate), and 'crosswall' construction (where the loadbearing function is performed only by transverse walls); and he designed major SSHA developments at Kilsyth and Kilmarnock - all still in a basically Art Deco manner.

### The War Years and the Clyde Valley Plan 1946

But it was the war itself that was to really establish his reputation at a national level. What he relished above all else was a sudden opportunity, which could be exploited with spectacular and unconventional initiatives. The war and its immediate aftermath gave him three decisive opportunities in



Figure 2: Clydebanks, seen immediately following the March 1941 air raids.

succession. The first literally came out of the skies, on the 13th and 14th of March 1941, when the German Air Force, in its only major raid on Scotland, rained bombs down on Clydebanks. The raid left the vicinity in complete chaos. That night, Bunton got in touch with Scottish Office contacts, and got authorisation to go in as a kind of temporary government proconsul. Working with only a few helpers, notably Hal Dykes, he spent the following weeks personally organising the clear-up operation - arranging trades, transport, demolition work, rehousing of the homeless. Dykes recalls that, although under severe stress, Bunton nevertheless all the time conveyed a forceful, authoritative manner (Figure 2).

As a result of his Clydebanks efforts, not only did he get the direct ear of Government for the future, any time he wanted, as someone who could cut through red tape and get things done, but he also secured an appointment from Clydebanks Town Council as a consultant architect-planner for reconstruction - which gave him a guaranteed focus for plan-making and experimental schemes<sup>5</sup>.

His second wartime opportunity came in 1944, with the government's emergency programme for 1 and 2 storey prefabricated dwellings. In Bunton, already fascinated by experimental building, this sparked off an extraordinarily productive period of innovation. Already, in 1939, he and Ove Arup had produced designs for crosswall concrete air-raid shelters suitable for later conversion to housing. Now, the emphasis was shifting to peacetime prefabrication. So, marshalling his government, professional and business contacts - above all the contractor John Lawrence, chairman of Rangers, and the engineer W. A. Fairhurst of the partnership F.A. Macdonald, he responded with a bewildering array of projects, hardly matched anywhere in Europe. For instance,

he designed a prefabricated house for Blackburn Ltd, who built 5000 throughout Scotland; he devised, with Lawrence, a way of using gypsum panels as internal walling (the so-called 'Bellrock' panels); he helped in designing a thin-leaf concrete blockwork constructional method, the Wilson block (which could be used by major firms such as Lawrence or Stuart in various contexts); and he was the architectural driving force of the Scottish Housing Group, a body set up in 1946 under Lawrence's chairmanship to coordinate prefabricated systems, train workmen and act as a negotiating body with the Scottish Office's housing arm: the Department of Health for Scotland. DHS recognised Bunton's status - in effect, the heir of Peter Fyfe as a kind of national impresario of experimental building - by giving him considerable help throughout the 50s: for instance, by model-making and administrative services<sup>6</sup>.

His third major opportunity came in the wake of the war. The threat of German invasion, and the resulting concerted 'British war effort', seemed to have powerfully revitalised the Union with England, and to have driven from view the powerful prewar pressure for restitution of the Scottish national State and reassertion of cultural sovereignty. This new Unionism was most forcefully articulated not by the Unionist Party, but by a socialist-minded political-administrative elite, led by English town and country planners, determined to enforce the 'strategic dispersal' of population and industry in all 'provinces' of Britain. This was applied to Scotland in a major initiative by Patrick Abercrombie: the Clyde Valley Regional Plan. The CVRP strategy was to broaden out the anti-urban, anti-tenement attacks of Garden Suburb housing reformists, by problematising urban concentration and municipal power as a whole, particularly in the case of Glasgow. The solution was to be imported from England: the idea of building not suburbs, whether of the garden or tenement type, but separate 'garden cities' or 'New Towns', to which slum-dwellers displaced by clearance would be exported. It was an approach which had been pushed with great vigour by F J Osborn of the London-based Town and Country Planning Association. But the underlying aim of this Osbornite strategy was political: to diminish the municipal power-base of Glasgow Corporation, and fragment West Central Scotland into a constellation of planned, Whitehall-controlled garden cities set within a Green Belt<sup>7</sup>.

### Reactions To the Plan: Bunton's Anti-Overspill Approach

This far-reaching proposal of 1946 polarised the Labourite housing-reformist camp, previously fairly

united in support of the Garden Suburb ideal, into two opposed factions. On the one hand was a planning-minded grouping, including Dollan, Tom Johnston, Robert Grieve (who later recalled that he 'adored' Osborn), James McGuinness, Peter Meldrum, and Mrs Jean Mann, who, writing in *Town and Country Planning* in 1949, blasted the 'decadent burghs' and branded Glasgow 'the Great Wen of Scotland'. On the other hand was a grouping favouring the bolstering of municipal power, and keeping Glasgow the Second City of the Empire - including City Engineer Robert Bruce and housing-minded councillors like James Duncan, senior civil servant Craig Mitchell, and George Buchanan, Labour's postwar Scottish housing Minister, whose draconian 1940s building-licensing policies paved the way for a virtual public-sector monopoly over housing. Bunton was, and remained, friendly with

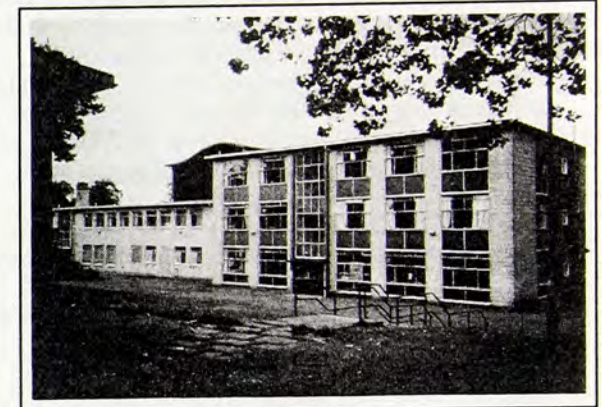


Figure 3: St. Cuthbert RC Junior Secondary School, Hamilton, built 1957 (Uni-School)

all these people - but now he had to make a choice between these two groups. What he chose was the second grouping: to refocus himself on his own city and to work vigorously to defend it against what he saw as a threat against both its people and its 'big business'.

From now on, all Bunton's work had an underlying agenda - to fight overspill, to show you could clear the slums without it. This was to lead him into what now became the mainstream of his work - projects for urban reconstruction, using multi-storey blocks as the building type, and blockwork or precast concrete as the building method. Of course, he was involved in many other fields at the same time - for instance, in the application of blockwork construction to school building (initially at a prototype Roman Catholic Junior Secondary School at Hamilton, built in 1957 through a specially set-up Lawrence subsidiary, Uni-School) (Figure 3). But the mainstream from now on was absolutely clear. And in his multi-





Figure 4: Sam Bunton examines a model of his 1958 proposal for polygonal and asterisk blocks with the Corporation Sub-Convenor of Planning.

storey projects, Bunton looked for inspiration not to the Picturesque of Roehampton, but, appropriately, across the Atlantic. He reworked, in CIAM form, US precedents, including the massive slabs and geometrical plan towers of US 1940s public housing projects, and, further back, the late Art Deco of the Rockefeller Center. Where even Liverpool's housing delegation, visiting New York in 1954, had found Parkchester and Stuyvesant Town 'frightening', and had vowed that their own multi-storey projects would be smaller and less dense, Bunton derived only inspiration and exhilaration from the city's soaring skyscrapers<sup>8</sup>. His work from now on divided into two main groups.

The first were fantastic, even bizarre schemes, which were purely of a propagandising character, and were intended to grab the headlines, to exploit Glasgow's municipal culture of daring gestures, and show you could defeat overspill if you were bold enough. They fit well into the contemporary pattern throughout Europe in the early postwar years: one approximate parallel was Sergei Kadleigh's High Paddington scheme in England. Bunton's ideas included a 1949 proposal for redeveloping tenement areas, by building multi-storey blocks on top of the tenements, decanting their occupants upwards, then demolishing and infilling below; or a proposal of 1958, put forward along with Lawrence, for massively squat polygonal and asterisk-plan towers closely resembling current New York practice, with the aim of fitting in everyone displaced by staged redevelopments (Figure 4). In case we might dismiss these projects as extravagant maverick gestures, it is important to grasp that they were treated as serious 'threats' by the 'opposition'.

The 1958 proposal, for instance, was received with great alarm by government planners, whose Under-Secretary, T.H. Haddow, demanded that his staff and Glasgow Corporation planners get together and 'puncture the Bunton thesis, which is liable to spoil the atmosphere for the whole overspill operation'. An extraordinary concerted counterattack against it was now mounted by both groups, using density statistics supplied by planners in the London County Council. Haddow, receiving these figures, triumphantly minuted James McGuinness, Planning Assistant Secretary, 'Anti-Buntonia, I think!' - and McGuinness, in his turn, congratulated the Government's senior planner, Robert Grieve, that 'the Glasgow planners seem to have made good use of their recent contacts with you!' He pronounced Bunton's scheme 'practically dead'<sup>9</sup>. But many others were to follow it.

The second, less publicised stream of his work from around 1950 was the less glamorous practical follow-ups to his initiatives. These had to conform to existing political expectations, while he campaigned to change those attitudes. Many were organised by his longstanding associate Kenneth Fraser. The practical problem in the task of resisting overspill was: how to build blocks of flats in Glasgow as quickly as possible. Constructionally, he now focussed firmly on one method: precast concrete. But the question was: what building type? During the early '50s, the Housing Committee's attempts to boost output used tenements. So that was what he largely designed at that stage: the 1950s peripheral schemes included many of his crosswall tenements<sup>10</sup>.

### Bunton and the Multi-Storey Flat

But Bunton could see what the councillors still could not: that the logic of the anti-overspill case was leading in one direction: multi-storey flats. Already in 1949-51, he had drawn up plans to rebuild the bombed area of Clydebank (Figure 5), or part of Glasgow Green, using tall 'point blocks' modelled on Swedish examples. In 1954 he went further: he and Lawrence set up a company, with the brand-name 'Multicon', to build crosswall high flats using Wilson blocks. The prototype, naturally, was built at Clydebank - the first load-bearing prefabricated concrete high block in the UK<sup>11</sup>. Bunton still involved himself as consultant in other projects - for instance, in introducing multi-storey flats to Northern Ireland, in 1959, using Wilson blocks. But the main agenda was to apply all this to Glasgow. And it was only in 1960, with a sudden political impetus for a switch to multi-storey building, emanating from a new and impassioned Housing Convenor - the ex-ILP 'hous-

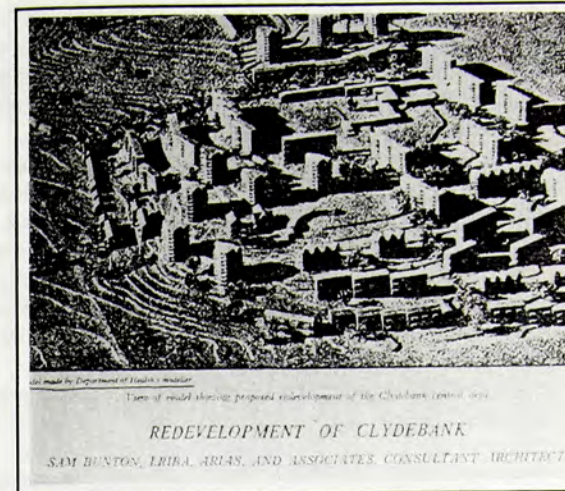
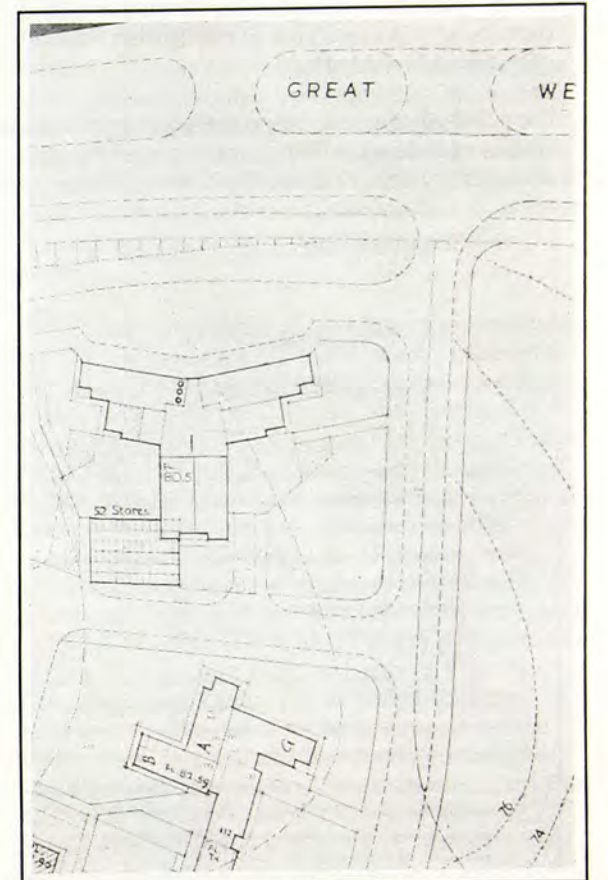


Figure 5: 1951 proposal by Bunton for Clydebank central redevelopment using tower and slab blocks.

ing crusader', David Gibson (Figure 6), a man determined both to tear the slums down and to defeat overspill - that such a policy first began to seem feasible<sup>12</sup>.



Figure 6: Bailie David Gibson, seen in 1961.



Figures 7 & 8: Blairdardie South development (built from 1960)

Bunton's first Multicon multi-storey proposal for Glasgow was a scheme for geometrical Y-shaped Multicon blocks, and cruciform 4-storey blocks. The prototype contract for these, at Blairdardie South, was built from 1960 (Figures 7 and 8). Its bony, precast-concrete unpicturesqueness was the first realisation, on any large scale, of Bunton's 'Hard Modern', and paralleled not only contemporary US



mass housing, but also the concrete rationalism of many European architects of the time, such as Renaat Braem in Belgium or Berthold Lubetkin, then working in England. And, to restate the point, it was very similar to the geometrical layouts of contemporary US mass housing projects.

But the building of Blairdardie did not work out at all satisfactorily. There were persistent delays, which stemmed essentially from demarcation disputes with the architects of both Glasgow Corporation and the Government<sup>13</sup>. They, to judge from Government files, seemed to resent him as an interloper. Increasingly complicated negotiations resulted - particularly frustrating for someone like Bunton, who loved above all else cutting dramatically through red tape.

But suddenly, in 1960, an opportunity to circumvent all this opened up without warning, and Bunton seized it. It came from the City's direct labour force,

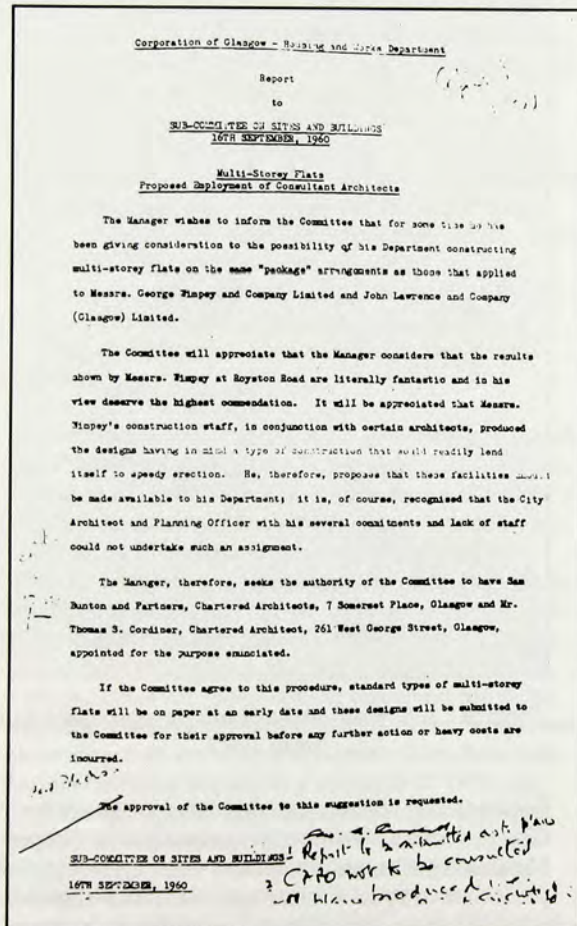
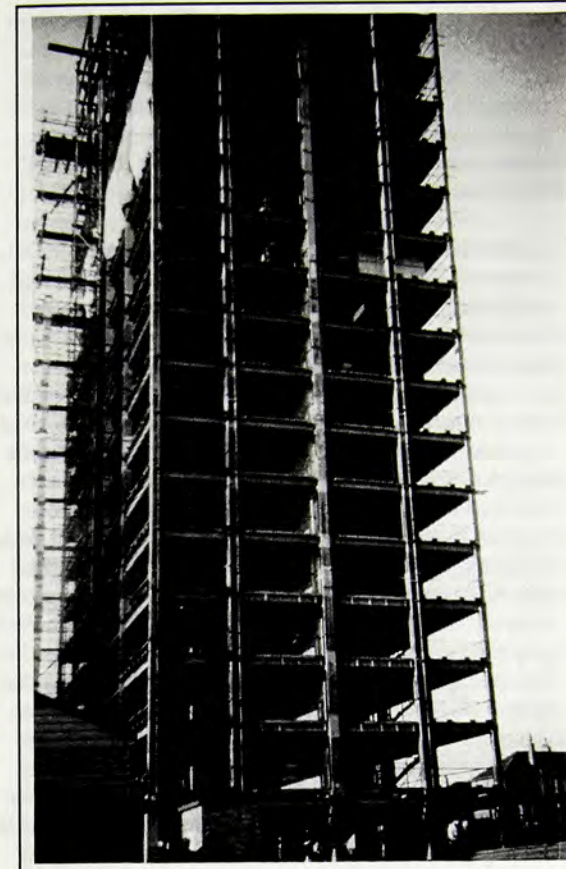


Figure 9: 1960 letter from the Housing and Works Department Manager to the Housing Committee, suggesting a direct labour 'package deal'.

the Housing and Works Department. This was a powerful element in municipal Labour Party patronage, and, as its name implied, housebuilding was its main activity. Here it had developed a very forceful tradition of constructional innovation in the '40s, when it devised its own concrete heavy prefabrication system - one of the first in Europe - and built a special precasting factory for it<sup>14</sup>. But so far it had fought shy of multi-storey blocks, so outside contractors like Wimpey and Crudens had started coming in, designing and building their own high blocks in so-called 'package deals'. The General Manager of the Housing and Works Department, George Campbell, was worried by their success and decided to organise his own rival 'package deal' (Figure 9). The obvious place to go to for help in this was the Bunton-Lawrence grouping, and what they decided, together, was that Housing and Works should directly commission the building of Multicon towers, using its own bricklayers to lay the Wilson precast blocks<sup>15</sup>. This was good for Bunton, as it would be a way of getting Multicon blocks built outside the control of the City Architect - as Housing and Works was a separate department of the Corporation. It also seemed good for Gibson, as an additional way of boosting output; so he gave Campbell the go-ahead to build a prototype scheme on a typical gap site, at Red Road, Balornock. But then matters started developing a lot further, and a lot faster, than anyone originally envisaged.

### Public and Political Support for High Flats

Now, at this point, we have to remind ourselves of the general climate of public opinion, the highly charged public atmosphere in the City in 1961-2. For decades, despite all the debates about overspill and redevelopment, little had actually happened in the slum areas other than spreading dereliction, and seething discontent. But now Gibson's multi-storey revolution had abruptly broken this log-jam. The dramatic sight of 20-storey blocks shooting up from gap sites, providing hundreds of Modern dwellings out of seemingly nowhere, absolutely electrified people, and built up a tremendous groundswell of public support for Gibson's crusade. People packed his meetings and wrote to him, people queued outside councillors' houses in the evenings demanding more, and quickly. For instance, a Mrs Hamill from Smith Street, Whiteinch, wrote to Gibson. She demanded: 'demolish prefabs all over the city, get on with the high flats, never mind gardens. Let us see some action in 1962 for God's sake and let mothers have peace of mind with a decent home!<sup>16</sup> Nowadays, after 20 years being bombarded by the rhetoric of the 'people's prince' and others, most ordinary people would find it difficult even to comprehend



Figures 10 & 11: Red Road development under construction, c1965.

these views of their predecessors, let alone to utter them themselves.

But, rhetoric apart, what we can certainly say is that the atmosphere in the City in 1961-2, among both ordinary people and the 'housing providers', was heady in the extreme. What Gibson had unleashed, in its scale and its suddenness, was at the time

internal walling went to local firms - internal to Lawrence (Bellrock), and external to Weir (asbestos sheeting on timber framing). So what was the reason for this dramatic intensification of the project, which converted it from a relatively modest development of an existing system into an audacious leap into the unknown? Various explanations were offered: that part of the site was discovered to be unusable, that the City Architect demanded a higher density development, that there was pressure from the local steel industry<sup>17</sup>. The best answer may be that, in a time of flux and confusion, all of them were probably partly true.

### Bunton Supreme

Bunton was now riding on the crest of a wave. One of the planners recalled nervously that 'When you went to see him in his office it was as though you were going to see Mussolini - seated behind a big - the atmosphere was messianic! He'd say, "It's obvious that fate has marked me out for this! Doors just keep opening in front of me without my needing to push!<sup>18</sup>

Now that's of course the recollection of an opponent, but I think it points to another powerful motive for Red Road. He wasn't looking to Europe, even to France. What we're still dealing with here is our theme of the 30s - 'Glasgow and New York, a Tale of Two Cities'. His world view was still overwhelmingly trans-atlanticist, in his extra-mural activities as much as in his architecture: for instance in his sponsorship of an exchange visit between young golfers in Glasgow and Chicago. Architecturally, the link was still partly with US mass housing projects: a comparable example was the 33 storey private blocks of New York's Co-op City, built shortly after Red Road. But what Bunton consistently laid more emphasis on now was the example of commercial skyscrapers. In particular, the structural design of Red Road was claimed to derive from that of the Pan Am office building in New York - and what we should also remember is that even in America, steel framing was hardly used for public housing, but mostly for office building<sup>19</sup>.

By deriving his inspiration from that most prestigious, and at the same time most un-'domestic' building form, the office skyscraper, he was setting himself apart in the sharpest possible way from the Anglocentric norms of 'British architecture', whose London avant-gardists and establishment alike - from Domestic Revival right through to New Brutalism - had stressed the need to dilute urbanity and monumentality by means of irregular or individualistic features: to do this was equated with



sophistication and architectural prestige, while unqualified scale and grandeur was (and is) labelled coarse and 'provincial'. Bunton trenchantly rejected this system of values. He proclaimed: 'Housing today isn't domestic architecture - it's public building. You mustn't expect airs and graces and things like different-sized windows and ornamental features'<sup>20</sup>. He was intoxicated by the vast new opportunity of Red Road. His son Len recalls: 'I remember my father coming home one evening and announcing over dinner that he'd been appointed to the biggest public-housing contract in Europe. Then I remember him bringing home a drawing board, and sitting down with a big broad T-square designing the tower blocks one night. Then he went into the office that Saturday and threw that down on someone's desk and said: "Draw that up!" Then, the same way, came the point blocks and then the slab blocks'<sup>21</sup>. In 1963 he and Lawrence went further, by proposing to develop these plan types up to a height of 45 storeys<sup>22</sup>.

### Problems at Red Road

But soon things began to unravel. In 1964, Gibson died suddenly, from a heart attack brought on by overwork, and the Housing Committee became embroiled in disputes with the Glasgow and Scottish Development Department (i.e. government) planners over the level of multi-storey building<sup>23</sup>. But more serious still, things started to go badly wrong at Red Road: delays and confusion mounted. Undoubtedly the daring of Bunton's conception, throwing together violently experimental constructional methods on such a scale, on a project that was supposed to be not a vast one-off but a prototype, contributed to this. And so did the fact that he was not a man of detail, and thus was temperamentally unsuited to the unglamorous task of monitoring a contract of this complexity.

But more important was the role of the Housing and Works Department, who, to be blunt, were totally unsuited to the task of management contracting. The embattled job architect, Bunton's nephew Sam Bunton Junior, summed up the problem: 'The one thing you need on every big building project is a main contractor - and at Red Road there just didn't seem to be one!' In accordance with standard direct labour practice - endorsed here by Gibson, to speed things up - there'd been no prior scheduling of trades; the idea was simply to start building, and estimate as you go, but without any checking of actual expenditure by quantity surveyors: in other words, a kind of blank cheque approach.

So it was only after seven years, in 1969, that it began

to emerge that there had been a 60% overspend on the 1962 estimate. There was suspicion in some quarters that this sum was inflated by a policy of using the scheme as a 'scapegoat' to conceal wider inefficiencies: it was claimed that materials were sometimes delivered and registered at Red Road, then driven straight on to other sites<sup>24</sup>.

And if the building of the blocks was controversial, so to was their letting. Now, historians of Modern architecture are only too aware of the danger of blanket hindsight-condemnation of one 'world view' by its successors - of the multi-storey 'housing crusaders' by the conservationists, for instance. But that doesn't stop us carefully identifying individual decisions where, even in the short term, a different balance of outcomes might have been arrived at. I think one such example was Gibson's decision, against the advice of Scottish Office Housing Administrators, that the first two blocks to be built at Red Road, 31-storey blocks with only two lifts, should be entirely 4-apartment flats, ensuring a very high child population<sup>25</sup>. The apparent result was a reputation for delinquency which stigmatised the scheme even before it was complete, and lasted right through to the early '80s<sup>26</sup>. But this of course takes us away from the subject of this article - the provision of buildings - into the vastly complicated area of their later use and experience. There is no space to tackle such questions here. However, the present highly successful Red Road concierge scheme suggests that even the most intractable problems of housing use may be soluble through careful management policies.

### Bunton's Declining Influence

What is more relevant here is that the troubles of Red Road not only chastened the Housing and Works Department, whose standard package-deal block eventually emerged in a much more modest form - the 8-storey 'Block 84' - but also proved the undoing of Bunton. He thrived best in a climate of bubbling bonhomie, and the general cloud of acrimony which now settled over Red Road - with all the various contractual and professional factions at odds - was deeply demoralising to him. More prosaically, he had great difficulty in getting his fees paid, and his practice went steeply downhill. In the end, to cut a long and depressing story short, he went into semi-retirement in the North-East, where he eventually died in the late 70s<sup>27</sup>.

Now, I think that by that stage, in the late 60s and early 70s, Bunton must have felt that he, who even at the height of his success had been branded a maverick by some in the Modern architectural establish-

ment, had now been singled out as a scapegoat, as those same architects now moved seamlessly to new patterns of architecture in keeping with evolving 'British norms'.

Indeed, in 1967 Red Road was pushed into the front line of these changes in British architectural fashion, which by now had progressed from the New Brutalist attempts to build dense, high Modern groups as complex conglomerates, towards an increasing rejection of large blocks altogether, in favour of lower, more English-village patterns. This rejection was heralded in 1967, by the avant-garde London critic Nicholas Taylor's special issue of the *Architectural Review*, entitled 'The Failure of Housing'. Taylor led off his polemic with a blistering denunciation of Red Road: its 'nightmare sublimity' and 'total lack of individuality'<sup>28</sup>. But this rhetoric of Picturesque anti-monumentality, however much recited over the following years to the point where it began to affect public opinion even here in Scotland, need not unduly concern us today. After all, ALL 'British Modern' architecture - Taylor's picturesque Low Rise High Density courtyards as much as anything - has been in official 'disgrace', as a whole, for the past 20 years. So 1960s 'British' architectural rhetoric need not constrain the relationships we choose to establish with our architecture of that period. It is, incidentally, something of an irony that, in the current rediscovery of Modern architecture in England, the most prominent architects so far to be 'revived' by historians have been Erno Goldfinger and Berthold Lubetkin - Continental 'outsiders' who never accommodated their rationalistic 'Hard Modern' principles to the Picturesque<sup>29</sup>.

### Conclusion

So - to conclude - what was the significance of Bunton's work? Well, I think the Red Road saga shows that his great contribution to this country's Modern architecture - whatever his own rhetoric of ruthless business efficiency and machine like repetition - was above all in the field of ideas and images. He was a romantic ideas man, whose Americanising skyscraper imagery powerfully energised the period's now unfashionable causes: housing production, prefabrication, high-density urban redevelopment, high blocks. He gave architectural expression to the inchoate indignation of many Glaswegians at the idea of the massed exporting of their city's population. He synthesised a widespread feeling that this city's crusade to rehouse its own people - the climax of public housing in Western Europe - should not be bashfully hidden away in an atomised sprawl of low, brick rabbit-hutches, but should be proudly broadcast through the building of vastly expensive,

uncompromisingly monumental blocks which would theatrically proclaim the collective idea of urban life<sup>30</sup>.

So much for Bunton's national significance. But what about international? The highway engineer James McCafferty has recalled, (in his talk to the Scottish DOCOMOMO conference), that the designers of the Glasgow Inner Ring Road drew ideas direct from the most advanced US practice, transformed them here into a new form reflecting the dense urbanity of the European city, and then re-broadcast them overseas, notably to Hong Kong. I think research may reveal a similar process in the case of Bunton's work. Outside 'the West', during the 70s and 80s, there began to be organised increasingly powerful public housing drives, employing large, regularly disposed blocks. The well-known campaigns in Eastern Europe were clearly inspired by France, by the long but relatively low blocks of the 'grands ensembles'. But in Hong Kong the public housing drive took a very different course. Crushingly massive slabs and towers juxtaposed with outcrops of slender point blocks far higher than any mass housing in the USSR or the USA - erupting from hillsides, from any available site, in a paroxysm of urbanistic energy unparalleled in the world. Now the links between Hong Kong and the UK, but with this country in particular, hardly need to be stressed - in commerce, and in all professional spheres: including the structure of the Hong Kong Housing Authority. But within the UK it was only in Scotland, in Glasgow in particular, that very high blocks were built in this massed yet at the same time abrupt pattern. Could there be a missing link to be traced in here somewhere?

*This paper was originally delivered as a lecture at the inaugural conference of the DOCOMOMO Scottish National Group on 10 October 1992. It is derived from research for a forthcoming book, 'TOWER BLOCK', jointly written with Stefan Muthesius and due for publication by Yale U.P. in 1993. As the paper is essentially a report on work 'in progress', footnotes are relatively sparing. Full footnotes for this paper's subject-matter will be included in Chapters 20 and 25 of 'TOWER BLOCK'.*

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## A British Proposal for American Settlement: Granville Sharp's Plan for a Town and Township

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The settlement of the North and South American continents was an issue which interested Europeans throughout the 18th century. A large number of prototypical plans for settlement were produced by British writers during the century. While some of these plans were intended as speculative ventures, by far the greatest number were proposed as a means of correcting social ills. A settlement proposal which is notable for its foundation in practical experience is Granville Sharp's *A Plan for a Town and Township*.

### Granville Sharp

Granville Sharp was an English abolitionist of the 18th century. Although the Sharp family had some prominence in 17th century England, Granville served a typical apprenticeship in his youth. Born in Durham in 1735, at age 15 he began a series of apprenticeships to linen drapers. An intelligent man who taught himself Greek and Hebrew, he was able to secure a position in the Ordinance Office at age 23 which enabled him to pursue his philanthropic ideals. A prolific writer of pamphlets, he became interested in town planning through his efforts to establish a colony for freed slaves in Sierra Leone. The prototypical plan which he developed was based partly on the practical experience of the Savannah colony, partly on the experience of the struggling colony at Sierra Leone, and also on contemporary writers.

Sharp's abolitionist activities not only created the interest in town planning, but provided the resources as well. One of the most important contacts Sharp would make in this regard was his friendship with James Oglethorpe, the founder of the Savannah colony. Also a social reformer, Oglethorpe began Savannah as way to provide a new life for English convicts. Correspondence between the two men began in 1776 as a result of Oglethorpe's reading one

of Sharp's pamphlets on slavery. The two men were soon active in fighting the practice of 'pressing' seamen for duty on naval ships<sup>1</sup>, and Sharp wrote a pamphlet discussing the old English practice of divisions into 'tithings', which served as the basis for Oglethorpe's plan of the Savannah Colony. Oglethorpe later introduced Sharp to important men of means to further his abolitionist work, and such was the respect these two men had for one another that Oglethorpe eventually named Sharp as the executor of his estate.

### Sharp and Town Planning

Sharp's town planning career began as the result of an incident on an English slave ship in 1783 when a 'cargo' of Africans was dumped overboard. This total disregard for basic human decency and humanity so enraged Sharp that he attempted to prosecute the ship's captain for murder. His frustration at this enterprise led him to propose a settlement of freed slaves somewhere on the coast of Africa<sup>2</sup>. The main points of his resettlement plans were:

1. No slavery.
2. Establishment of a fund for purchasing freedom of slaves.
3. No monopolisation of land, with parcels allotted for public services, common-lands for pasture, and cottages set on small parcels. Large land holders were to be excluded from using common-lands.
4. Trustees of the colony were to assure a profit for investors.
5. Government was to be organised by Anglo-Saxon frank-pledge, in tithings and hundreds (similar to Oglethorpe's colony).
6. Public works were to be performed by settlers by rotation.

By 1787 Sharp had organised subscribers for the venture, and in April of that year 400 blacks and 60 Europeans set sail for Sierra Leone. The six trustees of the colony were to be augmented by a seventh elected by the colonists. The original town plan was designed by a Mr Smeathson, who was one of the casualties of the first year that amounted to one half of the colony. Disease was only one of the problems confronting the settlers. Defence was difficult because settlers spread out over the land, originally avoiding the town settlement. 20 acre plantations were given to settlers, with individual dwellings scattered over a considerable area. This caused difficulties both in civic function and military protection. The following year one acre town lots were laid out by a Mr Gesau (who also promptly died, as did approximately half of all Europeans) which



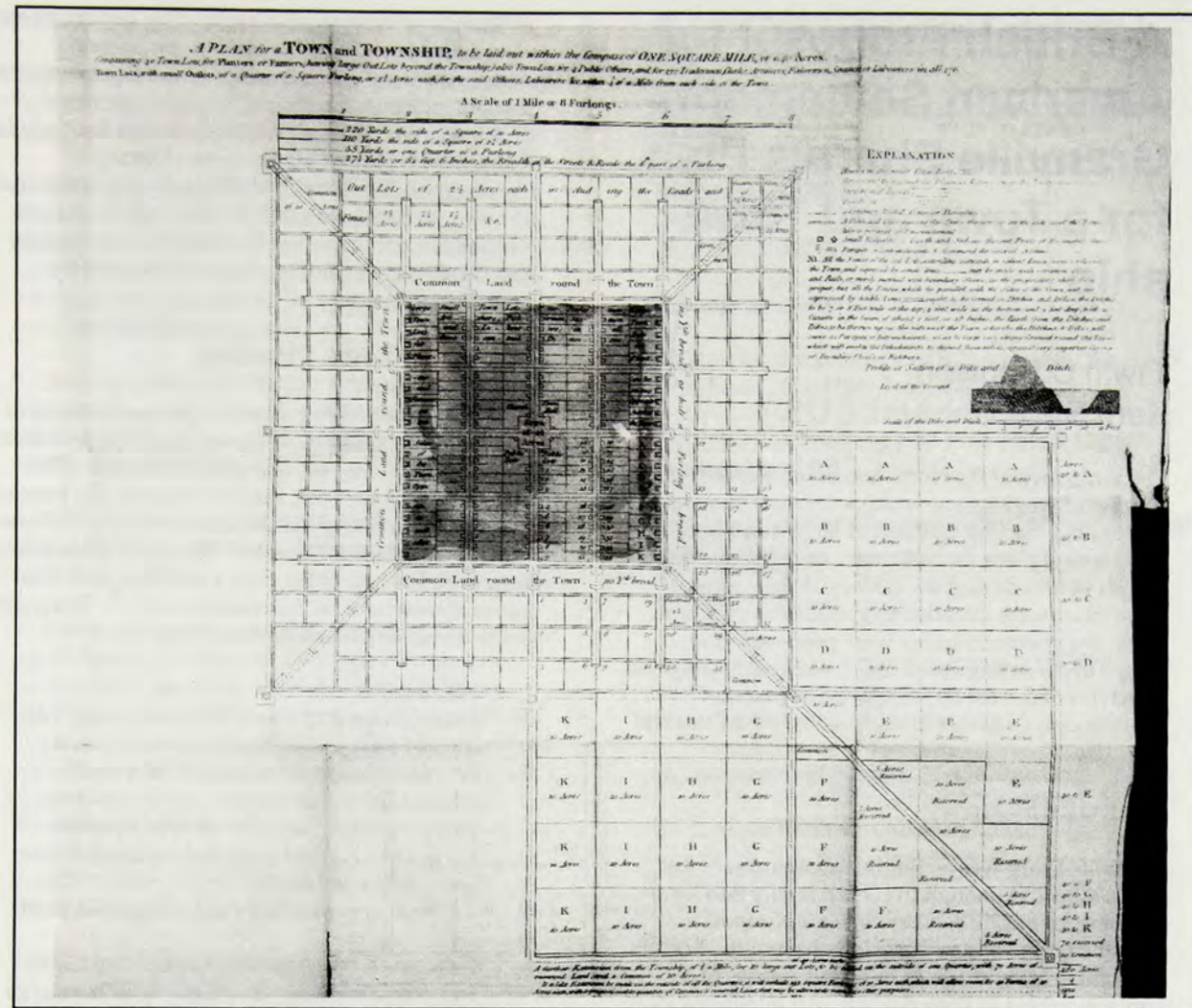


Figure 1: A Plan for a Town and Township... by Granville Sharp, 1794, photograph from the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

created a more cohesive settlement. Unfortunately attacks from neighbouring tribes (prompted by British aggression elsewhere) and French raiders forced several rebuildings of what eventually became known as Freetown.

**Detailed Planning Aspects**

The need for defence was foreseen by Sharp from the beginning, he advocated an earthen embankment and palisade to protect the town. However such an enterprise required a greater cooperative effort than colonists were willing to contribute, and hence the various disasters which befell the colony in its early years. Consequently, it is no surprise that his *A General Plan for Laying out Town and Townships on the New-Acquired Lands on the East Indies, America, or*

*Elsewhere...* of 1794 has a decidedly defensive character. Sharp's plan has three separate lines of defence comprised of an earthen embankment and ditch: one surrounding the ten acre outlots, another surrounding the two and one half acre garden plots, and an inner defensive perimeter surrounding the house lots. So guard posts were to be placed at all breaches in the embankment, and entrenchments were regularly placed upon the diagonal avenues to provide defensive positions if the outer perimeter were breached. The square layout of the plan was common to many ideal city plans of the 18th century, and the 'supergrid' had already been used in North America by the Connecticut Land Company (a five mile square grid) and dictated by the U.S. Land Ordinance of 1785 (using six mile square grids). Likewise the 'Renaissance square' in the centre of the

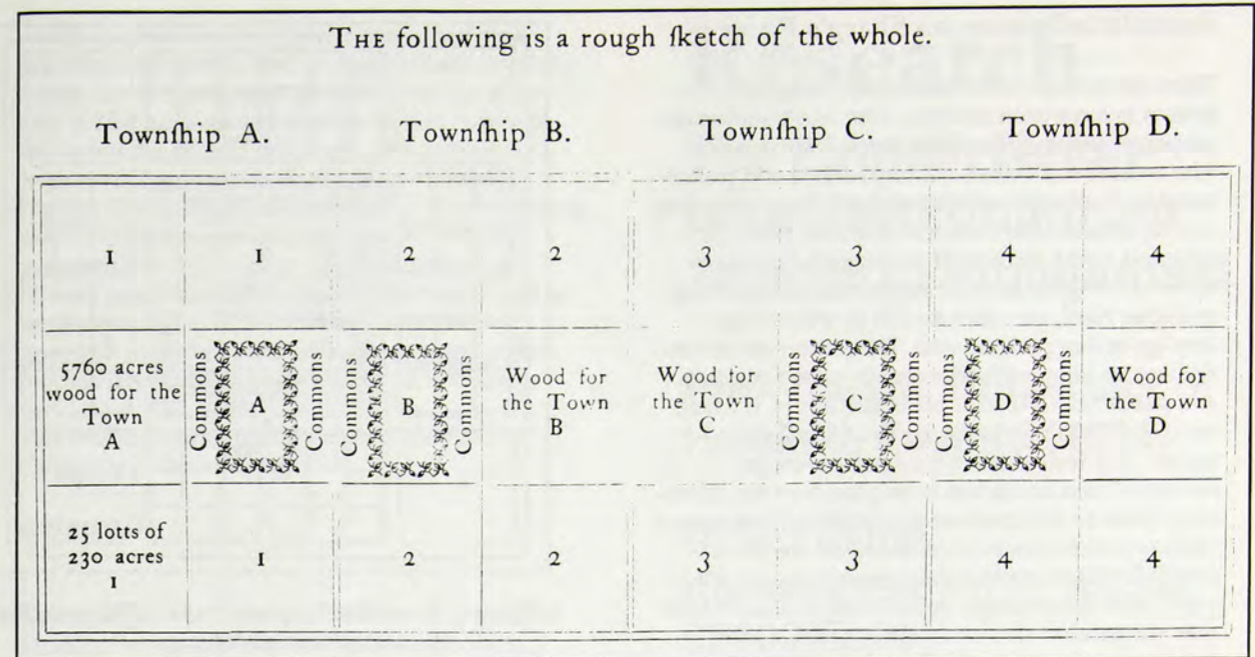


Figure 2: Method of Forming such Settlement, by Henry Bouquet, from William Smith, *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians*.

plan and diagonal avenues had been used in military city plans since Scamozzi.

Although the plan is well thought out in terms of land allocations and reservations for public and common lands, Sharp's lack of on site experience with town planning is evident in the plan. The diagonal avenues do not tie into the grid of the central core of house lots and the parcels of land cut into triangular areas by these avenues are simply designated as common or reserved lands instead of directly dealing with the spatial complexities of how one might actually use a triangular lot. Despite the square plan, the house lots are oriented only about the north-south plan direction, so that east-west streets have no buildings fronting on them. Likewise the houses for planters and farmers face on to the earthen embankments and are spatially removed from the town centre.

Other aspects of the plan show more thought. The farmers lots are located on the outer perimeter of the town centre giving them easier access to fields and common land, although such zoning arrangement might have some social consequences as tradesmen and labourers are physically removed from the areas where farmers live. Lots for a church, town hall, and other public structures are reserved about the centre square. Most interesting, however, is the greenbelt of common land which surrounds the town centre. While this also functions as a free-fire zone serving a military purpose, Sharp was equally concerned with

the social aspect this common land as is evidenced by his stipulations regarding common land at the Sierra Leone colony. In addition, his Town and Township plan provides for locations on lakes, oceans, or canals, and in each of these cases common land along the bodies of water to provide access for all inhabitants was provided.

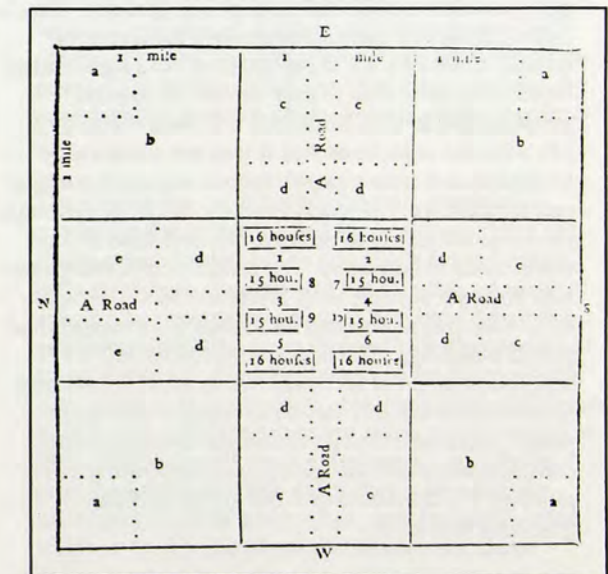


Figure 3: Town Plan Proposal by J V N, 1769, from *The Gentleman's Magazine*.



### Possible Influences on Sharp's Plan

There are several plans with which Sharp was known to have been familiar. One was a settlement proposal made by Henry Bouquet, a Swiss officer who entered the British military service and participated in the siege and relief of Fort Duquesne (Pitt) in what is called the French and Indian War. His proposal, titled *Method of Forming such Settlement upon the Frontiers, as might support themselves during an Indian War*<sup>3</sup>, provides for 100 families of an average of five persons each. The settlement covers one square mile, with 40 acres allocated for streets and public uses, 50 acres for house lots of 1/2 acre each, and 550 acres for farm lots of 5 1/2 acres apiece. The four sides of the square were to be stockaded and house lots to be placed on the perimeter. Outside the stockade an additional five square miles was to be reserved for farm lots for the 100 families. Sharp wrote a tract commenting on the plan<sup>4</sup>, and interestingly he modifies Bouquet's half-plan proposal to sit it on a lake or canal, a later feature he included in the Town and Township proposal. Both plans have defensible town centres with agricultural outlots. However, Sharp's plan was not only agricultural in concept, but envisioned a more diverse economy.

Other plans of which Sharp was probably aware were two proposals published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, a periodical which he was known to read<sup>5</sup>. The first submitted in 1769 by a J.V.N. is for a township 3 miles square. The centre contained 124 house lots 50 yards by 382 yards, with a central market place, church, public hall, and public granary. Lands in the corners of the township were reserved for copses, commons for sheep grazing, and agricultural lands were allocated to each house. A counter proposal made in February of 1770 was made by a J.P. with the objections that it was too small (to be increased to 6 mile square), houses were not contiguous for defence, the roads were too wide, not enough land was allocated to each family, and land should not be held in common. The centre of this settlement was 2000 feet square, with 176 home lots 80 by 160 feet. Two public squares had space for 4 unspecified public buildings. Sixty-six garden plots of 3-3 1/2 acres surround the settlement core, with a greenbelt surround the central core as in Sharp's later proposal. Although Sharp rejected J.P.'s exclusion of common lands, he did incorporate separate garden plots (of 2 1/2 instead of 3 1/2 acres) and the greenbelt common.

### Sharp and the Savannah Plan

Almost as important as what Sharp did include is what he omitted. There is no spatial division of the

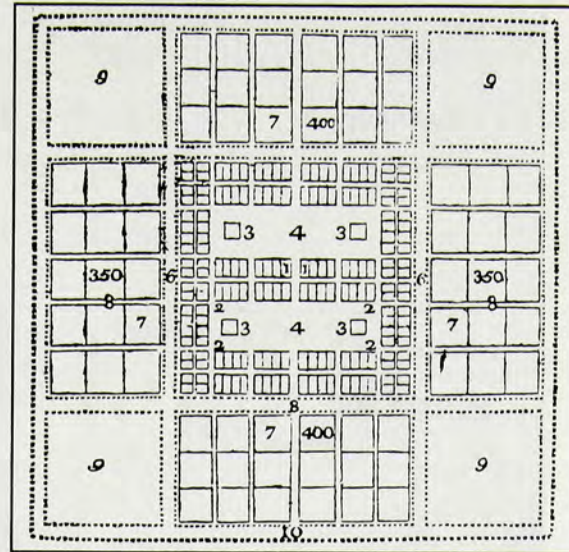


Figure 4: Town Plan Proposal by J.P., 1770, from *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

town into the tithings which were such a major element of the Savannah plan (which Sharp knew very well). Given his admiration for Oglethorpe, one has to wonder why the Savannah plan was not copied more closely, especially since Sharp was such a strong advocate of political division into tithings and hundreds. A possible explanation is that Sharp's plan was intended as an economic enterprise funded by investors. Town lots were to be given to new settlers with investors earning a return on the sale of agricultural lands and subsequent increase of land values. He was careful to point out that a donation of the small town lots of 1/2 acre together with their road area would be less than 4 3/4% of the total, and argued that even this reduction would increase the value of remaining agricultural lands of the township. This concern for economic return would make the Savannah proposal with its generous areas for parks and public squares difficult to implement. For Savannah this was no difficulty since Oglethorpe obtained a royal charter and did not have to purchase land. However, the economic realities that Sharp had to contend with in establishing the Sierra Leone colony probably convinced him to adopt a far more compact and efficient plan.

### Impacts of Sharp's Plan

Sharp's publication of the Town and Township proposal had a considerable distribution, and the original edition of 1794 was followed by a second edition in 1804. He promoted his own plan actively, sending out copies to governors of the Sierra Leone colony<sup>6</sup>. It undoubtedly served as a model for Joseph Bouchette's settlement proposal for Canada,

which also has a nuclear town surrounded by a greenbelt of common land and agricultural parcels. Joseph Smith's settlement proposal, the *Plat of the City of Zion* has a nuclear settlement and outlying fields, but the distinct greenbelt surrounding the house lots is not specified. Ebenezer Howard's Garden City with substantial greenbelts surrounding individual settlements likewise has not defined greenbelt, but the concept may well stem in part, Sharp's proposal for Town and Township served as an important step in the development of the greenbelt concept, as well as being a record of the utopian ideals of this important social reformer.

This article was first presented at the AESOP/ACSP Conference at Oxford in July 1991.

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# Research

## The Finnish Neighbourhood Unit from Tapiola to Pihlajamäki

PhD Thesis, University of Helsinki, Finland (1991)

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### The introduction of the neighbourhood unit in Finnish town planning

In Finland, the years following the Second World War were marked by a severe shortage of housing. This was largely due to damages to existing housing in the war, urbanisation and the need to resettle over 400,000 people who had been evacuated from the areas of Karelia ceded to the Soviet Union. There was also a shortage of construction materials and capital. Despite the initially unfavourable situation, post-war reconstruction provided opportunities for new currents in town planning and urban construction.

The idea of the neighbourhood unit, implying a model for the structure and expansion of cities and towns was adopted in the late 1940s from English influences both directly and via Sweden. A central role in this process was played by Otto-I Meurman, who since 1940 had been Finland's first professor of town planning. Meurman worked on three significant levels in this situation. He made the neighbourhood unit a guide to planning in his teaching and in his published work on town planning principles. He also used this principle in his own planning, for instance in several town plans, and he wrote extensively in the trade press and elsewhere about reconstruction in England and the neighbourhood-unit principle. The concept was seen as a hierarchical entity of correct planning principles ranging from the community, and the neighbourhood unit down



to the residential unit.

In the *Greater London Plan* of 1944 the neighbourhood-unit principle was presented in an essentially different situation than in Finland. The aim in London was to combat the effects of over-urbanisation by dividing the overall city structure into operational units, and by moving part of the population away from the most congested and polluted areas. There was also the aim of directing the subsequent growth of the city into the new areas. The Finnish situation corresponded on a smaller scale to the latter aim.

The neighbourhood-unit principle was first presented in 1929 by Clarence Perry in his monograph on regional planning in New York. For Perry, the neighbourhood unit was part of the continuous urban structure. The concept was clearly linked to garden-city ideas with their emphasis on decentralisation, as can be seen in the *Greater London Plan* and in Meurman's architectural thinking. Eliel Saarinen was an important background figure for Meurman. Before emigrating to the United States in the 1920s, Saarinen had already a number of major achievements behind him as an architect and a town planner. Meurman adopted Saarinen's ideas concerning decentralisation, both from the latter's plan for Greater Helsinki and from his work *The City* which was published in the United States.

The concept of the neighbourhood unit originated in conditions where population was much higher than anywhere in Finland, even in the Helsinki region. Howard's garden cities surrounding their mother city as independent urban entities, Perry's neighbourhood units and the reconstruction plans for London were in themselves unsuitable for Finnish conditions. Lewis Mumford's negative view of future developments (*The Culture of Cities*) was based on a review of the failings and inadequacies of large cities.

The organising of settlement into units of suitable size has often served the aims of political power and authority, or it has been hoped that it would do so. The history of the garden-city and neighbourhood-unit concepts contains a great deal of material relating to such aims. The background ideologies were conflicting, for instance Ebenezer Howard's reformist garden-city model, based on joint ownership and co-operation, and aiming at breaking down the structures of power as opposed to Theodor Fritsch's city of the future based on public ownership and a centrally governed and hierarchically run model of action. There is no reason to regard decentralised neighbourhood units or suburbs as the instruments of any specific ideology. Their ideologi-

cal content was always related to the frame of reference of the situation at hand. Although ideological emphases have varied greatly, they have shared the aim of creating well-functioning units with diversified services.

The situation in which the concept of the neighbourhood unit and its related ideas were adopted in Finland dictated to a great degree the course to be followed in the construction of new areas. The main requirement of the post war years was to build apartments and dwellings. Accordingly, the quality of services, the immediate environment or other features were not major issues. Standards related to the state funding of housing provided maximum and minimum requirements for the size and quality of apartments, and at the same time for housing architecture in general.

### Tapiola as a model of the new community

An important question in the history of the neighbourhood unit in Finland is why Tapiola never became a prototype for new communities. In Tapiola both the garden city and the neighbourhood unit principles came to be applied. A community with three neighbourhood units and a centre, it was intended as a satellite town for Helsinki. Responsible for this venture was an exceptionally wide organisation of private associations. As a model of action this was legally possible, but nevertheless rare in projects of this size. Above all, it was contrary to general trends, whereby town planning was becoming a more and more the concern of society.

In Tapiola the buildings were located in their natural settings so that the transition between well kept parks or gardens and natural landscape was often a subtle one. This may have obscured the central role of landscape planning. Unlike in Tapiola, housing areas built in later years did not place much importance on landscape planning and related concerns. The example of Tapiola was not followed in the siting of buildings and their relationship with the natural environment. This was partly due to reasons of economy, but also to the weak position of landscape planning in Finland and lack of training in the field.

A further aim was to make Tapiola as self-sufficient as possible in terms of activities. The area provided jobs in various services and to some degree in industry. In addition to organised services, local associations were established as well as a local newspaper to serve the needs of recreation, hobbies, contacts and the handling of joint affairs. The rapid launching of intra-community activities was an indication of how the garden-city and neighbour-

hood-unit ideas were applied in practice. The concept of a satellite town culminated in schemes to make Tapiola an independent municipality or to join it to Helsinki. Later construction of neighbourhood units and suburbs no longer aimed at creating communities with a high level of self-sufficiency. Nor was this realistic in the building of individual neighbourhood units.

The model community of Tapiola came to be built in a poor country, which had lost the war and was in debt, and where the shortage of apartments of materials created requirements of quantity and quality that was satisfactory, but not necessarily any higher. Tapiola was an attempt to provide a boldly and proficiently executed example for raising the level of community planning and habitation. It also aimed at improving national self-esteem. The hard-sell, American-style marketing related to the project, however, had an opposite effect, and was rejected in many quarters.

In the 1960s professional planners and designers began to take a critical view of Tapiola. The ideals of planning and the overall spirit of society had changed, and Tapiola was seen as an example of obsolete aims and values, both socially and in the specific field of town planning. In this respect it did not matter much that the plans for Tapiola provided for apartment buildings together with small housing in order to create a mixture of social classes. Within a short time statistics came to show that Tapiola was inhabited by the upper strata of society. Nor were critical views dispelled by the fact that the planning and design of Tapiola had involved the leading names of Finnish architecture. Of these designers, the concepts and ideas of Aulis Blomstedt and Viljo Revell were still timely in the 1960s. On the other hand, Heikki von Hertzen and Otto-I Meurman, the central figures of Tapiola, were known to be conservative.

### The residential area - the Finnish 'neighbourhood unit'

In Finland neighbourhood units, or in most cases residential areas, are linked to the development of areas and large-scale construction with its stress on rationalisation, standardisation and the use of building elements. The ideas of building whole areas, standardisation and rationalisation were already presented in a book from 1946 by Heikki von Hertzen as the necessary factors of a better housing environment. Similar aims were linked to the Tapiola scheme. After an initial period, however, experiments were rejected for a long time in Tapiola.

In the early 1960s the Pihlajamäki area in Helsinki was designed according to neighbourhood-unit principles insofar as it had a clearly hierarchical structure based on the cell principle. A common feature with Tapiola was the freely shaped network of streets taking into account the terrain, and the placing of buildings freely in the central parts of the lots. Pihlajamäki, however, clearly displays the changes, preventing the Finnish 'neighbourhood unit' from fulfilling the original idea of a functioning community implied in the concept. Pihlajamäki remained a residential area relying on a shopping centre, where economic change has reduced the already small number of services and jobs.

The main significance of Pihlajamäki is that an overall element construction technique was used there on a large scale. The area is an example of the 1960s standardisation, rationalisation, use of elements and enlarged scale. The influence of Le Corbusier can be seen in the architecture of the southwest part, where small aircraft fly over the area. At times the whole setting vividly reminds one of Le Corbusier's well-known perspective views.

In the decades of neighbourhood-unit and residential-area construction the building trade has become industrialised and concentrated. The number of trade groups and persons participating in planning has grown. Architects have become only one group among planners, designers and other concerned parties. It can be seen that this course of development undermined the position of architects in the planning and construction process. It also led to situation where architectural and aesthetic design came to have a lesser role in projects where these features were not specifically underlined.

In Finnish usage the term 'neighbourhood unit' or 'housing development' (Finnish: *lähiö*) came to mean a housing area built apart from the rest of the city, and dependent upon a city, its jobs and mass transport. It acquired a different meaning than Clarence Perry's or Patrick Abercrombie's 'neighbourhood unit'. In connection with Tapiola the aim was to bring the neighbourhood-unit concept to the fore, and establish for it a meaning following its original English models. The concept, however, changed in later years to refer to the housing areas as they were built.

In the early years of housing-area construction there was not much discussion concerning the idea of the neighbourhood unit. The concept was adopted as a principle for grouping and organising housing without any specific ideological or functional content. Architectural discussion in Finland took up



this theme at a very late stage. When a positive exchange of views would have been timely and necessary, interest still centred on monumental architecture.

The neighbourhood-unit principle gained a foothold in Finnish regional planning, where it was a useful, general structural principle. The planning authorities of the Helsinki region still used this principle in the grouping of housing in the mid-1960s. This connection with regional planning has its background in the fact that Clarence Perry introduced the concept in a work on regional planning. The Greater London Plan was also a regional plan of large scale. On the other hand, zoning and regional planning as such provided a poor framework for comprehending the actual contents of the neighbourhood-unit concept, for only a broad interpretation of the concept was necessary for the needs of regional planning.

Well-meant architectural theories have often fared poorly when realised. We may also express somewhat cynical suspicions that many theories were formulated to explain broader processes which were too strong to be resisted. Examples of the misuse of theories are proposals concerning minimum living space, which when realised have laid down not only minimum, but also maximum limits. The transition from sparse building practices to the so-called compact town, which in the late 1960s became the only acceptable alternative, was part of a strong process of urbanisation and social change. In this situation town-planning theory provided the necessary arguments for the compact and dense construction practices that were to be carried out in any case.

In Finland, the idea of the neighbourhood unit appears to have foundered on realised examples, which were devoid of content, functionally imperfect and ideals of the best examples, which were often regarded as obsolete and mistaken. Functional and other subsequent improvements to Finnish housing areas will perhaps make these housing areas neighbourhood units in the original sense of the term.

## The Accidental City: Writing the history of planning in Sydney

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During 1987, the Council of the City of Sydney, Australia's wealthiest local government authority, commissioned Dr Shirley Fitzgerald to write a history of the City for its 150th anniversary. *Sydney 1842-1992* was launched in July 1992, the City's official Sesquicentennial year<sup>1</sup>. And along the way a number of important local studies were produced by the City Council's History Unit (which historian Christopher Keating joined as Fitzgerald's assistant in 1987). These works examined the inner-city suburbs of Chippendale, Surry Hills and Millers Point (the latter being a locality which may eventually be accorded a world heritage listing which it undoubtedly deserves)<sup>2</sup>. Currently, Fitzgerald is working, with Dr Hilary Golder, on a study of the adjoining inner-city suburbs of Ultimo and Pyrmont. This publication, due out in the middle of 1993, will complete the local area studies.

Aspects of planning in the City of Sydney are raised, now and again, in all of the Council-Commissioned publication. And matters of planning import are properly set in their broader social contexts. In order, however, to treat the important subject of planning in a more holistic manner, it was decided by the City Council early in 1991 to add a history of planning in Sydney to the Sesquicentenary history series. I was commissioned to undertake this work.

### Planning History in Australia

It is possible that Independent, environmentally aware Aldermen looked forward to the production of a lively account of planning in Sydney which they could use as a cudgel on their pro-development political opponents. It is also likely that conservative civic politicians may have expected their bureaucratic minders to ensure a tame publication that would chart the progress and prosperity of the City bought about by wise planning decisions and even wiser politicians. But whatever the covert political intentions, intellectual freedom was respected. This was reinforced by the appointment of an expert Advisory Committee, the members of which were

the City Planner, John McInerney, architect and Alderman, Elizabeth Farrelly, academic planning historian Robert Freestone, Shirley Fitzgerald, the City Historian, and Tony Prescott, a historian with the heritage Branch of the NSW State Government's Department of Planning. Circumstances, however, were to be far less favourable in terms of the availability of secondary source material.

An initial literature search clearly indicated that historians in Australia have largely ignored the broad and fascinating field of planning. Although a few eminent historians, such as Geoffrey Bolton, have indicated the importance of planning in major scholarly works<sup>3</sup>, few professional historians have been active in the area. Peter Spearritt's *Sydney Since the Twenties*<sup>4</sup>, though not specifically devoted to planning, was a pioneering publication. His bibliography on writings by planners in the first half of the twentieth century was another early contribution to the field<sup>5</sup>. Fifteen years later, Spearritt was to co-author a history of metropolitan planning in Sydney, but this is more of an outline, albeit a very useful one, than a sustained historical inquiry<sup>6</sup>. Leonie Sandercrock's well received and widely read book, *Cities for Sale*, is another piece of history; it examines 'the failure of urban planning in Australia's three leading cities' - Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide<sup>7</sup>. Most recent was the publication of Robert Freestone's *Model Communities: The Garden City Movement in Australia* which explores in detail the garden city tradition of planning<sup>8</sup>. Historical work, however, remains thin on the ground while the history of planning in Australia continues to be primarily dealt with either as an aside to other fields of enquiry or in ways which are ahistorical. The former is evident in F A Larcombe's three volume history of *The Advancement of Local Government in New South Wales*<sup>9</sup> which is richly peppered with planning history. The latter - an ahistorical approach - is discernible in works such as Nigel Ashton's *From Village to Metropolis*<sup>10</sup>.

### Key Themes

As primary and secondary research progressed for a history of planning in Sydney, themes rapidly emerged. None, in my view, were more pronounced than that of laissez-faire. Laissez-faire individualism frustrated effective control of nineteenth century urban growth in Sydney. And the doctrine of laissez-faire worked effectively against the implementation of planning schemes and ideas in twentieth century Sydney. This dominant theme, however, inter-related as it is with the themes of power and conflict, clashed with the principal organising theme in a number of reflective and quasi-historical works by planners (and architects). This was particularly

so in the case of a collection of essays, *The Design of Sydney*, which was edited by Professor Peter Webber<sup>11</sup>. Here, it has been observed that, after the spectacular growth of the City from the early 1960s, first impressions of Sydney 'could suggest that this development has been thoughtless and uncontrolled'. Closer acquaintance, the book's editor contends, 'reveals many delights and surprises': these, it is argued, 'are the result of the efforts of a number of dedicated people who have fought to control and enhance the quality of the City through urban design initiatives, in the face of relentless development pressures'<sup>12</sup>.

Vigilant urbanists working as planners, architects and in other related professions had, Webber notes, from the beginning of the long boom helped to 'mould' Sydney and awaken its 'true personality', the latter being the ultimate task of the 'planner as master-artist'. But, quoting Mark Girouard, he is forced regretfully to reflect that they are 'the often forgotten heroes who loved cities but fought to remedy their defects without destroying them'. Even less visible, Webber maintains, are 'projects unrealised but often still influential' of forgotten planning heroes from the dim past<sup>13</sup>. Attempts appear frequently to be directed at isolating concrete manifestations of these projects, ideals and philosophies 'on the ground' or at discerning traces of them on the built environment.

Such undertakings are perhaps in part a response to the, at best, chequered fortunes of planning in the City of Sydney. Most plans for Sydney - a City whose very boundaries have ebbed and flowed with strong political tides over the past two hundred years - have either died on inadequate drawing boards or been manipulated to the point of almost total negation by the state and its numerous authorities. Only fragments or hints of 'planning' remain to be discovered or explored.

It is undeniable that much of the detail and many of the specific elements which make up contemporary Sydney can not be labelled the product of mere chance. Nor, alternatively, should it be surprising that as part of a capitalist society, most of the City's 'design' and development has been predicated on anarchic, free market forces<sup>14</sup>, though the dominant powers are not obscure - profit maximisation, personal greed and a belief in private property. Viewed from the perspective of town or city planning, however, Sydney is an accidental City, a City which emerged from a complex web of power relations without recourse to holistic planning. In the drive to expand the City and its capacity to create wealth or facilitate capital accumulation Sydney has almost constantly undergone piecemeal redevelopment



since the second half of the nineteenth century. This process is still at work today

**The Book.**

Sydney's planning history is thus to be titled *The Accidental City: Planning Sydney 1788-1992*. And these are the themes which will largely inform its contents and structure, both of which are reflected in the chapter titles:

1. 'the dry bones of civic life': Regulating Growth in 19th Century Sydney
2. 'in the interests of economy and efficiency': National Efficiency and the City Beautiful
3. 'a new battleship just launched?': Planning in Sydney Between the Wars
4. 'a race between planning and chaos': Post-war Reconstruction
5. Generating 'political steam': Participatory Democracy and Strategic Planning
6. 'losing ground': Post-boom Planning

Leaving aside details of planning schemes and legislation, what, then, are the projects general findings?

It may be appropriate, here, to quote a question posed in a 1991 issue of the Australian magazine *Modern Times* by journalist and political commentator, Mungo MacCallum, who asked:

If a camel is a horse designed by a committee, what should we call an economy designed by one federal government, six state governments, two territory governments and a few people who got into the meeting by mistake?

This is a good question and one which can be readily applied to a case study of the City of Sydney. It may well be asked: 'What do you call a city designed and controlled by one state government, one precariously placed City Council, dozens of government departments, several special boards and authorities, all of which are under pressure from numerous interest groups as well as a few people who got into the meeting by mistake?

The plethora of authorities and instrumentalities which have had a hand in the control and development of the City of Sydney has long been problematic to local planning in the City. Most of the diffi-

culties surrounding the development of planning instruments and controls in Sydney can be related to conflicts between different authorities or the duplication of powers and prerogatives.

The same can be said of attempts at strategic planning in the City. On 15 December 1969, the Council of the City of Sydney formally resolved to commission a strategic plan for Sydney. And this was subsequently prepared by the Sydney-based firm Urban Systems Corporation under the direction of the planner George Clarke. The City's strategic plan was completed in July 1971. And for a decade and a half, Sydney was to have both a statutory scheme and a strategic plan. The strategic plan illustrated desired land use patterns and defined specific programmes of work, the detail for which was developed in separate action plans. The City's strategic planners also intended that their plan would provide the means to assess whether development applications under the statutory scheme were compatible with long term objectives and the City's overall fabric. Despite the implementation of various action plans, however, the strategic plan was by and large abortive, and strategic planning *per se* was dropped by state government-appointed Commissioners during 1987 after the Council was sacked for the fourth time in its 145 year history by parliament.

**The fragmentation of Sydney's Planning**

The fragmentation of planning authority and functions in Sydney did not just 'happen': these local conditions were and continue to be manifestations of ongoing conflict between the state government and Sydney's local government authority, the City Council, due to a laissez-faire approach to city planning mixed with not a little political opportunism. That Sydney's Council shares the City with a politically and legally more powerful level of government has meant that local government and planning in Sydney has been largely dependent upon the political goodwill (or lack thereof) of the state government. Local planning functions as administered by local government have also been directly affected by the political composition of the state government. On a number of occasions, Liberal (conservative) state governments have sacked Labour City Councils - and *vice versa* - which is the ultimate removal of planning power for local governance of the city.

We should, however, draw a distinction, here, between the state government and 'the state'. In a capitalist society, 'the state's primary role is to foster conditions for capital accumulation - for money and profit making'. In this sense, it should not be sur-

prising to find that on occasions, one will find a state Labour government sacking a Labour Council, as happened on 26 March 1987, because Independent Aldermen on the City Council were holding up major developments - mainly five star hotels - which were deemed important to the financial success of the 1988 Bicentennial celebrations. Nor should informed observers find it odd that on occasions a Civic Reform Council (which is the local version of the conservative Liberal Party) might push what would appear to be radical ideas. Whatever the political make-up of any particular parliament, the fundamental goals of 'the state' remain constant.

**Conclusions**

To see planning in Sydney from the point of view of conflict between state and local government - or between 'the state' and civic institutions - is to set local planning in Sydney in a broader context. From this perspective we also see that the social and spatial outcomes of the process of planning are dependent upon the city's political economy.

Given the resources allocated to the project, it is hoped that *The Accidental City* will be a modest but useful contribution to planning history which seeks to place planning in its broader social context.

*The Accidental City* will be published in 1993 by Hale and Iremonger. Paul Ashton is a consultant historian based at 4 Maple Avenue, Pennant Hills, NSW, 2120, Australia.

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# Reports

## Planning History Workshop Held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, 24-25 August 1992

Professor John Muller, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa

Professor Gordon Cherry spent two weeks in August in the Department of Town and Regional Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg as the Department's 1992 Visiting Professor. During the period of his visit a Planning History Workshop was held - the first such workshop to be run in South Africa - at which he delivered a keynote paper on International Transfers in Planning Ideas and Practice. Academics from Planning Schools around the country contributed papers on various aspects of planning history. Topics ranged from settlement patterns during the Iron Age to urban reconstruction in the 1970s. Papers were presented on the origins of planning education and professional planning in South African and on the role of the Black urban planner in the past and in the future. Other papers addressed issues such as community resettlement under apartheid ideology, historical pre-occupation with blueprint planning, and the work of planning committees in the 1930s. Case studies on the history of Pretoria, Bloemfontein and Stellenbosch, were presented. The content of the Workshop was thus wide-ranging and discussion was lively and probing. There was evidence of an active interest in, and enthusiasm for, study in the field of planning history. At the concluding session it was resolved that a Planning History Study Group be immediately formed in South Africa and that liaison with the Planning History Group be initiated. Contact was made with the editor of *Planning History* and it has been agreed that papers read at the workshop will form the content of a future edition of *Planning History*.

Papers presented were as follows:

- I Professor Gordon Cherry, International Transfers in Planning Ideas and Practice
- II Professor John Muller, Parallel Paths: The Origins of Planning Education and the Planning Profession in South Africa.
- III Professor Tom Huffman, Settlement Patterns During the Iron Age
- IV Faustin Kalabamu, The Historical Processes of Traditional Tswana Settlement
- V Catherine Laburn-Peart, The Persistence of Plan: The Magopa Experience
- VI Professor Colin Tod Welch, Historical Continuity in Town Planning (Stellenbosch)
- VII Professor Wallace Van Zyl, The Planning Origins of Bloemfontein
- VIII Louw van Biljon, Pretoria: Genesis and the Successive Evolutionary Layers
- IX Martin Drake, The Blueprint Plan: Historical Overview of A Planning Preoccupation
- X Alan Mabin, The Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee 1933-1945: Rigour and Mortis
- XI Lulu Gwagwa, The Role of the Black urban Planner in South Africa: A Short History
- XII Professor Dan Smit, Urban Reconstruction 1975-1992

## First Conference of the European Association of Urban Historians, Amsterdam, Netherlands, 4-7 September 1992

Robert Home, University of East London, UK

This was an interesting new venture, hosted by the Dutch Urban History Group at the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, and attended by about 120 delegates, from most European countries.

The European Association of Urban Historians is a new academic association, with a loose organisational structure (indeed it has no formal membership, and not much in the way of finances). The lead in setting it up was taken mainly by the Centre for Urban History at Leicester University (under Professor Peter Clark), which has over the past few years contributed to establishing and large ERASMUS and TEMPUS network for academic exchange in the field. Other initiatives from the Centre include a register of Urban History research in Europe (edited by Barry Haynes and Peter Clark, and available from the Centre, Leicester LE1 7RH, for £10 including postage and packing), the reconstitution of the Urban History Yearbook into a new, twice-yearly academic journal, *Urban History*, and a book series on urban history, published by Leicester University Press.

The conference, while organised on a shoe-string and with limited advance publicity, was stimulating and enjoyable. In the opening theme paper, Professor Aymard (Paris), under a Braudelian mantle, explored the emergence of urban history in the early 1970s as a new frontier of historical research, which has concentrated particularly on the early modern period (17th and 18th centuries). In the closing theme paper, Professor Lynn Hollen Lees (Pennsylvania) suggested that urban history lacked big or contentious themes, and also urged more attention to the political dimension in urban history, particularly the relationship of urban development to the formation and dismemberment of

states, in the present unstable state of European politics. Both spoke of the need for a world dimension on European urban history studies, theme which was little explored at the conference, although one paper, from Joel Outte (Paris), explored the 'dream of the rational city' as applied by European (particularly French) urban reformers in Brazil in the interwar period.

About eighty papers were presented under nine themes, including several by planning history researchers and members of the Planning History Group. The theme group on the 'pathology' of cities, chaired by Herman Diederiks (Leiden), included some topical papers touching on environmental issues and privatised public utilities, such as Stephanie Geissler (Berlin) on environmental pollution by the gas industry in 19th century Germany, two papers on Dutch public health issues in the late 19th/early 20th century (Henk van Zon, Groningen, on sewerage disposal, and Myriam Daru, Eindhoven, on piped water supply), and Marjatta Hietala (Helsinki) on cholera in Finland. The theme session on leisure was dominated by British and Dutch papers, perhaps suggesting that it is a peculiarly North European cultural construct; among these, Maurits van Rooijen (Rotterdam) traced the political and class conciliating dimensions of the Dutch public parks movement in the mid 19th century. Willem Korthals Altes' paper on the garden city movement in Vienna 1919-34 traced interesting comparisons with the plotlands movement of the same period in Britain.

The conference had a strong economic, social and demographic emphasis, but planning history was well represented with its own theme group, in which nine papers were presented. These included Rionach no Neill (University College, Dublin) on the redevelopment threats to Dublin's quays, and Jim Yelling (Birkbeck, London) on his newly published work on London slum clearance and redevelopment in the 1930s. Papers by Alexandra Yerolympos and Vithleem Martinides-Hastaoglou (both from Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) on 19th century town planning in the Balkans and Greece respectively were particularly topical, in the light of recent events in East-Central Europe, and traced how the newly independent Balkan states set out consciously to replace the 'poly-ethnic' Ottoman towns with baroque-style western models. Serb nationalism grew up as a rural movement suspicious of the urban bourgeoisie and their Ottoman contacts ('beyond the peasants there is no Serbian nation'), which may help to explain some of the present-day violence in Bosnia.



This first conference seems to have got the Association off to a good start, and it intends to repeat the venture biennially, with Strasbourg lined up for September 8-11 1994, and Budapest for August 1996. This will provide a supportive academic structure for planning historians, and supplement the American networks of SACRPH and the Urban History Association. Suggestions for themes and papers for Strasbourg 1994 to Jean-Luc Pinol, Centre des Recherches Historiques sur la Ville, 22 Rue de l'Ail, Université de Strasbourg II, 67000 Strasbourg, France.

## Visions Revisited: The first conference of DOCOMOMO-Scotland, Glasgow, 10 October 1992.

David Whitham

DOCOMOMO, an international working party for the documentation and conservation of buildings, sites and neighbourhoods of the modern movement, was founded at the University of Eindhoven in 1988. A United Kingdom branch is well established, but the conference was convened from the History of Art Department, Glasgow University under the fiery cross of DOCOMOMO-SCOTLAND.

Opening the conference, Professor Hubert-Jan Henket diplomatically explained that if nationality were recognised the Scottish group would be the 28th national working party. He went on to define the field of interest that DOCOMOMO had set for itself: its period the end of the 19th century to today; modernity as that which was historically innovative, technically, socially or aesthetically.

### The Great Themes of Glasgow's Planning and Architectural History

A century ago, Glasgow's civic power and enterprise made it a wonder of the world. 'Municipal socialism', pioneered in Joseph Chamberlain's Birmingham, was most highly developed in Glasgow, and visitors concerned with social services and city management came from the world over, but particularly from the USA. The municipal ideal became an ideology, even a faith -Glasgow had a branch of the American Civic Church. The tramways, municipalised in 1894 and electrified by 1901, could open up better housing, better recreation and health for all, increase mobility of labour, and promote urban development. Glasgow became the Mecca of the civic faith and the tramcar its icon.

Yet by mid-20th century, as two contributors showed, the direction of pilgrimage had been reversed. In 1939 the arch-municipalist Patrick Dollan took Glasgow councillors to see housing achievements of Mayor La Guardia's New York, and in 1961 Lord

Provost Jean Roberts led a delegation to eight American cities, returning convinced that a great urban motorway system was essential to Glasgow's redevelopment.

The second recurring theme, central to Scottish planning history and by no means yet fully disentangled, was the thirty-year struggle between Glasgow and the Scottish Office over dispersal of the city's population. Despite Glasgow's reluctant acceptance of overspill and new town policies, the strength of the 'second city' faction, with its historic image of a million population, affected planning and housing decisions in west-central Scotland from the second world war to the 1970s.

### The Introductory Papers

Following Chairperson Kirsty Wark's welcome and Professor Henket's greeting, the morning session began with introductory papers by Dr David Walker and Miles Glendinning.

David Walker, chief inspector of ancient and historic monuments in Scotland, later to be embarrassed by questions on listing of modern buildings, raised two points of difficulty, if not dissent from DOCOMOMO's principles. Buildings were being demolished in their architects' own lifetimes as never before, not only because of their construction but due to the specialised functions of many modern buildings, a clear obstacle to conservation. He also seemed to qualify, if not question, the innovative test; pioneering was not important in time. Dr Walker was after quality, to be valued on its own terms.

Miles Glendinning of Edinburgh University, a historian of modern housing with a holiday home in a 22-storey tower block, expanded on the difficulties of the post-1945 period. It was a period of unprecedented building activity, with a near-monopoly of public sector work, not only housing but including schools, hospitals, universities, roadworks and bridges, industrial buildings for the Coal Board and ports authorities; even commercial buildings in Scotland tended to be built for government clients. Buildings had decayed and were lost to redevelopment. Art-history valuations were no help; *The buildings of Scotland* (The Scottish 'Pevsner') while praising Scandinavian inspired empirical work of the 1950s, saw the new Glasgow Sheriff Court as 'dumb monumentality'. It was necessary to pursue the archaeology of building provision, separately from its experience in use.

### Key Actors Look Back

Dr J Dickson Mabon, ex-MP for Greenock and a minister at the Scottish Office 1964-70, recalled the political context of the great housing drive. Labour had promised 500,000 new houses a year in Great Britain, against the Tory bid of 300,000. On Labour's narrow victory in October 1964, Mabon was called on to produce the Scottish rate of 50,000 within 18 months. While the target for England and Wales would be partially met by the private sector, that market was virtually non-existent in Scotland. Apart from numerical shortage the quality of housing and the extent of overcrowding were much worse in Scotland; thousands of respectable 'lower middle-class' families in Glasgow lived in flats with no baths, and rural areas had their slums too. Three assets were the centrally managed Scottish Special Housing Association, the new towns, and industrialised building which had been promoted by the Tories. The SSHA and new towns were already geared for high production, and industrialised building enabled small towns to negotiate jointly with one large contractor. High-rise building was welcomed; every small burgh wanted its 'multi'.

Production came close to the 50,000 target for a few years - 'if only it had been for ten . . .' Glasgow, where the powerful housing convenor Bailie Gibson enthusiastically accepted high flats, also exceeded its planned overspill rate, despite Gibson's second city sentiments.

Ronnie Cramond, a senior Scottish Development Department administrator during the housing drive, and a historian of Scottish public sector housing, recalled the social context of the 1950s by describing a recent demonstration at a wedding party, with a similarly geriatric colleague, of 'joined-up dancing': 'It's like watching a documentary', onlookers said. More seriously he pointed to the origins of public sector housing, the realisation, prompted by the Scottish Royal Commission report of 1917, of the moral imperative to meet housing needs not met by the market and since 1919 always chasing a moving target of housing need. His most impressive recollections of the housing drive were of the enthusiasm and integrity of the people involved, civil servants, councillors and local officials, in the daily handling of huge contracts; 'there was a lot of idealism about' - to get their constituents reasonably housed. Working now in the voluntary housing sector he believed that idealism and integrity was still there, but in the face of continuous denigration of the public service, for how long? There could be no dogmatic solution to the 'housing problem', but to advocate caution or



delay was suicidal in the continuously changing context.

**Patrick Rogan**, ex-Edinburgh councillor and first Labour chairman of Housing Committee was elected in 1954 when Edinburgh had no housing department as such. Housing provision was slow, and letting was controlled by the Finance Committee. City officers were more deeply concerned than the ruling moderate councillors:

'Slums = darkness, dampness, dilapidation, despair' said a health department inspector. By unceasing action, unpaid and with pitiful compensation for attending daytime committee meetings, and by skilful use of the local press, Rogan made housing a political issue in Edinburgh, becoming housing chairman in 1962. Edinburgh became an active housing authority with a housing policy, a housing programme and a housing department; and of course, still with housing problems, post-war housing in need of rehabilitation or even demolition, estates with inadequate social facilities, and an increasing waiting list.

### Roads and Planning in 1960s Glasgow

**James McCafferty**, a partner in Scott Wilson Kirkpatrick who had worked on the Glasgow urban motorway schemes from the 1960s provided a pivotal view of Glasgow's post-war planning history.

He traced the evolution of the Glasgow road plan. City engineer Robert Bruce's plan of 1945, which confidently demonstrated that a million people

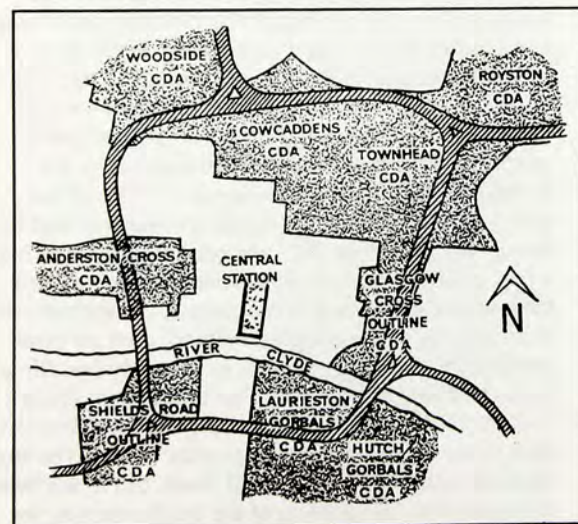


Figure 1: Glasgow Centre Area CDAs in Relation to the Proposed Inner Ring Motorway; 1960.

could be housed within the city boundaries had proposed two ring roads, the inner ring tightly enclosing the city centre. Abercrombie's Clyde Valley Plan of 1949, though recommending reduction of Glasgow's population by at least 250,000, endorsed Bruce's road plan, enhancing it by proposing that main radial roads should be motorways rather than improved existing roads as Bruce had envisaged. The inner ring box was thus accepted by both second city and dispersal camps. There was no dispute either about the need to clear the city's slums, the worst of which surrounded the city centre in the path of the ring road. The 1960 development plan review linked the problems:

'The future social and economic health of Glasgow will depend basically on a successful attack on the interlocked problems of housing, employment and communications. In this respect, the campaign in the 1960-80 period should be centred on the 29 comprehensive development areas and on the traffic proposals for the central area'.

The CDA, originally intended for reconstruction of war-damaged areas was the chosen instrument for renewal in the 1960 review: Glasgow's 29 CDAs covered 2700 acres and contained 300,000 people.

In this context Scott Wilson Kirkpatrick were to make an initial study of the inner ring road, and Lord Provost Jean Roberts led her delegation to the USA. SWK were appointed to make a more comprehensive study, with American consultants, and eventually to design the inner ring. In 1963 the city highway plan was completed and work commenced on the north flank in 1965.

The study, with Holford Associates, published by the city in 1965, in many ways anticipated the Buchanan report on traffic in towns, but by 1974, with construction of the west flank well advanced, urban motorways were out of fashion. The GLC had abandoned its inner ring plan and even in Glasgow confidence waned. In 1975 roads became a regional responsibility, and after completion of the north and west flanks in 1981 there would be no more urban motorways.

Mr McCafferty clearly regretted that the plan was not completed, demonstrating present congestion and forecasting worse, but was justifiably proud of what had been achieved. His illustrations ranged from the heroic, the Renfrew Motorway threading through south-west Glasgow to the Kingston Bridge, to the intimate, the carefully graded and landscaped pedestrian crossings that never resort to the terrifying and squalid tunnels of other cities.



Figure 2: The Glasgow Inner Ring Motorway. Aerial view 1969 showing Kingston Bridge under construction and north flank cleared.

### The Architects

That completed the morning session, setting the post-war Scottish scene. At lunch a display of drawings and photographs had been arranged, an effort upstaged by views of Glasgow from the 9th-floor windows of the Boyd Orr building on a brilliantly clear day.

In the afternoon we got to the buildings. Mark Baines, of the Mackintosh School of Architecture, delivered a 'slide by slide' talk on 'post-Coia Coia', being the work of Isy Metzstein and Andy MacMillan, both present, which he believed to be 'the first public lecture other than by themselves', which was a thought. It included a haunting image of the present state of St Peter's College, Cardross, a





Figure 3: Glasgow: The Vision. Townhead interchange, the north-east corner of the proposed inner ring motorway. Collins press is front left with school and college buildings behind; Glasgow Cathedral middle right with a new Royal Infirmary to its north. Drawing by Alexander Duncan Bell, 1965.

building triumphant in recent memory; now derelict, illustrating as Professor Metzstein said in discussion, the difficulty of the highly specialised building.

Professor Charles Robertson of Strathclyde University, returned to Glasgow, recalling his time in the Basil Spence office 1956-62 as job architect on 'Hutchesontown C', the 'hanging gardens of the Gorbals', with anecdotes of Spence's panache in selling his ideas to officialdom, and cavalier attitude to costs. Again the reality is of abandoned and enormous buildings. What can we do with them now?

Red Road, one of the last and the largest of the Glasgow high-rise schemes, has survived and now serves another sector of the housing market. Miles Glendinning delivered the last paper on its designer, Sam Bunton, whose career illustrates both the transatlantic and second city themes, and a version of his talk appears elsewhere in this number.

Paul Sturton of the Glasgow art history department summed up. There was no truly historical interpre-

tation of modern architecture in Scotland; this conference was the first step and he hoped that serious analysis would flourish under DOCOMOMO-SCOTTISH NATIONAL GROUP.

The conference showed that Scotland is different (to evoke a wider historical debate), if only because, as Miles Glendinning said, of the overwhelming importance of public investment. That has resulted in a greater faith in planning, with some justification, as the achievements of the Highlands and Islands Development Board, for example, show; and more passion, as in the second city argument. Your reporter could not stay for Sunday's coach tour, but enjoyed a stimulating and thought-provoking day. What remained undiscussed should provide material for several more conferences and for much research in recent architectural and planning history in Scotland.

# Sources

## Cartoons 2

This is the second in an occasional series. The first appeared in Vol 13 No 1, 1991.

### Dacey's Dream: Up in the air and down to earth

Robert Freestone  
University of New South  
Wales  
Australia

Cartoons are an important source for planning history (Ward 1991). Providing amusing perspectives on what are invariably complex issues, they are a form of popular commentary that is a valuable corrective to the official record. In Australian planning history, their significance has been to highlight both the perceived absurdity and the inherent politics of planning in practice. Individual cartoons can have a story in themselves. They can open up a richer understanding of personalities and events, promises and realities.

#### The Australian Planning Cartoon

Spearritt has effectively used black and white comic art to distil the essence of many complex political controversies in his work on the postwar development of Sydney (Spearritt 1978; Spearritt and De Marco 1988). The saga of the undoing of Sydney's 'green belt' in the late 1950s provides a classic case study of how cartoons mirrored if not contributed to declining public confidence in an ailing planning concept (Freestone 1992). It turns out there are remarkable parallels with the Melbourne experience during the same period (Dingle and Rasmussen 1991).

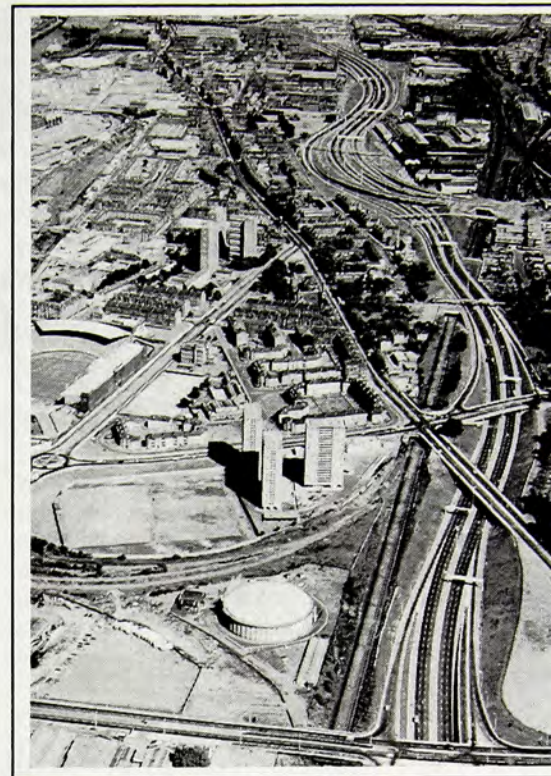


Figure 4: Glasgow; The Achievement. The Renfrew motorway threads between works and railways to the Kingston Bridge at top left. Paisley Road West crosses the picture diagonally; Ibrox Stadium is centre left.

Figures 2 to 4 from Scott Wilkinson Kirkpatrick archive.

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'UP IN THE AIR'

Mr Frazer, PMG, by reason of a short flight by aeroplane, claims to be the first Minister to ascend into the air, but he was anticipated by the State Treasurer.

The history of cartoons on planning in Australia would probably reveal that the national capital of Canberra has attracted far and away the most unsympathetic press. The political saga of sitedesign was an early journalistic target (Pegrum 1983) but the brouhaha concerning the international design competition of 1911, the arrival of the idiosyncratic American Walter Burley Griffin, and the politics of design before world war one were a godsend and formative influence on the national sport of Canberra-bashing. Even Patrick Abercrombie was putting a light-hearted pen to work at this time (Abercrombie 1913).

**The First Planning Cartoon?**

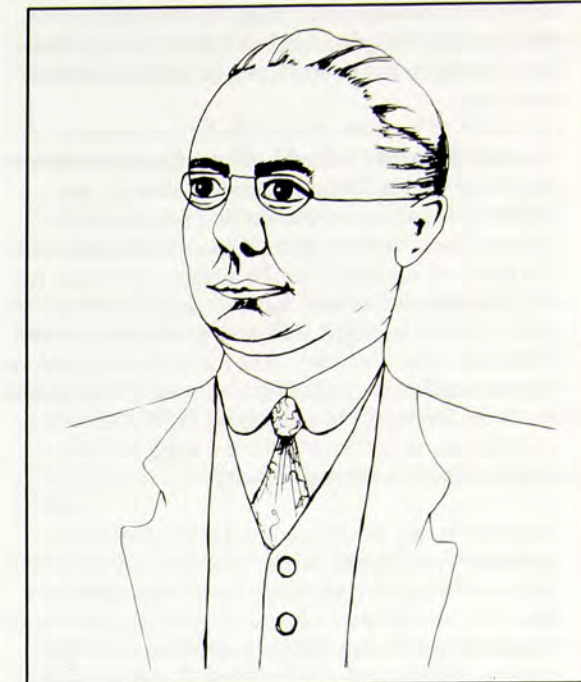
In 1913 Australia could still boast only one development said to incorporate the latest overseas ideas on town planning: Dacey Garden Suburb in Sydney. Inevitably, given the Australian penchant for 'knocking' government with even the barest hint of controversy, pomposity or grandstanding, it had already attracted a cartoon comment.

Appearing nearly two years before the first town planning association was even formed, Hal Eyre's 'Up in The Air' (1912) was arguably one of the first cartoons dealing with a modern planning issue to appear in any Australian newspaper. Indeed, the very concept of a daily cartoon was not established until the early 1920s. Its use by the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* in the early 1900s reflects that paper's reputation as a lively banner bearer of the 'new journalism' (Mayer 1964).

Hal (Harold) Eyre was a pioneering political cartoonist and *Telegraph* stalwart whose work has been reproduced in general cartoon histories (Coleman and Tanner 1978; Stone 1973). His son (Harry) Eyre Junior became the *Sydney Morning Herald's* chief political cartoonist from the 1940s until his death in 1972 (Souter 1981).

**The Origins of the Cartoon**

The countdown to Eyre Senior's cartoon effectively began in October 1910 when New South Wales elected a Labour administration for the first time in the state's history. Premier James McGowen's government came to office on a platform of social improvement, better management, public works, and state enterprise. Affordable housing was a major political issue and the new government in its first two years acted on several fronts: instituting a parliamentary inquiry on house rents, commissioning a report by Professor Robert Irvine on workers housing overseas, and legislating to facilitate home loans through the State Savings Bank.



John Rowland Dacey (Jenny Kim)

State-built housing also came on the agenda in July 1911 when the government introduced a bill 'to provide for the erection and construction by or on behalf of the Crown of workmen's dwellings'. This lapsed but early in 1912 the new State Treasurer, John Dacey, gave notice of reintroducing similar legislation with the initial objective of developing a planned housing scheme as a 'model' for both local authorities and private builders to emulate.

John Rowland Dacey (1856-1912) had campaigned for better housing since the late nineteenth century. Energetic, clever and a natural politician, Irish-born Dacey was both the first significant Catholic politician in the Labour Party and as a successful Sydney coachbuilder one of the few employers in its ranks. He had entered politics through local government in the 1880s and won a state seat as the Member for Botany in 1895 (Nairn 1989). A surprise omission from Labour's first cabinet in 1910, he became a Minister without Portfolio and member of the Executive Council in October 1911. Following resignations from the ministerial ranks, he became State Treasurer in November 1911.

In early January 1912 Dacey was embroiled in a number of political controversies, including proposed income tax legislation and a dispute over the powers of the Railway Commissioner. When Labour's housing plans resurfaced at this time, Dacey



as the responsible minister had to shoulder more criticism that the government lacked the necessary legislative powers to erect, sell or lease workmens' dwellings.

Outside of Sydney's Rocks precinct, where considerable property had been resumed following the bubonic plague outbreak of 1901, this was true. Neither Dacey nor the government had hidden the fact that it would seek 'parliamentary sanction' for its proposals in the near future. This did not inhibit some sceptics taking a shot at the newly appointed Treasurer. On 5 January 1912 the *Daily Telegraph* ran a special article on state housing policies in Australia and New Zealand which likened NSW Labour's building plans 'to the efforts of a magician of an Arabian Night's entertainment'.

Meanwhile, the previous day the *Telegraph* had reported that Charles Frazer, Postmaster-General in Andrew Fisher's federal Labour government, had flown at Penrith west of Sydney with pioneer aviator William Hart (Butler 1971). The 10 minute flight, during which Hart's plane reached a speed of 55 miles per hour and an altitude of 600 feet, was less than two years after the first powered flight in Australia. Frazer (1880-1913), the mercurial member for Kalbarrie and a former enginedriver, was Australia's youngest ever federal cabinet (McMullin 1992). In January 1912 he could claim to be the first Minister of the Crown in Australia to have flown in an aeroplane.

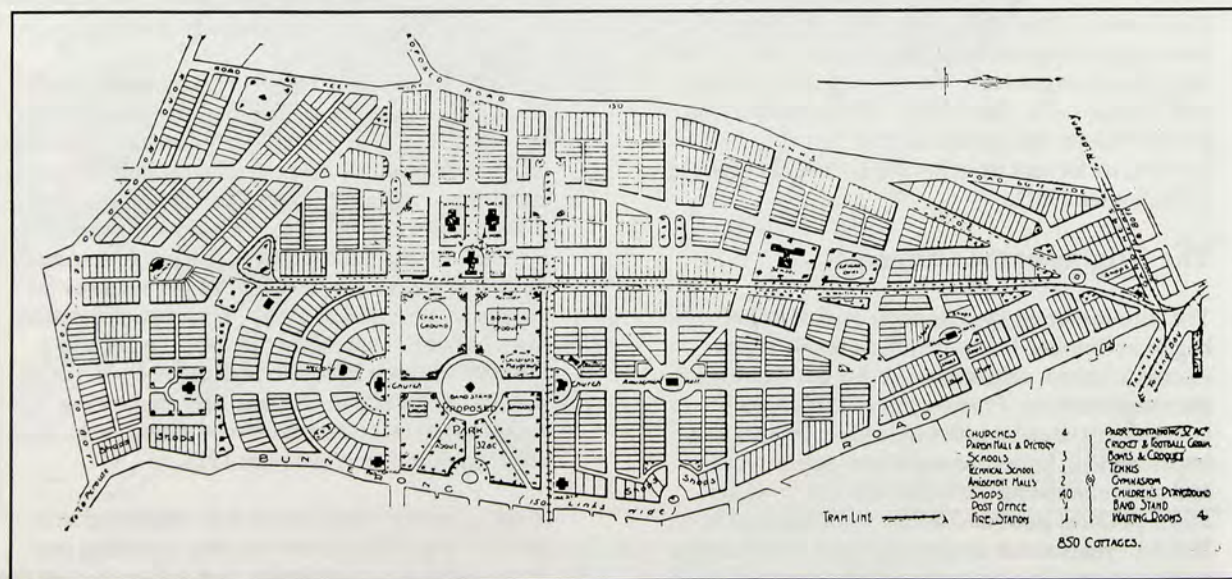
The link between Frazer's actual aerial ascent and

what some felt was Dacey's flight of fancy was irresistible for *Telegraph* cartoonist Eyre whose 'Up in the Air' cartoon appeared on 6 January 1912. It depicts Dacey in Frazer mode astride a biplane conjuring up a vision in the clouds called 'Daceyville', one of the first uses of this term.

### After the Cartoon

Perhaps spurred on by such public scepticism, within a few weeks State Cabinet had approved the development of a state model suburb to house about 5,000 people on Crown land near Kensington in Dacey's electorate in southern Sydney. In late January the preliminary 'ground plan' for what the *Telegraph* continued to irreverently dub 'Daceyville' was released. From this point on, Dacey's dream became more serious and community debate concentrated less on debunking a nebulous 'pie in the sky' idea and more on the public expenditure involved.

In February 1912 Dacey introduced a new housing bill into the NSW Parliament. It made provision for an appointed Housing Board with wide powers relating to the planning and construction of workmen's dwellings and other buildings. Dacey told members of the Legislative Assembly of his intention to produce a planned environment of which the citizens could say: 'There, that is how Australia builds its garden cities'. The proposed legislation attracted vigorous debate with a conservative opposition concerned at the unprecedented social and economic implications of Labour's latest experiment in state socialism. But with Labour controlling



First plan for the 'Proposed state model suburb' at Kensington in Sydney, later Dacey Garden Suburb. (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 January 1912.

both lower and upper houses of parliament, the NSW Housing Act was passed into law within a month.

Even before this, the original plan had been scrapped in favour of a less inchoate, though in time similarly superseded, scheme. This was put together by Sydney's leading town planning authority John Sulman and the man destined to become the Housing Board's first chairman and Daceyville's greatest advocate, John Fitzgerald (Freestone 1989; O'Flannagan 1988).

Building operations commenced in early April 1912. Construction slowed during the first world war but seven years later over 300 dwellings and a variety of community facilities had been constructed at a cost of nearly 200,000 pounds (Keg 1988).

A few years before the NSW Government decided to abandon its sponsorship of low income housing and abolish the Housing Board, the estate was a genuine showpiece. A federal government authority reported in 1919 that 'a visit to the homes...gives a strong impression of the advantages that can be obtained by town planning. The beauty of the gardens and lawns, the practical comforts of the interiors, give an impression of a different civilisation from that of the crowded areas of the city' (Freestone 1989).

This would surely have pleased Dacey given his early doubters. He had not lived to see his dream realised, having died of nephritis on 11 April 1912 before barely a sod had been turned on the site. Today, Daceyville - once the pejorative label of a political cartoonist, now an official suburb name sanctioned by the NSW Geographical Names Board - remains as 'a memorial to his sympathetic social insight' (Nairn 1981). Despite this, Dacey, like his federal colleague and erstwhile aviator Charlie Frazer, who died prematurely from pneumonia at the age of 33, has passed into Labour history as one of those semi-legendary figures whose promise was cut tragically short.

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# Publications

## Abstracts

**J Brian McLoughlin**, *Shaping Melbourne's Future: Town Planning, The State and Civil Society*, Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 1992, 320 pp, ISBN 0 521 41334 6 cloth, \$A64.00.

This book is about the effects of land use planning on the shape and structure of metropolitan Melbourne since the second world war. Its theme is that Melbourne's planners 'have seldom achieved what they set out to do'. Not only has the planning system been ineffective in an overall functional sense, but it has also been 'socially regressive in its failure'. There are three main sections: an historical overview of Melbourne and its planning, a socio-political analysis of capital, community and power, and an examination of 'space, plans, controls and outcomes'. McLoughlin's previous book was *Urban Planning in Australia: Critical Readings* (Longman, 1985).

**Don Garden**, *Builders to the Nation: The A V Jennings Story*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1992, 417 pp, ISBN 0 522 84480 4, cloth, \$A45.00.

This book was commissioned to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the Jennings Group founded in 1932 by Sir Albert Victor Jennings (b 1896). Jennings' initial ventures were small house-and-garden estates in Melbourne in the early 1930s. Securing key building contracts during the second world war, his company was to evolve into a multi-faceted corporation involved in planning, construction, development, engineering, manufacturing, mining, and project management. The author, a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Melbourne, adopts a chronological-thematic approach which unavoidably extends into various aspects of Australia's town planning history: the pioneering fully services subdivisions, planned public and private housing estates, remote mining towns, the remaking of Australia's central cities, and major redevelopment projects including the latest Southbank project in Melbourne.

**Tony Dingle and Carolyn Rasmussen**, *Vital Connections: Melbourne and its Board of Works 1891-1991*, Melbourne, McPhee Gribble, 1991, 432 pp, ISBN 0 86914 259 3, paperback, \$A30.00.

This book was written to mark the centenary of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, founded in 1891 to provide underground sewerage for Melbourne and to operate and augment its water supply system. Over the following century, the MMBW's operations expanded into other areas, including pollution control, the establishment and management of a metropolitan park system, freeway construction, and town planning. One chapter examines the MMBW's 1954 metropolitan master plan, another concentrates on the revised planning agenda of the 1970s. Responsibility for metropolitan planning was transferred to a Ministry of Planning and Environment in 1984 leaving the Board (with its motto of 'Public Health is my Reward') to concentrate on water, sewerage and drainage.

**Hazel Conway**, *People's Parks. The design and development of Victorian parks in Britain*, University Press, Cambridge, 1991, 287 pp, £49.50, ISBN 0 521 39070 2

The promoters of municipal parks sought to encourage education and particular forms of entertainment. Parks reflected such motives in their design, buildings, statues, bandstands and planting. The volume identifies the main national and international influences. There are detailed sections on park development, design and use, a summary of relevant legislation, and a gazetteer of the earliest municipal and other public parks, with details of their size, how they were created, and the name of their designer.

**Thomas Hall (ed)**, *Planning and urban growth in the Nordic countries*, London, E and F N Spon, 1991, 271pp.

Provides a survey of the development of urban planning in the Nordic countries, with particular emphasis on the period since the middle of the nineteenth century. Chapters focus on urban planning in Denmark (Bo Larsson and Ole Thomassen), Finland after 1850 (Mikael Sundman), Norway (Erik Lorange and Jan Eivind Myhre), and Sweden (Thomas Hall).

**James C O'Connell and Michael E Konig**, *Shaping an Urban Image: The History of Downtown Planning in Springfield, Massachusetts*, Springfield, Massachusetts: Connecticut Valley Historical Museum and Institute for Massachusetts Studies, Westfield State College, 1990, 120 pp, cloth \$10.00.

This book explores the urban planning of downtown Springfield, Massachusetts, along with the various political and economic decisions involved in that planning process. It provides historians with a comparative view of the downtown planning in a medium-sized city and is useful to future planners, civic leaders and citizens as they evaluate future downtown plans.

**Laurence C Gerckens**, *Proceedings of the Third National Conference on American Planning History* (November 30-December 2, 1989), Hilliard, Ohio: Society for American City and Regional Planning, 1990, 1302 pp, \$62.50 cloth.

The *Proceedings* consist of 52 papers presented at the Society of American City and Regional Planning's third annual conference held in Cincinnati in 1989. Most of the papers consider planning efforts in particular towns, cities, states and regions. Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dallas, Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, New York, and St Petersburg were among the large cities whose planning history was examined. Together, these papers provide insight into which aspects of planning history have captured the attention of American scholars.

**I M Barlow**, *Metropolitan Government*, London, Routledge, 1991, 346 pp, ISBN 0 415 02099 9

Examines developments in metropolitan government in London, Manchester, Melbourne, Toronto and San Francisco. In the context of some 100 years of progress, recent events indicate the demise of metropolitan government. The international comparative study suggests that, as the turn of the century approaches, there may well be renewed interest in this unit of government, as part of a wider reappraisal of local-government organisation.

**William S Worley**, *J C Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City: Innovation in Planned Residential Communities*. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1990, pp 324, ISBN 0-8262-0744-8, £29.50 cloth.

This book explores Kansas City real estate developer J C Nichols and his company's role in popularising the planned, deed-restricted subdivision between 1903 and 1950. The book examines a number of topics relative to planning historians including the real estate magnate's activities and attitudes toward land use in the dual contexts of British common law tradition and the emerging American practice of presenting subdivided land to consumers complete with streets, curbs and streetlights. Successive chapters analyse Nichol's impact on urban planning and his effort to instill a sense of community in the neighbourhoods he developed.

**G J Ashworth**, *War and the City*, London, Routledge, 1991, 227 pp, £40.00, ISBN 0 415 05347 1

The characteristics of cities and the defence function have had an important influence on one another. As a priority for urban planners, defence has often shaped the choice of location and site, architecture and physical form, and even the organisation of urban societies. Similarly, cities have influenced the shape of conflict, both in terms of external attack and international insurrection. Chapters cover the themes of the fortified city, the defence, town, the insurgent city, the city as battle terrain, air defence, the re-use of redundant defence systems, and defence as heritage.

**Robert Tittler**, *Architecture and power. The town hall and the English urban community c 1500-1640*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991, 210 pp, £30.00, ISBN 0 19 820230 X

Based on extensive research in local records, the volume explores the town hall and its role in civic culture and urban life. From the function of decorations and furnishings to the political activities and self-image of the urban elite, every aspect of the town hall is examined as a means of illustrating the connection between the boom in town hall building and the cultural and political evolution of the provincial urban community of Early Modern times.



Tanis Hinchcliffe, *North Oxford*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1992, 261 pp, £25(\$45), ISBN 0 300 05184 0

North Oxford is one of the best known and most widely admired Victorian suburbs in Britain. The volume traces the social and architectural history of this landmark area, developed by St John's College in the years after 1850 to provide accommodation for the rapidly expanding middle class in the city. One of the main reasons why the College became among the wealthiest in the city, the transformation of the farmland in urban fabric represented a highly successful speculative development.

Herbert J Gans, *People, Plans, and Policies: Essays on Poverty, Racism, and Other National Urban Problems*, New York: Columbia University Press 1991, 383 pp, ISBN 0-231-07402-6, cloth \$46.00

This volume brings together twenty-one essays by one of the nation's leading sociologists. Most have been published elsewhere but there are two previously unpublished conference papers. The book is divided into five topical sections: 'Environment and Behaviour', 'Understanding Cities and Suburbs', 'City Planning, Social Planning, and Social Policy', 'Homes, Schools, and Jobs', and 'Race, Ethnicity, and Class'. On the whole, this volume provides a useful historical perspective on the work of an important scholar as well as contributing to current thinking about social policy.

Peter Johnson and Barry Thomas (eds), *Choice and demand in tourism*, London, Mansell, 1992, 226 pp, £35.00, ISBN 0 7201 2118 3

Peter Johnson and Barry Thomas (eds), *Perspectives on tourism policy*, London, Mansell, 1992, 240 pp, £35.00, ISBN 0 7201 2121 3

The first volume highlights key aspects of choice and demand, such as typologies of tourists, their motivation, factors that affect their choice of activities, and demand and forecasting models. Contributions to the second focus on the developed countries, demonstrating the role of research, both by providing data that inform policy choices and by evaluating the choices already made.

Martin Wachs and Margaret Crawford, eds, *The Car and the City: The Automobile, the Built Environment and Daily Urban Life*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992, 325 pp, ISBN 0-472-09459-9, cloth \$37.50.

This volume is a collection of papers first given at a conference held at the University of California-Los Angeles in 1988. The twenty essays which appear in the volume are focused mostly on the Los Angeles experience with the automobile and are authored by historians, social scientists and planners. Topics vary from studies family/gender analysis of the automobiles impact to studies of the automobile industry. Other scholars examine the impact of the automobile on architecture and planning. Concluding essays focus on the future of the auto/city relationship.

# Treasurers Report

PLANNING HISTORY GROUP: Accounts for 1991

1. Summary

Balance brought forward from 1990	9,728.46
Receipts 1991	3,117.81

	12,846.27
Payments 1991	1,853.19

10,993.08

2. Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31.12.91

Receipts

Subscriptions	
UK	<u>1,036.00</u>
Overseas	1,256.36
Other years	20.28
Interest on deposits	795.17
Back issue sales	10.00

£3,117.81

Payments

Bulletin Production	969.00
Membership Mailing	408.82
Administration	184.07
Refunds (Sub)	10.00
Seminar (Travel)	196.30
Thesis Register	85.00
Excess of receipts over payments	1,264.62

£3,117.81

3. Balance Sheet as at 31.12.91

Seminar Fund	403.70
General Fund	174.38
Thesis Directory Fund	915.00
General Reserve Fund	3,500.00
Bulletin Reserve Fund	6,000.00

£10,993.08

1. After experiencing a fallback in 1990, the Group's subscription income rose marginally in 1991. Interest received from monies on deposit fell somewhat (interest rates generally have been falling from the high level noticed in last year's report). Nonetheless the overall position was broadly comparable with that for 1990.

2. The Bulletin Reserve Fund covered some transitional payments from 1990 for Vol XII of *Planning History*. Increased administration expenses included the printing of an updated membership leaflet. There was some expenditure in connection with the proposed Directory of Theses. Two travel awards were allocated from the Seminar Fund to members accepted to present papers at the International Conference in Richmond, but who were without access to institutional help.

3. The Bulletin Reserve Fund has been maintained at £6,000.00 to allow for some transitional payments for Vol XIII in 1992. In view of the significant discussions on the development of the Group's international role, however, the General Reserve Fund has been increased to £3,500.00.

4. The Group's funds are held in current accounts in the British Giro Bank and the Royal Bank of Scotland's main branch in Liverpool; the sum of £5,000.00 has been transferred from our Royal Bank of Scotland Gold (deposit) account to a higher interest yielding Gold Ninety account.

5. The Group once more wishes to express its appreciation to Mr E G Elms, our Hon Auditor, for checking the PHG books and accounts for 1991.

David W Massey  
University of Liverpool



4. Represented by:

Giro current a/c	43.69
Bank current a/c	136.60
Bank deposit a/c	5,812.9
Bank 90 Day a/c	5,000.00

£10,993.08

Audit Report 18 August 1992  
 Audited and found correct E. G. Elms

## Planning History Group



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

### Chairman

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### Membership

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

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



