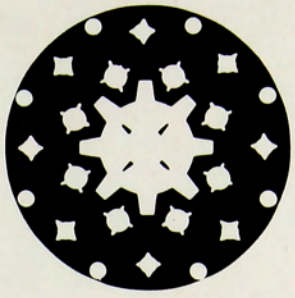
Planning History



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International Planning History Society

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Planning History

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Editorial

When I first became editor of *Planning History* in 1991, I was particularly uncertain about what to write in the editorial, the showcase for my new role. The editor's page seemed to call for some magisterial statement, full of wise insights and nicely balanced comment on the state of planning history. Accordingly I struggled to achieve a profundity commensurate with the huge importance of what had become (as Lord Gnome, mythical proprietor of the British satirical magazine, *Private Eye*, might have put it) my organ. Not surprisingly I never met with any great success in these early struggles.

Fortunately however, it soon dawned on me that this rather pompous approach was completely misconceived. The distinctive feature of *Planning History* is that it is a direct extension of the International Planning History Society (until recently the Planning History Group). It is not some freestanding scholarly journal, bound by tight academic conventions and formal procedures. It is better understood as a medium through which people, particularly members, can, with a minimum of fuss, talk usefully and sensibly to each other about planning history. The ideal therefore is that its style should be as close as possible to the way they would communicate if they were together in the same place. The recognition of this allowed me simply to think of the editorials as being more informal, rather like a series of open letters to my friends. Certainly they became a lot easier to write when I began to think of them in this way. And I have some evidence at least for thinking that they were received in that way, when members commented on them in their letters to me or, as with David Whitham's piece in the present issue, my initial comments encouraged others to develop the points further.

It is therefore with sadness that I realise that this, my tenth issue and ninth editorial, is the last of these open letters that I shall write. As mentioned in my last editorial, the next issue you receive will be edited by Michael Harrison of the University of Central England. There are of course advantages in a regular rotation. Although I have hugely enjoyed the editorial role itself, the burden of producing and distributing *Planning History* is considerable and falls primarily on the editor. I will certainly be glad to shift this to someone else. Yet I have been fortunate in having throughout two very able support staff at Oxford, Sue Bartlett and Rob Woodward, who have played a crucial part in producing *Planning History* to such a consistently high standard. Rob in particular has done wonders in extending the visual appeal of a magazine which is basically just photocopied. I take this opportunity to thank them on your behalf for their invaluable contribution.

Yet rotation also allows new ideas to develop and limits any tendency to editorial self-indulgence that may creep in over time. (The reader may well detect such tendencies in the present issue). Michael, I know, is giving thought to redesigning aspects of the magazine. I was happy to take over and develop the format pioneered by my predecessor, Dennis Hardy and so ably supported by Steve Chilton of Middlesex University. (I must also mention, with grateful thanks, Steve Chilton's continuing assistance in finalising each of my ten issues for printing at Middlesex). Yet it is probably time for a change and I look forward with interest to seeing my successor put his ideas into practice.

He will inherit a magazine that is extraordinarily good value (no false modesty here) - as it always has been. The fact is that it benefits by a good deal of labour and other services which are in effect donated free by the host institutions. Another advantage of the regular rotation of editorial responsibility is that IPHS is less likely to be challenged to bear the full costs. But readers should be under no illusions that if we are ever charged the real costs of producing the magazine its price to the readership will rise appreciably. It will be interesting to see whether the University of Central England follows Middlesex and Oxford Brookes University in never quite pinning down these costs! (I should add that my own Head of School, while understanding the costs, has always been extremely supportive and is sad to be losing *Planning History*, despite its call on the School's human and other resources).

One thing I will certainly miss is the opportunity to highlight important work and bring it to wider attention. I have most enjoyed being able to bring promising work in progress quickly into print. My last issue is no exception to this and I would particularly mention Peter Scott's interesting work on industrial estate planning, too long neglected. Although Peter teaches business history, his researches, which include a history of UK property development, have much to offer planning historians. I hope we may see a more extended version of his work in print before too long.

Finally, on the subject of extended versions of work published in these pages, I must mention Miles Glendinning and Stefan Muthesius' monumental book *Tower Block*, recently published by Yale University Press. (This was the first book to come to my attention in my new role as one of the Reviews Editors of *Planning Perspectives*, stepping, incidentally, into the shoes of John Sheail, an ex-editor of *PH's* precursor,

Planning History Bulletin). Readers may recall Miles' 1992 article in *Planning History* on Sam Bunton and Glasgow. This new book takes as its canvas nothing less than the history of high rise housing in the UK, modifying many earlier generalisations. It also sets new standards in the production of books on mainstream planning history issues. If you haven't already seen it, make sure you do, soon.

There is, as always, much more that could be said, about this book and other matters, but I am coming to the end of my word allocation, so brevity is advisable.

Goodbye!

Stephen V Ward

Notices

Planning History As Logo

South Australia's Environment, Resources and Development Court

ENVIRONMENT, RESOURCES & DEVELOPMENT COURT

The design of the logo is simple but unique.

The leaf represents the environment. The water drop represents resources. Light's 1836 plan for Adelaide represents development. This plan is a well known international symbol of South Australia among urban and regional planners.

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South Australia's Environment, Resources and Development Court commenced operation on 17 January 1994.

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Vision for London is an information exchange and a forum for debate linking London's community, local government, business, arts, education and research, architecture, planning and urban design through a programme of publications and events.

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Simple leaflets or flyers concerning events and publications related to the debate on London's future can be included at nominal cost with Vision for London mailings. We can give quotations for bulkier material, and also for separate mailings. Our mailing lists are not distributed or sold.

The Urban History Association

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Recipients of prizes awarded by The Urban History Association in its 1993 competitions for scholarly distinctions include:

Best dissertation in urban history, without geographic restriction, completed in 1992: David O. Stowell, "The Struggle for City Streets: People, Railroads and the Great Strikes of 1877" (Department of History,University of Buffalo, S.U.N.Y.). David O. Stowell is adjunct instructor in history at the University of Hartford.

Best scholarly journal article in urban history, without geographic distinction, completed in 1992: Philip J. Ethington, "Recasting Urban Political History: Gender, the Public, the Household, and Political Participation in Boston and San Francisco during the Progressive Era", *Social Science History*, 18 (Summer 1992): 301-333. Philip J. Ethington is an assistant professor of history, University of Southern California.

Best book in North American urban history published in 1992: Roy Rosenzweig & Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People, A History of Central Park* (Cornell University Press, 1992). Roy Rosenzweig is professor of history at George Mason University and Elizabeth Blackmar is associate professor of history at Columbia University.

Best book in Non-North American urban history published in 1991 or 1992: Ted W. Margadant, *Urban Rivalries in the French Revolution* (Princeton University Press, 1992). Ted W. Margadant is professor of history at University of California at Davis.

The Urban History Association and the **Beijing Academy of Social Sciences** will jointly sponsor an International Symposium on Chinese-American Urban History in Beijing on August 16-20, 1995. The conference focuses on the Historical Experiences of Urbanization: Chinese and American Patterns in Social and Cultural Development, and welcomes papers dealing with any aspect of the theme broadly defined. Papers can be of comparative nature, or can be case studies that lead to potential comparisons between Chinese and American urban history. The Urban History Association is actively seeking funding for the conference to support scholars who will present papers. Further information on travel support will be provided when available. One page abstracts and a single page curriculum vitae must accompany all proposals, which should be sent no later than October 31, 1994 to:

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Articles

Planning and the Land Question

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Introduction

In his pioneering study of the *Genesis of Modern British Town Planning* (1954) Ashworth followed the conventions of the times in stressing pragmatic responses to practical circumstances - notably those connected to new public health and sanitary issues arising in major industrial cities. More recently, studies by Cherry and Sutcliffe, as well as a number of major biographies, have brought the intellectual origins more to the fore.[1] Beevers, for example, outlining the various strands brought together in Ebenezer Howard's thought, includes prominently among them the influence of the land nationalisers Alfred Wallace and Revd. Fleming-Williams. He claims, indeed, that "the Garden City Association was originally founded around a nucleus of members of the Land Nationalisation Society."[2] Equally, the National Housing Reform Council, which played such a large part in the origins of the 1909 Act and then became the National Housing and Town Planning Council) developed initially from the activities of two `yellow van committees' formed by the Land Nationalisation Society (LNS) among miners leaders in Northumberland and Durham as a result of the proselytising activities of its Assistant Secretary, Henry Aldridge.[3]

These events highlight the impact which strongly committed individuals or small groups can have in instigating change. Classically, this impact is most important at the beginning, while later growth may even depend on concealing such origins in the interests of appealing to a wider membership. Instead, there is emphasis on pragmatic or 'practical' concerns more attractive to those in a position to influence implementation, and certainly in obtaining the 1909 Act or founding Letchworth events followed such a course.[4] However, an equally well-known feature of planning history is that ideas rejected as impracticable at one moment may become commendable at another,

if generally political circumstances are sufficiently changed.

The Rise of the Land Question

From that point of view it must be significant that the formative years of town planning in Britain were those when the 'land question' was at its height, and that the stock of ideas which then emerged in the two fields continued to influence each other down to, and including, the reformulation of planning that occurred in the 1940s. As it happened, political circumstances never changed sufficiently to bring the wider schemes of land reform into being, but they did change sufficiently to allow narrower advances, including those obtained within the field of planning. Planning may be said to have obtained some benefit from being able to offer positions of compromise on these matters, but it could only do so provided that land reform principles were developed in such a way as to enable this to occur. It is not self-evident that this should be so, and one is bound to ask what it was that drew the land nationalisers to such an activity as planning, or planners to a concept of land nationalisation? And how did the general state of relations between ideas in the fields of planning and land reform develop over this period?

The land question as it arose in the late nineteenth century evidently drew to some extent on populist notions: on stirring the anti-landlord feelings at present in some urban and rural areas, and targeting the wealth and power of the great ground landlords. Intellectually, however, it developed as a classically liberal project - the promotion of a decisive intervention in one area of social affairs which would enable the rest to continue on liberal lines. Thus while land reform obviously posed a major threat to property interests, it also usually offered the more comfortable thought that if this were done, then the major economic and social problems of the day could be largely overcome, and individual liberty reconciled with communal economic and social needs. Both of the two main branches of thought within land reform thus made contact with impeccably establishment ideas. That centred on the taxation of land values notoriously drew on classical economics and strongly appealed to those whose support for free trade could not countenance any form of monopoly. The land nationalisers on the other hand, as befitted their founder and President, were more concerned with the social organism and political power. Control over land was the most effective point at which a line could be drawn between the community and political power on the one hand, and the individual and economic law on the other. There was often a very traditional view of the kind of positive social interaction that could come into being once the imbalances of wealth and power set

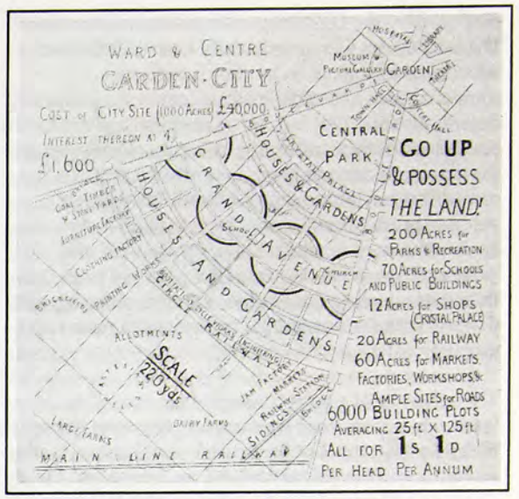

Figure 1: This draft of one of the most famous diagrams from Howard's Tomorrow clearly reveals the land reformist associations of his ideas.

in being by the mal-distribution of land had been rectified. When C. Purdom came, in 1946, to try and apply Howard's ideas to the rebuilding of London he could thus advocate land nationalisation as the essential basis of a town planning which would counteract

"the creation of the nameless and undifferentiated proletariat that has formed the population of London. There is social danger in these masses, the fruit of the degradation of men and women..."[5]

Land taxation and planning before 1914

Although its links with planning were always more indirect, the land taxation branch of the movement needs first consideration as it was the more powerful movement in the wider sphere of politics. Essentially, this was because the LNS schemes involved land purchase, and hence the compensation of landlords, while land taxation held out the prospect of an immediate financial return. The proponents of land taxation were, indeed, particularly alert to the questions of compensation and betterment as they affected landowners. Thus in the London County Council (LCC) it was the land taxers within the Progressive Party who struggled to introduce betterment clauses into legislation, and to oppose slum clearance and street improvements which involved large compensation to landlords.[6] It is often overlooked, moreover, that one of the most important clauses in the 1909 Act, enabling low-density zoning to be imposed without compensation, was not in the original Bill, but came about through an amendment

proposed by the LCC Progressive Dickson-Poynder.[7] The land taxers were particularly keen on schemes which would impact on landlords without compensation, and most lent support to the politics of decentralisation that formed an essential context for the emergence of town planning in Britain. Cheap land, the reduction of costs, the powerful effects of compensation, all connected to traditional liberal values, and the significance given to them helps explain the way in which Ebenezer Howard and William Thompson discussed the potential impact of their schemes on existing cities in terms of the benefits that would arise from major reductions in rents and property values.[8]

The existence of a large 'unearned increment' to landlords in major urban areas was common ground to all land reformers, but particularly emphasised by the economic orientation of the land tax campaign. Henry George had argued that the taxation of this increment would break up landlord power, but more immediately, it offered another potential source of national and local government revenue, in the latter case through the introduction of site value rating. The effects of such a system in term of planning were ambiguous, and much depended on an assessment of whether landlords could shift the burden of the tax onto occupiers. Generally speaking, however, before 1914 most opinion connected with planning believed that the impact of site value taxation would be to favour decentralisation. The concept of rent as unearned increment itself depended in the urban case on the degree of monopoly conferred by location. In so far as the site itself generally had a higher value relative to improvements as the centre was approached,then the effects of a land tax would be to relieve the suburbs at the expense of the centre. Moreover, by extending land taxation to undeveloped land around the urban fringe, it was argued that a powerful financial mechanism would be in place to ensure that building land came onto the market in increased quantities, and hence at a lower price. For this reason, many decentralisers at the turn of the century found little difficulty in supporting site value rating. Charles Booth advocated land taxation to spur dispersal, while remaining opposed to municipal landownership. William Thompson could find room for both projects within a Fabian perspective of the organised redistribution of the people.[9]

Planning and the land nationalisers

While the LNS supported many of the proposals of the land taxers, they were less sanguine about the effects of purely financial measures on the system of landholding. Instead, they emphasised the political power of landlords to control developments on their land, resulting in an inevitable conflict of interest between owners and tenants: "what the occupier regards as the best use of land is diametrically opposed to the view which is naturally taken by the owner."[10] Thus "the evil of the system is not that land is held in great estates, but that it is treated as private property at all."[11] Proposed free trade in land, owner occupation and leasehold enfranchisement would still exclude the masses. Instead, the LNS argued that there had never been any absolute right to property in land under English law. The absolute possession of the soil was held by the Crown as trustee for the whole nation, and should descend to its modern representatives in parliament. The ultimate answer was public ownership because "it implies that the community as a whole, that is to say the actual occupiers of the land in their collective capacity, shall decide the uses to while land shall be put."[12] In the meantime, most land nationalisers favoured the municipal unearned increment. It was this which brought such thinking into close relationship with ideas of town planning as well as Ebenezer Howard's `peaceful path to real reform'.

The widespread existence in England of a ground landlord-leasehold system of tenure was of major importance in shaping the debate on land reform. To land taxers it embodied the division of property between land and improvements, while for the LNS it offered a way of substituting public ownership for the ground landlord, while the tenants' status would be enhanced by security of tenure, fair rents courts and rights over improvements. The new system, it was claimed would achieve social justice by eliminating the inequalities caused by differential landownership, as well as promoting democracy. Paradoxically, however, this stance brought land nationalisers into some rapprochement with the very system they were attacking. Wallace emphasised the dangers of fragmented ownership - otherwise land around towns might be subject to a process "which formed the hideous slums between Drury Lane and Great Wild Street, now happily demolished."[13] The LNS thus welcomed the decision of some Liberal MPs led by Lord Haldane to oppose the Leasehold Enfranchisement Bill of 1891. As their Secretary Joseph Hyder put it

"We have always been told by the champions of private property in land that great estates are better managed than small ones, and there is much truth in the contention...the good of the estate as a whole is more likely to be kept in mind when it is under one ownership.[14]

There can be little doubt that this rapprochement was important to the development of planning in the early twentieth century. It meant that some of the strongest advocates of land reform accepted aims of good

development that were in many respects similar for those that could be claimed for a well-managed private estate. Little resistance was offered to the notion that such estates were examples of good town planning, while attention became increasingly focused on fragmented lands. In the early years of the century, the planning schemes which land nationalisers had helped to promote came into being most easily around the core of a large estate, as at Ruislip-Northwood. Later, the detrimental development of fragmented lands became particularly important as an issue in the 1930s. By then it was increasingly recognised that decentralisation was not having the universally beneficial effects its proponents had claimed. For while it did indeed have an effect on the rental value of older urban property, landlords were in a position to recoup some of their losses by lowering maintenance expenditure. The case for large-scale urban redevelopment thus became closely linked to the case for removing a whole lower tier of property from the individual landlord's control and combining it into larger well-managed units. Such schemes were, indeed, put forward as a defence of private property, the most important of these in the planning field being Gibbon's scheme for the compulsory pooling of urban ownership for redevelopment purposes.[15] Given such perspectives, however, it did not need a very dramatic shift in the general political situation to ease the way for the Uthwatt recommendation that the transfer of land into permanent public ownership (of the freehold) should be an essential accompaniment of large-scale redevelopment.[16]

Here, land reformers made headway not through the break-up of the great estates (which was their main aim) but at a point of convergence with the existing system, a point of least resistance because the property initially concerned was that which, in a strategic retreat, the defenders of private property were most happy to abandon. It still involved a large concession on the part of private interests, however, made possible by the threat that otherwise something more drastic might occur. Similarly, in the analysis of compensation and betterment made by the Barlow and Uthwatt Committees, while land nationalisation is not directly considered, it is clearly present as a polar solution along a dimension on which partial solutions, like those of Gibbon also existed. This was certainly how the matter was put to the Barlow Committee by Raymond Unwin. He used land nationalisation and the threat to property of "a much more serious attack when we get a Labour government in the course of time" to advocate a solution which, in effect, involved a general pooling of development values, with compensating transfers between owners.[17] It was from such considerations that Sir Arthur Robinson devised his scheme for the public acquisition of development rights in rural areas, which appeared in the Barlow Report, and was essentially adopted by the Uthwatt Committee.[18]

Planning versus land taxation

While land nationalisation soon lost its claim to be a universal solution to social problems, its advocates could be satisfied with much that was eventually achieved in the field of planning. Recognition had been given to the argument that there was no absolute property in land, and that the control of land was vital to healthy physical and social development. And who could have safely forecast in the late 1940s that their ultimate objective would not be attained? By contrast, the relationship of land taxation to planning became much more problematic after the First World War. It had been land taxation that had carried the land question to its brief prominence as a national issue and a line of division between the major parties in 1909-1914. The War and resulting political realignments downgraded its significance, and the only gain to cheer land taxers at this time was the acceptance by the Government in 1919 of site value only compensation in slum clearance. Later, however, the minority Labour Government did briefly revive the issue in the Finance Act of 1931, and the Labour LCC caused considerable furore by promoting a Site Value Rating bill in 1938. All this helped to keep a focus on the special position of land before the public eye. However, in 1931 Raymond Unwin led a delegation from the Town Planning Institute which protested to Snowden about the potentially damaging effects of land taxes on cities, and similarly he raised this as an issue in the public debate on the LCC Bill.[19]

The LCC interest in land taxation lay mainly in its effects on revenue, and shifting the burden from the working class household. The planning effects were presented in a traditional way, but as one critic put it in 1938 "whatever may be the needs of society in relation to...speculative building one would not have thought stimulation to be one of them."[20] Moreover, much more attention was now given to the impact of land taxes on redevelopment. For the LCC Latham and Douglas argued that rating land in proportion to the full economic value of the site would "encourage the development of undeveloped sites and redevelopment of poorly developed ones...those in fact that are in the condition of slums."[21] Unwin, however, considered that rating land according to its potential rather than actual usage would favour over-congested redevelopment and the replacement of houses by tenement blocks. By contrast he was not opposed to a tax on incremental values.

Relationships between the land taxers and planning entered their final phase with the Uthwatt proposals and their translation into the 1947 Act. The positions

they had built up over the years may have had some impact in preparing the ground for the debate over compensation and betterment, and more specifically on the proposed periodic levy in urban areas this being in incremental form. With the abandonment of the levy, it was to be the land taxers rather that the land nationalisers who were to make the biggest protest over the provisions of the 1947 Act. A petition organised by the Land Values Group of Labour MPs, and signed by 167 members, was seen as a "pretty direct attack on the whole compensation and betterment policy." Instead, the petition once more put the case for wider taxation of land, arguing that Labour's social betterment programme "must be conditioned at many points by the method by which the land question is handled." In response, Ministry officials argued that the valuation of sites would delay "a measure of land reform which enables planning to become immediately effective", and that the whole approach showed "a complete lack of appreciation of the real compensation problem as it effects the establishment of any proper system of planning."[22]

The result of this agitation was the establishment of the Erskine Simes Committee on the Rating of Site Values which eventually reported in 1952. The majority report of the Committee argued that the 1947 Act rendered site value rating impracticable except in terms of a rate on values within the major land uses laid down in the Act. But going further, they emphasised the gulf that had developed between planning aims and site value rating since the early years of the century. Unplanned outward movement had been "a cause of blighted areas in the centre of towns." Moreover,

"much development that has already taken place has been unplanned and haphazard, and this of course would also be true of development stimulated by a change in the rating system. Since the object of the present town planning legislation is nor merely to promote development but development in the right place, there has been a corresponding tendency to stress the desirability of direct methods of securing planned development rather than indirect means of promoting it by changes in the rating system."[23]

Although the surge of interest in planning in the 1960s was linked to renewed interest in land and land values, this particular approach was never to be revived, and an essential continuity with the thinking of the late nineteenth century was now effectively broken.

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Planning for Profit: The Garden City concept and private sector industrial estate development during the inter-war years.

Peter Scott, University of Portsmouth, UK

During the industrial revolution factory development occurred on a largely unplanned basis, towns mushrooming in areas where access to power, raw materials, and other conditions favoured development. Sites adjacent to canals, docks, rivers, and, later, the railways, did sometimes develop as almost exclusively industrial areas, especially at points where the rail and water networks intersected, but grew in a gradual, unplanned, evolutionary manner.

The years after the First World War saw the rapid displacement of the railways by road haulage as the most important means of carriage, especially for light industry, though rail and even canal transport were still widely used during the inter-war years. The development of good medium and long distance arterial roads did not keep pace with the growth of motor freight traffic, however, and the 'new' industries which arose during the 1920s and 1930s found themselves competing for relatively scarce factory sites which, ideally, would provide good access to a major road, together with rail access.

The early decades of the twentieth century also saw a switch from steam to electricity as the main source of power for industry. This freed the location of industry from power constraints, especially with the development of the national grid following the 1926 Electricity (Supply) Act.[1] The advent of electricity as an industrial power source also opened up the possibility of smoke-free 'clean' industry, which could be located close to housing without the pollution which was characteristic of nineteenth century industrial districts.

At the same time that this transition in the physical determinants of industrial location was taking place there was also a transition in ideas regarding industrial planning. The 'industrial estate' originated in the development, from 1897, of Trafford Park, a 1,200 acre

Figure 1: Laing's Golders Green Estate (1930), reproduced by permission of John Laing plc.

estate adjacent to the Manchester Ship Canal. The development of this estate as an area exclusively for industrial use, managed by a development company which provided utilities and transport infrastructure, served as the prototype industrial estate, and its success inspired the development of other large estates such as Slough, Park Royal, and Team Valley.

The Garden City movement

However within a few years of the establishment of Trafford Park another 'model' of industrial estate development was available, stemming from the garden city concept and first successfully implemented in Letchworth. The origins of the garden city movement began with the urban and land reform movements of the late nineteenth century, which sought to improve the living conditions of industrial workers, and to transfer the ownership of urban land from private landlords to the community, or appropriate some of the value gained from that land by taxation or other means. This movement led to the development of a number of model industrial communities by Nonconformist liberal industrialists around the turn of the century, such as Bournville, New Earswick, and Port Sunlight.

A more ambitious programme of development was launched by Sir Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928), who published his blueprint for garden city development, *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (later reprinted as *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*) in 1898. In *Tomorrow* Howard advocated the development of new, planned communities, which would provide healthy and pleasant living conditions for all sections of society and in which all land would be held in trust for the inhabitants.

The Garden City and Town Planning Association, founded by Howard in 1899, attempted to put these ideas into practice, launching its first garden city, Letchworth, in 1903. Both Letchworth and Howard's

second garden city project, Welwyn Garden City, founded in 1920, proved successful experiments in planned community development. Both were developed by private companies established for that purpose, though these were not purely profit-making enterprises, each company operating under a limited dividend[2] with any surplus profit going to benefit the town, or its inhabitants.

Letchworth and Welwyn succeeded in attracting the industrial base which was essential to their success by appealing to industrialists who wished to offer a relatively attractive working and living environment to their workforce. These were generally companies in high value-added industries, which required skilled labour and could afford to pay high wages.

The garden city concept also influenced the Corporations of Manchester and Liverpool in their development of Wythenshawe and Speke as satellite towns, combining residential and industrial development. A further, and less widely-recognised, area in which garden city ideas influenced the development of communities, was the growing number of private industrial estate developments.

John Laing & Son's building estates

The most important developer to systematically incorporate significant aspects of garden city planning ideas in development projects was the building and construction firm John Laing & Son Ltd. Laing's became active in industrial estate promotion towards the end of the 1920s, prior to which it had concentrated on contract work rather than development on its own account. Estate development was undertaken as part of a programme of integrated development of new communities, combining residential, industrial, and commercial districts. As Sir John Laing's biographer, R.Coad, stated:

"If the development of such housing estates was to be commercially and functionally successful, other building work would also be needed. John Laing instinctively reacted against the unplanned development, with large housing estates far from jobs and shopping facilities, that marred so much of this period of London's growth...Unlike some contemporary developers, who went into the booming market under-capitalised and with an eye to quick returns, his company had built up sufficient resources to be able itself to finance development of both shopping and factory precincts, where they did not already exist near to the new estates."[3]

In 1929 Laing's launched their first substantial group of housing developments; two estates at Colindale (Colin

Figure 2: An advertisement for Laing's Elstree estate, showing one of its prestige factories; reproduced by permission of John Laing plc.

Park and Springfield); two at Sudbury (Horsenden and Sudbury Heights); one at Golders Green and one at Woodford. With the exception of Woodford all of these were located in North-west London,[4] an area which was experiencing particularly rapid expansion.

A second wave of housing developments was launched during the early 1930s. These included two estates at Canons Park; one at Queensbury; two at Mill Hill (Sunnyfields and Parkside); one at Booth Road, Colindale; and other estates at Cranford, Southgate, Shooters Hill, and Purley. The Queensbury estate was the largest of these developments, incorporating two shopping parades, and two factory estates, of 22 and 8 acres respectively. Both offered frontage onto a major, and recently widened, road (Honeypot Lane) and close proximity to Metropolitan Line tube stations.

By 1937 Laing's had developed nineteen residential estates, totalling 12,145 houses, in the London suburbs,[5] ten of which were currently undergoing development.[6] Five factory estates were being developed, covering 200 acres: on the Great West Road, Brentford; the Queensbury Estate, Edgware; Barnet Bypass, Elstree; the Harland Estate, Stanmore; and at Golders Green. All of these were adjoining important arterial roads.[7]

Laing's Elstree estate was the most ambitious of the company's inter-war projects, covering over 470 acres, to be developed 'on Garden City lines.'[8] In addition to a considerable industrial estate, taking up 130 acres of the development, the site also included the provision of 1,800 houses, 'so that it will be possible for the workers in the factories to be comfortably housed close at hand under ideal conditions.'[9]

Factories were offered for rent, on long leases, or for sale, and were built in advance of demand in some cases. Factory land was also offered for sale. If industrialists wished to buy factories on the Elstree estate Laing's were able to provide mortgages at an interest rate of 4.5%, which was equivalent to the rate charged by the Manchester Corporation on mortgages as an inducement to industrialists to locate at Wythenshawe, and only half a percent above the rate offered to industrialists setting themselves up at Speke.[10] The cost difference between establishing factories on Laing's estates in the London suburbs or at Manchester or Liverpool was not, therefore, as substantial as might be expected given the attention that was given to the 'preferential' mortgage rates offered by these authorities.

Though the development of the Elstree estate was cut short by war, evidence indicates that it achieved substantial success in attracting tenants during the relatively brief period between the launching of the project and the outbreak of war. By 1948 there were 30 tenants on the Elstree estate, employing 1,500 workers,[11] and evidence from the Laing archives indicates that 21 firms had established factories at Elstree prior to September 1939.[12]
Laing's used garden city terminology in its promotion of Elstree and their other estates, claiming that the good working conditions offered would lead to improved productivity, 'It is estimated that, as compared with city conditions, this type of "garden" estate factory gets from 5 to 10% more production per person.'[13]

Similar sentiments were expressed by another London-based industrial estate developer, Percy Bilton Ltd, which also developed housing estates in conjunction with their industrial developments. Although Percy Bilton Ltd did not refer explicitly to the 'garden city' character of their estates, their publicity echoed many of the themes outlined by Laing's. For example one of their publicity brochures, issued around 1937, was entitled *'Twixt Green Fields and the City,' Percy Bilton Model Factory Estates.*[14]

To what extent did the estates developed by Laing's match up to Howard's vision of garden cities? There are obvious differences; the schemes examined above were all considerably smaller in size than the satellite

Figure 3: A 1938 advertisement for the Bromborough Port Estate; Source - D. G. Wolton, *Trading Estates*, p.82.

towns envisaged by Howard. They were also somewhat closer to the metropolitan centre with which they were associated. Furthermore they were developed on a commercial basis, for profit, thus failing to meet Howard's aim to channel revenue from land back into the community.

However with respect to the quality, and character, of the living environment, these estates did largely meet the aims of the garden city movement. They provided good conditions for workers, who were able to both live, and work, in a healthy environment, and were spared the lengthy journeys to work that were the lot of many contemporary suburban dwellers. Laing's built high-quality houses, together with factories of a similarly high architectural standard,[15] located in what were, at the time they were built, semi-rural districts. Furthermore they were laid out in such a way as to incorporate residential, industrial, and commercial zones in the same development, each planned in relation to the other to work as a unified whole. Control of the entire development also permitted the exclusion of noxious industries, thereby ensuring that a clean environment was maintained, to the benefit of both the residential and industrial occupants.

The Laing estates were certainly successful in emulating the attractions of the garden cities in the

eyes of industrialists. The combination of architecturally attractive factories, situated prominently alongside main roads, which maximised their advertising value, and plentiful housing for workers in an attractive environment, led a number of firms to transfer their premises from cramped inner-London factories to Laing's suburban estates. Like the industries of Letchworth and Welwyn these were typically firms in highly-skilled, high value-added, 'clean' industries.[16] This was an important consideration for Laing's, since the company constructed houses to specifications which would make them too expensive for the poorer sections of the working class, and therefore needed to attract firms paying relatively high wages.

Data prepared by Laing's in February 1942 for a London County Council industrial survey provides information on the origins of the occupiers of 55 factories built by the company prior to 1939, located on their Elstree, Harland, and Queensbury estates.[17] Of these 41 had moved to the estates from London, six came from the provinces, and eight were new ventures.[18] This confirms that the Laing estates had grown largely by attracting established firms from inner-London to the London suburbs.

The inter-war years saw substantial migration from inner-London to the suburbs; from 1921-1935 the population of the County of London declined from 4,524,000 to 4,185,000, a fall of 7.49%, while the population of the outer zone of Greater London[19] grew from 3,012,000 to 4,290,000, or by 42.43%.[20] Laings contributed to this process by facilitating the movement of both workers, and the factories which gave them employment, from inner-London to less congested, semi-rural areas on the fringes of the conurbation, and enabled those workers to live in communities which had been planned so as to provide residential, industrial, and commercial facilities within easy reach of each other. They therefore provided as much of Howard's 'garden city' environment as could be expected from a purely commercial development.

Other developments with 'garden city' characteristics

Other examples of the influence of garden city ideas on private development projects during the inter-war years can be found beyond the London suburbs. One of the most ambitious projects of this type was launched by the Thames Land Co. Ltd. This involved the comprehensive development of land at West Thurrock, in Essex, on the north bank of the Thames, as a satellite town. The scheme was marketed as being similar in conception to Welwyn Garden City, though on a smaller scale:

...the land is divided into zones for industrial purposes, both riverside and inland, zones for residential purposes and also business and recreational purposes, and open spaces. This planning ensures that the West Thurrock Estate will develop as a self-contained unit or satellite town, close to London but actually outside the London area, in which new industries will provide employment for a growing population which will at the same time be provided with living accommodation and recreational facilities within the area itself, and having an assured market for its products within easy reach.[21]

This scheme came closer than any other purely private venture to meeting Howard's specifications for the design of a satellite town. However it does not appear to have been a success, very little development actually taking place prior to the Second World War.

A further example of a development with some garden city characteristics was undertaken by Lever Brothers, who had earlier been among the pioneers in this field in developing a model community for their workers at Port Sunlight. In the late 1920s the company launched an industrial estate adjacent to their Port Sunlight factory, the Bromborough Port estate, developed via an associated company, Bromborough Port Estate Ltd. The estate, which covered 1,147 acres, offered sea access via Lever Brothers' recently established Bromborough Dock, and an estate railway running from the dock to the factories. By 1933 companies established on the estate included oil refineries and manufacturers of margarine, candles, and chemicals. Plots of land on the estate were offered for sale or on lease, with building left to the occupiers.[22] The development included housing, 160 acres being reserved this purpose; some houses had already been erected by 1933.[23]

Although the promotion of the Bromborough Port estate did not make explicit mention of the garden city concept, it did emphasise the combination of a 'clean' rural environment and urban amenities which the estate offered:

...although enjoying the advantages of a great industrial centre...the Bromboro Port Estate is without the drawbacks of congested building and congested traffic. It is part of a bracing peninsula with a splendid bill of health. It enjoys all the natural conditions which make for the well-being of employees and, consequently, for efficiency. It is free from the smoke-laden atmosphere which fatigues the worker and contaminates the product. Here, in a word, one can contrive a clean layout in a clean countryside[24]

The garden city concept also exerted some influence on the wider development of industrial estates during this

period, whether by the private sector, local authorities or central government. There were over sixty such estates in Britain by the outbreak of the Second World War, employing approximately 260,000 people.[25] The influence of garden city planning ideas on the design, and, perhaps more importantly, the appeal of industrial estates was expressed by Sir Noel Mobbs, the chairman of Slough Estates Ltd, in evidence to the Royal Commission on the Geographical Distribution of the Industrial Population:

In the older industrial centres houses have ringed the factories, whereas, on the modern trading estate, the industrial section has been kept apart and the domestic section developed on Garden City lines.[26]

The 'garden city' element of the industrial estate's appeal was also mentioned in a report provided by Alexander, Gibb & Partners, the consulting engineers to North Eastern Trading Estates Ltd, the first of the government-financed industrial estate companies set up to alleviate unemployment in the depressed areas in March 1936. The report noted that, 'many businesses set considerable store from an advertising point of view on amenities and country-like nature of their surroundings.'[27] Though the subsequent development of government-financed estates could not be considered as being on garden city lines in any real sense, since they were not accompanied by significant housing development, their planning did incorporate some garden city concepts. The master plan for the first estate, at Team Valley, prepared by the planner W.G.Holford, was based on a grid system, composed of symmetrical blocks of roughly 25 acres. At the centre of each block was an area of open space planted with grass and shrubs. 'Garden city' landscaping considerations led to the inclusion of substantial elements of tree-planting and landscaping in the design; these even went so far as to cover the river running through the estate by a rose carpet.[28]

Similarly the first government-sponsored industrial estate in Scotland was described in a contemporary study as being developed 'on Garden City lines.'[29] However this term was not used to imply a balanced community with the development of both residential and industrial zones, but in a looser sense, to indicate a high degree of landscaping. This was undertaken as a result of the estate's management's belief in 'the need for making a good start by endeavouring to hide the essentials of a Trading Estate in trees, grass verges, and shrubs.'[30]

Conclusion

The extent to which the garden city concept was applied to inter-war industrial estate development varies considerably between estates. At one end of the spectrum developments such as Laing's integrated housing and industrial schemes, or the plan to develop West Thurrock as a satellite town, incorporated important elements of Howard's original planning ideas. At the other extreme the government-financed industrial estate companies used the term to represent little more than a good deal of attention to landscaping and aesthetic considerations in wholly industrial projects. However it is clear from the above survey that the ideas of the garden city movement had a much wider impact on urban development during the inter-war period than is indicated by its most conspicuous successes at Letchworth and Welwyn.

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1. S. V. Ward, *The Geography of Interwar Britain: The State and Uneven Development*, London: Routledge, 1988, p.119.

2. Following a financial crisis in 1934 the dividend limit for Welwyn Garden City Ltd was removed.

3. R. Coad, Laing: *The Biography of Sir John W.Laing, C.B.E. (1879-1978)*, London, 1979, pp.102-103.

4. *Ibid*, p.103. Not all Laing's housing estate developments included factory estates.

5. This does not include a considerable amount of contract work for Councils and other bodies.

6. John Laing & Son Ltd, *John Laing & Son Ltd: Building and Engineering Contractors* (booklet issued in 1937 to commemorate King George V's Silver Jubilee), pp.3 & 149.

7. *Ibid*, p.97.

8. John Laing & Son Ltd, promotional leaflet, *Laings Factory Sites: on Barnet Bypass Road* (undated, circa 1938), p.1.

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10. Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population, *Report*, Cmd 6153, 1940, pp.282-283.

11. G. R. Allen, 'The growth of industry on trading estates, 1920-39, with special reference to Slough Trading Estate, *Oxford Economic Papers*, 3, (1951), p.297.

12. John Laing plc archive, *Laing Factory Book No.3.*, p.134; photograph book No.59.

13. *Business*, May 1938, p.31.

14. Percy Bilton Ltd., *'Twixt Green Fields and the City,' Percy Bilton Model Factory Estates*, undated, circa 1937.

15. The estates were visited by architectural associations and similar bodies and were noted for their high architectural and building standards.

16. A brochure issued by Laing's to commemorate King George V's Silver Jubilee described the houses they developed on their London suburban estates as 'middle class,' though the fact that a high proportion of these were developed for workers on the adjacent factory estates indicates that they were in fact catering to the affluent section of the skilled working class, who aspired to a middle class lifestyle.

17. Not all the firms established on these estates appear to have been included.

18. John Laing plc archive, *Laing Factory Book No.3.*, p.157.

19. That part of London lying outside the County of London, but inside the Metropolitan Police District.

20. London Passenger Transport Board, *Report for the year ended 30 June 1936 (1936)*, p.9.

21. D. G. Wolton (ed), *Trading Estates*, Cheltenham: Burrows, 1938, p.137.

22. H. Chapman, 'Planning of industrial areas in Great Britain,' *International Housing and Town Planning Bulletin* (March 1933), p.9.

23. *Ibid*, p.10.

24. Bromboro Port Estate Ltd, *Bromboro Port Estate* (n.d., circa 1929), p.13. Although the company used 'Bromboro' rather than Bromborough in this early leaflet, it had switched to using the longer version of the name by 1933.

25. This estimate is based on a database of British industrial estates during the inter-war period, assembled for the current research project.

26. Memorandum of evidence by Sir Noel Mobbs, for the Royal Commission on the Geographical Distribution of the Industrial Population, *Minutes of Evidence*, 3rd Feb. 1938.

27. PRO: BT104/31. Report on sites for trading estates prepared by Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners, consulting engineers, for North Eastern Trading Estates Ltd. (March 1936), p.7.

28. M. J. Peart, *The Development of the Industrial Estate in the Inter-War years, and its influence on later estate design*, Unpublished B.A. (Arch) thesis, University of Nottingham (1982), p.54.

29. H. G. Huckle, *Trading Estates for light industry*, RIBA examination thesis (1939), p.27.

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Place Marketing: Some Historical Thoughts

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Introduction

The last two decades have seen worldwide intensification of the practice of place marketing or promotion. Every town, city, region and nation, it seems, is now frenetically selling itself with slogans, advertising, public relations, subsidies, tax breaks of various kinds, 'flagship' developments, urban design, trade fairs, cultural and sporting events, public art and much else. New York State's 1977 campaign 'I Love (Heart) NY' has spawned many imitations. Glasgow, as we have all now learned to believe, really is 'Miles Better'. Spain achieved a triple international place marketing coup in 1992 when Barcelona hosted the Olympic Games, Seville staged EXPO 92 and Madrid became European City of Culture. Meanwhile the collapse of Communism (where it has not precipitated a descent into ethnic barbarism) has signalled the comprehensive entry of the cities and nations of eastern Europe into the place marketing 'game'.

We could easily multiply such examples many times over. As a further symptom, there is already a rapidly growing literature on the subject[1]. In the wake of Bailey's *Marketing Cities in the 1980s and Beyond* (1989) and Ashworth and Voogd's *Selling the City* (1990), we now have Kotler, Haider and Rein's *Marketing Places* (1993), Kearns and Philo's edited collection *Selling Places* (1993) and Smyth's *Marketing the City* (1994). These have recently been joined (to declare a personal interest) by Gold and Ward's edited collection *Place Promotion* (1994)[2]. It seems doubtful that the headlong rush into print on this theme will end there, certainly not if I have anything to do with it. Moreover we can detect place marketing concerns permeating books that are ostensibly on other topics[3].

Place Marketing and Planning Historians

Although there is a little historical material in some of these accounts, their predominant focus is on the contemporary scene. Nonetheless sufficient has already been written on the history of place marketing to show how much it interpenetrates the mainstream history of planning. This is particularly the case in North America, where urban 'boosterism' has long been acknowledged as a powerful formative factor in

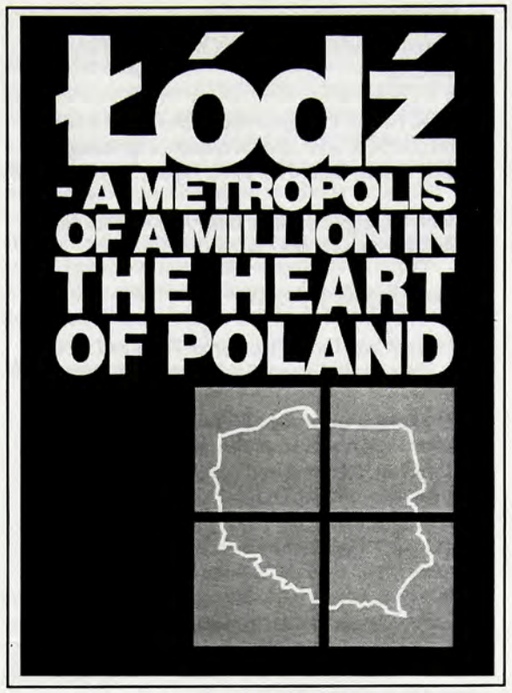


Figure 1: In the post-Communist world, eastern European cities struggle to assert their new identities to western investors.

the city planning movement[4]. The connection has been somewhat less clearly articulated in Britain, where town planning ideas focused more on health, housing, infrastructure and amenity - the social reproductive functioning of the city - than directly on its economic production function[5]. Yet the connections are there to be made. Planning historians have an important role in exploring and articulating the history of place marketing and its changing relationships with the planning 'mainstream'.

This historical theme has become a long term interest of the author, who is currently researching and preparing a book, provisionally entitled *Selling Places: Past and Present*, for publication probably in 1996[6]. Of necessity the topic has to be considered internationally, though the prime focus will be on British experiences. The remainder of this article sketches some of the arguments as to why place marketing has occurred and recurred in history. We explore some of the major causal factors that have underpinned place marketing regimes in specific geographical locations in particular historical periods.

In addressing this issue, we may usefully draw a broad distinction between two main sets of forces[7]. The first

Figure 2: Bidding for major world events such as the Olympics provides a focus for a more general place promotional efforts, as here in Manchester.

can be termed the *structural* or *economic* dimension, referring to the predominant processes of economic change within particular urban and regional systems. The second is the *ideological/institutional* dimension, embracing the broader frameworks of governmental action within these urban and regional systems, together with the dominant ideologies that pervade those frameworks. There are obvious linkages between each of these dimensions, but each typically has a distinctive enough impact on place marketing to be treated separately.

Figure 3: Blackpool was the first British resort to engage in very active marketing. Its 1879 Local Act gave it unique powers to undertake rateborne spending to advertise itself.

Outline History of Place Marketing in Britain

We begin with a brief review of the history of place marketing in Britain. Some would claim to find hints of the practice in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century industrial urbanization, most notably in the association of products and places[8]. Yet there is no real evidence to suggest that this was pursued as a

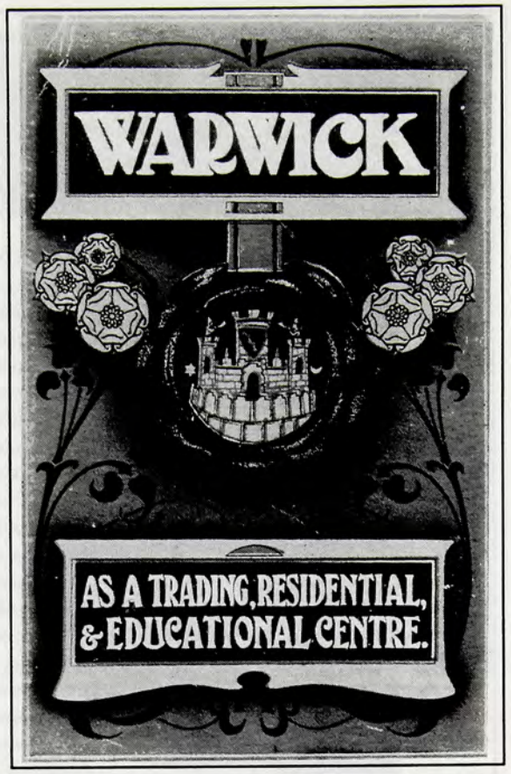


Figure 4: An Early Non-Resort Promotional Brochure, published by the famous Cheltenham firm of Burrows for Warwick c. 1911.

conscious place marketing strategy. It is also stretching a point, in my view at least, to claim that the various attempts to represent, describe or interpret places in literature, art or even topographic guides during this same period had any conscious promotional intent. The beginnings of explicit marketing of the industrial town in Britain appear to date from 1899 when the Borough of Luton and the local Chamber of Commerce together embarked on a new industries programme, issuing a promotional brochure in the following year[9]. Within a few years a number of other centres, of which Derby is the best documented, were doing the same thing, but the scale of this was always very modest indeed compared to contemporary practice in North America[10].

There were, however, particular parts of the British urban system where place marketing was occurring on a much more ambitious scale. The new holiday resorts[11] and the new residential suburbs were becoming associated with ever more aggressive approaches to place selling by a combination of

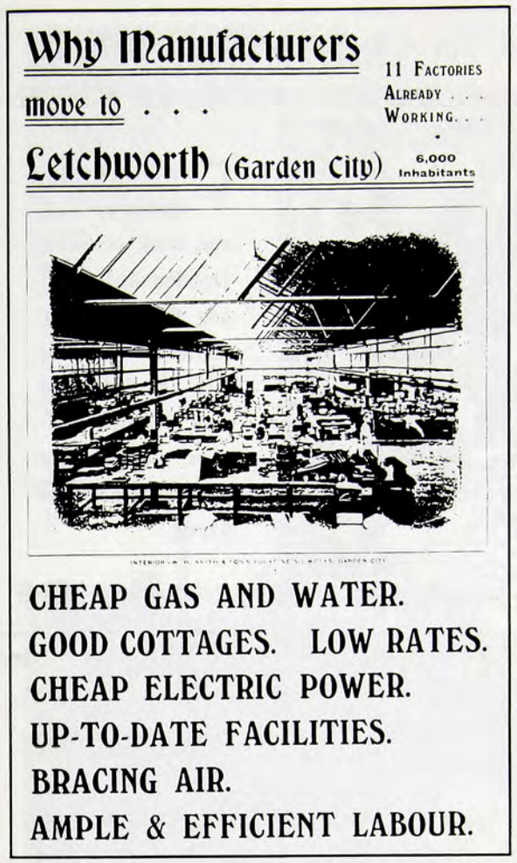


Figure 5: As new settlements, the garden cities at Letchworth and Welwyn were pioneers in 'boosterist' promotion of non-resort towns.

promoters, including municipalities, railway companies, local business networks and land developers. By 1914 their practices were already much more firmly established than in the industrial towns. In contrast to industrial place promotion, where municipal involvement was still technically illegal, several individual resorts, led by Blackpool in 1879, had secured local powers to advertise themselves and general legislation was under discussion. Ireland (then part of the UK) secured such general legislation in 1909.

After several false starts, general powers finally became available in Britain as the 1921 Health Resorts and Watering Places Act. It was further strengthened by a 1936 Act with the same title. Suburban marketing also continued at a very high level, largely the work of developers, building societies and railway companies[12]. Meanwhile industrial towns and cities were becoming much more interested in place marketing, even though its legal basis remained very dubious. In 1931, however, the Local Authorities (Publicity) Act gave very limited powers to allow overseas publicity for tourism and industrial development[13]. Such limitations were widely ignored, leading to a belated and still rather modest flowering of local industrial promotion in the 1930s. Several local authorities were able to underpin their advertising efforts with schemes to develop industrial sites and premises. These were usually of doubtful legality, though Liverpool, Jarrow and Tynemouth had secured explicit local powers by 1939. Fogarty has reported that by 1939 about 85% of county boroughs and 35% of municipal boroughs had some form of industrial development policy[14].

Yet from this time, such efforts were eclipsed as centrally directed regional policies under the 1945 Distribution of Industry Act and its successors took precedence over place competition. Resort marketing remained at a high level, however, especially in the 1950s. Meanwhile the new planned projects of the New and later the Expanded Towns entered the place marketing game, building on the earlier marketing precedents of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden Cities[15]. Until the 1970s, these substantially new entrants to the British urban system were the most prominent players in the place marketing game.

Why Has Place Marketing Been So Untypical of Britain? - The Structural Reasons

The overall historical pattern until the last 15-20 years is then of place marketing occasionally being moderately widespread, but normally being confined to certain specialist parts of the urban system. We can explain much of this in structural/economic terms. Compared to North America, Britain had a long established urban system, predating industrialisation[16]. Moreover industrialisation itself was a remarkably spontaneous process, occurring in a country which was already richly endowed with human and natural resources and, very importantly, indigenous capital. There was, quite simply, no need for the vast majority of places to compete for population or capital. The railways, a crucially important formative element in the urban system of North America, were in Britain inserted into an already mature system of urban places. Thus the urban hierarchy of 1801 and certainly 1851 was remarkably similar to that of 1951. London's dominance as the primate city was never remotely challenged but beneath it industrialisation brought a series of regionalised urban systems each involving one or more 'command centre' cities presiding over constellations of production centres. This kind of functional and rank size relationship survived largely

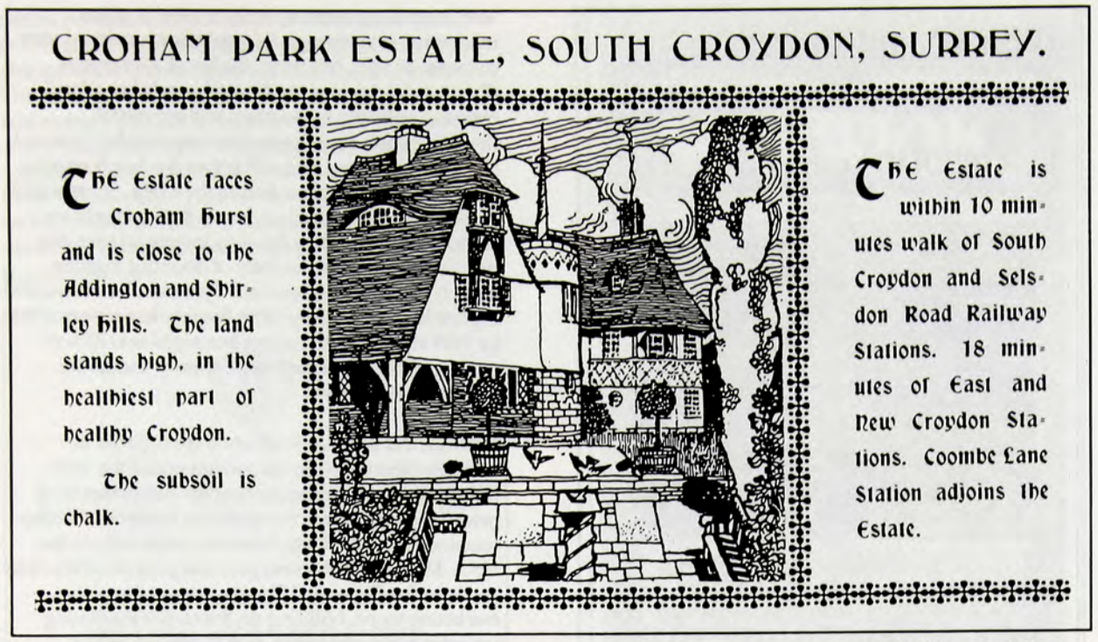


Figure 6: The suburbs were the object of a great deal of promotional effort by transport companies, building societies and developers from the late nineteenth century.

intact until relatively recently, giving Britain a very stable urban system.

The main exceptions to this do, quite literally, prove the rule. The most dynamic elements of the late nineteenth century/early twentieth century urban system were the seaside resorts and the residential suburbs, both products of the revolution in passenger transport initiated by the railways[17]. Here, uniquely in Britain, there was exactly the kind of place competition, the jockeying for position in emergent urban sub-systems, that was one of the main pre-conditions for the sort of 'boosterist' place marketing that was so much more widespread in North America. The garden cities of Letchworth and Welwyn also became active place marketeers, reflecting the necessity of new settlements to break into an established urban system.

Yet the more general shifts towards place marketing by industrial towns led by the likes of Luton and Derby reflected slightly different concerns from the 1890s and especially in the interwar depression[18]. Their decreasingly certain economic position pushed hitherto secure industrial centres into a more defensive, regenerative, style of place marketing. They were not so much seeking to boost themselves in an emergent and dynamic urban system as trying prevent themselves from declining. And this of course has become the dominant objective in the most recent post-1970s phase of place marketing - not boosterism but regeneration.

Institutional and Ideological Factors

Although the structural, economic dimension takes us a long way towards an explanation, it is not the whole story. Also important was the institutional and ideological dimension. Britain was (and is) a unitary and highly centralised state. From the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act was created a framework for central-local government relations that constrained local autonomy and largely denied local government a pro-active role in the formation of the local productive economy[19]. Not that this was a role which the municipalities were anxious to assume at this high point of British economic ascendancy in the world. The Victorian municipal agenda, the progenitor of town planning ideas, was based on clearing up the mess that spontaneous industrialisation and urbanisation had created - it was essentially about social reproduction rather than economic production[20].

Yet when local leaders felt that they needed to use municipal power to attract or develop new industries they found central government obstructive. Successive central ministries responsible for local government took the view that the use of municipal resources to foster place competition was wasteful and tried to ensure it

Figure 7: A fine example of the kind of brochures produced by many towns and cities under the 1931 Act. This example dates from c1939. Notice the cog wheel motif and the association of industry with masculinity in the god-like metal worker. The town hall clocktower becomes a phallic symbol, emphasising the role of the municipality as a guarantor of industrial virility.

was *ultra vires*[21]. In the 1930s, however, this preoccupation was temporarily outweighed by another: to avoid decisive central intervention in the highly regionalised depressed area question. In those circumstances central government was prepared to relax its grip, allowing the limited 1930s growth of place marketing that we have noted. But when central government shifted decisively away from laissez faire economic policies in the 1940s, place marketing was brought firmly to heel again, within the framework of national policies.

Significantly too, the relaxation of these same policies since the late 1970s has allowed a new ascendancy of place marketing. Under the influence of progressively more powerful political ideologies favouring the market and competition, place marketing has become an integral part of the agenda of municipalities and other agencies concerned with place development and management. Most important among these have been the Urban Development Corporations, created for urban regeneration areas since 1981, and very much the apostles for the new *zeitgeist*[22].

Two Contrasting Experiences: the Southern USA and Canada

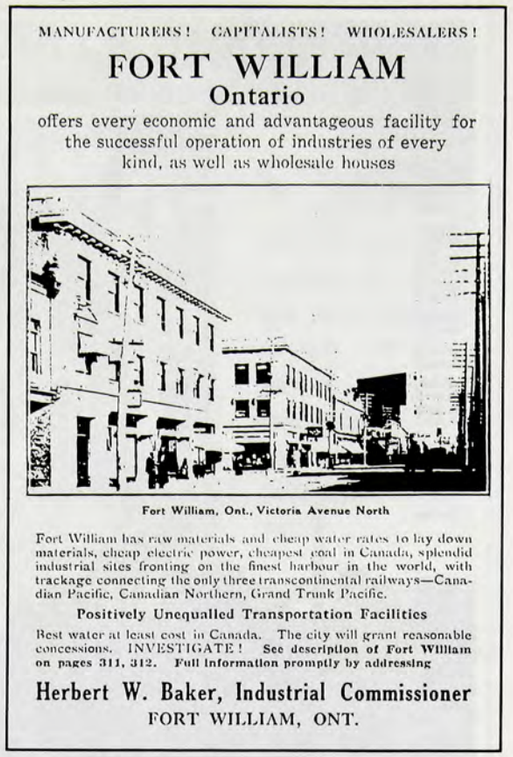
For much of this period, North American experiences of place marketing contrast markedly with what we have identified in Britain. We concentrate on two, admittedly more peripheral, parts of the North American urban and regional system: the Southern USA and central Canada, particularly Ontario. While both experienced the types of place promotion that

Figure 8: Oshawa was one of the most active Canadian bonusers of new industries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This promotional brochure appeared in 1898.

have been dominant in Britain, both have a history of much more whole hearted engagement with place marketing across their whole urban systems. The story in both is of an active early history of place marketing to attract settlers and capital.

In Canada, this was manifest in earnest from about the 1850s as ambitious municipalities disbursed large 'bonuses' in the form of cash payments, tax exemptions and various other forms of assistance including free or concessionary land, power, water, railway links etc[23]. Initially the focus was on railway building, following the 1852 Municipal Loans Act. By 1912 it was estimated that municipalities had raised 7% of the total subsidies given to Canadian railway building, but the proportion had been much higher in the 1850-1880 period, especially in Ontario[24]. Even by 1894 almost 10% of the total municipal debt in Ontario was accounted for by cash bonuses to railways. Toronto alone had a $1 million debt on such bonuses. The experience of other Canadian cities was similar. Thus Montreal, already a big city, and Winnipeg, not yet one, had similarly helped secure their future status by railway bonusing in the 1870s[25].

Municipal aid to industry achieved prominence a little later, but was also considerable. Bloomfield documents 34 Ontario provincial Acts on this matter, usually attempting some degree of regulation, between 1868 and 1929[26]. Certainly the scale of expenditure was immense by British standards. An 1899 Ontario Provincial survey showed that assistance to industry of some kind had been granted by 12/13 cities, 74/87 towns making returns, 67/122 villages making returns and 69/458 townships making returns[27]. The incomplete expenditure data in this survey show at least $2.3 million worth of assistance to industry, clearly a considerable underestimate. Towns and cities


MANUFACTURERS! CAPITALISTS! WHOLESALERS!

FORT WILLIAM
Ontario

offers every economic and advantageous facility for the successful operation of industries of every kind, as well as wholesale houses

Fort William, Ont., Victoria Avenue North

Fort William has raw materials and cheap water rates to lay down materials, cheap electric power, cheapest coal in Canada, splendid industrial sites fronting on the finest harbour in the world, with trackage connecting the only three transcontinental railways—Canadian Pacific, Canadian Northern, Grand Trunk Pacific.

Positively Unequalled Transportation Facilities

Best water at least cost in Canada. The city will grant reasonable concessions. INVESTIGATE! **See description of Fort William on pages 311, 312. Full information promptly by addressing**

Herbert W. Baker, Industrial Commissioner
FORT WILLIAM, ONT.

Figure 9: Advertisements such as this were common in trade journals by the early twentieth century.

such as Berlin (later renamed Kitchener), Oshawa and Thunder Bay (then the twin settlements of Fort William and Port Arthur) were extremely active at marketing themselves as industrial centres[28]. Gradually, however, the scale of financial assistance was curbed, especially in 1922 and 1924. Place competitive energies were expressed more through promotional advertising, which had been legitimised in Ontario in 1897.

In the southern USA, however, the history of place marketing history followed exactly the opposite course. Following the emergence of a project to build a 'New South' out of the ruins of the Civil War, there was a proliferation of promotional words in the form of advertising and boosterist speech making and editorialising[29]. This was especially pronounced in Atlanta and Richmond[30]. Yet there was relatively little by way of financial assistance for new investments at this time. The critical changes came between the two world wars, when local and state governments became increasingly involved in place marketing.

In Cobb's words the 1930s were a decade of "frenzied plant-buying" throughout the South[31]. Many of the

Figure 10: Berlin, later Kitchener, was another very active Ontarian bonuser, pursuing an aggressive municipal industrial policy that compensated for a lack of natural advantages.

financial inducements were of very dubious legality, but it was rare for them to be disallowed. In 1936, however, Mississippi launched its 'Back Agriculture with Industry' (BAWI) program which provided a more secure basis for municipal bond funding of industrial development. This avoided the worst excesses of previous funding expedients, which had included direct calls on local taxpayers or wage earners, while still allowing factories the tax exempt status of public buildings. It was a model which was soon emulated across the South and, in time, by all US states.

The selling of the South continued apace throughout the post-1945 period, orchestrated increasingly by the states though still involving a strong local dimension. In Canada, however, the place competitive edge was increasingly blunted as local boosters were brought together with provincial planners in regional development councils[32]. Overall the wider federal and provincial dimension became much stronger, more akin to Britain than the South. Like Britain however place marketing has re-emerged in the economic uncertainties of the 1980s and 1990s.

Figure 11: Richmond, the capital of the old South, was anxious to promote its traditional role in the post-Civil War New South, as in this 1907 brochure.

The Main Sources of Difference

It will be clear that many of the basic sources of these differences are attributable to variations in economic structures. In particular the urban systems of both the South and Canada were much more unstable than was the case in Britain. In both cases places were chasing relatively scarce mobile capital and population, both often external to the region, to allow them to establish a real basis for urban growth[33]. Yet the concern for the economic soon merges into the sphere of institution and policy. Canada's new sense of economic nationalism following the British North America Act of 1867, manifest particularly in the tariff on manufactured goods introduced in 1878, was particularly important. In effect the trade barriers gave Canada the opportunity to move beyond being a resource and farming economy, establishing its separateness as an industrial nation. This provided an important larger ideological framework to bolster local place marketing efforts, supplementing scarce private capital with supplementary municipal capital.

The position of the US South was rather different. Unlike Canada, the events of the 1860s saw its failure as a nation. And although there was an ideological project for reconstruction, that of the 'New South', it was heavily compromised by visions of the agrarian utopia that had bolstered the original ideas of a viable

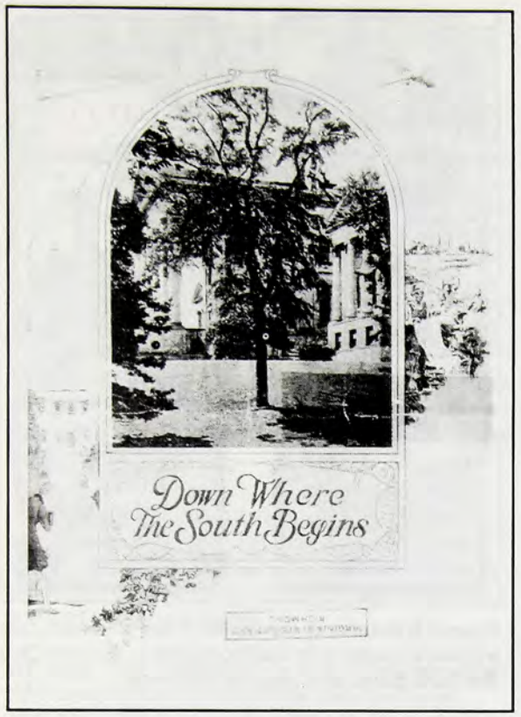


Figure 12: Yet the vision of the 'new' was often heavily compromised by the old, as here in 1927.

and separate Confederate nation[34]. It was in fact a vision which continued to permeate promotional imagery for many years. Moreover the South lacked the tariff protection for nascent industries that was available in Ontario. Accordingly the push to promote the industrialization of the South was not yet backed by real financial commitments. It was the economic changes wrought by the scourge of the boll-weevil and the 1930s depression which finally broke the old romantic idea of the South as a plantation economy[35]. And it was this which did most to push the South into a more frenetic phase of place marketing. These same pressures have also sustained it in the post-1945 years, reinforced by a more general ethos of competition that has pervaded the business culture of the USA more than either Canada or Britain, at least until the 1980s.

Another historic feature of great importance in understanding the often very localised basis of place marketing in both Canada and the US South has been the less centralised governmental structure than in the UK. The creation of the Canadian provinces under the 1867 Act and the constitutional reconstruction of the former Confederate states after the Civil War both had the effect of reinforcing the legitimacy of municipalities, which remained as the oldest-established form of territorial government. Whereas in Britain local government powers had to be granted by the centre, the traditional pattern in North America was of localities customarily acting in what were seen as the best interests of their area, regardless of where this took them in terms of actual policies. The need for higher legitimacy for local actions did not assume quite the early significance that it did in Britain's unitary state. Financial assistance from higher governments also grew more slowly, especially in the USA, than it did in Britain. This also strengthened the notion that localities had to be responsible for their own economic destinies.

Final Thoughts

We should not build too much on the foundations of a very short sketch[36]. We have done little more than outline the main economic, institutional and ideological parameters of place marketing regimes. A fuller study would need to explore more carefully the dynamics of the localities which played the marketing game. How was the local boosterist or regeneration

Figure 13: Occasional echoes of the old South, shorn of its less desirable features, can be found in modern advertising, but the emphasis on forward thinking is more common, as here.

Figure 14: This recent advertisement stresses the maturity of the cities of the South in the late 20th century.

ethos constructed and legitimised? We know from more recent experience that paying to secure the local processes of capital accumulation can be very painful, politically. This is especially so when a community is facing real decline, since the welfare needs of its population and the continued health of existing industries, perhaps themselves experiencing stress, are important. Moreover even successful regeneration may not get the local tax base back to its original position, so that tax burdens will not necessarily be mitigated by new investments, especially if tax breaks are part of the incentives. In theory at any rate the position might have been expected to have been easier for the boosters, working within a more emergent urban system. Yet we know from Canadian experiences that there came a point when established local businesses and populations baulked at further assistance, preferring to see more attention to the social fabric of their towns[37].

Another important issue is the nature of place marketing imagery and its construction and meaning[38]. The illustrations that accompany this article give some pointers as to potential meanings. At a very simple level it is possible to have great fun lampooning place images and slogans - 'Do It At Dundee' (1931) remains my all time favourite. More generally, few areas of advertising imagery can be quite so cliche-ridden as place marketing. Particularly common are the hackneyed montages of, variously, the motorway and place junction sign; the nearby airport/port; the modern factory, preferably with the white coated technician gazing beatifically at some obscure high tech process, possibly supported by other stereotypical workers in suitably harmonious composition; the nicely balanced suggestion of both modernity in shopping and leisure facilities with heritage buildings, the suggestion of attractive housing; the family group enjoying the nearby countryside; the hints, however improbably, of metropolitan delights....and so on.

Yet beyond such caricatures, there are many important themes in the imagery of place promotion that underscore and help us to understand the changing nature of the activity. We can briefly mention two here. Not the least important is the way in which promotional imagery can 'dispossess' existing populations, while appropriating the traditional meanings of their lives. This has recently happened in the London Docklands[39] and certainly occurred in the past as fishing villages became holiday resorts. The changing meaning of the cog-wheel motif is another symptom - from industrial vitality in the 1930s or earlier to post-industrial heritage today.

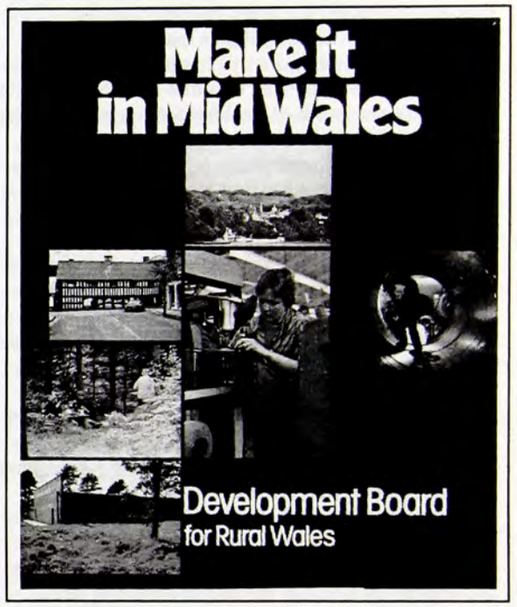


Figure 15: Typical example of recent UK place advertising. Notice the central emphasis given to the female worker.

Another, more complex, issue relates to place images and gender. A common theme has been the more or less explicit attribution of feminine traits to places seeking to promote industries or attract visitors. Such portrayals were explicit in the case of resorts, particularly as the breakdown of Victorian prudery allowed a bolder approach to the portrayal of women as objects of allure (a problem which had in any case barely troubled the French)[40]. In industrial promotion this theme has often been more subtly pursued, sensitive to gender differences in local workforces and promotional intentions. We can, for example, contrast

the desire of smaller Ontarian towns like Paris and Hanover to secure employment for women largely to correct a male-female imbalance and stabilise, through marriage, the male workforce[41]. For somewhat different reasons, such a promotional emphasis is more typical today, the woman is portrayed as an integral member of the place's workforce.

Yet markedly different patterns can be detected in the past. Thus business leaders in late nineteenth century Luton worried that there was an imbalance in local employment and the town had "the reputation of being a place where the men were kept by the women"[42]. Their concern was to attract jobs for men. A few years later Edinburgh was celebrating the absence of married women from the local workforce to the benefit of the home and social life of the (male or unmarried female) worker[43]. In other cases the message, though still based on a male conception of worker (and indeed industry), is altogether more subliminal. The place itself becomes female in the sense of servicing the needs of (male) industry, guaranteeing to bolster a flagging industrial virility. The representation of Birmingham (c1939, Figure 7) is one such case, though we can find more subtle echoes in some more recent campaigns.

Finally must be considered the thorny question of the effectiveness of place marketing. Did places change their destiny by their own promotional efforts? It is extraordinarily difficult to give really credible answers to this kind of question even as it arises before our eyes. To answer it involves elaborate counterfactual arguments that are inevitably partly intuitive. There is a strong temptation always to believe that without a spirited and imaginative promotional campaign things would have been a lot worse. As we noted in the introductory paragraph, the belief that Glasgow really is 'Miles Better' is extraordinarily pervasive, even though hard evidence is decidedly thin. Moreover, to answer this question in the longer, historical term becomes much more difficult and the intuitive element inevitably increases. Yet it is important at least to pose the question.

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Research

The Cambridge Preservation Society, 1928-78

Anthony J. Cooper

Early in 1928 a group of people came together in Cambridge and resolved to form a Preservation Society. They were drawn from both the town and the University, and included prominent businessmen, town councillors and aldermen, Masters of Colleges, academics and officials, both active and retired. They and their successors were to fill some of the most important positions in both local government and in the University.

The group was brought together by a common love for Cambridge and its surrounding countryside, which they wanted to protect from industrialisation and sprawling suburbs. They were also haunted, it seems, by the unmentionable fate of Oxford akin, apparently, to that of the Cities of the Plain, although it was actually the arrival of the Morris car factory at Cowley. Nearer home they were dismayed by the first signs of ribbon development and the garish accessories of motor travel such as petrol filling stations.

Thanks to encouragement and financial assistance from Professor G. M. Trevelyan, an active member of the Society for the rest of his life, the Society swiftly acquired unspoilt farmland to the West of Cambridge. The Pilgrim Trust helped them find the compensation payable to other landowners for entering into deeds of covenant against building development, notably to prevent Grantchester Meadows being swamped by the town.

The Society is still actively in existence. Over the last 66 years they have campaigned vigorously to protect the amenities of Cambridge. From the start they made full use of the emerging Planning system, being represented at every important public inquiry. To many their crowning achievement was their acquisition, by public subscription, of the Wandlebury Estate on the top of the Gog Magog Hills ("The Gogs"), a prominent local beauty spot, and still maintained by them as a country park. They were also pioneers in the preservation of buildings and public footpaths.

Under the auspices of Middlesex University (working for a PhD, in association with Professor Dennis Hardy) I have embarked on a detailed appraisal of the work of the Society over the first 50 years of their existence. By the use of selected case studies I will seek to answer the following questions:

a) What precisely brought the Society into existence?

b) How did they set about their self appointed task?

c) How, in practice, did they manage to exert influence on the planning and development of Cambridge?

d) To what extent can the Society be said to have achieved their objects over that period?

e) What can the answers to these questions, and the experience of the Society generally, tell us about the whole preservationist movement in this period?

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Drancy Revisited

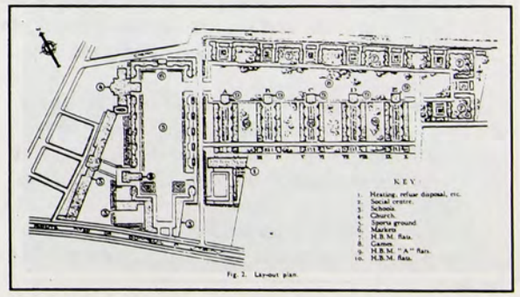
David Whitham

I was interested to read in PH (v. 15, no.1) about the editor's visit to Drancy because it was a trip I had long promised myself. I had known about Beaudoin and Lods' Cité de la Muette for as long as I had been interested in modern housing. It was described by Catherine Bauer and Elizabeth Denby in the 1930s and visited by a procession of delegations studying European housing, but never occupied: it was shocking to learn of its wartime history as a concentration camp. Simone de Beauvoir's semi-autobiographical novel, *The Mandarins* describes an expedition by the narrator and her daughter, armed with binoculars, to Drancy where the daughter's boy-friend was imprisoned; they believed they could see him at a window.

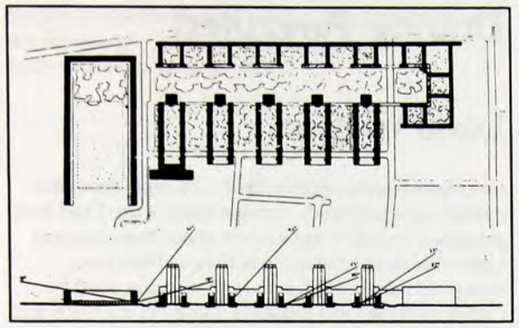
The importance of Drancy

Drancy's influence on British housing was far greater than that of anything by Le Corbusier. Its construction, by the Mopin system of steel frame carrying precast cladding, its integrated servicing whereby hydraulic waste disposal would fuel district heating, and its on-site communal facilities including laundries, creches and schools, provided the model for Quarry Hill at Leeds (Ravetz, 1974), and in the early 1950s for an unbuilt scheme at Newcastle upon Tyne which, like Drancy, would use tower blocks in a suburban development. The structural principle of self-supporting steel frame carrying precast floors and cladding was also applied by Sam Bunton in his Scottish housing (Glendinning,1992).

In October 1993 I at last was able to visit Drancy. I had been told that one building remained, which is a large five-storey U-shaped court, called Cité de la Muette on



1. Cité de la Muette. Original layout plan, with social facilities around the great court. From Rowse, 1934.



2. Cité de la Muette. Layout plan 1936, from Building Centre report.

the local street plan. A memorial garden with the railway truck and the monument commemorating the deportation are at its open south end. At the north end are shops with balcony access flats above, while the sides of the U are stairway access flats over a ground storey of storage and service uses. The block has been refurbished, and though somewhat forbidding is occupied and in good order. The five 14-storey towers and their four-storey 'tails', the subject of most early photographs, have disappeared and been replaced by modern flats.

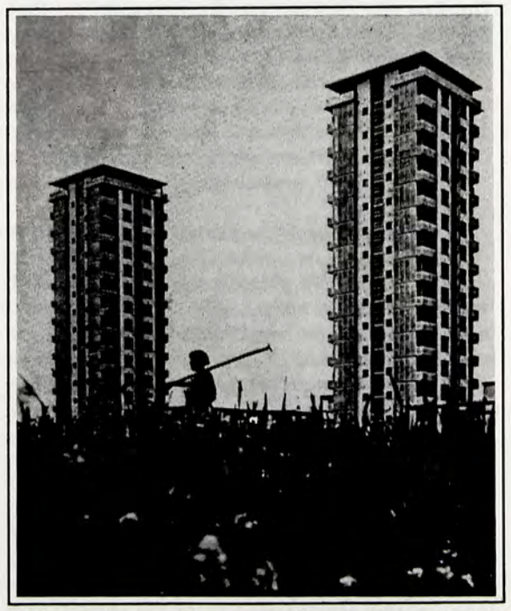
3. Aerial view 1936. Towers, 'tails' and great court are structurally complete, and the first section of the north range (7 on the 1934 plan). Nothing more was built.

La Cité de la Muette, at Drancy, was one of the last of the cites jardins commissioned in the great housing drive by l'Office public d'habitations du Departement de la Seine before the 1939-45 war. The site had been purchased in 1925 and high land charges necessitated a high-density development: the scheme was to house 4,000 people in 1,300 dwellings at 320 persons per hectare.

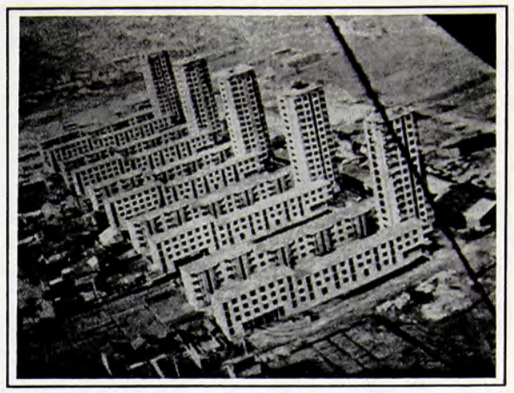
4. Concrete components, precast on site, for assembly on steel frame. Joints were then poured *in situ*.

Henri Sellier and modern housing

In 1932 Henri Sellier, the director, and originator of the suburban development policy, argued strenuously in favour of high-rise flats for low cost housing in the newly founded planning journal *Urbanisme*. The department had built a ten-storey block attached to a shopping centre at Chatenay-Malabry, south of Paris, which was itself predated in 1928 by a 10-storey tower, which also carried a reservoir, at the Belgian cite-jardin, le Logis Floreal.



5. The rural image. Towers seen from market gardens to the north.



6. The modernist icon. Drancy as seen by travellers to le Bourget.

The Belgian tower was the centrepiece of a symmetrical layout, on the highest part of the site. At Chatenay-Malabry the tower was less formally, but carefully placed in the hilly Butte Rouge as the original scheme was called, glimpsed between trees across the small valleys, or enticingly seen along curving avenues, it has a powerful presence we can suppose deliberately conceived by the political man that Henri Sellier evidently was.

The technical innovations of Drancy had also been employed in Paris housing. The Mopin system of steel construction used light steel sections bolted together. While conventional steelwork assumed that the frame should carry the whole structure of the building and all live loads, the Mopin frame would provide scaffolding for a structure stiffened and completed by the insertion of concrete floor and wall slabs which were precast in temporary factories on site. The system was used at the earlier development of Champs des Oiseaux at Bagneux, also by Beaudoin and Lods, for PAX, a state financed housing association.

The Garchey system for water-borne refuse disposal was also used at Bagneux, and in a Seine department scheme at Maisons Alfort, but at Bagneux the dehydrated rubbish was carted away and not burned to fuel a district heating system.

The Cité de la Muette was described in detail by EAA Rowse in *The Architects' Journal* in August 1934. Photographs show that the towers and their tails were built then and the site cleared for the great court. The plan, however, and Rowse's description, show the concept of the court as very different from the plain U block that exists today, but a much more complex layout, still of five-storey blocks enclosing a sports ground, but also including a covered market, church and social centre, and with school buildings at the south end. This gives more credibility to Marcel Lods' claim, in 1976, that the court was inspired by the great market at Isphahan!

That was in a valediction to Drancy by Francois Laisney and Ginette Baty-Tornikian in *l'Architecture d'Aujourdhui* at the time of its demolition, 'only another episode in the history of this haunted place'. Lods, interviewed by Laisney, began by stressing the political dimension:

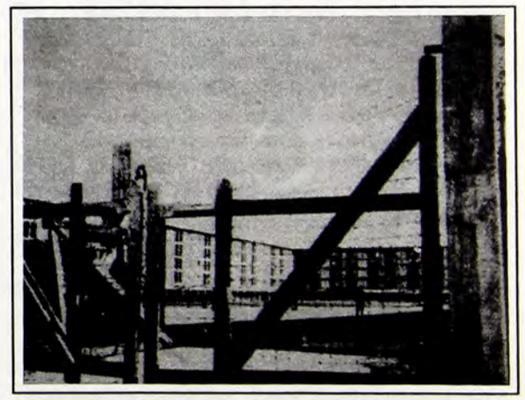
"The architectural problem posed at Drancy is not a technical, but a political problem: political power decides, and the architects do it."

Lods then explained that the scheme was divided into two separate jobs:

"Beaudoin constructed his houses round a great court, inspired by (?) la grande place d'Ispahan. [Laisney's query] Lods planned the rest - a closed composition with no relation to the pattern of cottage streets which butted 'en impasse' on the enclosing walls."

A second detailed description of Cité de la Muette was provided by a Building Centre team in 1936. Their drawings and an accompanying aerial photograph show the great court structurally completed in its present condition. The report explains that the large court differed from the rest of the scheme in being of concrete frame construction rather than steel, though precast floor, roof and wall slabs were still employed. Whether this was due to experience in the earlier buildings is not discussed, but it might explain the survival of the large court for more that fifty years.

The extensive social facilities planned around the great court must have fallen prey to the financial difficulties



7. The camp. Entrance - and departure - gate at south end of the court.

8. The camp. Postal cover commemorating 50th anniversary of the first deportations to Auschwitz and Birkenau. Inmates washing in the court.

facing the Seine housing office in the mid-1930s; in the suburban schemes all around Paris new housing was hard to let. When the garden suburbs were planned it was understood that the metro, or city tramways would be extended to serve them, but that was not done. Suburban bus services, like water and other utilities, were privately run, and the companies were reluctant to invest in improvements which would eventually be municipalised. So the new housing was unlikely to attract city workers. Sellier's original studies had demonstrated that suburban residents too, suffered from overcrowding and bad housing conditions, but few of them were likely to exchange their pavilions de banlieu, with their gardens, hens and earth closets, for the sanitary benefits of the Drancy towers. At Plessis-Robinson and other Seine department schemes, arrangements were made for military families to be billeted in the new housing, but apparently such proposals failed at Drancy because of opposition by the local council.

L'antichambre de la mort'

In 1940 Drancy was taken over by the Germans as a prison camp, Front Stalag III, an ideal place, Laisney comments, to install 'son appareil represif', and the court accommodated French and British prisoners of war. Jean-Paul Sartre apparently spent a few weeks there in the spring of 1941 before his release on grounds of bad eyesight. In March 1941 the 'Department aux questions juives' was formed and Drancy was already being prepared as the transit camp for deporting Parisian Jews, though it was not until August that the Jewish quarters in the furniture-making districts of the XIe and XIIe arrondissements were surrounded and 4,230 men taken to Drancy. The first deportation, of 1,112 Jews took place on 27 March 1942, to be followed by 78 other convoys, mostly to Auschwitz. Women and

9. Drancy as memorial. The great court and the cattle truck. The accommodation, *40 HOMMES - 8 CHEVAUX*, states French army standards, for troops travelling in relative comfort. 100 prisoners travelled in each truck on the long journey to Auschwitz.

10. The memorial at Drancy.

children joined the Drancy camp after the notorious confinement of over 13,000 people in the Velodrome d'hiver in July 1942. Drancy was run by the French police under orders from Vichy: a German commandant was appointed only in July 1943. Paternalistic standing orders displayed in the museum explain the management arrangements to be run by the prisoners; a system of room and staircase orderlies and trade workshops in the large ground-floor rooms. There was still no water or sanitation in the block and latrines and standpipes for washing were arranged in the court. From the latrines at the south end, a tunnel was excavated in 1943, with the intention of liberating the entire population of the camp, a forlorn hope that was foiled by discovery only a few metres from freedom.

The Drancy camp was in use to the end of the German occupation. The last train of prisoners from Drancy-le Bourget station on 17 August 1944 also carried anti-aircraft guns and the German commandant, but the place was retained by the police, though owned by the housing authority HLM. Still unoccupied it was eventually sold in 1973 to the army for use as barracks and a stadium, but apparently never taken over. The demolition of the eastern section, the towers and their

11. Henri Sellier's tower at Chatenay Malabry.

tails in 1976 seems to have been simply by default; no-one was sufficiently interested in retaining them. Laisney and Baty-Tornikian said that the structure was still in good condition, though the fate of Quarry Hill and the Mopin structures at Bagneux question that opinion. But there were no administrative or financial arrangements for rehabilitation of inter-war housing schemes, and the authorities responsible for cultural monuments permitted demolition without hesitation. Their article concludes, instructing all concerned with modern housing to make pilgrimage there while something remained. I am sorry that I was too late.

Drancy today

Drancy remains a haunted place: it is ironic that the surviving buildings should be those of most dreadful memory, and a distortion of Sellier's and his architects' visionary planning. Today it is itself a memorial, with the railway truck and the symbolic monument of three granite blocks carved by Shelomo Selinger, supported by a small but important museum of documents, photographs and sketches. The original published photographs of the scheme, now 60 years old, are still amazing, and remain iconic in architectural and housing history. Interestingly these images fall into two categories, the ground based views, perhaps commissioned by Sellier's office, showing the buildings in the rural scene, and the aerial views, some taken by the architects, which contrast the discipline of the scheme with the disorder of the parisian banlieu. These aerial views also reflect the importance of Drancy's location close to le Bourget airport, to be seen by those who travelled in the 1930s to Paris by air. I feel that the towers of Drancy must have inspired John Betjeman's satirical conclusion of his poem, 'The Planster's Vision':

"I have a vision of The Future, chum:
The workers' flats, in fields of soya beans
Tower up like silver pencils, score on score:
And surging millions hear the Challenge come
From microphones in communal canteens
"No right! No Wrong! All's perfect, evermore."

No other housing had that elegance, or would have such an awful future.

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Getting there

Intending pilgrims should note that the walk from Drancy RER station is long and somewhat tedious. A better approach is to take Metro line 7 to the terminus at Bobigny-Pablo Picasso from where Cité de la Muette is a short ride on the 251 bus. Bobigny-Pablo Picasso is quite as exciting as its name suggests, un grand ensemble of high-rise towers without the cool discipline of La Defense, and a shiny, bright blue prefecture and palace of justice. All is within zone 3 of a tourist travelpass. The memorial railway truck, containing a small exhibition, is open on Saturday afternoons with a larger display room of documents and photographs. (Conservatoire historique du camp de Drancy, 15 rue Arthur Fontaine, 93700 Drancy - tel 48 95 35 05)

Appendix

It was springtime and the sky was very blue, the peach trees a pastel pink. When we rode our bicycles, Nadine and I, through the flag-decked parks of Paris, the fragrant joy of peacetime week-ends filled our lungs. But the tall buildings of Drancy, where the prisoners were kept, brutally crushed that lie. The blonde [Diego's father's mistress] had handed over three million francs to a German called Felix who transmitted messages to the prisoners and who had promised to help them escape. Twice, peering through binoculars, we were able to pick out Diego standing at a distant window. They had shaved off his woolly hair and it was no longer he who smiled back at us; his mutilated head seemed even then to belong to another world.

One afternoon in May we found the huge barracks deserted; straw mattresses were being aired at the open windows of empty rooms. At the cafe where we had parked our bicycles, they told us that three trains had left the station during the night. Standing by the barbed wire fence, we watched and waited for a long time. And then suddenly, very far off, very high up, we made out two solitary figures leaning out of a window. The younger one waved his beret triumphantly. Felix had spoken the truth: Diego had not been deported. Choked with joy, we rode back to Paris.

'They're in a camp with American Prisoners,' the blonde told us. 'They're doing fine, taking lots of sun baths.' But she hadn't actually seen them. . .at last Felix said irritably, 'They killed them a long time ago.'

Simone de Beauvoir (1957), *The Mandarins*, 33-34.

This narrative resembles very closely de Beauvoir's account in her autobiography, of a visit to Drancy with a younger friend Lise whose Spanish-Jewish boyfriend was imprisoned there, including the German intermediary, and the large ransom paid in vain. (de Beauvoir 1960 (tr.1962) *My Life*, vol.2, *The Prime of Life*, 456-7).

Deportations from Drancy continued up to 17 August 1944, the German commandant leaving on the last train.

Postgraduate Theses in Britain on Planning History 1970-1990

Dr. Robert Home, University of East London, UK

The International Planning History Society (formerly the Planning History Group) has undertaken a bibliography of masters' and doctoral theses in the field of planning history, awarded by British higher education institutions (both 'old' and 'new' universities) in the period 1970-1990. The survey was encouraged by Professor Gordon Cherry (University of Birmingham), started by Dr. George Gordon (University of Strathclyde), and completed by Dr. Robert Home (University of East London), with financial support from the Society and secretarial support by Czes Bany.

Planning history was defined for the purposes of the survey as 'historical perspectives on the planning of the environment in relation to the origins and consequences of specific planning ideas or sets of ideas, methods and activities'.

Planning history has no clear academic home: there is nowhere a department or programme on planning history (that I know of). Instead it is found in a number of academic areas, including urban history, history, urban/historical geography, and social science. We accordingly distributed our survey form widely, to some 150 relevant departments, schools and faculties of higher education institutes in the United Kingdom, in the fields of geography, architecture, sociology, planning, history and urban and regional studies. Of the 25 institutions which responded, some made their own selection of the titles they thought relevant, while others sent full lists of all dissertations, from which we made the selection. Eventually we identified about 100 more or less relevant dissertation titles (some with abstracts also supplied). This response was too small to claim representativeness or to generalize from, but we include some comments (based upon analysis of the titles and the occasional abstract supplied) as well as listing the dissertations alphabetically by author. A primary aim of the survey was to disseminate the range of work already done, given that relatively few of the dissertations included have subsequently been published in book form (those published include Hardy 1988, Newman 1976, Rose 1981, Swenarton 1979).

Comment

If we take first a chronological approach, relatively few dissertations were concerned with planning before the late 19th century, perhaps reflecting the usual association of town planning with the period since the Industrial Revolution. These ranging into the earlier period include Borsay (1981) on landscape and leisure 1660-1770, Capper (1969) on the industrial colonies of south Lakeland since the 18th century, Harrison (1985) comparing mediaeval and modern new towns, Melious (1981) on land legislation 1790-1980, Ryan (1980) on Scottish planned villages 1730-1850, Toplis (1978) on speculative housing in Tyburnia 1630-1850, Turner (1985) on the rebuilding of provincial English after fires 1675-1870.

As one might expect, there is a fair body of work on the garden city and new towns movement: Day (1973) on Unwin and Parker's contribution to site planning theory, Booth (1975) on the new towns movement, Gleave (1988) on the garden city in Rosyth, Hardy (1988) on the TCPA, Kumer's (1981) comparison of British and Indian new towns, Miller (1981) on Unwin, and Rosing (1980) on garden cities and new towns in Scotland.

The development of the institutional and legislative structures of town planning in the early twentieth century is covered in Beattie (1986) on the implementation in Lancashire of the 1919 Addison Housing Act, Gunby (1987) on the 1919 Town Planning Act, McCleery (1984) on the Scottish Congested Districts Board 1884, Melious (1981) on land legislation, and Oldham (1977) on statutory bodies in the Potteries. The emergence of the planning system during and after the Second World War is addressed by Hebbert (1977), who uses the literature of the British planning movement to show how the changing thought-world of town planners reflected wider shifts in the nature of social reformism, and by Kilner (1982) on Labour party policy and the 1947 Act. The regional policy approaches of the 1964-70 Labour government are the subject of Pennington (1982).

Many of the dissertations showed a strong local emphasis, with Scotland and the North of England particularly well represented. Dissertations on Scottish topics included Campbell (1970) on the iron and steel industry, Edwards (1989) on conservation in Glasgow old town, Gleave (1988) on garden cities in Fife, McCleery (1984) on the Highland Development Agency, McKee (1977) on Glasgow interwar housing, Noad (1984) on regional policy, Robb (1981) on the Gorbals, and Urquhart (1988) on transport policy in Lothian. A London focus was found in Garside (1978) on the period 1930-1961, Perceval (1986) on the City's elevated walkways, and Toplis (1978) on Tyburnia.

Urban morphology, particularly residential townscapes, have long been a specialization of the School of Geography at the University of Birmingham, and is represented by Slater (1986), Talbot (1984), Broaderwick (1981) on institutional land uses, and Larkham (1986) on Midlands conservation areas since 1968. Passmore (1975) examined the roles of owners and solicitors in suburban townscape changes in mid-Victorian Manchester, identifying family life-cycle as a major motive behind owner's actions.

Land markets and commercial property development received relatively little attention: Bonshek (1985) examined the origins of skyscrapers in Chicago, while McMahon (1982) took a long view of planning and the development of a land market. Jack Rose (1981), himself one of the post-war British property developers, examined the dynamics of property development from the Industrial Revolution. Freeman (1986), from the Birmingham urban morphology school, compared central area change in two town centres (Aylesbury and Wembley). Thompson (1987), examining the mechanisms underlying townscape evolution in Huddersfield, found that fragmented property ownership within the central area restricted development to small-scale reconstruction, with large-scale owner-occupied buildings limited to the fringe of the central business district. Luffrum (1979) applied multivariate analysis to the influence of economic factors on the commercial cores of 34 small towns in Norfolk and Suffolk.

Housing and slum clearance was well represented. Nineteenth century industrialization and urbanization processes were included in Mann (1989) on estate buildings in Worcestershire, Trescatheric (1981) on the Furness Colony emigration link with Minnesota, Toplis (1978) on speculative housing in London's Tyburnia over two centuries. The financing of social housing was examined in Whittle (1990) on charitable philanthropy in nineteenth century Preston, and Gallimore (1985) on building societies in north Staffordshire (1850-80). For Sheffield, Caulton (1980) used local records such as the deeds registry to analyse the processes of suburban change in the period 1870-1914, while Bacon (1982) examined the rise and fall over a generation of street-deck housing (especially Park Hill). Pearson (1986) examined class and community consciousness in 19th century Leeds.
Harloe (1983) is a comparison of private rental housing in six countries (Britain, the United States, West Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark and France), finding it a form of housing well suited to the circumstances surrounding rapid urbanization and industrialization in the 19th century. Jackson (1986) evaluates housing standards. McCulloch (1983) examines the relationship between owner-occupied housing and working class political action through the mortgage strikes of 1938-40.

Scottish housing has been well studied, particularly at the Universities of Glasgow and Strathclyde: McKee (1977) on inter-war working class housing in Glasgow, Robb (1981) on the nineteenth century Gorbals, Simpson (1970) on middle class housing in Glasgow's West End 1830-1914. Ward (1987) investigates post-war housing production in Ross & Cromarty.

In the field of transport we find Newman's (1976) case study of the Oxford Inner Relief Road, Perceval (1986) on the City of London's elevated walkways ('a minor planning disaster'), Grant's (1975) comparison of post-war road planning in three county boroughs, and Twinn (1978) (probably the first town planner to be a Member of Parliament since W. H. McLean in the 1930s) on public participation in road planning. Urquhart (1988) traces the effects of changing political stances and financial mechanisms upon the roles of the Scottish Office and Lothian Regional Council after the 1975 local government reorganization in Scotland.

Dissertations on industry and employment are relatively few: Campbell (1970) a study of Scottish iron and steel industry location over two centuries, Clarke (1984) on West Midlands industrial location, Pope (1975) on inter-war unemployment in Lancashire, Turok (1987) on local economic development policies since the Second World War.

Leisure activities, particularly among the nineteenth century working class in the North, appear relatively well studied. Local studies include Rodfern (1979) on Crewe, Smith (1970) on Lancashire cotton towns, Brain (1979) on Bolton, and Wild (1986) on Rochdale. Seaside resorts appear in Walton (1974) on Blackpool, and Hargreaves (1978) on seaside hotels. Public parks and landscape are studied in Baldwin (1981), Bilbrough (1972), and Jones (1988). 'Green' issues appear in Kellett (1983), who identifies a failure of planning policy to emphasize private garden provision, and Matless (1990) on countryside protection. Edwards (1989) examines conservation in Edinburgh's Old Town.

Planning outside Britain is largely represented by single country studies. In alphabetical order of country we find:

Brazil - Marques (1989) on regional development,
China - Chan (1989) on socialist regional development
France - Norris-Nicholson (1984) on defence planning, O'Shaughnessy (1970) on post-war planning, and Reid (1990) on housing rehabilitation,
Greece - Papadopoulos (1977) on urban growth,
Iraq - Marouf (1980) on modern town planning,

Kuwait - Sabbar (1971) on conservation,
Malawi - Chilowa (1988) on sites-and-services and settlement upgrading projects,
Malaysia - Cheah (1975) on the land registration, Abdullah (1986) and Mohd Shukri (1986) both on post-war rural development strategies,
Mexico - Jimenez-Huerta (1988) on Organs of Citizen Representation,
Nigeria - Alli (1978) on urban development,
Portugal - Cardoso (1983) on housing,
Spain - Rider (1987) and Wynn (1980), both on Barcelona.

Comparative work includes Britain/Netherlands in Hamnett (1981), Britain/India in Kumer (1981), and Scotland/Colombia in Londono (1978).

It is difficult from a probably unrepresentative survey to identify obvious gaps where future research might go, but here are a few suggestions:

(a) the connections between planning and political theory/ideology,
(b) the role of professional groupings,
(c) the history of individual physical planning concepts or standards, a surprisingly neglected area in view of their importance for building design and form,
(d) the historical dimensions to community planning, environmentalism and 'green' concerns, and
(e) the international transfer of planning concepts.

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Reports

Burnhamania: The Fifth National Conference on American Planning History, Chicago, 18-21 November 1993

Robert Freestone, University of New South Wales, Australia and Gordon Cherry, University of Birmingham, UK

The Fifth National Conference of the Society for American City and Regional Planning History (SACRPH) was held in Chicago, Illinois from 18-21 November 1993. The event was co-sponsored by the Urban History Association, the Public Works Historical Society, the College of Architecture, Art and Planning and the Chicago Historical Society. Most sessions were held at the Historical Society's revamped headquarters building south of Lincoln Park. Also in continuous use was the meeting room at The Claridge, the official conference hotel, a bracing three block walk away in the windy city's late fall weather.

The conference attracted a record registration, with some 200 delegates from all over the United States and sufficient international representation to form a quorum for the first executive committee meeting of the International Planning History Society. Fifty sessions were organised, covering a panoply of subjects including transportation, property development, historic preservation, housing, rural planning, planned communities, case studies of planning in particular cities, biographical studies, and the historical origins of planning. A welcome contemporary flavour - dealing with issues such as urban redevelopment, the design of retail malls, and the work of James Rouse - surfaced in many sessions, but the World's Columbian Exposition, the 1909 Plan for Chicago, the city beautiful movement, and so, unavoidably, Daniel Burnham, suitably pervaded the proceedings.

DANIEL H. BURNHAM
About 1910

Three plenary addresses were held. In a wide-ranging illustrated lecture entitled 'Public Life and Public Space', **Lynn Hollen Rees**, President of the Urban History Association and Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania, reflected on the nature and use of public space, from civic, commercial, and contested perspectives, drawing on a kaleidoscope of examples from three continents. **Christopher Silver**, of Virginia Commonwealth University and outgoing SACRPH President, spoke on 'Planning History and the Changing American Metropolis', endorsing a more critical, socially-infused planning history which can challenge the assumptions of planning practice and more effectively consider the human consequences of planning decisions. At an evening reception at the historic Three Arts Club (Holabird and Roche, 1914), **Robert Bruegmann**, of the History of Architecture and Art Department at the University of Illinois at Chicago, entertained with 'If Burnham Came to Schaumburg', speculating on what the chief author of the 1909 Plan for Chicago, with its vision of a dominant, imperialistic downtown, might make of the reality of the suburban 'edge cities' of the 1990s.

All four post-conference tours were well-subscribed: to the affluent suburbs strung out along the north short of Lake Michigan, to the planned nineteenth century communities of Pullman and Riverside, to Jackson Park site of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition), and to the New Deal new town of Greendale, Wisconsin. There were also opportunities to get out and about on a number of short walking tours organised at short notice after the conference got underway.

This was a successful conference distinguished by quality papers and presentations which spoke volumes for the strength of planning history in North America. It was not some monochromatic assemblage of urban and regional planners, but a productive meeting place for delegates from many different backgrounds including history, architecture, art history, landscape architecture, American studies, government and the private sector. Needless to say it was also a very well-organised event and a tribute to the efforts of the supporting learned societies, student volunteers, and program, tour and exhibit organisers, with indefatigable SACRPH Executive Secretary **Larry Gerckens** deserving most of the credit.

Thirty four people attended the First National Conference on American Planning History held in Columbus, Ohio in 1986. Over six times that number made it to Chicago in 1993, auguring well for future conferences schedules for Knoxville, Tennessee in 1995, the Pacific Northwest in 1997, and Washington DC in 1999. But with six concurrent sessions at two different locations at any one time, it was impossible to take it all in. Fortunately, the voluminous proceedings (c1200 pages) will be available from SACRPH (3655 Darbyshire Drive, Hilliard, Ohio, 43026-2534, USA).

Seizing the Moment - London Planning 1944-1994, London, 7th-9th April 1994

Stephen V Ward
Oxford Brookes University, UK

This was the first conference organized by the International Planning History Society and I must start by recording that it was a resounding success. Conceived modestly as a small UK seminar, its organizers worrying about the minutiae of financial break-even points, it grew into a medium-sized international conference. Roughly 90 delegates registered for the whole conference, though numbers for some individual events were well in excess of this. Jointly sponsored by IPHS and the Vision for London organization, it was conceived to celebrate and review the half century of London planning since the Abercrombie Greater London Plan of 1944. The conference title was an adapted quotation from the plan, yet it somehow managed to catch something of the rising tide of contemporary interest in shaping the UK capital's destiny for the late 1990s and beyond.

The events started with a reception hosted by Visions for London at the Museum of London, followed by showings of two planning films of the early post-war years, introduced by **John Gold** and **Stephen V. Ward** (Oxford Brookes University). *Proud City* (1946) told the story of the Abercrombie and Forshaw County of London Plan of 1943. Notable particularly for the shots of a monocled Abercrombie, looking (if not quite sounding) rather like a figure from a P. G. Wodehouse novel, this rare film was very typical of the rather bossy, instructional style of the period. The second film, *Home of Your Own* (1951) had been made to promote Hemel Hempstead New Town at the time of the Festival of Britain. Cinematically it marked a sharp contrast with the earlier film because of its attempt to find a strong 'human interest', one that relied on housing rather than the more remote notion of planning.

The conference started in earnest the following morning at Duncan House at the University of East London. The first contribution was an absorbing keynote address by **John Reps** (Cornell University) who re-examined his own experiences of planning the London New Towns in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Three things were particularly striking. The first was how much access to interview very senior decision makers he had been able to secure, a sharp contrast (we may suspect) to anyone attempting a similar exercise with the Urban Development Corporations today. The second was how meticulous he had been in recording such full details of these meetings. Finally there were his extensive colour slide photographs of the New Towns at this early period. Quite apart from anything else, I doubt that any British person at that time of austerity and rationing would have been able to lay their hands on quite so much Kodachrome! But we had cause to be grateful that this 'Yankee at the Court of Clement Attlee' had been able to do so.

Thereafter the sessions were split, so that it is possible to give only a flavour of what went on. **Andrew Saint** (English Heritage) gave a vivid pre-history of the South Bank from 1910 to the Festival of Britain, showing particularly how bridge projects had the effect of blighting areas for long periods. Meanwhile **Nicholas Bullock** (Kings College, University of Cambridge) challenged traditional conceptions of the inadequacies of the 1940s' housing programme by arguing that it was necessary to consider the repair of bomb damaged housing and new construction together. When this was done the real achievement was truly remarkable.

Hermione Hobhouse (Survey of London) gave a review of the work of the London Society and other voluntary organizations in the town planning of London before 1945. She showed how the Society had played a key role in establishing the idea of 'listing' buildings of historic or architectural interest, something which gained statutory endorsement under the 1947 Act. The theme of voluntarist endeavour was taken up by **Tony Sutcliffe** (University of Leicester) (with E. Marmaras) who examined to the three independent plans for London during the Second World War - the MARS plan, the Royal Academy Plan and the London Regional Reconstruction Committee.

In another place, **Pat Garside** (University of Salford) was simultaneously talking about the neglected relationship between post-war physical reconstruction and economic revival, focusing on the identification of comprehensive redevelopment areas in the East End. She was followed on the particular significance of the East End by **Eva-Marie Neumann** (London), who spoke about the role of the famous Lansbury neighbourhood as a laboratory for 'scientific' planning. Lansbury was a Live Architecture exhibit at the Festival of Britain and embodied the full panoply of 1940s planning effects, including the neighbourhood unit and mixed development. Methodological issues also featured in the paper by **Michael Mutter, Michael Theis** and **Peter Newman** (University of Westminster) who used the Max Lock Archive at their institution to

show how Lock's Civic Diagnosis techniques, applied to Hull, Hartlepool and especially Middlesbrough in the 1940s were also used in the South Shoreditch study prepared in the early 1970s as a spin-off from the Greater London Development Plan.

Some of the themes raised by Garside and Neumann were also present in **Jim Yelling** (Birkbeck College, University of London)'s paper on housing and planning in post-war redevelopment. He showed how pre-1939 experience was important in preparing the ground for the massive planned redevlopment of the slum areas in the post-war years. But he also explored the important relationship between redevelopment and the urban property market and the equivalent institutionalization of this within the LCC, between Architect's and Valuer's Departments.

After lunch one track focused particularly on architectural and visual aspects of planning post-war London. **Robert Thorne** (Alan Baxter Associates) showed how the Holford-Holden plan for the City of London, presented in 1947, was dominated by the creation of improved conditions for office employment. This laid the basis for the near complete decline of the other traditional functions of the City - industry, wholesaling, trading - and the emergence of the City as an office stronghold by the 1960s. It was, moreover,

dominated by a particular type of office building whose architecture reflected the daylighting considerations that had so concerned Holford and Holden. More explicitly architectural in its concerns was the paper by **Tim Catchpole** (Halcrow Fox) which followed up some of the same themes about daylighting though across central London as a whole. Its focus was on the rise of the office tower and he showed how the plans of the 1940s laid the basis for this, along with the amendment of the London Building Acts in 1954. Between these two papers, **Victor Belcher** (London) had reviewed the progress of the preservationist strand of planning in post-war London, following up the earlier paper by Hermione Hobhouse. He showed how the intense development pressures of these years presented a huge challenge to the widening conservation lobby.

Meanwhile the other session focused on particular areas of London. **Emmanuel Marmaras** (Athens) spoke about comprehensive development planning in south London, with particular reference to the South Bank and the Elephant and Castle. **Keith Thomas** (Oxford Brookes University) evaluated the success of the Abercrombie Plan in achieving its objectives for limited growth in industrial expansion. Focusing on the North West Kent area, he showed that by 1961, when the South East Study was effectively superseding the 1944 Plan, substantial growth in industrial employment had in fact taken place. Finally **Robert Home** (University of East London) spoke about the history of Stratford Shopping Centre. This is one of the 'landmarks' that greeted us as we emerged from the Underground station at Stratford, en route to the conference venue, through an urban landscape almost totally devoid of visual interest. The brainchild of Tom North, the former Borough Architect and Planning Officer of West Ham, its history was not a happy one, though the effects of City Challenge funding, won in 1993, point to some improvement.

The next session took the form of a round table discussion, chaired by **Gordon Cherry** (University of Birmingham) and involving **Walter Bor** and **William Tatton-Brown** reflecting on the experience of reconstruction planning in the early post-war years. A good deal of their discussion focused on the failure to foresee many of the broader social and economic changes of the post-war years. There was also consideration of the tensions between the planners and other departments. There was a suggestion from Walter Bor that the planners were perhaps too much in awe of the valuers, and were too ready to accept the valuers' assessment of the impossibility of challenging developers over the infamous third schedule permitted development loophole in the 1947 Act. This was followed by a second keynote address from **Peter Self** (Australian National University). Speaking about the Evolution of the Greater London Plan 1940-1970, Self asserted that the Abercrombie plan was the most successful regional plan ever produced. (In case this may be thought faint praise, we ought to add that he was also more positive than that). In a rather truncated presentation, he traced through the history of the Greater London Plan and its successor documents in the 1960s and early 1970s, showing how its green belt and countryside protection elements survived even the Thatcher governments.

Finally, on this very full day, we returned to film. **Toby Haggith** (Imperial War Museum) showed a very rare and little known film called *Neighbourhood 15* (1948). This was a film made about the replanning of Canning Town then in the County Borough of West Ham, outside the LCC area. The area had featured in Abercrombie's plan, thanks largely to the eager co-operation of Tom North, the Borough Architect, who had already been introduced in Rob Home's paper about Stratford. The film was extremely interesting. Perhaps because it was locally made, it managed to be informative without being overly instructional. Tom North himself was shown at work. There was also wonderful footage of the quality of life in early post-war Canning Town, a heavily blitzed area. Particularly memorable were the scenes of the school by the Docks in Silvertown, where the children had superb views from their rooftop playground of the big ships then crowded in the Royal Docks complex, now of course completely deserted. The building of the low density Keir Hardie estate was shown, a far cry from the tower blocks, including the notorious Ronan Point, which followed in the 1960s.

Saturday began with an international programme. **Karl Fischer** (Gottingen) and **Dirk Schubert** (Technical University of Hamburg-Harburg) dealt with the impacts of the plans for London on German city planning during the 1940s. They showed how there were important similarities in planning approaches and revealed how much of London's wartime planning was well known to German planners. Evidently the Swedish embassy acted as a courier, with the Abercrombie plans sent out from London in diplomatic bags. There was a contrast here with Italy, where the important links evidently came after the war, as revealed by **Giorgio Piccinato** (Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia). British and especially London planning was an important formative influence on a new wave of anti-fascist planning intellectuals. The model finally lost its potency as it was increasingly questioned and discredited during the 1970s.

Alan Mabin (University of the Witwatersrand) explored the role of London planning as an influence on South African planning in two periods, the 1940s

and the 1990s. The pattern here was rather different to Germany or Italy, because the flow of planning ideas, expertise and individuals was greater. Leading figures in British planning such as William Holford and Roy Kantorowich were South Africans and continued to undertake commissions in their home country. Other South Africans were trained in Britain and some British planners emigrated to South Africa, taking their experience with them. Such patterns were less common in Argentina and Brazil, though **Joel Outtes** (Oriel College, University of Oxford) was still able to point to important linkages. Before the war many European planning pioneers visited South America, including Barry Parker who planned a district of Sao Paulo, Brazil. It was into this already receptive context that Abercrombie's plans were received and they clearly generated great interest, especially in Buenos Aires.

The most welcome of the overseas visitors was **Leonid Raputov** (Moscow Architectural Institute) whose attendance was made possible only by a British Council grant. He spoke about the impact of Abercrombie's plan on the post-war development of Moscow, while setting this in a long term perspective. Indeed, his audience were somewhat surprised when he began his talk with a slide showing the Roman colonisation of Britain. However his comments about the long term relationships of British and Russian new settlement planning were of considerable interest. [*Readers may wish to note that we hope to publish some of Professor Raputov's work in a future issue*].

The last of the 'international' papers was by **Robert Bruegemann** (University of Illinois), who offered a thoughtful comparison between planning cities in Britain and North America. He was not so much following up the lines of influence as considering why policies followed a different course and with what effects. Bruegemann suggested that Abercrombie and his peers might have been wrong in placing so much emphasis on green belts, trying to control a phenomenon that was so dynamic as the modern city. His view that Britain might actually learn something from the American planning experience struck a rather refreshing note.

Returning to the specific London focus, **Ian Crawley** (London Borough of Islington) offered an evaluation of the use of Comprehensive Development Areas, the area redevelopment instrument introduced under the 1947 Act and superseded only by either Action Areas under the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act or General Improvement Areas under the 1969 Housing Act. Some 57 were approved in London out of 539 nationally. The largest was the 1312 acre Stepney Poplar CDA.

Much more contemporary was the paper by **John Delafons** (University of Reading) who recalled his own personal involvement in the moves to set up a London Planning Commission after the aboliton of the GLC in 1985-6. In fact the proposal foundered and a much weaker London Planning Advisory Committee was created instead, though Delfons argued that it has performed well despite the great limitations of its structure, functions and resources.

As with all the best conferences, the organizers had saved the best until the last session. A round table on the Greater London Development Plan of the early 1970s gave the opportunity for three participants in the process - **Ray Pahl, Philip Daniel** and **Robin Clements** - to reflect. The GLDP was, in effect, the first of the structure plans and its history was a microcosm (though perhaps macrocosm would be more appropriate) of the dilemmas of the planning process in the early 1970s. There were 28,000 objections, an incredible number compared to previous experiences and symptomatic of a much less compliant public than Abercrombie ever had to deal with. A growing awareness of widening social and increasingly economic problems tempted the GLC planners into ever more ambitious policy aspirations, many of which were clearly beyond the competence of the planning system to deliver. The palpable decline of the London economy over the period between 1969 when the plan was submitted and 1976 when it was approved brought continuing pressures for readjustment. The political complexion of central government changed twice over this same period and there were even more ministerial changes.

Overall the roundtable seemed to take the form of an inquest on the strange death of comprehensive planning, though hearing the evidence one wondered that it was alive in the first place, given the weight of the contradictory pressures it was called upon to bear. The session ended with some cogent reflections on more recent years. London's economy and society are now dramatically different from that with which Abercrombie had to deal. Meanwhile planning is pursued in a fragmented and often rather undemocratic or remote way, for example in the London Docklands and transport planning. Yet the Unitary Development Plans prepared separately by each of the London Boroughs, but fitting together very neatly, seem to suggest that the will to think on a larger scale is still there, perhaps awaiting sufficient political courage at a higher level to give it some form.

The final keynote address by **Peter Hall** (University College, London) encouraged further thoughts in this direction. In a masterly summary he drew together all the major strands of previous discussions, reviewed the planning efforts of the last half century and

suggested important themes for future consideration. One was the conundrum of why Abercrombie's plan had been so backward looking, addressing the problems of the the war and interwar years rather than showing any real vision of how London was going to change. Part of the answer no doubt lies in Abercrombie himself. As Hall rightly commented, the continuing absence of a decent biography remains the major gap in British planning history. Yet Abercrombie was merely reflecting the wider priorities of the time, primarily concerned with avoiding a repetition of past mistakes (as Peter Hennessy has argued in his aptly titled book *Never Again*) rather than looking forward in any really perceptive way to the new pressures arising in the second half of the century. (It was, incidentally, interesting how, without realising it, the Conference collectively came very close to accepting the explicit proposition that the future was something that planners could not reasonably have been expected to know anything about).

Amongst many other things Hall commented on the absence of consideration of the more recent period, especially the 1980s and particularly the establishment and work of the London Docklands Development Corporation. He also offered his thoughts as to the way forward, arguing that whether we liked it or not we were unlikely to be given an opportunity to recreate London's planning completely anew. The Abercrombie tradition has lived on, especially in the green belt which was now deeply embedded in the political culture of the south east (and East Anglia). In that sense at least the future might turn out to be very much like the past.

Overall, despite the omissions and the uncertainties over the present state of London's planning, this was a very fine conference. IPHS's Meetings Secretary, **Robert Home**, led from the front and played a central role in ensuring that the programme devised largely by Michael Hebbert, came to fruition. They, and the Vision for London organisation, especially **Esther Caplin**, who played a more general facilitative role, deserve our congratulations and thanks for a splendid event. Next stop, Hong Kong!

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Publications

Abstracts

John Taylor, Jean G Lengelle and Caroline Andrew (eds), *Capital Cities: International Perspectives*, Ottawa, Carleton University Press, 1993, 418 pp, case £29.95, ISBN 0 088629 178 X, paper £19.95, ISBN 0 88629 179 8.

The 24 papers that comprise this volume - 8 in French and the remainder in English - focus on the nature and role of capital cities around the world, past, present and future. Representing a broad spectrum of international scholarship, they explore such topics as the changing roles of capitals, governing federal capitals, the dispute over Germany's political centre, the concept of New York as a world city, ancient and new capitals in Latin America, and future directions for European capital cities.

Dora P. Crouch, *Water Management in Ancient Greek Cities*, , New York, Oxford University Press, 1993, 380 pp, £60.00, ISBN 0 19 507280 4.

Drawing on classical archaeology, the theory and history of urbanisation, geology and hydraulic engineering, this pioneering study shows how the supply, distribution and drainage of water contributed to the urbanisation of ancient cities in the Mediterranean part of Greece. From individual studies of such sites as Syracuse, Pergamon, Athens, Samos, Delphi and Corinth, the author concludes that increased knowledge and skill in management of water contributed directly to the urban development of the ancient Greek world.

Janet R. Daly-Bednarek, *The Changing Image of the City: Planning for Downtown Omaha, 1945-1973*, Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992, pp 292, ISBN 0-8032-1692 cloth $37.50.

The book explores the differing planning priorities for downtown Omaha from post World War II to the early 1970s. It links the changing planning orientation characteristic of this period to a changing vision of the city. Furthermore, the author argues that planning was a reactive response to a vision of what the city should be rather than an anticipatory foray into the future. The book also attempts to identify reasons for the changing image of the city and provides a good discussion of the various groups involved in implementing the planning ideals.

G. Wesley Johnson, Jr., ed., *Phoenix in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Community History*, Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993, pp. 287 ISBN 0-8061-2468-7 cloth $21.95.

This collection of twelve essays traces the development of Phoenix from its beginning as an agricultural settlement in the 1860s up through its emergence as one of the nation's fastest growing cities. Readers of *Planning History* will be especially interested in the chapters dealing with economic development, water policies and transportation. The volume is a good example of the multi-perspective approach to urban biography.

John W. Stamper, *Chicago's North Michigan Avenue: Planning and Development, 1900-1930*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991, pp. 318, ISBN 0-226-77085-0 $45.00 cloth.

Chicago's North Michigan Avenue provides a solidly researched volume examining the forces that created the 'Miracle Mile'. The author goes well beyond the traditional focus of architectural historians and examines how property ownership, financing, zoning laws, design theory, advertising and building management, as well as specific architects, helped shape the avenue. Extensive photographs, dozens of maps drawn by the author, and a nice page design strengthens this volume's appeal.

Notes for Contributors

The prime aim of Planning History is to increase awareness of developments and ideas in planning history in all parts of the world. In pursuit of this aim, contributions (in English) are invited from members or non-members alike for any section of Planning History. Non-native English speakers, please do not worry if your English is not perfect. The editor will be happy to help improve its readability and comprehension, but cannot unfortunately undertake translations.

The text for PH is prepared using Wordperfect 5.1 and Pagemaker. Contributions on disk compatible with either of these systems are encouraged, with accompanying hard copy.

Articles

These should aim to be in the range 2,000-3,000 words. They may be on any topic within the general remit of IPHS and may well reflect work in progress. Illustrations are normally expected for articles. They should be supplied as good quality xeroxes or black and white photographs where there are half tones. Articles should normally be referenced with superscript numbers in the text and a full reference list at the end, as shown in this issue. Authors should note that subheads are inserted in articles and give thought to what these might be and where they might be placed.

Other Contributions

Other types of contributions are also very welcome. Research reports should be not more than 2,000 words. They need not be referenced, but any relevant publications should be listed at the end. Illustrations are encouraged, following the above notes. Similar short pieces on important source materials, aspects of planning history practice (eg in conservation) etc. are also encouraged. Abstracts of relevant publications originally published in a language other than English are especially welcome. They should follow the format in this issue.

Notices of Current Events

These are very welcome from any part of the world. Organisers of events should, however, bear in mind that PH is only published three times a year, normally in April, August and December. Copy needs to be in at least 4 weeks before the start of the publication date to be certain of inclusion. Please try to ensure that calls for papers etc are notified sufficiently in advance for inclusion. Later inserts are possible, at the time of dispatch, though sufficient copies, folded as required, must be supplied by the event organiser. Nothing larger than a single A4 sheet will be accepted. Every effort will be made to include such inserted news material without cost. However, the Editor reserves the right to charge for such material at normal advertising rates.

Notes for Advertisers

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The Society was inaugurated in January 1993 as a successor body to the Planning History Society, founded in 1974. Its aims are to advance interrelated studies in history, planning and the environment, particularly with regard to the industrial and post-industrial city. Its membership is drawn from several disciplines: planning, architecture, economic and social history, geography, sociology, politics and related fields. Membership is open to all who have a working interest in planning history. The Society for American City and Regional Planning History (SACRPH) and the Urban History Association (UHA) are US affiliates of IPHS

Members of IPHS elect a governing council every two years. In turn the council elects an executive Board of Management, complemented by representatives of SACRPH and UHA. The President chairs the Board and Council.

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