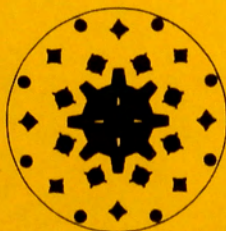


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EDITORIAL

MICHAEL HARRISON, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL ENGLAND

Members of the International Planning History Society may have heard of the President's illness. Gordon Cherry recently had a stroke, but he seems to be responding well to the post-operative treatment he is receiving. He has asked me to publish a letter of thanks for the many good will messages he has been sent. (See Notices.) I am sure everyone in the Society wishes Gordon well.

This, the last issue of 1995, is a full one. Besides the usual Notices and book notes it contains reports of fruitful conferences in America, Australia and England and four articles. In terms of both geography and approach the articles are varied. There are pieces on capitals, new towns and residential areas. People, places and ideas are explored. There are, however, some connecting threads and certain recurring themes in planning history are reworked or extended.

John Muller looks at the way in which the Garden City ideal was transmitted to South Africa. He explores the work of Albert Thompson in the Cape and Natal. Thompson had been earlier employed by Parker and Unwin, and he had real experience of Garden City planning in Britain. As with ventures elsewhere, practical considerations triumphed over the radical ideals of Howard and Unwin in Thompson's South African developments.

Picturesque Garden City forms have been identified alongside the more formal City Beautiful elements in the Griffin's plan for Canberra. Peter Proudfoot argues that the plan of Canberra cannot be understood simply by reference to these two models. He stresses the sacred geometry of the scheme and seeks to persuade us that the initial plan can be best understood in terms of the ancient art of geomancy. He carefully reviews the mathematical relations of the Canberra plan. The Griffin's cosmological masterplan was a world away from the practical approach of Albert Thompson (although it is significant that the Griffins did not openly admit to their interest in geomancy).

Michael Harrison explores the second phase of development of one of the best known British pioneer schemes, the model estate at Bournville. He offers a wide-ranging introduction to the history of Bournville in the inter-war years. The essay touches on administrative, financial, social, architectural, planning and landscaping issues. It indicates the contradictory trends towards simplification and standardisation in house design and complexity and variation in landscape planning. It also reviews the work of the Public Utility Societies, explores the experimental housing schemes of the inter-war years and touches on the social aspects of life on the Bournville estates.

The Public Utility Societies involved in the construction of the Bournville estates were also concerned to encourage community development. There were those involved in the debate about the rebuilding of Britain after the Second World War, like Sir Ernest Simon, who saw "the neighbourhood unit...[as] a natural development from the 'twelve to the acre' estate as built after the last war". The Bournville estates could be said too embody some of the neighbourhood principles identified by Clarence Perry. Dirk Schubert's article takes the study of the neighbourhood unit further by looking at the attempt to implement the idea in a changing ideological context in two different cities, London and Hamburg. Such comparative studies are to be welcomed for they allow us to consider both the impact of war and peace on the planning process.

Once again, *Planning History* contains contributions from Australia, South Africa and the United Kingdom. Could I make a plea for more material from Western and Eastern Europe, North and South America and North Africa. Please keep the material flowing in.

May I conclude by offering International Planning History Society members my best wishes for a successful year in 1996.

NOTICES

Architectural Institute of Japan Award 1995

Every year since 1937, the Architectural Institute of Japan Award has been given to scholars with distinguished accomplishments in all fields of architectural studies. So far, only about ten scholars in the field of planning have been received this prestigious award. This year, however, the award has been given to **Professor Shun-ichi Watanabe** of the Science University of Tokyo for his book, *The Birth of 'Urban Planning': Japan's Modern Urban Planning in International Comparison* (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo, 1993).

Professor Watanabe, a member of the Editorial Board of *Planning History*, is to be congratulated on his award. Members should note that Gordon Cherry reviewed the book in *Planning History* vol.9, no. 4. It also seems that an English language edition of the book is a possibility.

The Built Environment and the Social and Cultural Use of Space

Following the very successful recent meetings in Edinburgh (Urban Elites) 1995 and Nottingham (Art in the City) 1994, there will be another meeting of the **Urban History Group** at Lancaster University 28-29 March 1996, immediately preceding the Economic History Society meeting.

The built environment has for long been a central concern of urban historians, and has been the focus of important new approaches. Papers on all aspects of the history of the built environment — parks, streets, housing, design, pollution and environmental conditions, the cultural meaning and social use of space — are invited. Survey as well as research-based papers will be considered. The focus of the

meeting will be the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, although papers may include reflections and comparisons with other periods.

The Urban History Group is introducing a new forum for postgraduates at its meeting at Lancaster. There will be a 'poster paper' opportunity for current postgraduates and recent doctoral candidates. That is, short summaries (two pages) of research in progress will be 'posted' and researchers will be encouraged to meet those with cognate interests and discuss research matters of mutual interest. No formal presentation of papers is anticipated, but rather an informal discussion period is planned.

Those wishing to participate should send a two page *summary* of their research, identifying their topic, institutional affiliation, supervisor, and using the remainder of the two pages to explain their approaches, sources, hypotheses, or other matters which they wish to cover. This is an attempt to encourage postgraduates to identify those people with similar interests, and is an effort to avoid the anonymity which often surrounds larger conferences.

Proposals, poster papers and enquiries should be addressed to either: R.J. Morris, Department of Economic and Social History, University of Edinburgh, 50 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9JY, U.K., Tel.: 0131 650 3834 or e mail rjmorris@castle.edinburgh.ac.uk. or C.G. Pooley, Department of Geography, Lancaster University, Lancaster, U.K., Tel.: 01524 65201 or e mail c.pooley@lancaster.ac.uk.

Gordon E. Cherry

I am very conscious of the many letters and cards I have received from colleagues in the IPHS following my recent stroke and surgery.

As writing is still very much a slow process, perhaps I may be forgiven for acknowledging all these good wishes through *Planning History* and, at the same time, giving an up-to-date progress report.

At the moment, I am having speech therapy and physiotherapy and responding well to both. I have also started on a course of radiotherapy from which, I am told, my speech will ultimately benefit. It is all very much a waiting game (with patience if possible!).

Yours sincerely,
Gordon E. Cherry.

City Discovery Centre, Milton Keynes

The City Discovery Centre (CDC) is a registered charity based at Bradwell Abbey, the site of a 12th century Benedictine priory and Scheduled Ancient Monument, in the northern part of Milton Keynes. Broadly, the CDC has three functions:

1. To provide information and education services to promote greater appreciation and understanding of the historical, natural and built environments of the new city;
2. To act as custodians of records, maps, archives, slides, books and videos on the development and environment of Milton Keynes;
3. To manage the buildings and heritage site at Bradwell Abbey for the benefit of the Milton Keynes community.

The City Discovery Centre has built up an extensive and varied collection of resources on the Milton Keynes area. This includes a library of over 3,000

books, a comprehensive map collection, the Kitchener Collection of old photographs of the area in the 1920s and 1930s, aerial photographs, slides and over 200 resource packs on all parts of the city. Some of the resources are available on loan. The CDC has for some years been organising educational visits which look at the development of Milton Keynes. The Centre, itself, offers lecture space/classroom, study facilities, dark room and a sales area. A number of useful books, booklets, slide sets and a video tape on the architecture, planning and the development of Milton Keynes are available from the CDC.

For further information contact the City Discovery Centre, Bradwell Abbey, Milton Keynes MK13 9AP, Tel./Fax.: 01908 227229.

David Eversley 1921-1995

David Eversley died on 3 July 1995 at the age of 73. An influential figure in British planning for over 30 years, he was accorded Honorary Membership of the R.T.P.I. in 1978, and served on their Council from 1979 to 1988. He was also a member of the old Planning History Group from the earliest days. In all his writings his historical perspective on planning was always acute. He was known to many of us.

Born Ernst Carl Eduard Eberstadt, into a German Jewish family, he was related to Rudolf Eberstadt, the celebrated urban economist in early 20th century German planning circles who engaged in the renowned Berlin 1910 planning exhibition. In 1936, his Anglophile parents sent him to Leighton Park School, near Reading; a move which was to affect his whole life. He adopted the Quaker faith and when he came to assume an English surname he chose Eversley, a village which he came to know well from cycling the Berkshire countryside. (It was

suitably very English: Charles Kingsley was Rector there when he wrote *The Water Babies*.)

At the beginning of the war he was interned as an enemy alien, spending a brief period in Reading Jail. He became stateless. Initially joining the Pioneer Corps, he later moved to Special Operations, about which he was always silent.

David Edward Charles Eversley went to the L.S.E. immediately after the war and took a B.Sc. Econ. His interest at the time was economic history, which he developed at Birmingham University where (1949-66) he became Reader in Economic (and later Social) History. He was already moving into demography, however, and his Ph.D. in 1960 concerned the social theories of fertility and the Malthusian debate. It was at this time that his attention also turned to town planning. He was Honorary Secretary of the (now defunct) Midlands New Town Society from 1958-62, when he clashed bitterly with the leaders of the Birmingham Labour Party (of which he was a member) over the City's housing and overspill policy. In the University, he became Director of the West Midlands Social and Political Research Unit (out of which the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies later grew).

Eversley went to Sussex University in 1966 as Reader in Population and Regional Studies, later assuming the Directorship of the Social Research Unit. He was elected to a Chair in 1969. In that year he was appointed Chief Planner (Strategy) to the Greater London Council, a move which caused some comment in traditionalist planning circles, because he was professionally unqualified. This spoke more about his detractors than it did about him. He imparted what intellectual rigour he could to the content of the Greater London Development Plan.

Leaving the G.L.C. in 1972, he had a succession of institutional bases, including the Centre for

Environmental Studies and the Policy Studies Institute, while he engaged in part-time teaching at the Bartlett School of Architecture. He was a major figure in the Social Science Research Council. In his later years, he was happy campaigning for the C.P.R.E. in his role as Honorary Director of the Hertfordshire Conservation Society and a regular tormentor at Planning Inquiries.

Eversley had a varied career of great distinction: Chairman of the Regional Studies Association (1972-75), President of the British Society for Population Studies (1981-83), holder of many offices in this country and abroad in professional circles and for the Society of Friends, visiting professor at a number of overseas universities, and prolific writer. His book (with David Donnison), *London: Urban Patterns, Problems and Policies* (1973) outlined the forthcoming inner cities debate, while *The Planner in Society* (also 1973) was nothing short of prescient in looking at the changing role of a profession.

David Eversley did not suffer fools gladly. He could have a wounding tongue and an acid pen, but he was held in esteem by countless admirers for his courage, imagination, scholarship and penetrating intellect. He brought fresh air wherever he went. Students loved his bravura performances. He forced his audiences to properly examine evidence, however unpalatable; he had no time for closed minds.

In town planning circles he was an *enfant terrible* to some; to many others a lovable inspiration and challenge. He belonged to a generation of social science researchers who sharpened the tools of planning enquiry and were drawn into sharp criticism of planning performance. He was, however, no passing parasite on the ample food of dispute. Ever the enthusiastic campaigner, he was not content to be an

inconsequential gadfly; rather, his trenchant observations had a consistency to them over time, which made him a singularly important critic and commentator. When the planning history of post-war Britain comes to be updated, his place will surely be secure in the wholesome influence he brought to bear.

Gordon E. Cherry
(An earlier version of this obituary appeared in *Planning Week*. It is reproduced here with the permission of the Editor.)

Places for People

Places for People (PfP) is the banner name of the National Association for Urban Studies in the U.K. PfP is an inter-professional association focussing on the urban environment, promoting education to encourage people of all ages to have a voice in the future of the places in which they live, work and play. It works with voluntary, statutory and professional groups concerned with environmental issues.

In addition to the PfP journal, *Streetwise*, and its supplements, members receive the PfP Newsletter with information about publications, conferences, projects and up-dates on articles which have appeared in *Streetwise*. Other information on environmental issues is distributed free of charge with the Newsletter, when available.

For information about membership and publications contact PfP c/o ETP, 9 South Road, Brighton BN1 6SB, U.K., Tel./Fax.: 01273 542660, e-mail: urban@mistral.co.uk.

R.T.P.I. Outstanding Service Award

After the R.T.P.I. Council meeting on 12 July 1995, Professor Gordon Cherry was presented with the Outstanding Service Award by President Jed Griffiths. The presentation was followed by an informal reception attended by past and present members of the Council, invited guests and Institute staff.

Professor Cherry retired from the Council earlier this year, after 25 years' service. In his speech, Jim Amos said that the Institute was indebted to Gordon Cherry for 'his firm and balanced leadership as President in 1978, for his imagination and determination to give us the 75th anniversary celebration, for his wise and scrupulously fair chairmanship of the conduct and discipline panel, for his constant challenging of complacency and for his substantial contribution to Sylvia Law's working party on 'Planning and the future'.

Simon Fellowship at the University of Manchester

Harold L. Platt, Professor of History at Loyola University of Chicago, is spending 1995-96 as the Simon Fellow at the University of Manchester. Professor Platt is author of *City Building in the New South: The Growth of Public Services in Houston 1830-1915* (Temple University Press, 1983) and *The Electric City: Energy and the Growth of the Chicago Area* (Chicago University Press, 1991). Representative of his recent research is the article, 'Invisible Gases: Smoke, Gender and the Redefinition of Environmental Policy in Chicago 1900-20', *Planning Perspectives* vol. 10, no. 1, January 1995. Professor Platt will use his time in Manchester to add a comparative dimension to his work.

I.P.H.S. members wanting to contact Professor Platt can reach him at the Centre for the History of Science, Technology and Medicine, Mathematics Tower, University of Manchester, Manchester M13 9PL, Tel.: 0161 275 5947, Fax: 0161 275 5699.

UMRAN: Forum for Research on the Built Environment in the Middle East

UMRAN is being formed to provide a forum for researchers working on any area related to the built environment in the Middle East, broadly defined. Anyone interested in and conducting research on the practices, history and theories of Middle Eastern urbanism and on the spatial problems associated with the urbanisation of the Middle East, especially from the areas of city and regional planning, architecture, historic preservation, urban design, history, geography and the social sciences, is invited to join UMRAN. The Forum is being established jointly by researchers based in the U.S.A. and Europe, and seeks to integrate these with researchers working within the Middle East. The Forum will have the dual purpose of increasing the exchange of ideas, and diffusing general information on current research, meetings, publications, etc.

The initial orientation for UMRAN will be two-pronged. Firstly, an electronic forum will be created. This will begin as an unmoderated mailing list that will be based at the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate School of Fine Arts, and its management will be assisted by the University of Tours' URBAMA (Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur l'Urbanisation du Monde Arabe). Secondly, opportunities for meeting face to face with others will be arranged at some key professional conferences, including forthcoming ones for the

NOTICES

ACSP in Detroit and the Middle East Studies Association in Washington, D.C.

If you wish to be included on the list send a message with information on yourself and your research interests to **Fuad Malkawi** (fmalk@dolphin.upenn.edu) or **Michael Davie** (davie@univ-tours.fr). If you wish to send an announcement to the entire list, send it directly to **umran@dolphin.upenn.edu**. For any other information on UMRAN (if you do not have e-mail) contact **Joe Nasr**, 7727 Fisher Drive, Falls Church, VA 22043. (Joe Nasr is a newly-elected member of the IPHS Council.)

The Urban History Association

The Urban History Association is conducting its seventh annual round of prize competitions for scholarly distinction. During 1996 the Association will award the following prizes:

1. Best doctoral dissertation in urban history, without geographic restriction, completed during 1995.
2. Best book, North American urban history, published during

1995 (edited volumes ineligible).
3. Best journal article in urban history, without geographic restriction, published during 1995.

The prize for the Best Book in Non-North American Urban History will next be awarded in 1997 for titles published in 1995 or 1996.

The deadline for receipt of submissions is 15 June 1996.

To obtain further information about procedures for submissions, please write to: **Professor Ted W. Margadant**, Department of History, University of California, Davis, CA 95616, USA. Do not send any submissions to Professor Margadant.

Urban History

Published by Cambridge University Press, *Urban History* now appears three times a year. Over the past 23 years the journal has become established as one of the leading publications in the field of urban history, drawing contributions from all major countries and a wide range of relevant disciplines.

Urban History provides readers with an overview of academic work and a thorough information service covering a broad range of interdisciplinary research. The journal publishes research-based articles, specialist historiographical and methodological surveys, reviews of articles and theses, abstracts of recent research papers, appraisals of source materials, surveys of historical urban developments in individual countries, review essays and conference reports from around the world. An outstanding feature of *Urban History* is its current bibliography, which, published once a year, provides annotated bibliographical references for an average of 1000 classified and indexed items: from monographs, edited collections and approximately 560 periodicals.

For a free sample copy, or information about subscription rates, contact the Journals Marketing Department, Cambridge University Press, FREEPOST*, The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge, CB2 1BR, UK. (*No postage stamp required if posted in UK.)

GEOMANCY: THE BASIS OF THE INITIAL PLAN FOR CANBERRA

PETER R. PROUDFOOT, UNIVERSITY OF NEW SOUTH WALES, AUSTRALIA

In 1913, a year after winning the Canberra competition, Walter Burley Griffin declared: "I have planned a city not like any other city in the world. I have planned an ideal city."

Griffin's exposition in the initial Canberra plan, his ideal city, is generally regarded as a synthesis of the City Beautiful and Garden City movements which dominated town planning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the City Beautiful model, derived from elements of baroque vista planning, architecture is set in sweeping piazzas and parkland penetrates the city centre. In the Garden City model, based on principles derived from Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (1902), houses on individual blocks in suburban areas further away from the centre are dominated by landscaping.

In Canberra the parliamentary triangle reveals influences from the 1901 modifications to the plan for Washington DC and the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition, which espoused the Beaux Arts baroque style; and less formal 'picturesque' principles applied to its suburban areas, connect Canberra with English garden-towns such as Letchworth and Port Sunlight. Walter and Marion Griffin's formal parliamentary triangle reinforced the City Beautiful ideals while the informality of the Lake Park was strongly aligned to the 'picturesque'.¹

Canberra cannot, however, be understood simply in terms of either late nineteenth century City Beautiful models or Howard's Garden City principles. While embracing such ideas, the initial plan's overarching concept establishes references to a particular sacred geometry adopted by the Griffins. There is a symbolic content to their plan, incorporating, as it does, other significant paradigms derived from specific esoteric and cosmological sources. The Griffins' use of the term 'ideal city' links their Canberra plan to an ancient and universal tradition of planning, which also underlies both the City Beautiful and Garden City movements.

Canberra is the only really modern city in the world. Not that [that] has been made obvious to casual glance, but a structure can only be truly modern when the foundations are properly laid for that particular thing, and so it is with Canberra. Its history from the beginning is the history of Town Planning or Land Planning in modern times, say of the past 300 years. For this science (and science is based on knowledge and not on feeling as in the case of the arts) has died out and was no longer practised.²

Marion's direct reference to a lost science of planning (in other words, geomancy) which in fact underpins the Canberra plan should be interpreted in relation to other extracts from the 'Magic of America': Communion with the primeval nature is the common school of thought for future architects, [as] it was in the beginning of civilisation where everywhere in every race and every climate anonymous architects

expressed fitness and beauty in their constructions.³ It is not to the architects that we go to learn architecture now, even in the schools where the cult is taught, but ultimately to the unidentified origin, subconscious periods when art was not in conflict with the surrounding natural world nor a reflex of internal strife.⁴

Crucial to an understanding of the design for Canberra, as developed from the Griffins' initial plan of 1912, is the recognition that the Land Axis connecting Mount Ainslie with the War Memorial, Anzac Parade, the lake system, the parliamentary triangle and Capital Hill, extends to Bimberi Peak, the highest mountain in the Brindabella ranges some 25 kilometres to the south of the central city (Figs. 1 and 2). Bimberi Peak, not Capital Hill, was designated as the terminus to the Land Axis both on the initial drawings and in the original report. This north-south axis and the east-west Water Axis from Black Mountain passing through Fyshwick, the basins comprising Lake Burley Griffin and along the Molonglo Valley, form a cross akin to the monumental constructions of the ancient world such as Constantine's Rome. There, the *axis urbis* (city axis) connects St Peter's Basilica, the Capitoline Hill, the Via Sacra, the Temple of Venus and Rome, the Colosseum, St John's Lateran church extending to the Alban Hills, the home of the gods of antiquity. At the Colosseum it crosses another axis connecting the ancient basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore and St Paul outside the walls. With the establishment of Christianity, the 'cross' of Rome became the model for the development of many European cities.

Inspiration for the Griffins' original Canberra design is drawn from both ancient spiritual ideas and the Griffins' understanding of geomancy, an ancient science placing man in harmony with the earth, which is common to both Eastern and Western cultures. Canberra therefore, has affinities with Stonehenge, sacred Glastonbury, ancient Egyptian temples and pyramids, even with the concept of the new Jerusalem. In common with them all, Canberra is constructed in accordance with ancient architectural and planning principles and the same sacred geometry emanating from the Vesica (Fig. 3).

The Vesica is the orifice formed from the interpenetration of two equal circles, one sphere symbolic of the spiritual realm and the other symbolic of the world of material phenomena. Liberated from the Vesica are the circle, the square, the triangle, the rhombus and regular polygons which interrelate. Their interrelations determine the geometrical structure of the initial plan with its attendant architectural proposals; a framework clearly visible even now, and reinforced in Romaldo Giurgola's design for the new Parliament House.

In the Canberra design, the radii of the intersecting circles are determined by the distance

between City Hill and the Municipal centre on Mount Pleasant. Within the Vesica there emerges two equal triangles which share a common base (the Municipal Axis). The triangle with the apex downwards (the parliamentary triangle) is defined by the natural landscape features of City Hill, Capital Hill and Mount Pleasant, while the upward-facing triangle is marked in the landscape by Mount Ainslie. The Vesica also controls the geometry of the Capital Hill design in the initial plan. The site subdivisions for the Capitol, the governor-general's residence and the prime minister's residence are formed by the interpenetration of three equal circles, the manifestation of a double Vesica. From the interpenetration of the circles, which liberates the square and the equilateral triangle, the Vesica also creates a number of other geometrical forms such as the rectangle, the hexagon and the octagon - all of which are present in the Canberra design. The rectangle, for instance, determines the centres of the formal water basins, which are projections from the Municipal Axis, flanking the parliamentary triangle.

Thus, the geometry derived from the Vesica and its correlation to both natural and built key features of the design provide an overarching concept for Canberra, which is consistent with comments by Walter Burley Griffin:

in Town Planning, as in architecture, there must be a scheme that the mind can grasp, and it must be expressed in the simplest terms possible... Just as music depends on simple mathematical relations so do architecture and town planning.⁵

The sanctity of the Vesica lies in its ability to give rise to geometrical figures such as the rhombus, the Star of David or the hexagram (Fig. 4). Thus, within ancient and esoteric traditions, it became a symbol of perceived knowledge and perpetual attention.⁶ In the Chaldean and Hindu images the circle, which is fundamental to the construction of the Vesica, enshrines the geometrical figure of the double triangle, replicating the Star of David. As defined by Helena Blavatsky, a co-founder of Theosophy, the circle symbolises the spiritual origins of the universe, the world within the universe, and the spiritual essence from which springs all creation.⁷ In explaining the symbolic importance of these cosmological and geometrical diagrams, she describes the theosophical concept of the active and passive relationship of spirit and matter in the universe. With reference to the two equilateral triangles facing upwards and downwards, she writes:

The triangle played a prominent part in the religious system of every great nation, for everywhere it represented the three great principles - the spirit-force and matter, or the active (male), passive (female) and the correlative principle which partakes of both and binds the two together.⁸

She goes on to say:

The double triangle belongs to one of the most important, if it is not in itself the most important, of the mystic figures in India. It is the emblem of the Trimurti, three in one. The Triangle with its apex upwards indicates the male principle, downward the female; the two typifying at the same time spirit and matter.⁹

When the two triangles interpenetrate, as in the Chaldean and Hindu diagrams, and the Star of David, they are brought together by the uniting principle of production', that is, the divine influences underlying

the processes of evolution.¹⁰

In the Canberra plan Marion and Walter Griffin unite the triangles, upwards and downwards, on a common base within the orifice of the Vesica rather than forming the hexagram or the Star of David. The Vesica controls the geometry of Canberra both in the overall concept and in the structure of Capital Hill. The double triangle within the Vesica can be interpreted as a symbolic restructuring of both Western and Eastern cosmogonies; a clear parallel with the Chaldean and Hindu geometry as well as with that of Stonehenge, Glastonbury and the conjectural New Jerusalem, 'the world within the universe'. To the Griffins the Vesica clearly represents the true geometrical symbol of the esoteric idea of the metaphysical state of the spirit, 'the womb of the universe', from which all processes evolve. And the double triangle is the central figure in a cosmological diagram which represents the mystical progression from matter (downward triangle) through to spirit (upward triangle) as motivated by the spiritual essence of the universe. The incorporation of specific axial constructions in the initial Canberra design continues the theme of cosmological symbolism and provides connections between the Griffins' use of sacred geometry and their interest in the city forms of the ancient world.

To Marion, Bimberi seems to be a sacred mountain akin to Mount Olympus in Greece or Monte Cavo in Italy. When Bimberi Peak is added to the entire axial network emanating from the parliamentary equilateral triangle, the Capitol, City Hill and the markets/station/cathedral nodes (Mount Pleasant) being the salient points, its axes extending to Mugga Mugga, along Northbourne Avenue and incorporating the land and water axes, the plan is of a size quite beyond any comparable City Beautiful or Garden City construction. Certainly, the orientation of the land and the water axes to the landscape (hills and mountains) and the outward looking character of the plan, with the inclusion of Bimberi Peak into the plan's composition and its great distance from the city centre; all make it difficult to explain the design simply in terms of the City Beautiful and the Garden City. The geometrical infrastructure generated from this patterning is also more intricate and more relevant to the natural topography than typical aesthetic arrangements of the City Beautiful.

In 'Mondrian and Theosophy', Robert Welsh notes that the cross, like the triangle, 'expresses a single mystical concept of life and immortality'. It is another symbol for the mystical progression within the Theosophical concept of evolution.¹¹ The four points of the cross represent in succession, birth, life, death and immortality. The sign of the cross over Canberra clearly derives from archaic and esoteric symbolism as it is defined by Helena Blavatsky in her discussion on the Chaldean and Hindu imagery: 'The vertical line being the male principle and the horizontal the female, out of the union of the two at the intersection point is formed the CROSS.'¹²

This point of intersection in the Canberra initial plan is marked by the Water Gate as the nucleus of the composition. Naming the axes 'Land' and 'Water' parallels the juxtaposition of Earth and Water in the Chaldean and Hindu cosmological diagrams, indicating that the Griffins were familiar with theosophical dogma.

Added to the simple basic cross of Canberra as described earlier there is a series of interrelated and



Figure 1. The Canberra Initial Plan: the City and environs.



Figure 2. The 'Cross' of Canberra: Mount Ainslie to Bimberi Peak and Black Mountain to Lake Park Monument.

connected nodal points: in effect, all the mountains (Black Mountain, Mount Ainslie, Mugga Mugga, Mount Pleasant and City Hill) are connected to the main Land Axis extending to Bimberi Peak on the edge of the Australian Capital Territory. This concept reflects the principle of the five sacred mountains in *feng shui*

(Chinese geomancy). The siting and massing of Giurgola's new Parliament House strongly suggests that he had in fact grasped the underlying geomantic order of the Griffins' initial plan even though Giurgola makes no reference to it in his published accounts of his design. His new building, with its two huge ramped hemicycles,

its relationship to water areas and the surrounding mountain forms, produces an effect similar to a *feng shui* landscape in which a building should ideally be sited in relation to embracing and protective mountain forms (the White Tiger and the Azure Dragon) with a slow moving body of water in the distance (Lake Burley Griffin).

It is such clear references in the Griffins' original plan to their wider sources of inspiration that makes it impossible to interpret Canberra solely as a product of the City Beautiful and Garden City models. Nevertheless, such influences were never made explicit by the Griffins. Just as the medieval master masons guarded their secrets, the Griffins never revealed the basis of their design to the politicians and bureaucrats who condemned the initial plan as impractical.

The Griffins' design focussed with an exaggerated emotional intensity on the new religion of

nature and democracy, as enshrined in the symbolism of the equilateral triangle connecting Capital Hill, City Hill and the Lake Park Monument. Democracy had become the new spiritual ideal; a sentiment reflected in the words of H.P. Berlage, a pioneer of modernism and the teacher of Mies van der Rohe:

For this modern movement to have any intrinsic value, that is to say possessing a guarantee, of a possibility of developing into a great art, it must have, if it wants to respond to these considerations, a spiritual basis. And now, I am of the opinion that the ideal side of this basis, the social ideal, i.e., that which gives direction to this organisation, is the idea of Democracy.¹³

Later, Walter Griffin rejoined with: "Democracy, was to become the new Practical Religion compatible with the modern objective".¹⁴

The parliamentary triangle of the Canberra initial plan can be interpreted as a symbolic representation of

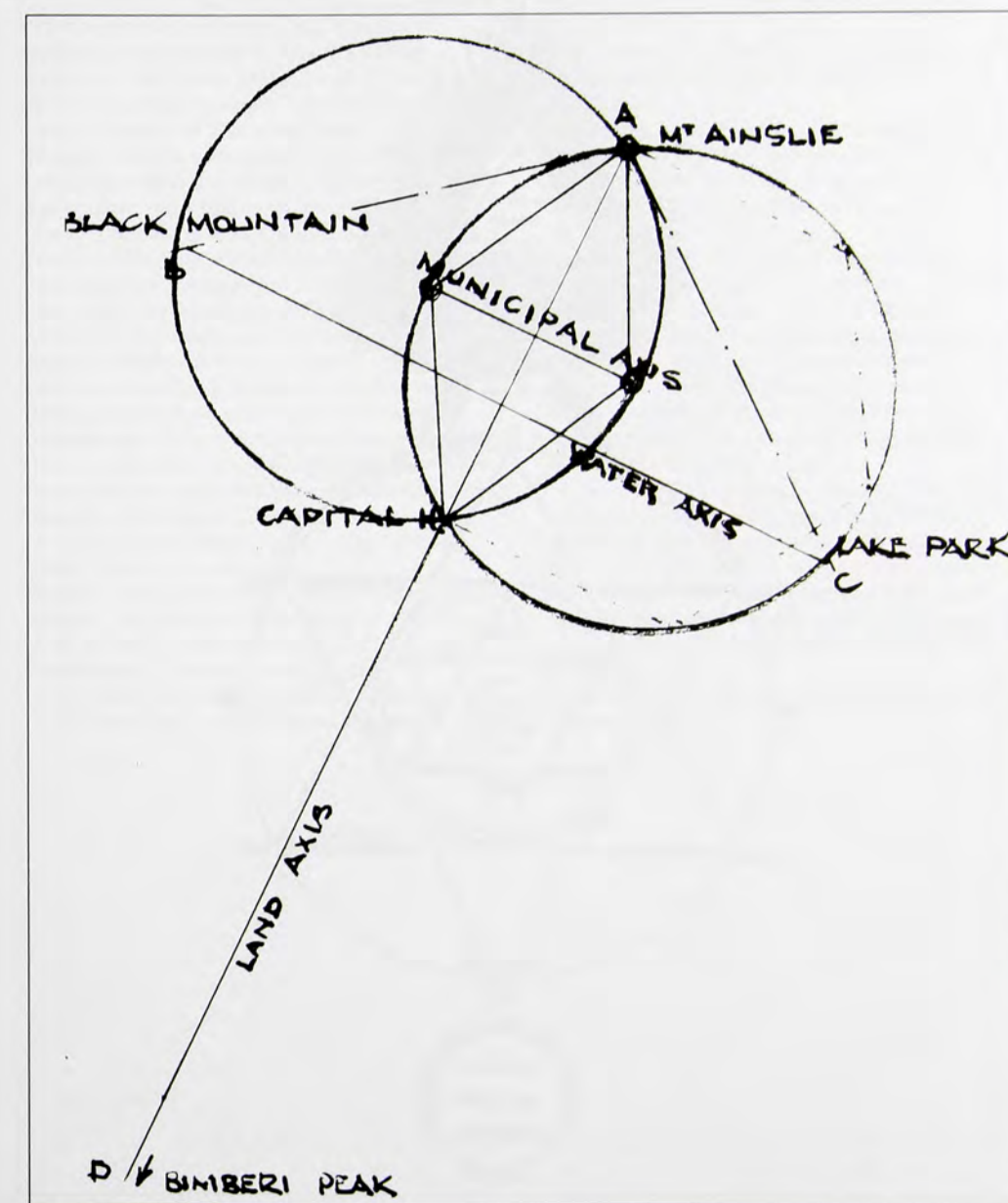


Figure 3. The geometry of the Plan as derived from the Vesica.

the structure of the democratic ideal. Throughout the 'Magic of America' Marion stresses that 'true democracy' can only be achieved through the appreciation of the values of a tripartite consisting of liberty, equality and fraternity. Equality is enshrined in "the function of a democratic political organisation"; fraternity, in "the function of a co-operative mercantile centre". Both are represented in Canberra: 'equality', in the general administration centre sited around City Hill and the government groupings within the triangle; 'fraternity', in the mercantile centre on Mount Pleasant stretching out towards City Hill. Liberty, "the function of individualistic, creative, productive and cultural activity", forms the apex of the triangle, as represented

by the Capitol building. The Capitol, a monument to the Australian people, a national archive, and a place of commemoration of Australian achievement is set above the Parliament House, the judiciary, the executive and mercantile groups.¹⁵ Marion argues that true democracy cannot be achieved without the completion of the triangle by 'liberty'; this, in turn, is only possible through 'creative thinking' as opposed to rational thinking:

...when spiritual influences were concentrating to transform rational thinking (which had been necessary to bring about the individualising of man) into creative thinking which would give them freedom in the true sense of the word.¹⁶

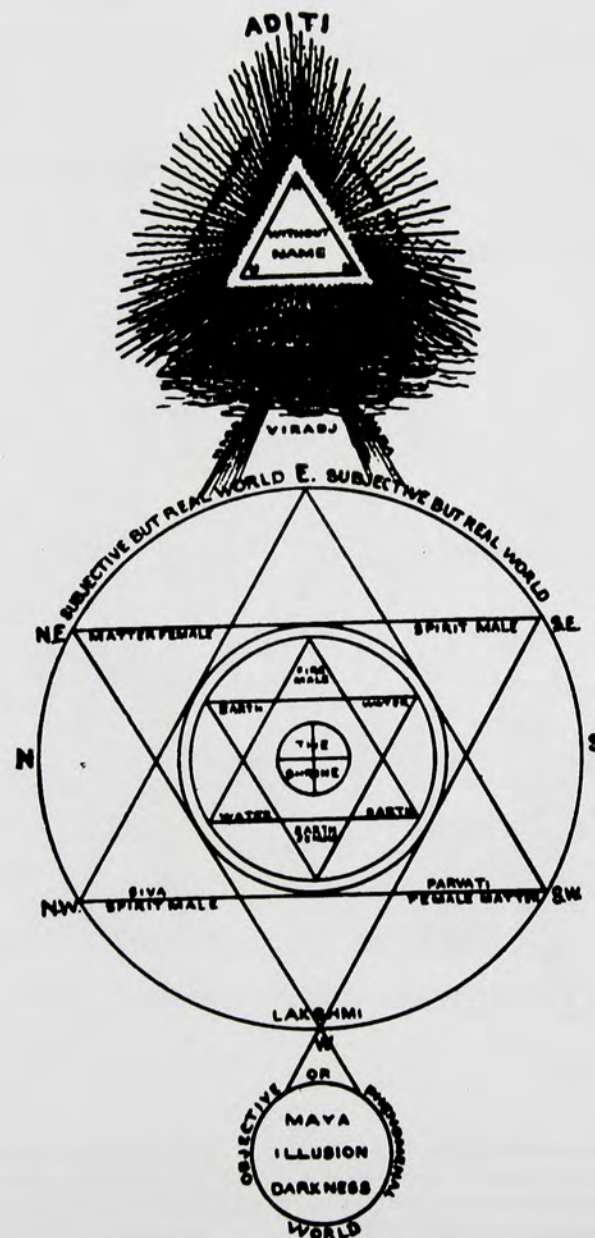


Figure 4. Ancient Chaldean religious symbolism.

NOTES

1. Most studies of the Canberra plan have interpreted it in terms of the City Beautiful and the Garden City. The following are some examples: R. Pegrum 'Canberra's Planning', *Architecture in Australia*, Sept. 1983; P. Harrison, 'Walter Burley Griffin, Landscape Architect', M.Arch. thesis, University of New South Wales, 1970; M. Peisch, *The Chicago School of Architecture*, Phaidon Press, London, 1964; Donald Leslie Johnson, *The Architecture of Walter Burley Griffin*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1977; J. Birrell, *Walter Burley Griffin*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1964; K.H. Fischer, *Canberra: Myths and Models, Forces at Work in the formation of the Australian Capital*, Institute of Asian Affairs, Hamburg, 1984.
2. M. M. Griffin, 'Canberra, its designer and its Plan', The Centennial Anniversary of the Founding of Australia, radio broadcast by Mrs. Walter Burley Griffin, in 'The Federal Battle', *Magic of America*, pp. 434-38. The *Magic of America* is an important aid to the study of the work of Marion and Walter Griffin and was written by Marion in the period ca. 1940-1949. In the past, it has been largely ignored. There are two manuscripts: one is held by the New York Historical Society; the other is in the Burnham Library in Chicago. The two differ slightly in organisation and content but they have the common purpose of documenting the life and work of Walter and Marion Griffin. There is difficulty in referencing as the volumes consist of a rather haphazard collection of material: articles, letters and interviews from throughout the Griffins' lives. Often, the work is not dated and her writing style is idiosyncratic. The numbering system throughout the book is also inconsistent. The copy used for this paper: microfilm in the Australian National Library, Canberra, taken from the Burnham Library.
3. M. M. Griffin, 'Back to Nature', 'The Individual Battle', *Magic of America*, p.76.
4. M. M. Griffin, 'Natural Life before Architectural Growth', *The Individual Battle*, *Magic of America*, p.71.
5. W. B. Griffin in Marion Mahony Griffin's, 'The Federal Battle', *Magic of America*, p.364.
6. N. Pennick, *The Ancient Science of Geomancy: Man in Harmony with the Earth*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1979, p.119.

7. Marion and Walter Griffin did not join the theosophical movement as such while in Chicago but later, during the 1920s in Australia, they both joined the anthroposophical movement created by Rudolf Steiner. Walter was probably a Freemason at the time of the initial design for Canberra. Marion's interests in geomancy are demonstrated by her renderings done for Frank Lloyd Wright where there are clear influences from Eastern artistic practice. Wright's influence on Marion is paramount; his parents were both transcendentalists and he had the largest collection of Japanese prints in the American mid-west. Extracts from the *Magic of America* reveal Marion's interest in the spiritual movement during the early period.
8. H. Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled: A Master Key to Ancient and Modern Theology*, 1875, p.269.
9. *Ibid.*, p.270.
10. Pennick, *Ancient Science of Geomancy*, p.129.
11. R. Welsh, 'Mondrian and Theosophy' in Manso and Kaplan (eds), *Major European Art Movements, 1905-1945*, Dutton, New York, 1977, pp.268-69.
12. Blavatsky, *op. cit.*, Vol.2, p.70.
13. H. P. Berlage, 'Art and the Community, Our Religion is an Earthly Religion: the belief of the New Man', *The Western Architect*, vol.XVIII, no.8, August 1912, pp.88-89. Democratic idealism as a stimulus and a source of inspiration for a new architecture was widely debated at the time. Berlage's sentiments, that democracy enshrined a new spirituality, echoed the Griffins' call for a new spiritual base for modern architecture.
14. W. B. Griffin, 'Building for Nature', 'The Individual Battle', *Magic of America*, pp.69-70.
15. W. B. Griffin, 'Liberty and Equity', 'The Individual Battle', *Magic of America*, p.247. Later in the text Marion calls for all Americans to introduce liberty to the world, 'America's method of conquest - through Equity', *The Individual Battle*, *Magic of America*, p.272.
16. M. M. Griffin, 'The Individual Battle', *Magic of America*, p.40.

INFLUENCE AND EXPERIENCE : ALBERT THOMPSON AND SOUTH AFRICA'S GARDEN CITY

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It has been asserted that a primary feature of colonial planning was the export of values and ideologies, including that of industrial capitalism, from the mother country to the colonial society.¹ It is also contended that the process of transfer of planning expertise from Britain to the dependent colonies has been accorded limited attention and that there is consequently inadequate knowledge of the external influence of the British planning system.² In both cases, the mode of export of the planning models (legal, institutional, physical, etc.) is significant, as is the common emphasis placed on the top-down transference of the models from Great Britain to the dependent territories. However, this constitutes one side of the coin; the obverse side is represented by those countries which, no longer being colonies, voluntarily sought to adopt the planning practices of a more mature society. South Africa is a case in point. In the early 20th century establishment of its planning procedures and practices, South Africa chose to cast its net northward and draw to its shores various elements of the British planning system. That this occurred after the Act of Union in 1910 does not necessarily signify a retention of the dependency syndrome of the previous colonial era, but rather that the young nation believed it could benefit by importing certain tried and tested British models.

The areas from which planning approaches were drawn were various and quite numerous. The most fertile field was probably that of legislation, the town and country planning acts being the exemplars on which the South African provincial planning ordinances were largely based.³ One or two of the post-1950 ordinances were inspired by the Barlow, Scott and Uthwatt reports, as was the well-known 1945 Report No. 5 of the South African Social and Economic Planning Council.⁴ The writings of Geddes and Abercrombie generated a demand in Johannesburg and other cities for the institution of civic surveys.⁵ The town planning expertise of Adams, Thompson and Fry was recognized in the appointment of Longstreth Thompson as consultant to the municipalities of the Witwatersrand and Pretoria by the Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee in 1934.⁶

The transmission of British experience also occurred in the domain of physical planning and civic design. In common with a number of other countries, South Africa fell under the spell of the Garden City and set about establishing its own Letchworth on the southern extremity of the African continent in the 1920s. The agency through which this transplantation was to be realised was the English architect-planner Albert John Thompson, a protégé of Raymond Unwin and, for

twelve years, an enthusiastic practitioner in South and West Africa. This paper will seek to recount the story of Pinelands, South Africa's first and only attempt to create a Garden City; consider the influences that shaped Thompson's planning approach; assess his contribution to the development of the Pinelands project; and reflect on the impact of his work on South African planning.

Albert Thompson

Addressing the Institute of Land Surveyors at a meeting in Cape Town on September 4th 1924, Albert Thompson suggested that many of those writing about town planning in South Africa at that time had not grasped the "essentials" of the discipline. "So far from town planning being a 'modern fad', it is one of the oldest of the arts evolved in the slow development of organized civic life in civilized centres" he said, and went on to state that "the study of the plans of towns and cities developed since medieval times, coupled with a consideration of present-day requirements, is the basis of modern practical town-planning".⁷ That Thompson, not a planner of great renown, felt competent to deliver an exposition on the "essentials" of planning and, on a number of occasions during his address, to castigate those writing about and practising planning in South Africa, was probably attributable to two factors. The first was that he will have felt, correctly, that his audience was not well versed in planning matters. The second was that he brought with him some seventeen years of experience gained in the offices of the eminent Unwin and Parker partnership, during which time he was exposed to the great Raymond Unwin's principles of planning and methods of design. Thompson's reference to the study of medieval towns is of course a reflection of Unwin's abiding interest in historical places – which is everywhere evident in his *Town Planning in Practice*.

Thompson's coupling of historical plans with current requirements was an echo of his mentor's attitude to historical antecedent. While advocating a conscious awareness of precedent, Unwin simultaneously cautioned against simplistic replication:

Though the study of old towns and their buildings is most useful, nay, is almost essential to any due appreciation of the subject, we must not forget that we cannot, even if we would, reproduce the conditions under which they were created... While, therefore, we study and admire, it does not follow that we can copy; for we must consider what is likely to lead to the best results under modern conditions... The informal beauty which resulted from the natural and apparently unconscious growth of the Medieval town may

command our highest admiration, but we may feel... that it is unwise to seek to reproduce it. Possibly other forms of beauty will be found more adapted to our present conditions.⁸

Thompson did not however have Unwin's historic or literary sensibilities and was more comfortable in the utilitarian territory of contemporary experience. He disclosed his predisposition in the statement that "practical town planning as it is known today is a very important science, and one which cannot be acquired in a short time, nor by reading various books that have been written upon the subject. It can only be acquired by many years experience and a study of a wide range of subjects, all of which have a bearing on the problems."⁹ Those subjects included land surveying, civil engineering, traffic engineering, infrastructural planning and architecture (training in the latter being a prerequisite for the practice of good town planning). Not entirely unexpectedly, Thompson's experiential and educational stipulations were congruent with his own background.

Previous to taking up employment in the Parker Unwin practice, Albert Thompson had worked for three years in the Electrical Engineer's Department at Stoke-on-Trent, presumably in an architectural capacity since his prior training at the South Kensington College of Art was in architecture, and related subjects such as freehand and perspective drawing. While working at Stoke he undertook a course of architecture and building construction at the local School of Art. His exposure to the academic world was thus limited to external study of a selection of subjects for which he obtained "various certificates"¹⁰ and it follows that experience rather than education constituted the core of his professional ethos. The experience he gained in the enlightened atmosphere

of the Parker and Unwin practice exerted a dominant and enduring impact on his approach to physical planning and development.

He entered Unwin's circle in Buxton in March 1897, was involved in work on the sizable Rockside Hydropathic project at Matlock and was appointed Resident Architect and Clerk of Works for the project in 1903. Two years later he became involved in Letchworth, during which time he specifically records, "I had special experience in Garden City work".¹¹ In 1907 he transferred to "Wylde's", Unwin's office in Hampstead, and was elevated to the position of manager of the office and staff¹²—a position he occupied until the closure of the Parker and Unwin firm in late 1914.

Thompson's close relationship with both Unwin and Parker (the latter recording in later years his own role "in helping to train Albert Thompson, active in South Africa")¹³ placed him at the cutting edge of the incipient British town planning movement. At the time of the 1909 Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act there were but four practising professional planners in the United Kingdom (Adams, Mawson, Parker and Unwin)¹⁴ and Thompson's exposure to the intellectual ruminations of Unwin and design principles of Letchworth was uncommon if not unique. Scrutiny of his later physical planning projects in South Africa provides an indication of Thompson's adeptness at picking up the elements of the Unwinian design approach. Certainly, his involvement in Garden City planning at Letchworth left him and his later partners Hennell and James (who had also spent time in the Parker and Unwin firm) with an unusually valuable legacy; a legacy that, *inter alia*, proffered considerable professional mileage at home and abroad.

Thompson did not remain in practice with Murray

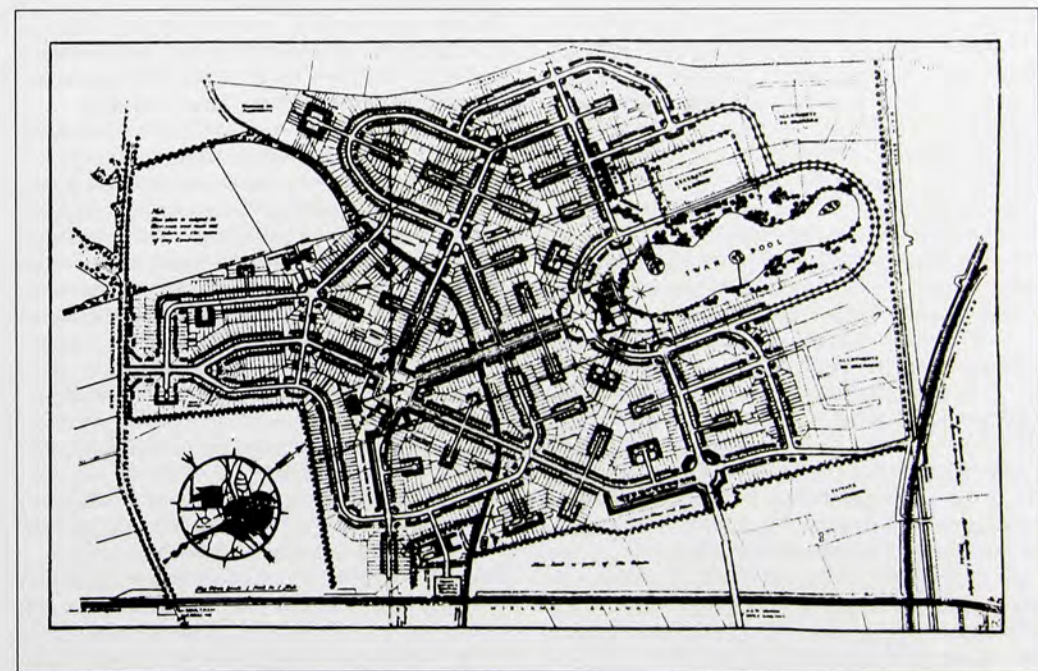


Figure 1. Plan of Swanpool Garden Suburb, Lincoln.

Hennell and Charles James for many years, but was during their period of partnership responsible for the layout of Swanpool Garden Suburb outside Lincoln (Fig. 1). Undertones of Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb are discernible in the plan: axiality, radiality and focality (design issues which Longstreth Thompson touched upon in his book on site planning, published in 1923)¹⁵ that were also to be evident in plans produced a few years later in South Africa. The domestic architecture of Swanpool appears to bear the stamp of Charles James¹⁶ who, with Hennell, designed the first group of houses in Handside Lane and Brockswold Lane at de Soissons' Welwyn Garden City.¹⁷ At the time of their engagement in work at Welwyn, Thompson took the decision to leave England and apply his skills abroad: at the Cape of Good Hope where a Garden City was to be established.

Pinelands Garden City

Credit for the transposition of a social concept and physical planning model from Hertfordshire to the environs of Cape Town must be extended to a perspicacious individual, Richard Stuttaford, director of a major retailing company and for many years a member of the Union Cabinet. Through personal involvement in welfare bodies and community projects, Stuttaford developed an appreciation of the general plight of the poor and their particular predicament in respect of housing. At the time of the conclusion of the first world war, the price of building materials and cost of housing construction had precipitated increases in rentals that placed access to housing beyond the reach of the lower to middle income groups in South Africa. Hasty provision of houses to arrest the growing problem of homelessness would in all probability, in the eyes of Stuttaford, spawn a rash of inferior dwelling units erected by speculative builders "in congested areas which would soon deteriorate and result in an increase of the slum problem which... is a disgrace to Cape Town, in common with all the large cities of the Empire". The prevailing methods of profit-oriented land development would inevitably result in overcrowded and substandard living environments that would in consequence "fill our hospitals with sickly children and physically unfit adults, and create breeding spaces for infectious diseases".¹⁸ Stuttaford believed fervently, indeed passionately, that the solution lay in the principles of the Garden City which had first attracted his attention in 1907. His commitment to the Garden City cause was reinforced in 1917 when he visited Letchworth and conferred with Howard and other protagonists of the Garden City concept.

Convinced that the ravages of the influenza epidemic that swept through the Cape in 1918 could have been abated by better living conditions, he coupled commitment with action by communicating with the acting Prime Minister, Mr. F.S. Malan, in January 1919 in order to introduce his Garden City idea to the government. In his historic letter he wrote "I should like to put before you a proposal with regard to this matter (i.e. better housing accommodation), which I am prepared to support with my own money, as I feel certain it will materially help towards the physical and moral improvement of our people."¹⁹ Impressed with the proposal, the House of Assembly approved the formation of the Garden City Trust and donated some 400 hectares of land in the Uitvlugt Forest Reserve near

Cape Town on which to establish the Garden City. Thus did Richard Stuttaford seek to give credence to Howard's belief that the Garden City would solve the great problems of the cities of England and thereby provide a model "for all of Europe, America, Asia and Africa".²⁰

However, considered in terms other than physical, Pinelands (like Radburn) cannot be classified as an authentic Garden City. Adherence to Howard's elemental principles: self-containment, public ownership, population prescription and surrounding greenbelt did not exercise the minds of Stuttaford and his colleagues. Nor was Howard's original driving force, the cause of social reform, central to their thinking. Perceptions of Garden Cities as "vehicles for a progressive reconstruction of capitalist society into an infinity of co-operative commonwealths"²¹ were not entertained. Stuttaford did seek to confront the established profit-oriented land development procedures by advocating the acquisition by local authorities of peripheral land which would be "laid out solely in the interests of the future inhabitants of the town generally." He posited the point that "if the community also retains for its own benefit a considerable portion of the income derivable from commercial sites, that will supply the necessary money for the provision of sites for recreation and similar purposes" and concluded by acknowledging that "under the free grant of land made by the Government, Garden Cities is under the further obligation to assist in the erection of houses for all classes of the people".²² This was as far as Pinelands was to go in meeting the tenets of the Garden City. It was conceptually and essentially a housing scheme; a scheme that was to display greater allegiance to Unwin's planning prowess than Howard's social percipience.

Pinelands Plan

Following consultation with the Institute of South African Architects, the Trustees invited local architects to participate in a competition for the layout of Pinelands. The submitted designs were considered by the assessors who awarded the first prize to John Perry, ARIBA, of Cape Town, but the competition designs, having then been referred to and found wanting by Raymond Unwin, were subsequently rejected. The British firm Thompson, Hennell and James was thereafter commissioned to prepare a master plan. It can be assumed that this appointment was made on the recommendation of Unwin who was familiar with the capabilities of his three former employees, and who shortly thereafter proposed that Thompson be appointed architect and supervisor of development at Pinelands. Perry's layout was used as a basis for the plan prepared by Thompson.²³ While conceptual and structural similarities are evident in the two plans, Thompson's design displays a firmer planning hand. The layout is disciplined and competent while being sufficiently innovative to provide diversity and interest (Fig. 2).

It is not difficult to conclude that the Pinelands plan was inspired by Unwin's approach to planning. The layout of the central area of Pinelands has a clearly discernible affinity with the town square precinct of Letchworth. The open space-built form relationships and the surrounding system of roads, including radials emphasizing vistas and focal points, are common to both schemes. Thompson's original layout of the housing areas made generous use of the short cul-de-sac road —

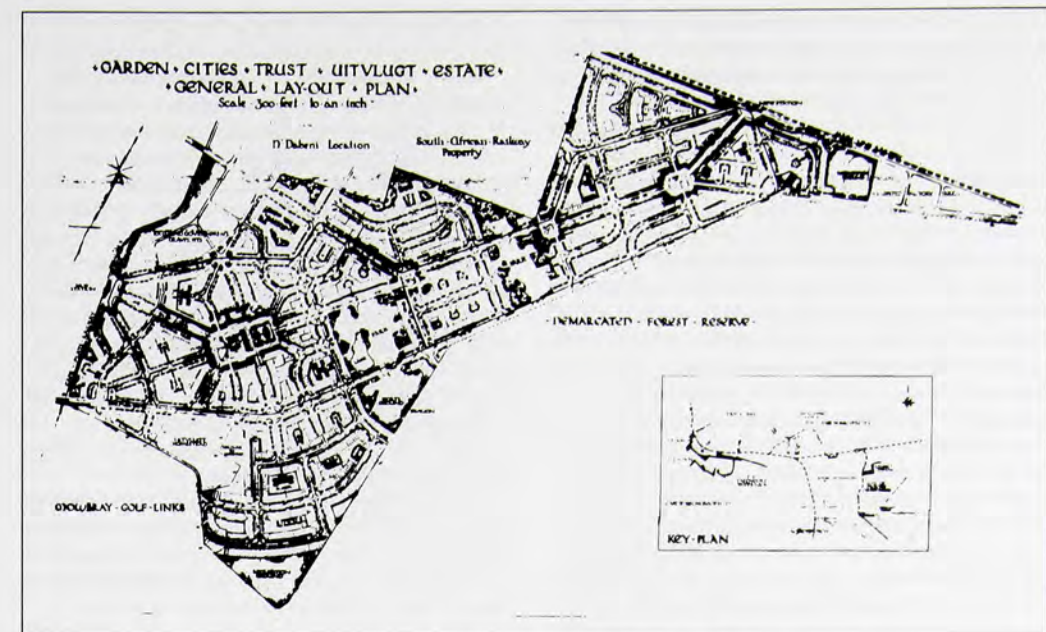


Figure 2. Plan of Pinelands Garden City, Cape Town.

a device used extensively at both Hampstead and Letchworth. The plan, which had been prepared in England, was modified to suit the site by Thompson after his arrival at the Cape, and became South Africa's first formal town planning scheme. It thus emulated its illustrious predecessor, Hampstead Garden Suburb, which in 1906 became a pace-setter in British town planning legislation. The Pinelands plan is acknowledged as the first authentic attempt at providing a proper town plan for a parcel of land in South Africa, and contributed directly to the establishment of the first Cape Ordinance (No. 13 of 1927) for the control of townships.²⁴

Realisation

The formal association between Albert Thompson and the Garden Cities Trust was set in motion at a special meeting of the Trustees on the morning of 29th September 1920. Three letters were read at the meeting: the first from Richard Stuttaford, then in England, proposing "the appointment of Mr. A.J. Thompson of Messrs. Thompson, Hennell and James, as supervisor to take charge of the development work of the scheme for a period of two years".²⁵ The second letter was from Thompson in which he set out the terms upon which he would be prepared to accept the position. The third was from Raymond Unwin recommending the appointment of his erstwhile employee. The Trustees deliberations on the matter cannot be described as markedly enthusiastic; they were perturbed about the prevailing economic climate and its negative impact on building costs and construction loans. In the event, they resolved to cable Stuttaford: "Notwithstanding immediate prospects building unfavourable agree appointment Thompson".²⁶

Three weeks later the articles of agreement were signed in London by Stuttaford and Thompson, in which the latter (designated the Architect) was to enter the

employment of the Trust on the date of his departure from England on 19th November 1920, and in which he was precluded from undertaking other professional work without the approval of the Trust.²⁷ Thompson was introduced by Stuttaford to the Trustees at their meeting in Cape Town on 9th December 1920 and thereafter set about the planning and development of the Pinelands Garden City at Uitvlugt (a place mentioned in one of Kipling's poems which records the death of two army nurses in 1902).²⁸

Thompson's responsibilities included control of the construction of housing and installation of infrastructure. His various progress reports to the Trust provide interesting cameos of the progress made in the development of Pinelands. By mid-July 1924 a total of 95 houses had been completed and occupied; an advance of 12 houses since February. While the rate of development in the early years was thus not brisk, the foundations for the future were, by dint of assiduous attention to detail, being prudently laid. Thompson's reports make absorbing reading in this respect: beyond addressing such basic concerns as electrical supply, water reticulation and road construction, his recorded disquiet with leaking roofs, unsightly sheds and fowl runs, extemporaneous car shelters and the like is illustrative of the nature and range of problems that fell within his bailiwick.²⁹

His experiences as resident architect and clerk of works for the Parker Unwin practice clearly left him well equipped to meet the demands of the Pinelands project. He could not but have become familiar with other less practical aspects of the Unwin personal and professional psyche during his period of tenure in the practice, including that aspect pertaining to Unwin's advocacy of the principles of socialism. Unwin's attachment to the Socialist League and, after the League's demise in the early 1890's, to the Fabian

Society, lent weight to the communitarian convictions that underpinned his planning endeavours. The control of individual rights in the communal cause, the removal of class interests, the promotion of co-operative conventions and the like remained beacons of reference throughout his life. The rudimentary significance of this socio-intellectual framework for planning appears to have eluded Thompson's practical nuts-and-bolts mentality. There is little evidence to suggest that socially sensitive issues were a burden to his consciousness. In response to the probing question of accommodating the local Black community in Pinelands, Thompson tersely advised the Trust that the expense of developing the "non European section of Pinelands Garden City" would be prohibitive and inopportune. "Advertising the fact that a portion of the Pinelands Garden City is available for non Europeans has not been resorted to by reason of the absence of funds for development".³⁰ He felt it unwise to deviate energies from the development of the White section at that stage. It is interesting to recall Unwin's vehement refutation in 1906 of the claim that his cottages at Birds Hill Estate in Letchworth were extravagant in construction and thus excluded the labouring poor. The Garden City stood for a decent home and garden for every (and any) family wishing to live there.³¹

Another *lacuna* in the Thompson professional

personality was that pertaining to the contribution of planning to the furtherance of public health. Such words as "health, light and air", "healthy environments", etc., were rooted in the lexicon of the Garden City movement and were, in Stuttards estimation, pivotal in the motivation for the establishment of Pinelands. The Garden City/health symbiosis was underscored by General Jan Smuts at the opening ceremony of Pinelands in May 1923: "We are going to see the children grow up in future in these garden cities under healthy conditions. The whole idea of the Garden City is to bring human beings together, and bring up the younger generation under conditions which will safeguard their healthy and sound development, and at the same time contribute to their ethical and spiritual development".³² Thompson did not visualize or advance the issue of health as an "essential" of town planning nor as an integral component of Garden City doctrine.

Albert Thompson's association with Pinelands and the Garden Cities Trust drew to a close in mid-1924. He had been actively pursuing other interests during the preceding three and a half years he had spent with the Trust. He had travelled widely in the country, had lectured in various towns and had undertaken a number of commissions.³³ Included in the latter were two projects for the Bloemfontein municipality, one being a layout for the Bayswater area (Fig. 3) and the other a

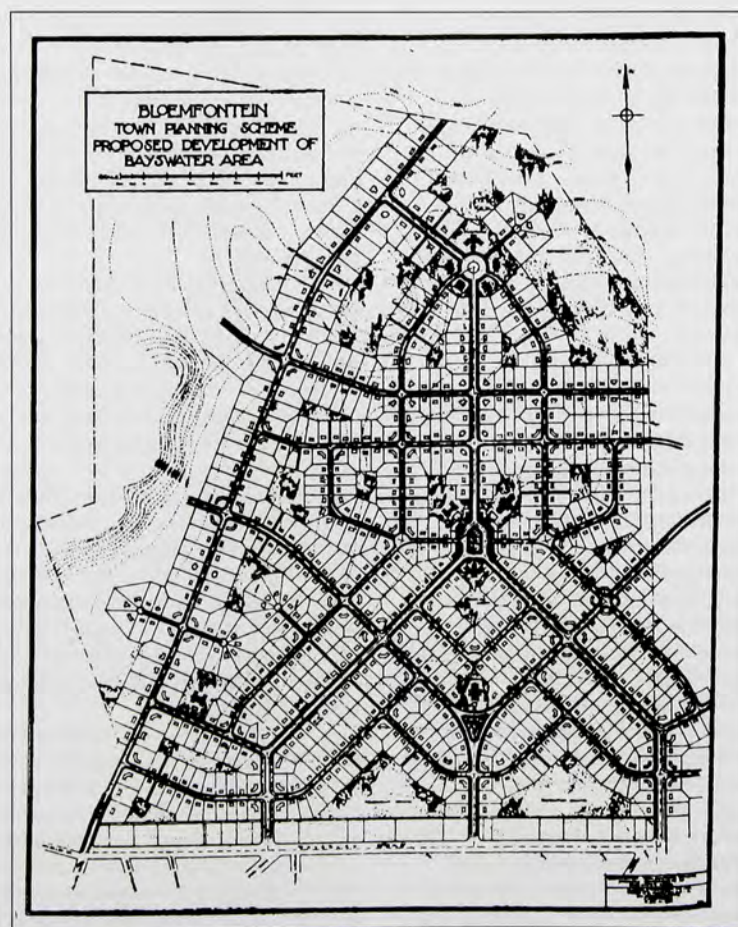


Figure 3. Plan of Bayswater, Bloemfontein.

township extension in the west of the city. The angular formality of the Bayswater Scheme could be construed as indicative of the emergence of personal planning style, which is to some extent evident in his plans for Durban North. Whether or not Thompson's growing involvement in planning work outside of his Pinelands commitment was instrumental in the termination of his contract can only be conjectural. What is known is that Thompson had entered into a professional partnership with Thain D.P. Forsyth in Cape Town, and that some aspects of Thompson's conduct appears to have tested the patience of the Trust.

At the meeting of the Trust on 23rd July 1924, it was resolved that "when the outstanding matters in connection with Mr. A.J. Thompson have been settled to the satisfaction of the Trust, the question of his future employment by the Trust be considered".³⁴ Since the Trust also resolved to engage an architect to pass building plans and monitor construction, and to appoint the land surveyor, J.W.P. Logan, as Manager of the Estate, the question of Thompson's further employment became superfluous.

Reflection

Thereafter, Albert Thompson, while remaining in partnership with Forsyth, looked eastward to the province of Natal and was engaged in the preparation of township plans through the offices of Durban North Estates Limited. He produced a layout for a land area adjacent to the Umgeni River in December 1925 and another for an area near Greenwood Park in February the following year (Fig. 4). The latter plan has, unlike the Bloemfontein Bayswater layout, a mixed character and comprises angular, rectangular and curvilinear elements. Durban North work presumably occupied a fair measure of Thompson's time during 1926 since he

opened an office in his own name in Temple Chambers in Durban.³⁵ He does not appear to have attracted any other major commissions at that time and may have found the pickings slim. In any event, Thompson, who had previously expressed the desire to settle in South Africa,³⁶ took leave of the country in 1927 and proceeded northwards to Nigeria where he took up a position with the government's Lands and Survey Department. His work in Lagos and elsewhere in Nigeria has been briefly chronicled by Home³⁷ who records Thompson's return to England in 1932 following retrenchment (occasioned by the Great Depression) from the colonial administration. He opened a practice with R.B. Walker in Brighton and passed away in 1940 at the age of sixty two.

Thompson was one of the earliest of the few British planners who chose to apply their talents in Africa in the post-first world war period. He brought to South Africa the technical skills needed to successfully transfer the British Garden City concept to the Cape and to give physical form to that concept. In so doing he fulfilled an additional role as the agent of transfer of the sagacious ideas of Howard and Unwin. His own contribution was however essentially practical: he inclined away from the intellectual, conceptual and philosophical niceties of the planning discipline and leant toward the concerns of the technical world. His planning work bore witness to his technical expertise, which was, he insisted, to be derived from personal experience rather than the written word of others. The influence of Unwin (referred to by Thompson as "my late chief") was thus exercised primarily by means of example and illustration rather than by recourse to doctrine or principles. Similarly, whatever impact Thompson sought to have upon planning in South Africa (and there is evidence to suggest that he had aspirations

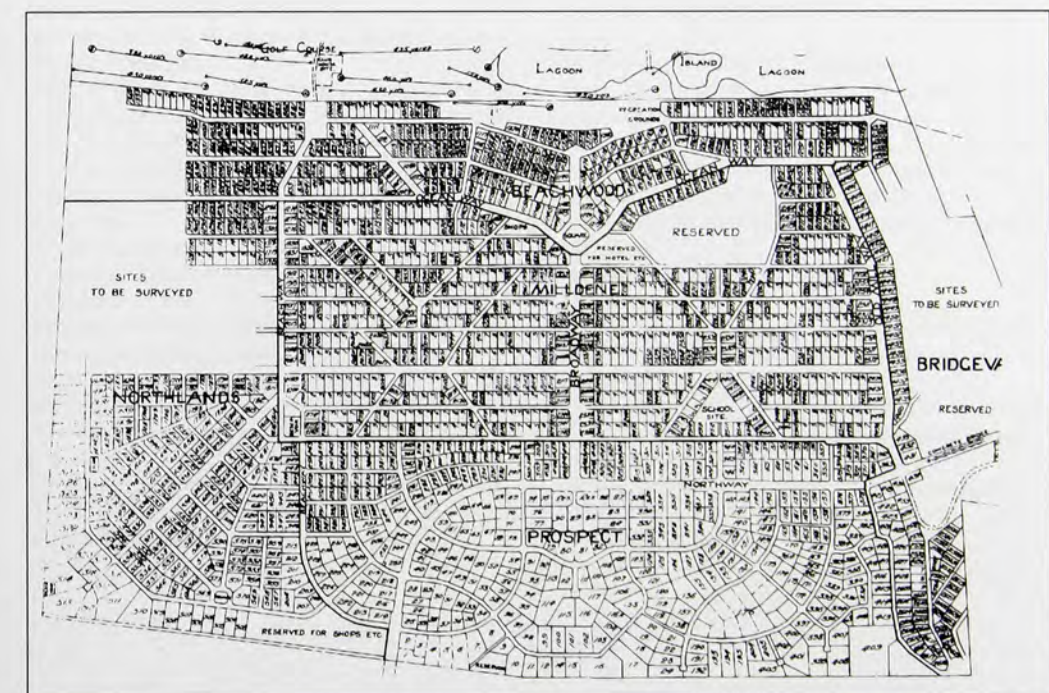


Figure 4. Plan of Durban North.

in this regard) was pursued largely through the medium of his own work. This is a limited and limiting approach and in all probability accounts at least partially for the absence of recognition of his planning approach and endeavours in South Africa. It could also be argued that had Thompson chosen to promote the essentials of Unwinian Garden City planning rather than the practicalities of town planning in general, he might well have achieved some prominence in planning circles.

As it happened, the planning conventions of the Garden City were later applied in a number of new towns in the interior of the country, but not as a result of the utilisation of Pinelands as a model. Welkom, a town designed in the early 1950s by William Backhouse as a base for the Anglo-American Corporation's gold mining activities in the Orange Free State is a case in point. Backhouse, who was a planning officer with the Northumberland County Council for some years before coming to South Africa, was obviously familiar with the planning of the two British Garden Cities and set out to "combine the aesthetic qualities of a Garden City with the utilitarian requirements of ordinary commerce and industry".³⁸ He designed the central area of Welkom along the physical and focal lines of Letchworth. A conceptually similar arrangement is detectable in the plan for Vanderbijlpark, a new town established in the Southern Transvaal in the late 1940s for the South

African Iron and Steel Corporation, the planning principles of which "were of overseas derivation"³⁹ — obviously British. Another company town, Sasolburg, that was designed in 1951 for the South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation, could possibly be construed as the last manifestation of the Garden City influence, although its inspiration is more accurately that of the first group of British post-war new towns and Radburn.⁴⁰

Viewed critically from the high ground of the late 20th century it can be contended that the sources of inspiration for South African new town planning were not Thompson or Pinelands, but Howard and Unwin. An obituary to Howard in a South African professional journal in 1928 is illustrative of the esteem in which he was held: "his monument... is in the beautiful cities his genius has created, and which will yet be created in all countries of the world."⁴¹ Unwin was equally well known and venerated in South Africa. His writings appeared in local journals and many of the new company towns in the country have features which place their planning under the Unwin umbrella.

Thompson's personal influence was thus negligible and his contribution to the initial development of Pinelands remains largely unacknowledged. Perhaps the environmental quality of the original portions of the Garden City, which is in many ways exemplary even today, should at least and at last be credited to him.

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BOURNVILLE 1919-1939

MICHAEL HARRISON, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL ENGLAND IN BIRMINGHAM

The original model village at Bournville had set high standards of housing design and site planning. Its influence was far-reaching.¹ During the inter-war period, the Bournville Estate witnessed a threefold increase in its housing stock, from 736 houses in 1919 to 2197 in 1939 (Fig.1). These developments have attracted less attention than the earlier work.² Nevertheless, the Trust's efforts were of a scale and quality that they continued to interest housing and planning experts.³

Three areas of the Bournville Village Trust's activities in the period between the Wars can be highlighted. Firstly, it sought to promote different ways of raising capital for the development of the estate. Secondly, it engaged in a number of housing

experiments as well as encouraging the provision of carefully planned and well-sited homes for sale or rent. Lastly, the Trust's planners continued to explore the relationship between the houses and the natural features of the Estate.

Public Utility Societies at Bournville 1906-1939

As early as 1910, the Trustees were suggesting that "when the vacant sites on the Village have been built up, the Trust will probably discontinue further building and will look to developing in future by means of co-partnership and similar societies".⁴ The first was established in 1906, and four later societies became "the main developing agents of the Trust" after 1915.⁵ There was also a return to the leasehold system.⁶

Public Utility Societies, registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts, could obtain loans from a wide range of sources, including the Public Works Loan Board, local authorities, banks, co-operative societies, employers and pension funds (like the Cadbury Brothers'), philanthropic and speculating investors as well as "thrifty and responsible" members of the working and middle classes desirous of a home.⁷ Members were not allowed to hold more than £200 in shares and there was a 6% dividend limit. Rental income was used to repay loans and interest, together with the costs of management and upkeep. Public Utility Societies could not only build houses for rent, they were also allowed to lease land and build houses for sale. The Societies established at Bournville had distinctive features, but each developed land leased from the Trust on the lines laid down in the Trust Deed.⁸

Weoley Hill Limited was registered in 1914 with the intention of developing the Park Cottage Farm Estate.⁹ It aimed to sell houses on 99 year leases, but it operated in a fairly flexible way. It either leased land to those wishing to employ their own architect and builder, it leased land and supplied plans and specifications for houses, or used its own direct labour force to build houses, which it then sold (Fig.2). On the whole, larger dwellings than those which qualified for Government subsidies were built on this estate. By 1939, nearly 500 houses were to be found on the estate, most sold for

between £700 and £1400, but a few cost as much as £2000.¹⁰

The Woodlands Housing Society Limited was formed in 1923, and eventually built 79 houses in the area between Bunbury Road and Hole Lane (Fig.3). It also aimed to build houses for sale on 99 year leases and leased plots to those willing to employ their own architects and builders. In its first two years of existence the Society built 14 non-subsidy dwellings and 30 houses built with the aid of Government subsidies. The more expensive non-subsidy houses cost between £900 and £1200. Within a few years costs were reduced, and the Society's houses began to sell for between £825 and £925. When they decided to build a further 20 subsidy houses, modifications had to be made to their designs to bring them within the range of the more stringent requirements of the 1924 Housing Act. After experimenting with houses with reduced specifications, the Society felt it advisable to return to the "Bournville standard" of building.¹¹

In numerical terms, the most significant of the public utility societies operating on the Bournville Estate was the Bournville Works Housing Society Limited. Established in September 1919, it started operations in 1920 and had built 363 houses in the area between Hay Green Lane and Woodlands Park Road by 1939 (Fig.4). Membership of this Society was, however, confined to Cadbury Brothers' employees. Although most of the

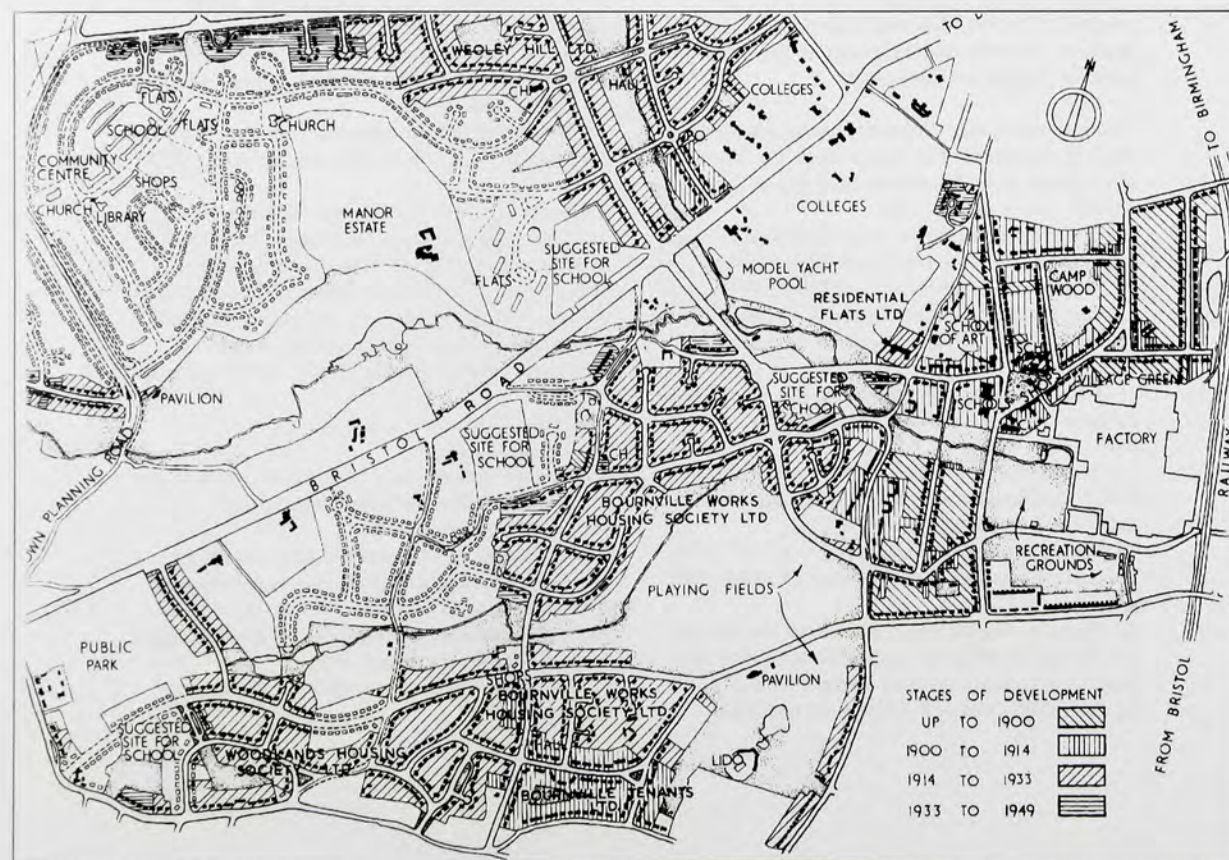


Figure 1. Plan of the Bournville Estate in 1949. (B.V.T. Archives.)

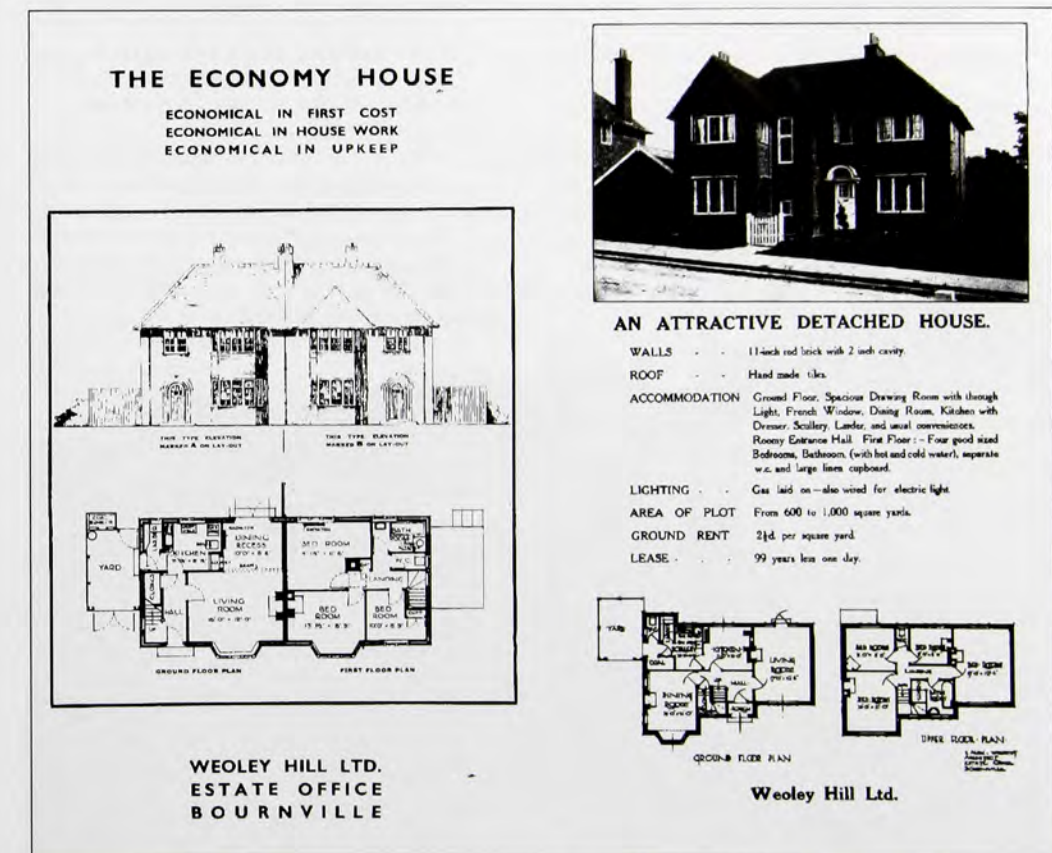


Figure 2. Weoley Hill Limited Sales Brochure. (Birmingham Central Library Archives.)



Figure 3. Houses on Bunbury Road for the Woodlands Housing Society Limited c.1925. (B.V.T. Archives.)



Figure 4. Terraced Houses in Mulberry Road. (B.V.T. Archives.)



Figure 5. St George's Court: Flats for Professional and Businesswomen. (M. Harrison.)

dwelling were rented properties, the Society offered assistance to those who sought to buy their houses. By 1939, the Society had helped 49 members by offering them 3 1/2 per cent mortgages, to be repaid weekly over 25 years.¹² In the late 1920s, the rents of the Society's properties ranged from 14s.1d. (including rates) to 15s.2d. (exclusive of rates).¹³

Another public utility society, Residential Flats Limited, was responsible for the erection of St George's Court on Woodbrooke Road between 1922 and 1924. This large neo-Georgian block of flats provided accommodation for professional and businesswomen in self-contained flats and bed-sitting rooms (Fig.5). They proved to be very popular and generated much interest. The rents charged in the late 1920s were 15s. for a bed-sitting room, 25s. for a single and 32s. for a double flat. The rents included rates, certain essential pieces of furniture and cleaning.¹⁴

St George's Court was an example of the continuing attempt to provide non-standard or special accommodation on the Bournville Estate. A number of bungalows were also built for Cadbury Brothers' in 1923. The bungalows, on Cedar Road and Bournville Lane, were only let to single women employees and pensioners of the firm.¹⁴

Housing Experiments

The high cost of building materials and labour shortages after 1918 caused difficulties for the Societies. In 1920, Cadbury Brothers' made a grant to the Bournville Village Trust to investigate the potential of building materials other than brick, the usual building material of the district. Seven houses were erected on Hay Green Lane "with the object of ascertaining the comparative costs and rates of construction" of the various types of construction. Wooden, brick and rammed earth bungalows, plus two pairs of concrete houses were erected on the site in the early months of 1920 (Fig.6).

The experimental houses "were not erected with the intention of their being considered a pattern or model of what is desired as a workman's cottage". The main aim was to try "to discover a method whereby materials other than brick may be properly tried and proved as to whether they can be utilised in assisting to supply in some measure the great need for houses".¹⁵

After reviewing the venture, the Trustees came to the conclusion that "no other method was so economical for the district as brick".¹⁶ This was the material used in the early 1920s when building picked up at Bournville. Nevertheless, shortages of skilled labour ensured that further consideration was given to new methods of house building. In 1924, for instance, some publicity was given to the Triplex Foundry's Iron Plate House. L.P.Appleton, the Trust's new manager, was dismissive of this scheme.¹⁷ It is very surprising to find, therefore, that the Trust erected a pair of "Telford" non-parlour steel houses in 1925 (Fig.7). These three-bedroomed houses were built on Hay Green Lane and cost £465 each. Although they were not regarded as suitable for adoption as a permanent part of the Bournville scheme they were erected "in order that the merits of any possible contribution towards relieving the housing shortage might not be neglected".¹⁸

In 1925, a different kind of housing experiment was carried out in a pair of subsidy houses in Hole Lane, built by the Woodlands Housing Society. The aim was to test the practicability of applying electricity for all domestic purposes in a pair of dwellings (Fig.8). One of the houses was equipped with a coalfire to heat the kitchen, cook food and heat the water. The other was an "All Electric House". Tests were carried out on the costs of running these two houses. Given the high cost per unit of electricity at the time, the experiment was regarded more as a demonstration rather than a test. The one coal-fired house proved to be more popular for economic rather than for environmental reasons.¹⁹



Figure 6. Timber, Brick and Concrete Experimental Houses on Hay Green Lane, 1920. (B.V.T. Archives.)



Figure 7. The "Telford" Non-parlour Steel Houses on Hay Green Lane, 1925. (B.V.T. Archives.)



Figure 8. The "All Electric House" on the Woodlands Estate, 1925. (B.V.T. Archives.)



Figure 9. The Bedroom of the D.I.A. Showhouse on Hemyock Road, 1934. (B.V.T. Archives.)

In the spring of 1934 "An Experiment in Furnishing" was tried at Weoley Hill. Following on from a successful venture at Welwyn Garden City in 1933, the Design and Industries Association furnished a house in Hemyock Road. Their representative, Mrs H.G. Wright, set out to furnish the house for £200 "to demonstrate the fact that good design need not necessarily be beyond the means of the average man". She made a few alterations to the interior of the house, and furnished it with pieces loaned by local retailers (like Lee Longlands and Kean and Scott) and things made specially for the exhibition. The show house attracted a good deal of local interest, and some claimed that it reflected "the modern movement towards simplicity in design and decoration".²⁰ Others, noticing the rush-bottomed ladder-backed chairs, possibly remembered the Arts and Crafts pioneers who had influenced the Village's original promoters (Fig.9). Given the dearth of photographs of house interiors, it is difficult to judge the success, or otherwise, of this experiment.

Housing Patterns

These housing experiments undoubtedly kept Bournville in the public eye, even if their impact was limited. They were not, however, representative of the Estate as a whole, where simple brick-built semi-detached houses and terraces with red clay tiled roofs were the norm. The emphasis was on economy and standardisation.²¹ The Trust sought, however, to maintain "a high standard of house construction" on the Estate. The Trust Secretary argued that unsubsidised Bournville houses were "in advance of what the Minister of Health [would] allow for subsidy on account of their initial cost" under the 1923 Act. When the Societies decided to build subsidy houses they were still planned carefully. The smaller subsidy houses built for the Woodlands Housing Society were claimed to be "probably the best types of subsidy

houses erected under the Chamberlain scheme".²²

Dwellings on the Estate varied in size and plan. Weoley Hill, for instance, contained houses of all sizes from bungalows to reasonably large detached houses (see Fig.2). There were a significant number of three bedroomed houses (with and without parlours) built at Bournville between the wars, but the Works Housing Society, in particular, sought "to provide houses with a minimum of accommodation". Approximately one-third of their houses contained only two bedrooms²³ (Fig.10).

Bournville had "healthful, well-lighted houses". Their plans were said to "embody the latest ideas of arrangement and the saving of useless steps in the work of the housewife". Particular interest was shown in the kitchen, "the workshop of the home" (Fig.11). Modern sanitary fittings, a gas copper, gas points, electric wiring, kitchen cabinets, etc. were fitted in the houses. The main rooms had open fireplaces, but they contained gas points too. Houses on the Weoley Hill estate were also provided with garages, or a 10 foot space, for it was argued that "a modern house is not complete without a garage".²⁴ Two other features of some of the inter-war Bournville houses that were popular with residents were the covered yard and the "through" room.²⁵

While the house plans varied, there was a consistency of style throughout the estate. This was achieved in two ways. Firstly, the designs were either produced, or vetted, by the Trust's architects. (Internal records show that C.B. Parkes was "specially responsible for the architectural works done for the public utility societies".)²⁶ Secondly, the materials used for walls, roofs and fittings were standardised. Opinions differed as to the visual impact of these inter-war developments. Some thought they lacked character, whilst others appreciated the unobtrusiveness of the buildings. "By employing local materials of soft tones," it was claimed, "the buildings soon seem to be a part of the land on which they are built, thus providing a

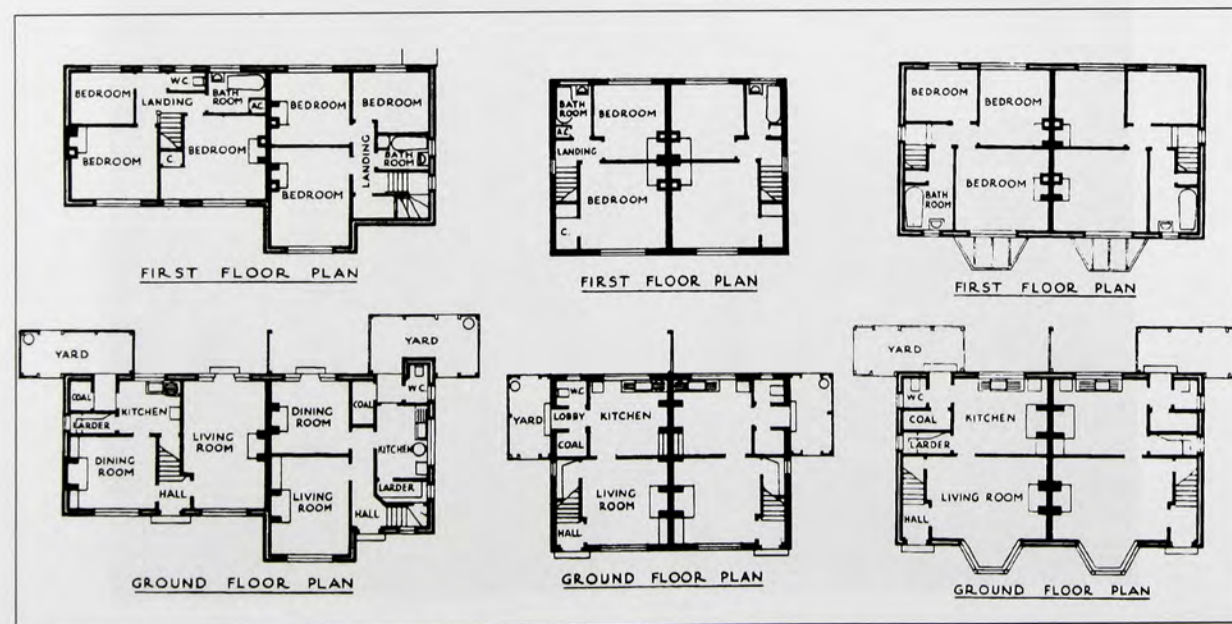


Figure 10. Subsidy Houses built on the Woodlands and B.W.H.S. Estates after 1923. (Bournville Village Trust 1900-1955.)



Figure 11. "The Workshop of the Home": the Kitchen in the D.I.A. Showhouse. (B.V.T. Archives.)

harmony not often obtained."²⁷

Gardens remained an important feature of the Bournville landscape. As before 1914, the gardens were laid out and planted before people took up residence. The gardens did, however, tend to become more varied in size "to suit the inclinations and abilities of different occupants". They continued to be kept extremely well kept.²⁸

Planning and Landscape Treatment

As the Bournville Estate expanded it clearly progressed from being a "Model Village" into a larger garden suburb made up of virtually discreet neighbourhoods. Situated between established suburban shopping centres, they were deemed not to require large centres with shops and public buildings. (Indeed, the residents of Weoley Hill overwhelmingly objected to the building of shops in the early 1920s.)²⁹

The newer groups of houses were linked by a system of parkways and open spaces. A continuous parkland strip, which started at the small, rectangular park in the Village and then followed the valleys of local streams, provided miles of pleasant walks, recreation grounds and rural vistas. The Valley Pool, constructed by unemployed workers in 1932-33, became the focal point of the parkways.³⁰

The inter-war estates were planned with reference to the particularities of the site. Wilmot and his team showed a greater appreciation of the natural features and contours of the sites than did the surveyor of the original Village. Groups of trees and individual specimens were incorporated into the layout plans. Roads were also laid out, where possible, in relation to the lie of the land. Relaxation of the bye-laws meant that road widths could be varied. Pre-existing routes and wide "town planning" roads (like Middle Park Road) did restrict the freedom of the Bournville planners, but *cul-de-sac* roads and closes began to figure more prominently in their site plans.³¹

The Weoley Hill estate was singled out for praise. "The layout of this portion of the Bournville estate is especially worthy of note," *Garden Cities and Town Planning* noted in 1925, "for, though it owes much to the original conformation of the ground, by the careful



Figure 12. Landscape treatment of Weoley Hill, showing the central reservation with mature trees and fountain. (B.V.T. Archives.)

preservation of trees—singly, and in groups, and in old hedge lines—by the covering of banks and raised frontages with gorse, broom and other plants, the building of groups of houses in 'closes', surrounding lawns on three sides, a really beautiful village is being created" (Fig. 12). Woodlands was also thought to rival Weoley Hill because of "the intermingling of types and the preservation of the natural beauties of the site".³²

Different patterns of road-side tree planting and treatments for verges and garden fronts were developed in the Estate. Bristol Road, for example, was lined with tree belts 50-60 feet deep. The smaller roads were successfully planted with a variety of ornamental trees. The overall effect of these policies was to create an effect of "groups of houses among trees".³³

Community

"A housebuilding scheme," it was argued in 1925, "must also be a community building scheme."³⁴ The Trust and the Societies gave support, financial and otherwise, to the tenants and owners to form Residents Associations and other social, recreational, sporting and horticultural societies. It was suggested that "Bournville and its daughter villages ha[d]... sown the seed of a healthy all round social development".³⁵ Nevertheless, there were signs that the factory workers and professionals were not quite as well integrated as in the original Village.

"Weoley Hill has tended to develop interests of its own," a Trust writer was forced to conclude, "and it is doubtful whether its house-owners feel that they are in very close touch with other parts of the estate."³⁶ In the late 1920s a local paper described the "Happy Community" at Weoley Hill. It noted "a very healthy communal life on the estate" and commented on the activities of the Village Council, the Gardening Committee, Hall Committee, Playing Fields Committee, Choral Society, Badminton, Lawn Tennis and Bowls Clubs and Boy Scouts group.³⁷ A Presbyterian Church was also erected at Weoley Hill in 1934. The other inter-war estates were not quite so well endowed with facilities, but they fared better than most Council and private estates. They also developed "long standing ties of family relationships and friendship" and had remarkably stable populations.³⁸

The recreation grounds and pavilion provided by Cadbury Brothers at Rowheath were a major feature of the expanded estate. Although targeted mainly at workers in the chocolate factory, these facilities were said to be more frequently used by non-employees than any other Cadbury institution.³⁹

Conclusion

A Cadbury Brothers' publication of 1928 justly highlighted the "special contribution" of the Public Utility Societies at Bournville and the high standard of site planning and house construction.⁴⁰ Five years later,

J.B. Priestley found it "infinitely superior to and more sensible than most of the huge new workmen's and artisans' quarters that have recently been built on the edge of many large towns in the Midlands". He found "rather too many public halls of religion and too few frivolous meeting places" for his taste, and would have liked to see more rows, courts and quadrangles. Priestley accepted that the residents preferred to be "semi-detached". He realised that the Bournville Estate was still "an example of what can be done by some careful planning and an absence of jerry-builder's motives".⁴¹

Eleven years later, Bournville struck a Mass Observation investigator as "a pleasant and well-laid out estate, with plenty of green spaces, parks and recreation grounds". The Mass Observation survey showed that "Modelville" was popular with the residents interviewed, 85 per cent of whom liked their houses and 89 per cent liked the neighbourhood.⁴² This view was confirmed in 1944 by a group of housewives from the Estate. They resolved that "the houses already built were giving satisfaction, but it was generally agreed that the new plans were a great improvement on the old". The only real complaints voiced by the residents of Bournville concerned the lack of shopping facilities on the estate and the absence of a "proper bathroom" in some of the oldest houses on the Estate.⁴³ (To address this latter issue a programme of modernisation of the older houses had begun before the Second World War.)⁴⁴

The Mass Observation survey also provided a picture of the changing social structure of Bournville. The majority of the people interviewed in 1942 were of C class. There were even a few from class B, leaving only 18 per cent from class D.⁴⁵ Such a pattern reflected the changing policies of the Trust, and the growing responsibility of local authorities for working class housing.

The difference between Bournville and other Birmingham developments may not have been as great as in 1900, but it was still significant. "It is not unreasonable to state that in the design of housing estates," S.A. Wilmot suggested in 1942, "the Trust's work is as good as any in the country and vastly superior to the average work of local authority departments."⁴⁶ Interestingly, the Trust's architects began to work for a number of local authorities, notably Newcastle-under-Lyme. The Bournville Village Trust's own researches, published in book and film form as *When We Build Again*, were major contributions to the debate on the rebuilding of Britain after the Second World War.⁴⁷ Whether as a result of its housing programmes, the high quality of its landscape planning, its widening consultancy role or its researches, the Village Trust and the Bournville Estate continued to exert an influence on the housing and town planning scene in Britain.

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8. *Op. cit.*, p. 160; *Bournville Housing*, p. 6 and pp. 18-19.
9. *Bournville Village Trust 1900-1955*, p. 25; BVT Minute Book/Reports, 'Annual Report' 1913. See also 'Secretary's Reports' for 31 March 1913 and 31 March 1914. Raymond Unwin had been asked to submit plans for the Weoley Hill estate, but the Trustees chose S.A. Wilmot's plan. *Bournville Works Magazine (BWM)*, December 1913, p. 402f.
10. Weoley Hill Limited, *Good Houses*, Bournville, 1922; *Bournville Village Trust 1900-1955*, p. 71ff. See sales brochures in B.V.T. archive at Birmingham Reference Library (Ms. 1536).
11. *Op. cit.* p. 25; *Bournville Housing*, p. 26; *GCTP*, July 1925, pp. 161-63; *Woodlands Housing Society Limited*, Bournville, n.d.; BVT Minute Book/Reports, 'Report on the Role of the BVT', 29 September 1924.
12. *Bournville Village Trust 1900-1955*, pp. 25-31. See also the regular reports in *BWM*.
13. *Bournville Housing*, pp. 32-33.
14. *GCTP*, July 1925, p. 162; *Bournville Housing*, p. 37; BVT Minute Books/Reports 'Manager's Reports' 30 September 1923 and 31 December 1923 noting the "great interest".
15. BVT Minute Books/Reports 'Annual Reports' for 1918 and 1919; *Experimental Houses*, Bournville, 1920. See BVT archives at Birmingham Central Reference Library (Ms. 1536): Boxes 2 and 16 contain reports and cuttings on this experimental scheme. Further reports can be found in *BWM*. *Bournville Housing*, p. 45 notes "the history of Bournville is largely a record of experimental work of this kind". For examples elsewhere see L. Weaver, *The 'Country Life' Book of Cottages*, London, 1919 ed., especially p. 39ff.
16. *Bournville Village Trust 1900-1955*, p. 103; *Experimental Housing*.
17. BVT Minute Books/Reports 'Manager's Quarterly Report' 29 September 1924.
18. *Bournville Housing*, pp. 45-46.
19. *Op. cit.* pp. 46-48; BVT Minute Book/Reports 'Manager's Quarterly Report' notes "great interest". See Open University, *British Design* ('The Electric Home'), A305, Unit 20, Milton Keynes, 1975.
20. *Design for Today*, May 1934, pp. 177-83; *BWM*, May 1934, pp. 146-48.
21. BVT Minute Book/Reports 'Manager's Quarterly Report' September 1916: "Economy in design and materials with the standardisation of windows, doors and fittings for cottage property will receive more attention by architects after the war." See also 'Manager's Quarterly Report' 31 December 1923.
22. *Ibid.*; *Bournville Housing*, p. 20 and pp. 26-27; *GCTP*, July 1925, pp. 160-61.
23. *Ibid.*; *Bournville Housing*, p. 41.
24. *Good Houses*; *Bournville Housing*, p. 48.
25. *Bournville Village Trust 1900-1955*, p. 50.
26. BVT Minute Book/Report 'Annual Report' 1922.
27. *The Ideal Home*, May 1930; *Good Houses*; *Bournville Village Trust 1900-1955*, p. 50.
28. Bournville Village Trust, *Landscape and Housing Development*, Bournville, London: Batsford, 1949, p. 31; *GCTP*, July 1925, pp. 166-67; *Bournville Village Trust 1900-1955*, pp. 95-98.
29. *Op. cit.*, p. 71.
30. *Landscape and Housing Development*, pp. 9-10.
31. *Op. cit.*, p. 6ff.; *Bournville Housing*, p. 48.
32. *GCTP*, July 1925, pp. 160-62.
33. *Bournville Village Trust 1900-1955*, pp. 77-78 and p. 101; *Landscape and Housing Development*, p. 11.
34. *GCTP*, July 1925, p. 166.
35. *Op. cit.*
36. *Bournville Village Trust 1900-1955*, p. 89.
37. *The News* 29 November 1927; BVT Minute Book/Reports 'Secretary's Quarterly Report' claimed that "there is no doubt that the early provision of tennis courts and recreation grounds... assists in building up a community spirit".
38. *Bournville Village Trust 1900-1955*, p. 79.
39. *GCTP*, July 1925, p. 167.
40. *Bournville Housing*, p. 6.
41. J.B. Priestley, *English Journey*, Harmondsworth, 1977 ed., pp. 90-91.
42. Mass Observation, *People's Homes*, London, 1943, pp. 30-32.
43. BVT Minutes/Reports 'Report of Meeting with Housewives' 21 November 1944.
44. BVT Minutes/Reports 'Quarterly Report' 18 July 1944.
45. *People's Homes*, p. 31.
46. BVT Minutes/Reports 'The Work of the Architects' Department' 9 December 1942 (S.A. Wilmot); Bournville Village Trust, *When We Build Again*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1941; *Bournville Village Trust 1900-1955*, pp. 103-04.

OLD SLUMS AND NEW NEIGHBOURHOODS- ORIGINS OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNITS IDEA IN GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY: EXAMPLES FROM LONDON AND HAMBURG¹

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Towards the end of the 19th century in England and Germany, concepts were developed to try to combat the rapid uncontrolled growth in cities with more planned and organised development. Starting points were the housing and Land Reform and Garden City Movements, which were meant to lead to more planned city development and extension. Certain model estates and Garden Cities were planned and built according to an overall standard concept, then repeatedly published in specialist publications to document the possibilities of more planned city extensions. Hampstead Garden Suburb was one of the most successful examples of this type in London and (in theory) nearly all experts agreed, that new suburbs should be laid out as small town units² — or as they were called later as neighbourhoods. Hamburg's Wandsbek Gartenstadt and the Steenkamp-Estate³ were similar projects, both well designed and planned for the middle and upper classes.

Pre-war reform ideas were carried over into housing policy after 1918 under changed economic and political conditions. In Germany a critical attitude toward building speculation and tenement buildings ('Mietskasernen') led in the twenties to the building of uniformly planned larger housing estates. These satellite towns with modern small flats ('Light, Air, Sun') were built by large housing associations, mainly on municipal land. In Hamburg the most famous estates from this period of the twenties are Barmbek-Nord, Dulsberg, Veddel and the Jarrestadt.

In England after 1918, the monotony of the suburbs built by private developers was greatly criticised compared with the counterparts of modern architecture in Germany and in Hamburg.⁴ In London the slum clearance policies required local authorities to redevelop areas and necessitated the provision of replacement housing. Even before the First World War, after slum-clearances in the inner city, larger estates with tenement buildings (e.g. Boundary Street Estate) replaced them and row houses were built on the outskirts of the city. These estates were further developed by the LCC in the twenties. The estates were increasingly criticised for their monotony, their insufficient infrastructure, poor transportation and social isolation. The first impressions of the new inhabitants "were coldness, loneliness, and a deadly, frightening quiet. ... Many have never been out of their home district and this migration meant a complete break with tradition and background ... and

without any agency to help them in the painful process".⁵ These suburban estates that were further developed by the LCC in the twenties, the White Hart Lane Estate for example, were often developed outside of the borders of the LCC area. Estates of tenement buildings were mainly built to rehouse people after slum-clearances. There were only a few examples of new estates with tenement buildings. The White City, planned and built by the LCC in London in the thirties, is one of the few.

In truth the social situation in the new housing estates in Hamburg was not very different from that in London. Rents were too high for working class people and mainly white collar workers moved into the new housing estates. After the twenties planners in both Germany and England sought criteria by which to restructure and reorganise the large new estates. Thomas Adams took his experiences with the Garden City Movement in England to the USA. Following Garden City principles a concept was developed by C. A. Perry and others within the framework of the Regional Plan of New York,⁶ and called 'Community Unit' (later 'neighbourhood-unit'). Perry identified six principles constituting neighbourhoods: size, boundaries, open spaces, institution sites, local shops, internal street system.⁷ Using these neighbourhood-principles, which were similar to elementary school units, the suburban estate at Radburn⁸ (about 16 miles from New York) was planned and built by Henry Wright, Clarence Stein and informally, as a kind of a consultant, by Raymond Unwin (Fig. 1). Wright and Stein visited Letchworth and Hampstead in 1923 and they created the American version of a garden city for the motor age.⁹ The idea was also developed in relation to-clearance and rehousing needs, combining principles of the 'city beautiful' movement with the American concept of 'city scientific'. Thomas Adams wrote in his book on *Design of Residential Areas*, "The attack on slum districts, however, can be indirectly assisted by the development of model home neighbourhoods in the suburbs just as much as by replanning and rebuilding the slum areas themselves. No direct attack on the slums districts will yield completely satisfactory results".¹⁰ Thus the neighbourhood idea became the patent recipe for town planners in the years to come.

But not only planners developed the concept, there was also a background of sociological discussions.

At the end of the nineteenth century in the slums of the East End of London social reformers like Reverend Samuel Barnett created social settlements with neighbourhood centres like Toynbee Hall. Barnett, his wife and others wanted to mix the poorer people of the slums with those who were better off in the hope that they would learn from each other by living near each other. In America these centres later became known as community centres. At the same time, the German sociologist Ferdinand Toennies' research revealed that in pre-industrial times people lived together in villages or towns in communities in which all people were well integrated. Toennies made a very important distinction in this context between *Gemeinschaft* ('Community') and *Gesellschaft* ('Society'), of which the latter was dominant in the period after industrialisation. This model was very important for American sociologists and especially the ecological Chicago School in the twenties. Sociologists like Robert Park and E. W. Burgess did extensive research on the city, social organisation, 'social surveys', 'natural areas', 'community units' and how to establish neighbourhoods as an important organ of urban life.

The discussions of the late twenties led in following years to the transition from town planning to regional planning. The problems of breaking up

monotony in cities, decentralisation and anti-aircraft defence were discussed, mainly related to London, as for example in the Greater London Regional Planning Committee in 1929. Housing policy and increased town planning powers allowed better planned enlargement of towns in England while in built up areas only selective slum redevelopment took place.

The problem of regional planning and town planning in many countries in the thirties was however to try to re-plan and re-organise the built-up areas of the nineteenth century. This was no longer to be achieved by simply clearing the inner city slums and developing new housing estates. A general set of principles was emerging. The thesis could be presented that in the thirties an international urban development model was worked out which envisaged less monotony, decentralisation and organisation of city structures by means of neighbourhood units. There were only differences as regards ideological grounds and architectural form. At the international conferences of the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning (in 1925 in New York and in London in 1935¹¹) these principles were widely discussed. At the London Congress in 1935, a kind of a consensus was reached: "The abolition of slums comes first. But there are areas (that are not slums) where dwellings are very drab,



Figure 1. Radburn, New Jersey, 1929.

dreary and out of date, streets are too narrow, garden space and play grounds are inadequate, there are too many dwellings and people to the acre, and industrial, commercial and residential premises are indiscriminately mixed. It is not sufficient merely to demolish old houses and erect new tenement buildings. The problem is both a housing and a town-planning problem. The need is for a large-scale replanning combined with demolition, reconditioning, zoning and rebuilding".¹² Planners such as Konstanty Gutschow, from Hamburg, and Patrick Abercrombie took part in the discussions of the international scientific community.

In Germany there was a similar development in planning influenced strongly by the 'Volk ohne Raum' ideology. The aim was to unite workers and farmers as one 'Volk'. Every German worker, according to the National-Socialists, was to have a house of his own. Modern twentieth century architecture was condemned and new ideas were sought for town planning and housing estates. In this context, town planning followed principles aligned to the National Socialist ideology. One principle referred to as 'Ortsgruppe als Siedlungszelle' was developed in a project in Hamburg. According to the principle units of the National Socialist Party were imitated in the planning of new housing estates to represent a cross-section of German society.¹³

A mixture of row houses (owner-occupied), small blocks and tenement buildings with flats for rent was planned. Dwelling and population density were low and a maximum of three storeys were allowed. The estate was planned for about 7,000 people with schools, shops and infrastructure. It is obvious that there were many similarities to the American idea of neighbourhood units, but of course German planners insisted that the idea was a typically German solution.

The increasing war damage from 1940 onwards, gave the planners a chance to put their new ideas into practice with reconstruction. From a military point of view, "London was the weakest place on earth ... the Achilles heel of Britain and the British Empire" a journalist wrote in 1939.¹⁴ Planners began to consider rebuilding at the time of the first war damage in 1940, especially after the bombing of Coventry. The plans developed were similar in England and Germany, they mainly aimed at air-defence, less monotony, decentralisation and structuring and organisation of cities by means of neighbourhood units or residential areas.

In 1941 in Hamburg the private architect Konstanty Gutschow, not the building department of the city, was responsible for town-planning. A master plan for Hamburg with the extended, 1937 boundary of Greater Hamburg was published in 1941 by Gutschow

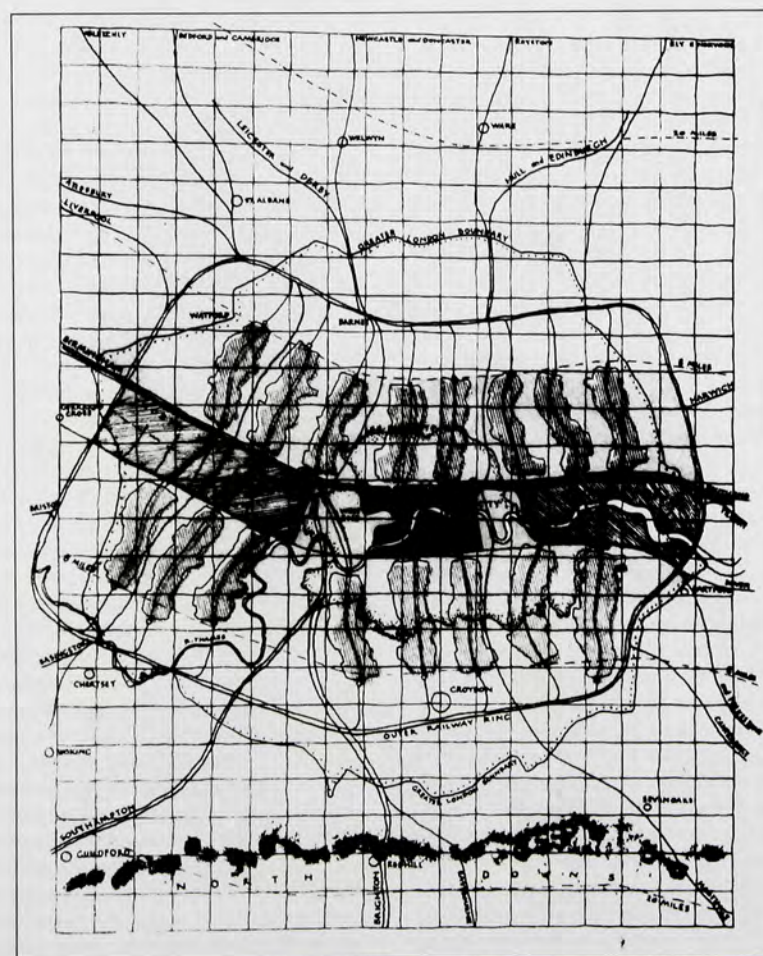


Figure 2. The MARS Group Plan, 1943.

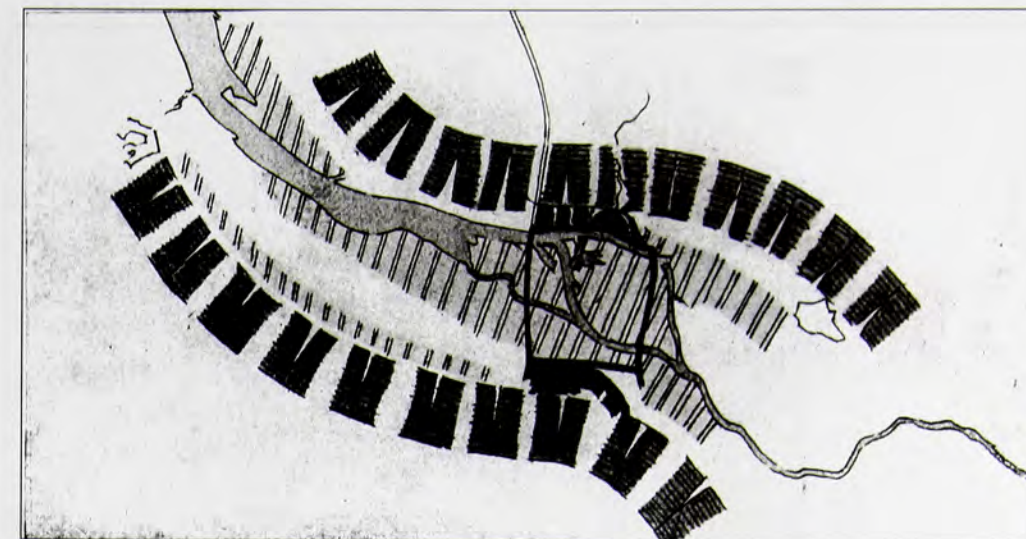


Figure 3. The Reichow Plan for Greater Hamburg, 1944.

and reflected the organisation principle of neighbourhoods. Most important however was the expansion of the harbour. This was intended to be far larger than the one in London because of increasing trade, the growing importance of Germany and new colonies Germany intended to acquire. When Gutschow made this plan there was only minimal war damage in Hamburg and he had grandiose ideas for the modernisation of the city, which included a new bridge over the river Elbe and the only skyscraper Hitler would permit in all of Germany.¹⁵

The MARS Group Plan (1942) for London, originated from the principle of neighbourhood units and intended a fundamental reorganisation of 'chaotic' London (Fig. 2). "Only by forming clearly defined units, which in turn are part of larger units a social life can be organised" wrote Korn and Samuely in 1942.¹⁶ It was a radical plan thought up by private architects including neighbourhood-units for 6,000 persons and new borough-units for 50,000 persons. Purdom classified it as a "fantasy that has no relation to the needs and aspiration of man".¹⁷

If we compare the MARS Plan to a 1944 plan for Hamburg by Gutschow's colleague the private architect Hans Bernhard Reichow, the scheme looks very similar (Fig. 3).¹⁸ Gutschow's was also a scheme for the Hamburg region as a whole, similar to the MARS Plan for London. Reichow believed in organic town planning and his so called 'cells' look different from the MARS-Plan schemes. Reichow always used examples from the natural environment for his 'organic' type of planning, and he changed the names of his units. Until 1945 he used the National Socialist term 'Ortsgruppe als Siedlungszelle', later calling them 'Organic neighbourhoods' (Fig. 4).

A neighbourhood-unit model was intended to be applied not quite as radically, but with similar concepts in the form of estates in the County of London Plan of 1943. The Plan by Forshaw and Abercrombie aimed for lower population densities and structuring 'the amorphous mass' of London. "The war has given us a great opportunity, and by bitter destruction of many

acres of buildings it has made easier the realisation of some of our dreams" wrote Lord Latham in the Foreword.¹⁹ So London was divided into social units. Four or five residential units with a shopping centre and a school were planned to create one neighbourhood. This was how the model was to function.

In 1944 Abercrombie's Greater London Plan was published. Planned were immense changes were planned in areas bombed and the reconstruction of destroyed areas modelled on similar principles but with new dimensions. Abercrombie wrote: "We have used the community as the basis planning unit. Each community would have a life and character of its own, yet its individuality would be in harmony with the complex form, life and activities of the region as a whole".²⁰ London's East End (Bethnal Green), Bermondsey and other parts were all classified as slums and further demolition was planned to enable a clean sweep type of planning. If we take a more detailed look at two areas, the plans for Shoreditch in London and Barmbek in Hamburg seem very similar (Figs. 5 and 6).

Abercrombie thought buildings and dwellings not destroyed by German bombs in the slum-areas in the East-End should be demolished. Similarly in Hamburg, the next plan for Barmbek is a *tabula rasa* type of plan, creating new residential units and neighbourhoods.

Gutschow was very well informed about the London plans by the Foreign Secret Information Service.²¹ In Hamburg in 1944 a further master plan, also by Gutschow, was developed on the basis of war damage, which further developed the idea 'Ortsgruppe als Siedlungszelle' leading to less monotony. There are many more green areas and green belts in the plan dividing up the residential areas and neighbourhoods. This concept was tested in destroyed districts and was to be the basis for the spacious rebuilding of other districts in Hamburg. In 1944 Gutschow said the following about the war destruction and new planning possibilities: Breaking up the urban mass into residential cells with respective 'lives' not only makes the city more robust but also gives it justification for existing in terms of National Socialistic governance because it creates

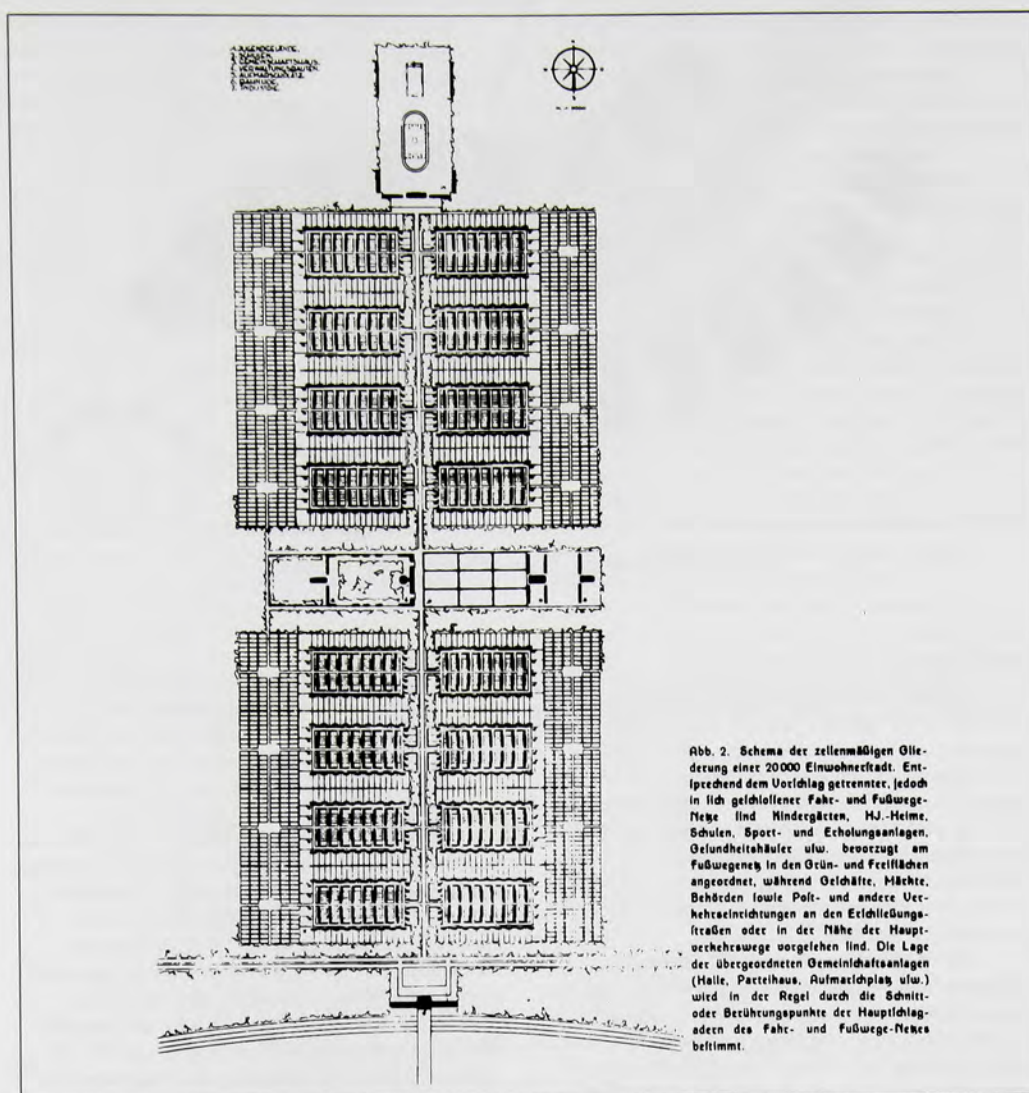


Figure 4. Settlement cells for about 20,000 inhabitants (Carl Culemann, 1991).

conditions conducive to the fostering of an national spirit of community. A national sense of community is only possible in small, clearly arranged residential units. The organisational forms of the party in which the community lives, from the unit to block to local districts, should be clearly reflected in the structure of its urban settlements.²² The bombed and destroyed areas were divided into units corresponding with the organisation of the NSDAP.

In 1945 in Germany, the ideological ballast²³ in town planning was rejected and so western, democratically influenced ideas about neighbourhood units grew out of the National Socialist idea of 'Ortsgruppe als Siedlungszelle', which were renamed 'Siedlungsknollen', or 'Neighbourhood Cells' in Hamburg. In 1947, parts of Abercrombie's Greater London Plan were published in the German language²⁴ in Hamburg and Bernhard Shaw was quoted: "Rebuilding London as it was, would be a crime".²⁵ In order to offer the Germans more (democratic) examples of modern town planning, a German translation of

Thomas Sharp's book on *Town Planning* was published in 1948 which also contained principles of the neighbourhood idea. British planners from the military wanted to establish principles for rebuilding Hamburg similar to those of British cities and they wrote: "The huge destructions during the war offer Hamburg a unique chance for sanitary rebuilding The rebuilding can now proceed in conformity with modern concepts".²⁶

Gutschow himself wrote in 1946 in a letter to Rudolf Wolters the former head of Albert Speers' Ministry:

I have found to my delight my hobby, the idea of the residential cell, in Abercrombie's rebuilding plans. There they are called neighbourhoods. They are the central idea of the plan... From now on these formations will be called, by my own defaming mouth, neighbourhood cells. I hope they don't identify these urban design ideas which are so dear to me as an infiltration of the totalitarian pretensions of the party.²⁷

But it was mainly Hans Bernhard Reichow, working

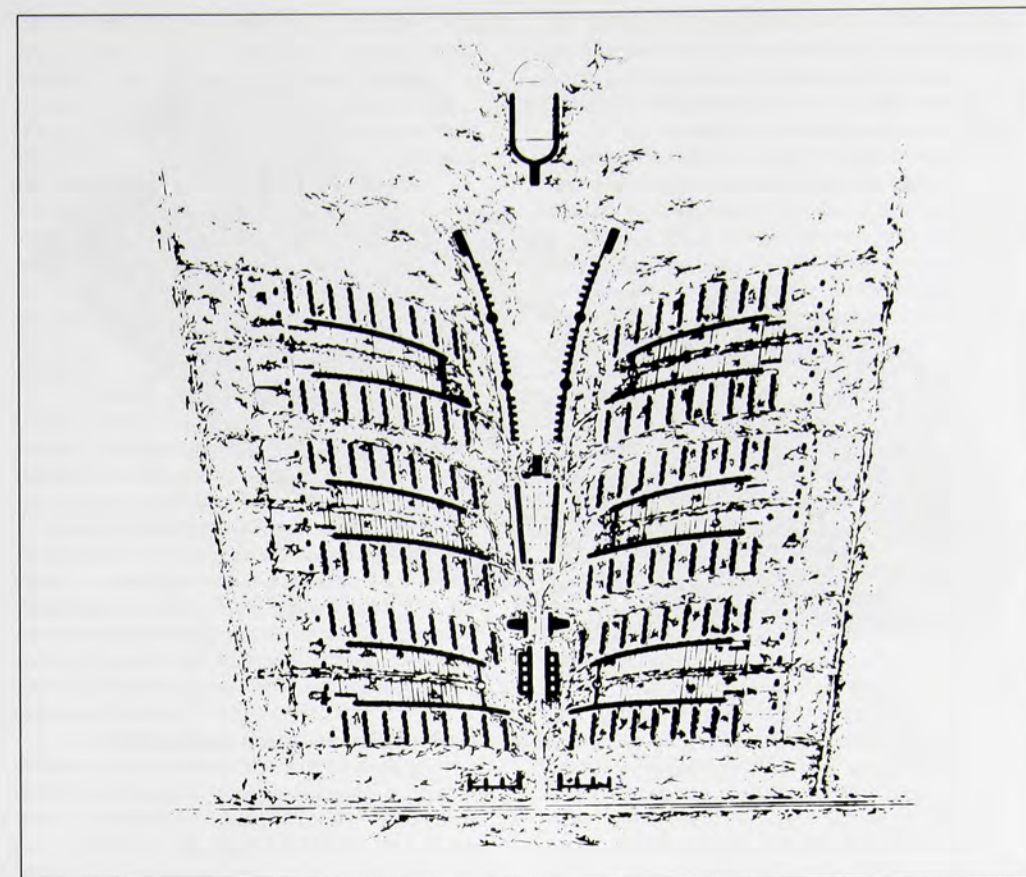


Figure 5. Organic neighbourhood cells (Hans Bernhard Reichow, 1941).

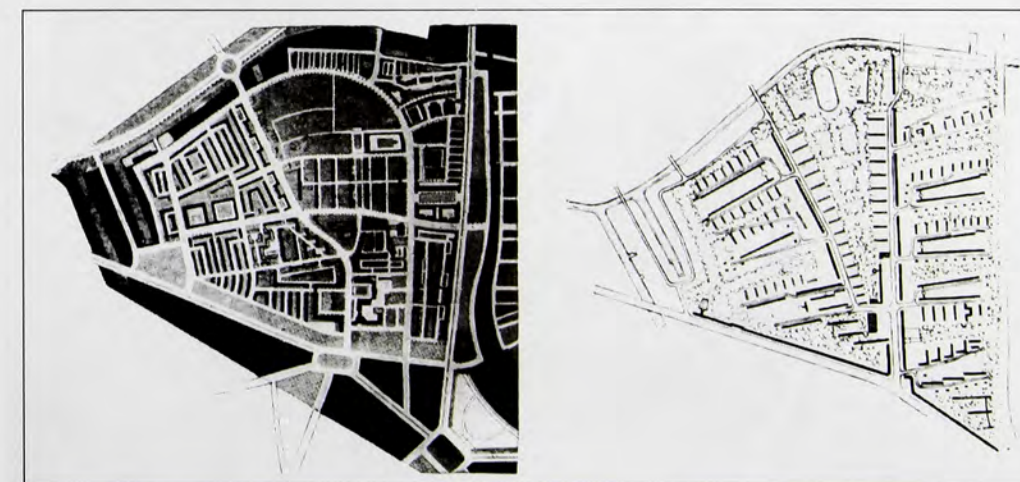


Figure 6. Plans for rebuilding Shoreditch (from Abercrombie, 1944): classified as 'organic' and 'unorganic' by Reichow in 1948.

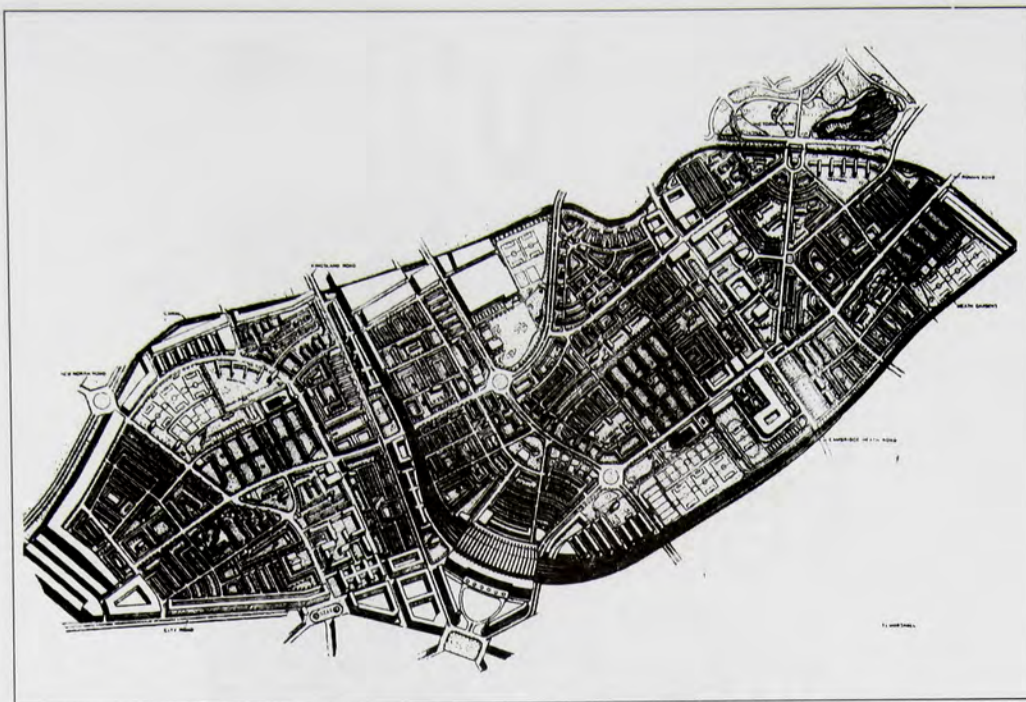


Figure 7. Reconstruction of an area in Shoreditch and Bethnal Green (Abercrombie, 1944).

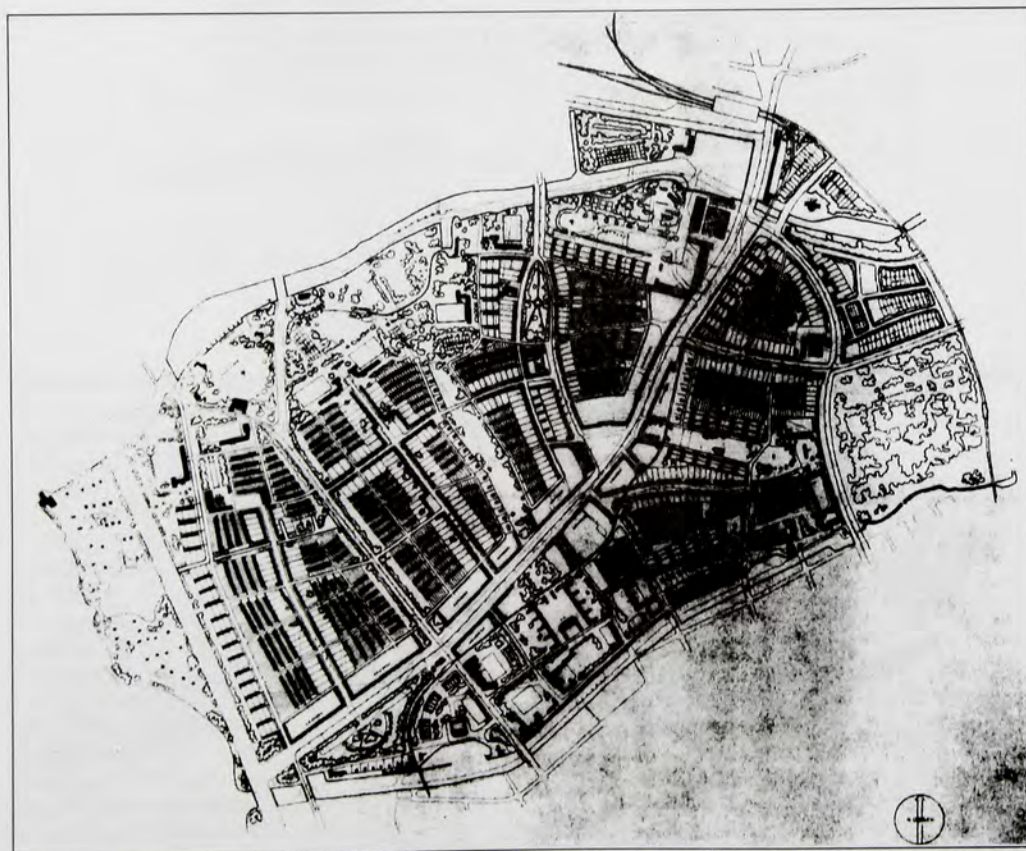


Figure 8. Reconstruction of Barmbek, Hamburg, 1944, consisting of five Ortsgruppen with about 7,000-9,000 inhabitants.

together with Gutschow before 1945, who now created a new foundation for town planning. This meant that instead of being dominated by political ideology, planning was now based on organic analogies. The German visions and ideas for rebuilding in Hamburg were modest in comparison with the ideas for London. The bombing and war damages had left a lasting impression on the losers and the political and economic insecurity did not really allow 'great' visions. Nevertheless the general building plan of 1947 and rebuilding plan of 1950 in Hamburg contained the ideas and principles of neighbourhood units and relieving city monotony. Planned were lower population densities and green belts to divide the residential neighbourhoods.

In London too, the 'great visions' for Town Planning after the War could only partly be put into practice. Financial difficulties and ownership problems hindered the realisation in the inner city areas even when there was hardly any international controversy between the planners about basic aims and models for rebuilding. Thus planners in London as well as in Hamburg, were forced to concentrate on lower population densities and on the planning and building of new estates. This was done according to the principles of neighbourhood units on the edges of the towns, as well as partly rebuilding (mostly in reconstruction areas) in the inner parts of the cities after the War.

In Hamburg, Reichow became one of the most influential architects and town planners of the post-war period in Germany. He publicised widely his organic views. In 1948 he published parts of the Abercrombie plan of 1944 and classified them as 'organic' and 'non organic'. As is often the case, reality in the fifties looked quite different from the planners' visions. In Hamburg high rise tenement buildings were built in the inner parts of the city, for example, the Grindelhochhäuser. This project, a unique one, the so called 'Hamburg project',

was planned to accommodate British military officials and their families. But later the British Headquarters moved to Frankfurt so the Hamburg Building Department completed the plans as public housing.

If we compare this Hamburg project with their counterpart in London, Churchill Gardens in Pimlico they seem to be very similar. Here also high rise tenement buildings were built. Thus it can be concluded that the neighbourhood unit idea was not that important for rebuilding the inner cities and the built up areas of the cities. It was very expensive to compensate private owners and old and underground infrastructure could still be used in parts. The neighbourhood unit was more important for new estates on the periphery and in England it was the basic principle for the structure of the New Towns.²⁸

In 1954 Lewis Mumford wrote about the neighbourhood idea and he mentioned the Lansbury Estate in London as a good example of neighbourhood planning: "Neighbourhood unit organisation seems the only practical answer to the gigantism and inefficiency of the over-centralised metropolis".²⁹ So the planning idea of the neighbourhood unit seemed to be accepted as the best theoretical idea of planning new estates in the post war period even beyond London and Hamburg and I believe there was no other idea as important and agreed upon by planners and sociologists alike. Mumford concluded: "During the last two decades the idea of planning neighbourhoods has been widely accepted. But this has taken place more in principle than in actual practice, except in the British New Towns".³⁰ Reality was much more complicated. There were different architects and planners, various developers, problems of land ownership, building costs, problems of creating a new social community from scratch³¹ and many other reasons why the neighbourhood unit idea was not implemented in both Hamburg and London.

1. This paper is a revised version of a paper presented at the conference 'Seizing the Moment - London Planning 1944-1994'. It is a part of an inauguration, which will be published soon with the title: Dirk Schubert, *Urban Renewal in Hamburg and London, An Urban History between Modernisation and Disciplination*, Hamburg 1994.
2. S.E. Rasmussen, 'Neighbourhood Planning', in: *Town Planning Review*, vol. 27/1956/57, p. 198.
3. Short descriptions of all the estates from Hamburg mentioned here are to be found in: H. Harms, D. Schubert, *Wohnen in Hamburg, Ein Stadtführer*, Hamburg, 1989.
4. "Nowhere has a wider programme of rehousing been achieved than in Hamburg; and nowhere have multi-storey tenements been used more successfully to increase the amount of open space for public gardens, parks and playing fields. General direction has been in able hands of Professor Schumacher, and open architectural competitions have been held for considerable sections of work". Council for research on Housing Construction (ed.), Chairman Lord Dudley, *Slum Clearance and Rehousing - The first Report of the Council for Research on the Housing Construction*, vols. I and II, London 1934/35, p. 47.
5. L.E. White, 1950, *Housing Estates and their social problems*, London, pp. 7 and 18.
6. C.A. Perry, 'The neighbourhood unit', in: *Regional Survey of New York and its Environs*, Vol. VII, New York, 1929.
7. C.A. Perry, *Housing for the Machine Age*, New York, 1939, p. 51.
8. Cf. L. Levine, 'A Neighbourhood Unit for Radburn', in: *The Architectural Record*, March 1933, p. 230f.
9. Cf. M. Miller, *Raymond Unwin. Garden Cities and Town Planning*, Leicester, London and New York, 1992, p. 226.
10. Thomas Adams, *The Design of Residential Areas, Basic Considerations, Principles and Methods*, Cambridge, 1934, p. 265.
11. For the discussions on the topic of urban renewal on these congresses see: Dirk Schubert, 'Der IVWSR und das Thema Stadterneuerung-Die 'Beseitigung von Schandflecken'', in: *Prospect, Journal of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning*, vol. 3, 1993, p. 9ff.
12. International Federation for Housing and Town Planning (ed.), *XIV International Housing and Town Planning Congress*, 3 Vols., I, London, 1935.
13. cf. *Die Ortsgruppe als Siedlungszelle*, (OaS) Manuscript from Konstanty Gutschow, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Bestand Architekt Konstanty Gutschow (AKG), A 42. See also: C. Culemann, 'Die Gestaltung der städtischen Siedlungsmasse', in: *Raumforschung und Raumordnung*, 1941, Heft 3/4.
14. Quoted in A. Lees, *Cities Perceived. Urban society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940*, Manchester, 1985, p. 263.
15. Cf. Dirk Schubert, 'Führerstadtplanungen in Hamburg', in: M. Bose, M. Holtmann, E. Pahl-Weber and D. Schubert, '... Ein neues Hamburg entsteht ...', *Planen und Bauen von 1933-1945*, Hamburg, 1986.
16. A. Korn, F.J. Samuely, 'A Master Plan for London. Based on research carried out by the Town Planning Committee of the M.A.R.S. Group', in: *Architectural Record*, June 1942, p. 145.
17. Quoted by Dennis Sharp, 'Concept and interpretation. The aims and principles of the MARS plan for London', *Perspecta* 13/14, p. 167f.
18. The plan was originally from 1944 and published in: H.B. Reichow, *Organische Stadtbaukunst. Von der Grosstadt zur Stadtlandschaft*, Braunschweig, Berlin and Hamburg, 1948. These ideas from Reichow were already developed in 1941. Cf. H.B. Reichow, 'Grundsätzliches zum Städtebau im Altreich und im neuen Deutschen Osten', in: *Raumforschung und Raumordnung* Heft 3/4 1941.
19. Lord Latham in J.H. Forshaw and P. Abercrombie, *County of London Plan*, prepared for the London Council, London, 1943.
20. P. Abercrombie, *Greater London Plan*, London 1945, p. 113.
21. So it was not very surprising when Rudolf Hillebrecht, who worked in Gutschow's office before 1945, told about a talk he had with British occupying officers after 1945: "(they) were stunned about the 1940 Master Plan for Hamburg drawn up by us and Gutschow. They asked: What are the actual differences between German and British planning concepts? Then they saw the fifty metres wide axis. But they tended to see this as a product of the Zeigeist, whereas the actual plan seemed rather British to them". Rudolf Hillebrecht, Interview with Werner Durth, in: *Stadtbauwelt*, vol. 72, 1981, p. 2159.
22. Hamburgisches Architekturarchiv, Bestand Gutschow C 65.
23. Cf. E. Pahl-Weber, D. Schubert, 'Myth and reality in National Socialist town planning and architecture: housing and urban development in Hamburg 1933-1945', in: *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 6, 1991, p. 161f.
24. K. Schneider, London, 'Planungen für die Umgestaltung der Britischen Hauptstadt', in: *Planung. Schriftenreihe für Landesplanung und Städtebau*, vol. 1, Hamburg, 1947.
25. Bund Deutscher Architekten, *Stadtplanung in Hamburg*, Hamburg 1948.
26. Public Record Office FO 1014/215.
27. Gutschow quoted in W. Durth, *Deutsche Architekten. Biographische Verflechtungen 1900-1970*, Braunschweig, 1986, p. 257.
28. A. Goss, 'Neighbourhood Units in British New Towns', in: *Town Planning Review* 1961, p. 66-82.
29. Lewis Mumford, 'The neighbourhood and the neighbourhood unit', in: *Town Planning Review*, 1953-54, p. 257.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Cf. J. Dahir, *The Neighbourhood Unit Plan, Its Spread and Acceptance, A Selected Bibliography with Interpretative comments*, New York 1947. As empirical studies for England, cf. H.E. Bracey, *Neighbours. On New Estates and Subdivisions in England and U.S.A.*, London 1964, for Germany, H. Klages, *Der Nachbarschaftsgedanke und die nachbarliche Wirklichkeit in der Großstadt*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1968.

R E P O R T S

Australian Urban History/Planning History Conference, Canberra, June 1995

Robert Freestone, University of New South Wales, Australia.

From 26-30 June 1995 the Urban Research Programme of the Australian National University, led by **Professor Patrick Troy**, held a four day Urban History/Planning History Conference. The main conference themes were suburbanisation, the development of Canberra, the work of Walter Burley and Marion Mahony Griffin, gender perspectives on planning and urban affairs and the history of urban design.

The conference attracted over 100 delegates, drawn from diverse professional backgrounds: practising and academic planners, architects, landscape architects and public and university historians, with a strong contingent of Melbourne urban history specialists. A strong programme featured such leading urban historians as **Graeme Davison, Susan Marsden and Renate Howe**.

In all over 50 papers were presented; a full, but intentionally uncluttered, programme which created space for convivial discussion and debate. In, and around, the main conference themes there was considerable diversity, running the gamut from **Ray Bunker** on colonial town planning in South Australia to **Clem Lloyd** on BHP's urban planning. The Urban Research Programme plans to lodge complete sets of the papers in all major Australian university libraries.

The Best Laid Plans: Milton Keynes since 1967

Michael Harrison, University of Central England in Birmingham.

This important one-day conference and witness seminar, held on 21 October 1995, was organised by the Department of History at the University of Luton in conjunction with the Institute of Contemporary History and the City Discovery Centre. The conference was undertaken to provide an archive which can be consulted by historians and policy makers in the future. The proceedings were recorded on videotape by **Margaret Percy** of the Town and Country Planning Association and on audiotape by **Roger Kitchen** of the Living Archive Project. Copies of these recordings, and the conference papers, will be made available for consultation at the City Discovery Centre in due course.

Mark Clapson (University of Luton), one of the organisers of the conference, opened the proceedings with a short presentation which set the planning and construction of Milton Keynes within its social and

There were many highlights. They included **John Overall's** magnetic personal recapitulation of Canberra's development; **James Weirick's** compelling evocation of the life, times and troubles of the Griffins' early years in Australia; a moving presentation by **Peter Read** on the real human costs of Sydney's M2 freeway; and a showing of three short films dealing with transport, architecture and housing in post-war Melbourne.

The conference was one of several events showcasing planning history in the national capital in late June, with Pat Troy playing a strategic role in all of them. The conference coincided with the joint Australian Archives-National Library *Ideal City* exhibition, curated by John Reys. There was also a trio of book launches for Sir John Overall's *Canberra: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, Mark Peel's *Good Times, Hard Times: the past and the future in Elizabeth* and Peter Harrison's *Walter Burley Griffin: Landscape Architect*.

The Canberra history conference followed on from a successful one-day conference, sponsored by the School of Town Planning at the University of New South Wales, in 1993. The 1995 event ended with high expectations for an ongoing series, with Melbourne the preferred venue in 1996.

Early enquiries can be directed to Tony Dingle, Department of Economics, Monash University, Clayton, 3168, Australia.

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economic context. He drew attention to the fact that the conference would provide material for researchers that would not be available elsewhere, because access to the MKDC Board Committee minutes was limited by the 50 year rule.

The major part of the conference consisted of a Witness Seminar. (Witness Seminars provide a means for those closely involved in a historic episode to discuss their roles and recollections of events.) In the absence, through illness, of Gordon Cherry, the session was chaired by **Lee Shostak** (ex MKDC, EDAA Planning). The Panel included **Walter Bor, John de Monchaux, David Donnison** (key contributors to the Master Plan for Milton Keynes), **Peter Waterman** (Diocesan Planning Officer and, later, Director of Social Development), **David Lock, Lee Shostak and John Walker** (professionals involved in the development of Milton Keynes at various points since the early 1970s). Unfortunately, one of the key figures involved in the implementation of the Plan, Derek Walker, was unable to attend.

In order to provide a loose framework for the seminar Mark Clapson posed a few preliminary questions to the Panel. These related to the initial role of Fred Pooley, the conception of the Master Plan, later deviations from that Plan, the relationship between the Development Corporation and other bodies and the changes that ensued after the Conservative victory in 1979.

Over 30 people (including academics, Borough Council employees, consultants, councillors, former MKDC staff and professionals) listened to the fascinating recollections of the Panel. A lively account of 'Pooleyville' was presented, but its shortcomings were noted. Walter Bor and John de Monchaux convincingly argued that the Master Plan was the most appropriate solution at that time (cf. Cumbernauld). Others noted that it was a visionary, inspirational and flexible plan. David Donnison and John de Monchaux (whose wife was involved in the original research programme) emphasised the social as well as the economic and physical elements of the Master Plan. Peter Waterman spoke about the fight for amenities and the problems with the County Council. He also emphasised the important role that voluntary organisations began to play in Milton Keynes. Waterman, and others, also suggested that the architects usurped the plan, and gave emphasis to formal elements when constructing Milton Keynes. Walter Bor clearly identified the deviations from the Master Plan: the development of a grandiose centre, the inappropriate location of local centres and the lack of legibility in the road system. (The latter issue drew comments from many participants.) David Lock did point out that by the late 1970s MKDC's Urban Research Group had come to recognise some of the problems associated with the deviations from the Master Plan, in particular, the power of the cellular grid.

It was clear from the testimony of several of the participants that those involved in the planning and development of Milton Keynes often felt under attack, whether from Central Government, the County Council or the media. Many stressed the importance in these circumstances of Jock (Lord) Campbell. Several delegates spoke warmly of his personal qualities, his vision and his leadership. His successor, Lord Chilver, was not so heartily praised, but it was noted that his links with the Conservative elite did ensure the continued development of Milton Keynes, albeit in different circumstances.

The Witness Seminar proved so fruitful that it was extended into the afternoon, when participants were given the opportunity to question the Panel. It was interesting to note that those still involved in the development of Milton Keynes, like John Walker, stressed the importance of the event and emphasised the relevance of the Master Plan. Whilst there was some recognition of the fact that mistakes had been made in this 'land of a thousand roundabouts', there was also a firm belief that the residents were satisfied with the city and that the quality of the environment was generally high.

A shortened session, chaired by **Michael Synott** (City Discovery Centre), was devoted to conference papers. (**Lee Shostak** did not give his paper on 'Urban Development Corporations and the management of change' but a copy of his piece will be deposited at the City Discovery Centre.) **Peter Waterman** began by speaking about 'Social Development' and contrasted the firm statements about social policy in the Master Plan with the lack of commitment and varying responses of the post-1974 authorities. **Mark Clapson** returned the social and economic changes that affected both the U.K. and Milton Keynes. Despite the growing social polarisation and fragmentation evident in Britain, he pointed to the integrative role of 'associative culture' in this 'suburban city'. **Mervyn Dobbin** (De Montfort University) took as his topic, 'Planners, plans and inequality'. He criticised the design professions for fetishizing the formal aspects of design. Taking a feminist perspective, he highlighted the way in which the 'man-made' formal, environment of Milton Keynes reinforced the subordinate role of women (contrary to the emphasis on opportunity and choice in the original Master Plan). Others responded by pointing to the high level of satisfaction recorded in local social surveys. The conference concluded with entertaining expositions by **Allan Cochrane** (Open University) and **Tim Mars**. Cochrane contrasted the perceived 'Americanisms' of Milton Keynes with the quasi-rural aspects of this 'edge city'. He suggested that Milton Keynes was a paradigm for the whole of the south-east of England. Tim Mars' 'view from exile' explored further the image/reality theme. His lyrical celebration of the Redway gave way to criticisms of the obsession with appearance above performance in some of the early housing developments. The delegates ended the day considering the future and recognising the value of the event they had just participated in.

Sixth National Conference on American Planning History, Knoxville, Tennessee, October 12-15 1995 *Stephen V. Ward, Oxford Brookes University, U.K.*

The Society for American City and Regional Planning History continued its successful series of biennial conferences with its latest gathering in Knoxville, Tennessee, sponsored jointly with the Urban History Association. Both the place and the date had special significance for the development of planning in the U.S.A. The importance of the place became immediately apparent as we arrived at the conference hotel. Directly across the street were two massive office blocks, projecting the huge red letters 'TVA' out into the night sky. Knoxville is, of course, the Headquarters of the Tennessee Valley Authority, that great progressive exercise in big government and planning that was created in 1933 by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt as part of the New Deal.

The significance of the October 1995 conference date became apparent as we collected our conference packs. Emblazoned on the conference bags was a picture of the great American urbanist, Lewis Mumford, together with the information that he had been born just under a hundred years earlier on 19 October 1895. This very particular coincidence of place and time provided the conference with its three recurrent themes, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the work of Lewis Mumford and a theme which linked them both, regionalism.

There was, of course, much else on the programme. In all, about 170 delegates gathered to hear well over a hundred papers on various aspects of planning history. The papers focused mainly on the U.S.A., though there were a few on the experiences of other countries, including Australia, Britain, Canada, Germany, Russia, Saudi Arabia and Argentina. Most sessions ran simultaneously, so it was very difficult to give even a half adequate representation of what was presented. Certainly, the sessions I was able to attend revealed papers and discussions of a high standard. Amongst the topics explored were the minutiae of zoning, the building of suburbia, colonial planning, the work of key planners and much else besides. But, wherever the detailed sessions had taken us, we repeatedly found ourselves drawn back to the broader themes in the major events and social occasions of the conference.

The field visits, with which the conference began and ended, were one such unifying element. The work of the TVA was, of course, a natural focus, with trips to Norris, the famous new settlement created by the Authority in association with the Norris dam. Inspired by the garden city tradition, it turned out also to have a very American and much more rural feel to it than Letchworth or European examples. Other trips examined Oak Ridge, the atomic city planned in great secrecy

during World War II to provide a place for scientists and technicians to work on the Manhattan project, creating the first atomic bomb.

Another, longer, trip explored the Blue Ridge Mountain Parkway in North Carolina, along with Frederick Law Olmsted's Biltmore Estate at Asheville. The two Tennessee towns of Kingsport, an industrial town planned by John Nolen and developed from 1915, and Jonesborough, a delightful 18th century foundation showing off U.S. preservation at its very best, provided the subject of another trip. (The proposed visit to Rugby, the utopian settlement created in 1880 by Thomas Hughes, the English author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, to provide a place where the younger sons of the English gentry could learn how to become self-sufficient, was cancelled due to low registration.)

The plenaries and receptions also drew all delegates together. In her plenary address, **Mary Corbin Sies**, the SACRPH President, offered a thoughtful and useful review of the study of planning history in the United States. Her call for planning historians to have regard to post-modernist, post-structuralist theorists drew good natured groans, but the point was well made. It is important that planning historians recognise that they are not simply there to voice the viewpoint of planners past. They must strive to express the voices of all those involved in the planning process.

The following day it was the turn of **Carl Abbott**, President of the co-sponsoring Urban History Society, to address the delegates. Building on the Oak Ridge connection, Abbott spoke about the atomic cities of the western states, looking at the new settlements created to house those connected with the development of the atomic bomb, particularly at Los Alamos. What came through the initial impression of the extraordinary circumstances of their conception was the ordinariness of the settlements themselves. Despite their intended and rather totalitarian role as science cities, hothouses for the genesis of mass destruction, they were, in the pattern of their life, a glimpse of middle America that was to come in the post-war period. Though he did not intend it as such, it was rather a chilling conclusion.

Another of the highlights of the conference was the reception held by the Tennessee Valley Authority, culminating in the presentation of a historic landmark plaque by **Larry Gerckens**, on behalf of the American Institute of Certified Planners. After a powerful evocation, by **David Johnson**, of the progressive spirit which gave birth to the Authority, delegates were privileged to hear a spirited address by the veteran TVA regional planner, **A.J. 'Flash' Gray**. He recalled himself as a young man "full of vinegar" going to work for the Authority. It was pleasing to see that his elevation to grand old man of American

planning had not seriously depleted his supply of this liquid. We could still appreciate his anger at the social injustice, environmental destruction, the desperate poverty and deprivation that the TVA had been brought into being to combat. His belief in the TVA as a progressive force shone even more brightly than the huge red letters on the building.

Gradually, as the other speakers added their words, it became clear that the idea of progressive big government that the TVA represented, never a dominant force in U.S. political culture, is under serious threat in 1990s America. No-one put these thoughts into words, but they seemed to hang over the proceedings, expressed in a sense of this being an achievement of yesterday. It was notable that the final speaker, receiving the plaque on behalf of the TVA, emphasised themes somewhat different to those of the New Dealers. The stress on humanitarian and welfare objectives, which had been so powerful in the early years, was now supplanted by something which suggested more of TVA's value to business investors.

This led, perhaps mischievously, to the thought that if American planners were to update for 1995 the powerful words used by Roosevelt to launch the New Deal—"It is my belief that we have nothing to fear but fear itself"—they would now have to drop the last two words. In their place now would have to be those forming the name of arguably the most powerful figure in the U.S.A. today, Newt Gingrich. The cuts already achieved, or likely to be inspired, by the Republican Leader of the House of Representatives seemed to form a barely hidden agenda for the whole Conference. On many occasions I heard delegates talking about restrictions in the availability of research grants and the axing of housing and urban development programmes.

Big federal government initiatives are definitely out of favour. In that sense the American planning historians deserve congratulations for honouring and, in doing so, effectively restating the values of an organisation that is anything but political flavour of the month.

Yet if the TVA reception prompted these wider thoughts about the shifting political scene in the U.S.A., it was also the occasion of another, and more intimate, family matter for SACRPH. Its main organisational force throughout its existence, **Larry Gerckens**, took the occasion of the Conference to step down from his very active role as Executive Secretary. Larry founded the Society in 1986 and provided it with an address, his own home at 3655 Darbyshire Drive, Hilliard, Ohio. He also dealt with all membership and financial matters. Moreover, he edited and compiled the newsletter, *Planning History Present*. He also, astonishingly, handled much of the administration of the biennial conference programme. We await with interest to see how many people SACRPH will need to replace him. (Three people fill these roles in IPHS.) Larry Gerckens now intends to devote his efforts to developing a university level course on American urban planning and development to be offered on the Internet. (He demonstrated a module of the course at the annual conference of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, held in Detroit the week after the Knoxville conference.) Larry Gerckens would appreciate letters of support for this effort from colleagues worldwide as it is intended to be made available on the World Wide Web.

Overall then, this Conference had everything that we have come to expect of SACRPH conferences. It was friendly, well organised, thought provoking and, above all, enjoyable. IPHS members can be assured that their sister organisation, and indeed American planning history, is in fine shape.



The visit to the Norris dam.

T. William Booth and William H. Wilson, Carl F. Gould: A Life in Architecture and the Arts, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995, 240pp., ISBN 0 295 97360 9, Cloth \$40.00.

This book examines the life of Carl F. Gould, a leading Seattle architect in the opening years of this century. The authors not only explore his impact on early twentieth century Seattle, but examine the whole of Gould's family life and professional activity. The volume is profusely illustrated with many photographs from Gould's own collection. (Kay Fanning, University of Virginia.)

Graeme Davison, Tony Dingle and Seamus O'Hanlon, (Eds.), The Cream Brick Frontier: Histories of Australian Suburbia, Monash Publications in History No. 19, Department of History, Monash University, 1995, ISBN 0 7326 0595 4, Paper \$A17.95.

This departmental monograph is a collection of papers from two conferences on Australian suburbia held in Melbourne in 1992. Several chapters relate to a major study of post-war Melbourne being undertaken by a group of Monash University historians. It includes papers on the Victorian Housing Commission and the planning of Melbourne in the 1940s and 1950s, the rise of the drive-in shopping centre and the work of project builders. Kenneth Jackson, Columbia University, contributes a keynote paper, entitled, 'From the Garden City to the Garden State'.

Jeannine Fiedler (ed.), Social Utopias of the Twenties: Bauhaus, Kibbutz and the Dream of the New Man, Wuppertal: Muller and Busmann, 1995, 192pp., ISBN 3 928766 18 X, Cloth DM49, \$39, £29.

This book has the loose structure typical of collections of conference papers, in this case products of two recent sessions, one in Germany and the other in Israel, held under the auspices of

the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation and the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation. The papers are consistently interesting and accessible, and have been written in, or well-translated into, English. The approaches are mixed, and it should be said that the papers tend to discuss either the German or the Palestinian experience. A good number of the essays are histories of the culture and theory of modern utopia, and the construction of the so-called 'New Man', be s/he a 'Bauhausler' re-shaping Weimar or a 'New Jew' (often a German emigrant) preparing Eretz-Israel. These papers dovetail quite well with others that confront planning history more squarely, dealing with the importation into Palestine of the principles of Howard and Geddes as well as the Bauhaus, and examining the planning of kibbutzim and worker housing. Such essays are supplemented by an appendix of some forty illustrations of Dessau and Palestine settlements of the twenties and thirties.

The result is a book that deserves to be consulted by historians of architecture and planning; culture, society and utopia; the Bauhaus; Zionism; Germany and Israel. With its fluorescent orange and tracing paper cover (aspects of neo-Bauhaus styling) the book is not easy to miss. (Simon Sadler, The Open University)

R. Antony French, Plans, Pragmatism and People: The Legacy of Soviet Planning for Today's Cities, London: UCL Press, 1995, ISBN 1 85728 415 1 Cloth £40.00, ISBN 1 85728 416 X Paper £14.95.

This book provides a survey of the planning and development of cities under Soviet power, and assesses the consequences of the period for the successor states. The book begins with an overview of the legacy from pre-revolutionary Russia, a legacy predominantly rural, but with significant and enduring urban elements. In the 1920s, there were fierce debates about the nature of the 'City of Socialist Man'. Little was built, but principles were established that underlaid town planning throughout the Soviet era. The harsh reality of Stalinism saw industry and

towns growing very rapidly, while the quality of life sank even lower. The post-Stalin era saw slow but steady improvement in the provision of services and housing, and in the standard of living. Yet, of the plans drawn up for every town, very little was achieved.

The book examines both what was done and the reasons behind the failure to do more. Such reasons included the nature of Soviet planning and control, the development of 'mechanical' problems, such as increased motor traffic, and the pragmatic decisions of individuals, both those in power and the ordinary people. The resultant series of problems—in housing, service provision, environmental conditions, crime rates and the quality of life—form the inheritance of the Newly Independent States. They will have to try find solutions for them.

Alastair Greig, The Stuff Dreams Are Made Of: Housing Provision in Australia 1945-1960, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995, ISBN 0 522 84621 1, paper \$A29.95.

This book provides an historical description of some of the most important influences on housing provision in Australia between 1945 and 1960. It explores the economic, social and aesthetic factors influencing the phenomenon of Australians aspiring to build and own their own 'dream homes', analysing attempts by industry and government to overcome the post-war housing crisis. The upsurge in modernist approaches to house design and planning draws on the work of the architectural critic, the late Robin Boyd. A reading of contemporary popular magazines, like *Australian House and Garden*, explores the relationship between modernism and the 1950s concept of 'modern living'.

PUBLICATIONS

Peter Harrison, *Walter Burley Griffin: Landscape Architect*, (Ed. Robert Freestone), Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1995, ISBN 0 642 10644 4, cloth \$A34.95, paper \$A24.95.

A 'professional biography' of Walter Burley Griffin, the American who in 1912 won the international design competition for Canberra, the new capital of Australia. This classic study which draws upon original Griffin material now in the custody of the National Library of Australia, is published posthumously. Peter Harrison (1918-1990) was a former chief town planner with the National Capital Development Commission and Research Fellow at the Australian National University. This book is a revised version of a 1970 masters thesis for the University of New South Wales. The qualities which Hugh Streeton saw in the thesis, "constantly interesting, intelligent, readable", are conserved in this revised version, edited, and with a new introduction, by Rob Freestone.

John Overall, *Canberra: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. A Personal Memoir*, Canberra: Federal Capital Press, 1995, ISBN 0 9593910 6 1, cloth \$A29.95.

From 1958 to 1972 Sir John Overall (born 1913) was the chief executive of the National Capital Development Commission (NCDC), the powerful agency established by the Menzies Government to plan, develop and construct the national capital, and archetypal Australian new town, of Canberra. Overall, who had been the Chief Commonwealth Architect, was said to be "an inspired choice—a leader and a strategist with a canny political brain". This book concentrates on the work of the NCDC, which was abolished in 1988 with the introduction of self-government in the Australian Capital Territory.

Mark Peel, *Good Times, Hard Times: The past and the future in Elizabeth*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995, ISBN 0 522 84628 9, paper \$A24.95.

'A local history with a difference', this important book tells the story of Elizabeth, the model industrial community north of Adelaide established, with high hopes, by the South Australian Housing Trust in the 1950s. Integrating social, political and planning history, the author shows how Elizabeth experienced "the most important changes of modern Australia: the hopes and failures of post-war planning and reconstruction; the flow of migrants and working people; the impact of economic downturns on these people's fortunes in the 1970s and 1980s; the growth and decay of manufacturing; and the changing attitudes of governments and other institutions to inequality and poverty".

Stefan Petrow, *Sanatorium of the South: Public Health and Politics in Hobart and Launceston 1875-1914*, Hobart: Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 1995, ISBN 0 909479 13 5, paper \$A20.

In the 19th century, boosters claimed that Tasmania was an island where the sick could gain new vitality and where a long and healthy life was assured. This image was projected not only to attract tourists and immigrants, but also to distance Tasmanian society from its past horrors of convict transportation and the destruction of the Aborigines. The image did not match the reality, with the two major cities of Hobart and Launceston facing major public health crises from the late 19th century. This study looks at both the nature of epidemics and the environmental, social and political contexts of public health and municipal reform.

Alison Ravetz with Richard Turkington, *The Place of Home: English Domestic Environments 1914-2000*, London: E & F.N. Spon, 1995, 243pp. ISBN 0 419 17980 1 Cloth n.p.

This book is neither a study in policy nor the contribution of housing to the social system, but a history of the home as it has evolved and been experienced since 1914. Using contemporary sources and the evidence of a wide range of disciplines the authors explore a wide variety of English homes and their users over the last nine decades. They look at the whole range of housing options available at any one time. They, therefore, look at institutional housing and the changing uses of houses surviving from earlier periods as well as houses, flats and maisonettes. The social range included covers the great majority of the population: from the very poor, homeless and institutionalized, to the generality of families and households in what would today be recognized as 'ordinary' suburban homes. Also reviewed are the technology of the home, the interiors and the gardens and external spaces. Ravetz and Turkington conclude by considering how far attitudes towards the home, the range of tasks performed in it, and users' contributions to its operation have changed over the course of this century. (Michael Harrison, University of Central England in Birmingham.)

Mark H. Rose, *Cities of Light and Heat: Domesticating Gas and Electricity in Urban America*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1995, ISBN 0 271 01349 4, Cloth \$34.50, £30.95.

This book reviews the growing acceptance of gas and electricity in American society. Focusing on Kansas City and Denver, it explores the impact of "agents of diffusion", including salespeople, educators and homebuilders. He argues that in

both cities the rise of gas and electricity during the late nineteenth century cannot be understood apart from the ebb and flow of franchise politics. (David T. Belto, University of Alabama.)

Robert Rotenberg, *Landscape and Power in Vienna*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, 385pp., ISBN 0 8018 4961 6, Cloth \$39.95.

This book argues that urban landscapes offer constructive links between past and present. It uses Vienna to show the confluence of major trends in the history both of politics and of gardening. The book examines nine types of gardens and offers illuminating observations about the ideological content of garden types. (Brian Ladd, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.)

Carl Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb and the Model Town of Pullman*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995, 395pp., ISBN 0 226 76416 8, Cloth \$35.00.

Carl Smith has provided a closely reasoned and insightful book on the problem of urban order. He focuses on responses to the Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Square Riot and the model town of Pullman to explain the long struggle of upper and middle class Chicagoans to control their burgeoning industrial city. His book reveals intriguing connections between sometimes sensationalist popular literature and elite concerns for the future of their city. (David R. Johnson, University of Texas at San Antonio.)

Hubert B. Stroud, *The Promise of Paradise: Recreational and Retirement Communities in the United States since 1950*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, 220pp., ISBN 0 8018 4926 8, Cloth \$35.00.

This book explores the recent developments in the vacation and retirement home industry in the United States. It concludes that such developments provide local employment and tax benefits but cause environmental damage, encourage fraud and fail to deliver basic urban services. Although the book fails to yield much in the manner of history, it does provide a fine bibliography that can be used for further study. (David McComb, Colorado State University.)

PUBLICATIONS

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Reproduction of Sir Patrick Abercrombie's

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The Regional Council has also completely reviewed the Strathclyde Structure Plan, and is publishing this to a comparably high standard. The reproduced Clyde Valley Plan comes as a boxed set, with the Strathclyde Structure Plan added free.

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It was produced by a team lead by Sir Patrick Abercrombie and provided the foundation for the post-war reconstruction and renewal of the Clydeside Conurbation.

However, it was not until 1975, following the reorganisation of Local Government in Scotland, that Strathclyde Regional Council was set up to fulfil the purpose that Sir Patrick Abercrombie had in mind.

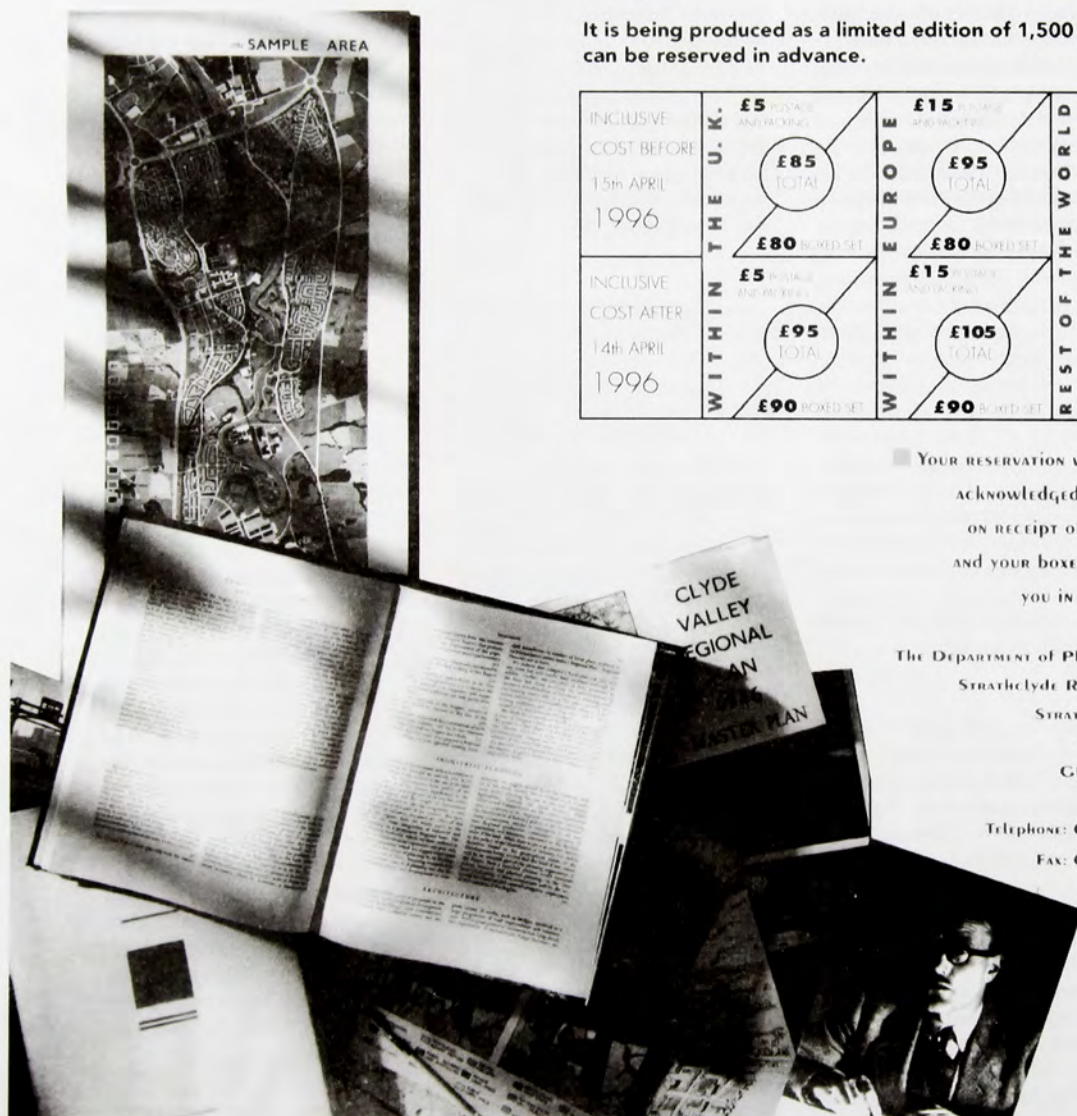
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PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

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, contributions (in English) are invited from members and 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 unfortunately cannot undertake translations.

The text for PH is prepared by using MacWrite II and the journal is designed in Pagemaker v.4.2. Contributions on disk compatible with this software are encouraged along with accompanying hard copy.

ARTICLES

These should be in the range of 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 should be supplied as Xerox copies for line drawings or as good quality black and white photographs where there are half tones. Articles should normally be referenced with superscript numbers and a full reference list at the end.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

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

NOTICES OF CURRENT EVENTS

These are 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. 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

Planning History has a circulation of approximately 400, reaching most of the world's active planning historians, mainly in academic institutions. Publishers in particular will find it a useful way of publicising new books. Advertisements can be carried either printed within the magazine or as inserts. Sufficient copies of inserts must be supplied in good time for despatch. Advertisements printed in the magazine must be supplied camera ready and respect normal deadline times. The usual charge is £50 for up to a single A4 sheet or page. Multiple page inserts will be accepted pro rata.

INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY (IPHS)

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- welcomes members from both academic disciplines and the professions of the built environment. Membership of the Society is both multi-disciplinary and practice orientated.
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- invites national organisations, whose work is relevant to IPHS, to affiliate status.
- administers its affairs through an elected Council and Management Board.

The Society was inaugurated in January 1993 as a successor body to the Planning History Society, founded in 1974. 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 American 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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