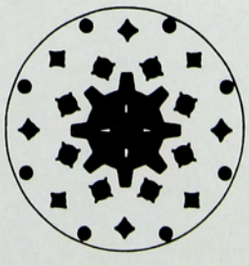
PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY



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Publishing Editor: Michael Hallett
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EDITORIAL

Members of the International Planning History Society will, no doubt, be aware of the death of Professor Gordon E. Cherry, the President of the Society, on 11 January 1996. Some of you will have read obituaries in the local and national press and in professional journals, like *Planning Week*. A large group of his friends and colleagues managed to attend the Thanksgiving Service for his life at the Parish Church of Hampton-in-Arden, where Gordon was a regular worshipper. (The Vicar's address is reprinted here along with other tributes.) While most of those attending the service expressed their sense of sadness and loss, the tone of the event was almost uplifting. Whilst Gordon's illness and death at a relatively young age came suddenly, he had had a full, rich and varied life and he was liked, respected and admired by those who came into contact with him.

I first came across Gordon Cherry at some of the early Planning History Group meetings. As a young post-graduate student I had read his early published works. It was a pleasure to find him such a friendly and encouraging character. He showed a real interest in my work, and later published a piece of mine in *Planning Perspectives*. After I moved to Birmingham he was even more supportive. In particular, he has encouraged me in my work on Bournville. He also persuaded me to become editor of *Planning History*, in succession to Stephen Ward. He had a wonderfully kind way of pushing people forward and encouraging them at the same time. I am already missing the advice and the brief notes that he frequently used to send me.

During this year, there will be a number of occasions at which Gordon Cherry's friends and colleagues will be able to pay tribute to his memory. It is envisaged that there will be a brief opportunity (especially for those from North America) to consider and mark Gordon Cherry's contribution to planning history at the Joint ACSP/AESOP Congress in Toronto in July. The International Planning History Conference, held between 31 October and 3 November in Thessaloniki, jointly hosted by the Hellenic Planning and Urban History Association and the International Planning History Society, will be an appropriate occasion to remember and celebrate the life and work of Gordon Cherry.

This issue of *Planning History* includes a number of personal and professional tributes to Gordon Cherry. They come from people who knew and worked with him over the years. They cast some light on the man and his work and they reflect the wide-ranging impact that he had, both here and overseas.

In addition to these memorial notices, *Planning History* contains its usual complement of notices, articles, research, reports and book notes. Although this issue is largely devoted to Britain, I trust that readers will appreciate the range of material covered. The articles are on markedly contrasting topics: public conveniences and public sculpture. Clara Greed reflects on the provision of public toilets. She reviews the technical background, legislative provision, the design and placement of these facilities, mainly drawing on local examples from the south-west of England. As in much of her work, she also addresses gender issues, noting the provision of fewer public lavatories for women in Britain. In marked contrast, George Noszlopy and Jeremy Beach look at the provision of public sculpture and review its meaning for,and assess its impact on, the built environment of Birmingham in the period from the late nineteenth century through to the late twentieth century. This article is a by-product of the Public Sculpture Research programme at the University of Central England.

Another valuable contribution to this issue is Toby Haggith's research paper on documentary films and the reconstruction programme in Britain at the end of the Second World War. He advocates a multi-faceted approach to the subject, which places the films in their historical context. He seeks to combine documentary research, oral history and film analysis. Besides looking at those who commissioned and made the films and the content of the films themselves, he seeks to explore the reactions to the films. In addition, he also provides us with an invaluable checklist of British films on planning in the period from the 1930s to the early 1950s. As another couple of items show, this period of British planning history is currently attracting a good deal of attention.

I conclude with another farewell. Jeremy Beach, who has provided me with invaluable and necessary technical assistance since I took over the editorship of *Planning History*, is taking up a post at the University of Northumbria. On my own behalf, and on behalf of the Society, I would like to thank him for his excellent efforts. Thankfully, two colleagues, Ruth Levy and Graham Langhorn, have kindly offered to assist me with the production of *Planning History*.

IN MEMORIAM

GORDON CHERRY 1931-1996

An Acknowledgement from Margaret Cherry

Over the last five weeks or so, my family and I have received over 350 letters and cards of sympathy for our very great loss. In our sorrow we tended to think of Gordon's death as leaving such a blank in just *our* lives, but we realise, through these letters and cards, that our loss is shared by so many others who knew him and held him in such esteem.

We, Gordon's family, knew and loved him for his gentlenes, kindness, integrity, generosity in all things, and especially in the giving of himself, and his great sense of humour. To realise that so many of his friends and colleagues also recognised these qualities in him is indeed a great comfort to us.

Shona, Shelagh, Iain and I are deeply greatful for those kind words of sympathy.

Margaret Cherry,
Hampton-in-Arden.

Address given at the Service of Thanksgiving for Gordon Cherry.

All of us have been very privileged to know Gordon Cherry. He was a very gifted man, and we have come here today, representing those who knew him in the many parts of a rich and active life.

He had a distinguished academic career. He began his career as a town planner, working in several city planning departments. Gradually Gordon's interest became focused on the history of town planning, and he began to research and to write about this subject.

Gordon was a gifted teacher, and an able administrator. In 1968 he became Senior Lecturer and deputy Director at the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies in the University of Birmingham. Gordon was elected to the chair of Urban and Regional Planning at Birmingham in 1976, served as Dean of the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science for five years, completing his academic career at Birmingham as Head of the School of Geography, before retiring in 1991.

Gordon was also a scholar of international repute. He published five major books about the history of planning, and a sixth which was incomplete when ill health struck is also going to be published.

He was a founder member and chairman of the Planning History Group, and later president of the International Planning History Society — an international forum which meets to analyse the historical origins of contemporary planning problems and policies.

Among a number of public honours Gordon received an honorary Doctorate from Heriot-Watt University. The City Planning History Institute of Japan awarded him their silver medal, the first ever such award made to a non Japanese scholar, and the Royal Town Planning Institute gave him their 'Outstanding Service Award'.

Whenever Gordon and Margaret travelled abroad in connection with Gordon's work, they would be welcomed and honoured because his contribution to his field was recognised throughout the world.

But Gordon was no narrow specialist. He was a man of wide vision and broad sympathies. Alongside his academic career was a lifetime of public service, much of it voluntary and unpaid.

At a national level he served the Royal Town Planning Institute in a succession of officers for over 30 years. For ten years he also served on a group which advised the Sports Council. For ten years he was a member of the Local Government Boundary Commission for England. And for a number of years, he served on the Landscape Advisory Committee of the Department of Transport.

His main voluntary contribution in Birmingham was his work as a trustee and later chairman of the Bournville Village Trust. He was the first chairman of the Trust

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who was not a member of the Cadbury family. To this task he brought an infectious enthusiasm and a vision of Bournville as being in the forefront of solving the problems of urban decay and housing need. His initial interest in Bournville may have been its place in the history of town planning, but his vision as chairman of the Trust had also to do with his commitment to social action and the environmental needs of ordinary people. So it comes as no surprise that Gordon and Margaret were also involved as local organiser for Christian Aid, and that Gordon was a director of Solihull Family Care Trust, and for many years served on the Birmingham Diocesan Board for Social Responsibility. These were all manifestations of his deep religious faith, and his care for those in need.

And what of the more private side of Gordon's life? — the side that we in Hampton were privileged to share. Well, at the heart of that was his love for Margaret and his family. He and Margaret met on the tennis court - well not quite the tennis court. They met on holiday when Margaret's friend said, in a not so sott-voce voice, "I hope someone in this hotel plays tennis?" Gordon, ever so gallant, obliged with a game, and, as Margaret put it, started a match that lasted for 38 years.

Gordon was devoted to his family, and he and Margaret created a loving and welcoming home for Shelagh, Shona and Ian: and later for Keith and Tim, and for their grandchildren Joshua, Jamie, Robert, Alistair and Kirsty. It was also a welcoming home for colleagues and friends. The day Pam and I moved into the Vicarage, Gordon and Margaret invited us for supper — "just come as you are — we know what it's like to move" was an invitation that would put anyone at their ease. We expected a simple meal in the kitchen - we were treated to a minor banquet with plenty of lively conversation. I suspect many people have enjoyed such warm hospitality at the Cherry home.

Going back to tennis; Gordon was natural tennis player and he was still playing just a few months ago. He was also something of a football fan: he kept an encouraging eye on Barnsley F.C. (his home town), and enjoyed long and lazy days down at the Warwickshire County ground with a former Vicar of this parish, whose Vicarage is conveniently situated nearby Expertise in town planning has its advantages!

But one cannot really understand Gordon without recognising the central part that his Christian faith had in his life. He was a deeply committed member of the Church, and that commitment was not only to the Church of England. At heart his commitment was to the whole Christian community, and his deep desire was for Christian unity. How appropriate it is that today should in fact be the start of the Week of Prayer for Christian unity. So it is not surprising that Gordon served on the Solihull Councilof Churches, or that he was involved in the Ecumenical work of the University Chaplaincy. Nor is it surprising that he was deeply interested in the dialogue between Christians and those of other faiths. The *Journal for the Council of Christians and Jews* often appeared through my letter box, and I know exactly who pushed it through. Gordon exercised a gentle ministry of education to his parish clergy! He was forever trying to encourage us all to think more widely about God's love, and our responsibilities in sharing that love.

Having said that, Gordon was also deeply committed to his own local Church. The Churchwarden staves, halfway down the nave, were his gift to the Church on completing his term of office as churchwarden. When I arrived he was responsible for the Church's stewardship scheme, and at the AGM he became Secretary to the Parochial Church Council (PCC). His contribution was enormous, and those of you who know about PCCs will realise the force of what I say, when I tell you that his greatest gift to us all was the breadth and clarity of his thinking. Gordon could do in four words what most of us failed to do in a page and a half, and he always did it with gentleness and good humour.

Last February he pushed a note through my letter box. It was a quotation from T.S. Eliot's 'Choruses' from <u>*The Rock*</u>

> The endless cycle of idea and action,
> Endless invention, endless experiment,
> Brings knowledge of motion, but not of stillness:
> Knowledge of speech, but not of silence:
> All our knowledge brings us nearer to death,
> But nearness to death no nearer to God.
> Where is the life we have lost in living?
> Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
> Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?
> The cycles of Heaven in twenty centuries
> Brings us farther from God and nearer to the Dust.

Gordon lived and died trusting in the Lord, whom he served so faithfully all his life. He was a wise, courageous, gifted and energetic man who touched many lives with his faith, with his love and friendship, with his common sense and his sense of fun, and with his gifts, his knowledge, and his skills. We have all been richly blessed, and there is much to be thankful for.

May he rest in peace and rise in Glory.

Amen

Rev'd John de Wit, Vicar of Hampton-in-Arden

IN MEMORIAM

An Australian Appreciation

In 1979 I was one of a couple of Antipodean delegates to the Royal Town Planning Institute Conference in Birmingham, Secretary-General David Fryer took me under his wing and introduced me to the then incoming President, Any qualms I may have had about English reserve were immediately dispelled. President Gordon Cherry made me feel at home and, before I knew it, he was drawing on his *Evolution of British Town planning* to encourage my then half-baked interest in planning history.

We met again in 1986. The World Planning Congress was held in Adelaide. Organised by the the Royal Australian Town Planning Institute, the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning and the East Asian Organisation of Regional Planning and Housing, it attracted hundreds of delegates from around the world, and had as one of its keynote speakers, Gordon Cherry. Some struck notes of gloom and pessimism. Not Gordon. Drawing on planning history, connecting Light's Adelaide plan to Howard's Garden Cities of Tomorrow and beyond, he inspired us all to understand how town planning was a profession of hope. Ray Bunker and I had just published *With Conscious Purpose* — a title which, Gordon opined, said it all. On a visit during the Congress to Charles Reade's 1918 garden suburb, Colonel Light Gardens, he suggested it was time for Australians to form a planning history network.

Gordon's encouragement led me to visit Oxford Polytechnic (now Oxford Brookes University) in 1987 as a visiting fellow, where I tested out my commitment to planning history by lectiuring to Stephen Ward's, Mike Breakell's and Paul Murrain's planning and urban design students on aspects of South Australia's frontier settlement and urban development. Of course, there was a side trip to Hampton-in Arden, during which my wife Nora and I got on famously with Gordon and Margaret.

At the Royal Australian Planning Institute Congress in 1988, I put out a notice suggesting that those interested in planning history should gather. I cannot say an Australian planning history group was formed, but, at least, the meeting established that there were kindred spirits around the nation. Later, one of these turned out to be Robert Freestone, and he and I attended the 1989 Bournville Conference; after which the Cherrys and the Hutchings again spent many happy hours in and about Hampton-inArden. One expedition to Hay-on-Wye, during which Gordon ignored (almost!) the blandishments of more booksellers than I knew existed, is memorable.

Gordon's interest in Australia did not wane, rather the opposite. He encouraged Rob and I to set out the state of the art of Australian planning history by way of a paper published in *Planning Perspectives* in 1993. Indeed, that year it could be said that Gordon's gentle suggestions, or, at times, more forthright urgings, to Australian academics and practitioners about the theoretical and practical importance of history to urban and regional planning, came to fruition. Saturday 13 March 1993 saw the re-election of the Keating Federal Labor Government. More to the point, it saw the holding of the First Australian Planning History Conference by what is now the School of Planning and Urban Development at the University of New South Wales. Organised by Rob Freestone, with Gordon as special guest, it was not only attended by those of us who formed that tiny band in Melbourne in 1988 but others who had subsequently taken up the challenge: Martin Auster, Jim Colman, Stephen Hamnett, Barrie Melotte, Patrick Troy, to name a few. Gordon, as President of the International Planning History Society, joint editor of *Planning Perspectives* and our mentor, had, *inter alia*, this to say in the preface to the Conference's proceedings:

> Planning history, in offering a power of explanation, opens up a rich field of inquiry: why certain things happened in the way they did and when they did; if they did, had they the consequences intended; and if they did not, what new problems unfolded and how were they tackled? In other words, planning history takes us to the heart of our professional and academic subject — planning as a process, with all the quirks of the unexpected en route

It has never been better put.

This has been something of a personal "in memoriam" to Gordon. But I know I speak for all of those many Australians who have been stimulated by Gordon's intellectual vision and have enjoyed his friendship and unreserved generosity, both during their visits to the United Kingdom and when he was in Australia.

A great man, he will be missed. Our heartfelt sympathy goes out to Margarett, their children and families.

Alan Hutchings, Environment Resources and Development Court, South Australia.

The Bournville Connection

Gordon Cherry was, at the time of his death, the Chairman of the Trustees of the Bournville Village Trust, one of the foremost and most respected housing organisations in the country dating back to 1900. He died on 11 January 1996, following a sudden illness.

He was Professor of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Birmingham and President of the Royal Town Planning Institute when, in February 1979, he was appointed to succeed H.J. Gittoes as the University's nomination to be a Trustee of the

Bournville Village Trust.

Over the next eleven years, Gordon Cherry combined his duties as a Trustee with an increasinglyimportant portfolio of responsibilities at the University, becoming Dean of the Faculty of Commerce and Social Sciences and then Head of the School of Geography. He held a number of important posts outside the University, serving on the Local Government Boundary Commission and the Advisory Committee on the landscape treatment of trunk roads. In 1984 he received an Honorary Doctorate from Heriot-Watt University for his outstanding contribution to twentieth century planning and to planning history. Further honours followed in 1995 when the Royal Town Planning Institute presented him with an outstanding achievement award. He published a number of books on planning (the latest, one on Birmingham, was published in 1994), all of which were highly regarded by the profession.

From the outset of his appointment as a Trustee, Gordon Cherry was keen to see the Bournville Village Trust re-establish itself as a key and innovative player, helping to solve some of this country's problems of poor housing and urban decay. During this time he instigated a wide range of new initiatives at the Trust. One looked at helping to improve the quality of life for inner city owner-occupiers. Another was the 'Runnymede Report', an investigation into the lettings policies of housing associations as they affected ethnic minorities. He was also interested in the problems of the urban fringe, but a particular issue for him was the feasibility of building a second Bournville.

In 1992 he was appointed Chairman of the Trustees, succeeding Veronica Wootten, grand-daughter of the Trust's founder, George Cadbury. It was under his leadership and inspiration that the Trust became actively involved in the regeneration of Birmingham Heartlands, taking on responsibility for building the Village Centre in Bordesley, with its associated shops, houses and community centre.

He was particularly concerned with the preservation of the Bournville Estate as a living example of how the Garden City tradition had survived, and was interested in ensuring that Bournville remained a prime example of the British suburban landscape. It was fitting, therefore, that at the very last meeting he attended on 18 December 1995, he heard proposals for a five year programme of renewal of the landscape on the Bournville Estate. The series of celebrations held throughout 1995, marking the hundredth anniversary of the building of the first houses in Bournville in 1895, as a precursor to the Trust's own Centenary in the year 2000, was very much his inspiration, and one for which he will long be remembered, both by the Trust and throughout Birmingham.

As Chairman, Gordon Cherry was always very committed to the concept of the communities within the Estate at Bournville being able to share in the making of decisions affecting both their lives and their environment. He always gave tremendous support to all the staff of the Trust and inspired them with his own enthusiasm and drive, and they will remember him with affection.The sudden onset of his illness last autumn came as an an unexpected shock to everyone, but his resilience and determination to try and beat it was typical of his spirit, and an example to all those who knew him. His subsequent death in the New Year was, therefore, all the more saddening to all those who had known and worked with him.

He will be greatly missed.

James Wilson and Philip Henslowe, Bournville Village Trust.

A Message from Greece

Commemorating Gordon Cherry is not an easy matter for those who had limited contact with him, like scholars from overseas. Those in Greece who knew him, namely Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis, Alexandra Yerolympos and I, were deeply sorry to hear of his death; yet we are not sure we can properly put this into words. I met Gordon Cherry at the Bournville Conference and his unassuming and encouraging attitude to new members who approached him played a decisive role in my subsequent decision to be involved with the Planning History Group. Working with him (and H. Jordan) on an article on T.H. Mawson was a particularly happy experince. Gordon Cherry, who had overall responsibility, would regularly send fine letters and notes (that I still keep) on the process and context of the work. I realise how valuable his unauthoritarian attitude, his perception and knowledge were for the progress of the research. He was utterly human, yet he maintained an iron-strong commitment to the academic standards that he set. The last time I saw Gordon Cherry and his wife was at their place last June. I particularly remember it because he looked so in harmony with the balanced environment in which he chose to live.

This note does not refer to his professional activities: we all loved Gordon for his warm personality, and that is why his death is a loss to us. In such a short space we can say little about the man, we intend to pay proper homage to Gordon Cherry at the International Planning History Conference in Thessaloniki this October.

Kiki Kafkoula, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

A Tribute from Hertfordshire

I feel sure that I am among many who will mourn the death of Gordon Cherry. The loss is sad both on a personal and a professional basis.

I, and many who were privileged to study under him at CURS at Birmingham University, will long remember his wise and kindly guidance. If he was critical, he always managed it in a friendly and unobtrusive way., and he was constantly encouraging his students to attain meticulous standards of research, always directed towards the larger context, rather than detail for its own sake. He made light of obstacles which he felt were unimportant—in my case he managed to convince the authorities that I could undertake a part-time Ph.D., while holding down a full-time job over one hundred miles away. Indeed, his recruitment of me was typical of the man. Having attended a few Planning History Society conferences at which we had become acquainted, he came up to me at Edinburgh way back in 1979 and, out of the blue, said, "Why don't you come to Birmingham and do a Ph.D. with us?" The procedure from then on seemed to be as simple and straightforward as his initial, and generous, invitation.

Graduation did not mark the end of involvement with Gordon. Over many years I looked forward to meeting him at conferences held in Britain, the United States and the Far East, where, often accompanied by his wife, Margaret, he would always be good company. I felt, as did many of my colleagues, that we were part of an extended family, and the loss of its head so suddenly and so tragically will create a void which will be very difficult to fill. The profession, through the Royal Town Planning Institute,had already given its outstanding service award to Gordon last year at a reception, at which I was pleased to be present. I feel sure that the International Planning History Society will, in addition to the customary tributes, look towards naming a suitable event in honour and memory of the man who did so much to initiate and develop planning history. Regretably, I was unable to be present at the service held locally for him. I hope that there will be an opportunity both to commemorate Gordon and his work, and to look to the future to continue and develop his life's work.

Mervyn Miller, Baldock, Hertfordshire

'A Planning Perspective'

It was in 1974, at the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of Birmingham, that Gordon Cherry brought together some forty people interested in the history of town planning. Part of the day was spent in the capacious cellars under the CURS building of those days,. Gordon's ecumenical approach ahd led him to invite people from a wide range of professional backgrounds, and various breeds of historians mingled with planners, architects, geographers and social scientists. All this reflected Gordon's book, *Town Planning in its Social Context*, published in 1970, which had approached a number of British planning issues as social history. He often used to tell me how much he liked history, bringing it into much of his work in other fields. His concept of planning history developed between his arrival at the University of Birmingham as Deputy Director of CURS in 1968, through his leading role in setting up the Planning History Group after the Birmingham meeting in 1974, the two international conferences of 1977 and 1980 which set up planning history on a world basis, and a brilliant series of books, written mostly in evevnings and at weekends. These included *Urban Change and Planning* (1974), *The Evolution of British Town Planning* (1974), *The Politics of Town Planning* (1982), *Holford: A Study in Planning, Architecture and Civil Design* (with Leith Penny)(1986). Finally, apart from two posthumous volumes still to appear, he wrote a book on his adoptive Midland city, *Birmingham: A Study in Geography, History and Planning* (1994).

In these writings, and in the journal, *Planning Perspectives*, which we jointly edited from 1986, Gordon brought together a number of dimensions—history, geography, politics, management, social policy, international links—which built up the world and time perspectives which urban planning has always sought. The monograph series, published by E. and F.N. Spon since 1981, has also sought breadth and variety along these lines. Gordon's developing role as a world ambassador for planning history extended these writings, and culminated in the establishment of the International Planning History Society in 1993. The history of planning certainly existed before 1974, and the Birmingham meeting of that year had before it a long bibliography which stressed the pioneer achievements of Lavedan, Ashworth, Benevolo, Reps and many more. Gordon was the first to seek continuity and to honour related achievements. His combination of reliabilty, friendliness, generosity and warmth has made planning history what it is now, a world-wide community of friends, scholars and practitioners.

It will be clear by now, and from all the other tributes, that Gordon Cherry was a busy man and lately our longest conversations were on the express trains from Coventry to Oxford, which we caught to attend the editorial meetings for our monograph series. These were valued occasions, and recently we had begun to reminisce about the early days of CURS at Birmingham, when we were on the same campus but had scarcely met. This pleasant nostalgia reflected one happy fact, that throughout more than twenty years of close co-operation we had never had a disagreement. The creation and maintenance of this productive harmony was almost entirely due to Gordon's warm and generous qualities. It was a privilege and a pleasure to work with Gordon Cherry. When, in the early years of

IN MEMORIAM

Planning Perspectives, our main editorial discussions took place on the telephone around nine o'clock in the evening, that seemed to be exactly the right time to have them. When you worked with Gordon, it was always the right time. Like many others, I shall always remember what Gordon gave me in terms of inspiration, new links—in other words, new perspectives and a special example. With Gordon, you know that the combination of gentleman, scholar, expert, entrepreneur and friend was possible in real life. I hope that memory never fades.
Anthony Sutcliffe, University of Leicester.

A Letter from America
Although we encountered each other just twice, once on each side of the Atlantic, I hold a firm sense of the late Gordon E. Cherry. Most of all, I think of him as an energetic, effective and tactful international organiser among planning historians, whose reach knew few geographic bounds.

Extracting my 'Gordon E. Cherry' file from its place among my most active folders as I prepared to compose these words, its thickness took me by surprise. For me, his hallmark was that he remained in regular contact. Moreover, he did it in the old-fashioned way, using Royal Mail rather than cyberspace or fax machines. Virtually all our correspondence had to do with the advancement of the esteemed *Planning Perspectives* or the International Planning History Society, whose birth he did much to foster. Most often, the missives I rececived were brief, handwritten and focused upon just one or two points. Usually, they provided this recipient with some explicit, if gently phrased, directions. For example:

> Dear Michael,
> As a member of the interim board [of I.P.H.S.] you should have a set of new ... brochures. They are to use as you wish. Do distribute them in appropriate circles.The cards should be folded, but they travel better flat.
> Thank you for your letter of 26 January; your Association's affiliation is lovely news.
> 8 February 1993.

Whoever delivered the daily post to ''Quaker Ridge' in Hampton-in-Arden surely recognised Gordon Cherry's links throughout the world.
Michael H Ebner, Executive Secretary-Treasurer, The Urban History Association, U.S.A.

A Message from Oxford
Like all readers of *Planning History* I was sorry to hear of the death of Gordon Cherry. Possibly I can share two memories, separated by some twenty years, during which Gordon was at his most productive, and focused on planning history.

As an academic novice, returned from the USA, I joined the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies of the University of Birmingham at Selly Wick House (a short walk from Bournville). Gordon was another recent arrival, offering solid practice experience to a younger research audience. Gordon pitched into the endless research debates, publication programme and grant getting, but knew when to stop. (I am still amazed that we managed to play lunchtime cricket on the House lawn.) Gordon also sobered us with the balanced view — his recent experience in a press-ravaged Tyneside was never hidden or negated.

Moving on twenty years, my last memory of Gordon is in his conduct of a Ph.D. examination at the Joint Centre for Urban Design at Oxford Brookes University. The candidate, a very nervous but very capable Egyptian, was put at ease by a senior academic who had never forgotten the human emotions of such an encounter. Gordon was most complimentary in his closing remarks, and provided a positive memory of of the advanced degree race of the 1990s.

Gordon's personal qualities provide a model which those remaining in academe could do well to reflect on.
Brian Goodey, Oxford Brookes University.

A German Dedication
I heard from Thomas Hall about Gordon Cherry's sudden death. It was a particular shock to me, because, on the day that Gordon died in January, I had written to him asking for some information on the M.A.R.S. Plan for London.

The reason for this was the fact that I am just about to finish a book (with Juan Rodriguez-Lores) on *The Linear City: the long suppressed alternative to the Garden City*. It will be mainly a documentation of those linear plans in Europe and the U.S.A. which gave rise to fierce debates within the planning profession. The book will have a historical perspective, starting with some early American railway projects in the 1850s, following up Soria's Cuidad Lineal in Spain, France and Belgium, looking into the 1898 German concept of the 'industrial corridor' and its progeny, including the two famous plans by M.A.R.S. for London and Scharoun and Friedrichs for Berlin in 1946, and finishing with the debates on linear planning on an urban and regional scale around 1970.

The book will be published as Volume 19 in our series on 'Town Planning History' in Autumn 1996. We will dedicate it to the memory of Gordon Cherry.
Gerhard Fehl, Lehrstuhl fur Planungstheorie der R.W.T.H., Aachen.

A Note from Norway
Reading *Urban Change and Planning (1972)* in the 1970s was an eye-opener for me. It was a time when students were beginning to challenge the way their courses were taught, when the profession was in the process of losing its credibility and when people became more critical of the results of its practice. The book helped us to develop an awareness of urban change in a broad historical perspective. At the same time, it encouraged new interpretations and pointed the way forward in urban studies. It promoted interest in, and created a new optimism for, planning as a discipline and as a profession.

A brief search made us aware of Professor Cherry's earlier publication, *Social Research Techniques for Planners* (1970). He required high intellectual standards of those devoted to planning matters. This book meant a lot to my Scandinavian colleagues and myself in our shy attempts to carry on research in urban planning. His later works also have a lasting place on the lists of recommended reading for planning courses in Scandinavia.

Besides his seminal publications, Gordon Cherry devoted himself to gathering together people with similar academic pursuits into a community of scholars. 'His' community has been growing in numbers and in academic confidence for some years now. Professor Cherry's generous attitude to other people and cultures, to colleagues in other parts of the world, has led this community to to expand internationally. This was, in part, because of a series of international conferences on the history of planning, the first of which was held, at his initiative, in London in 1977. The conferences have been an important forum for academic debate and have provided an opportunity to develop scholarly networks. They have also resulted in valuable publications.

We are also indebted to Professor Cherry and his partner, Professor Anthony Sutcliffe, for the series, 'Studies in History, Planning and the Environment'. A Scandinavian contribution was made to this series in 1991, entitled, *Urban Growth in the Nordic Countries*. This is a historical survey of urban planning in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, with particular emphasis on the period since the middle of the nineteenth century. This book not only introduced and explained Nordic developments, it also helped to place them in a wider context. It encouraged the development of a new awareness and insights for those in planning research and education in Scandinavian countries.

While Professor Cherry's publications are widely known and admired, I would like to draw attention to his keynote speech at the Tokyo International Symposium in 1988. In this speech he reflected on the past, present and future of metropolitan planning. After reviewing the late nineteenth century experience of Britain, France, Germany and the United States, he concluded that there was no single point of origin for the new activity or academic discipline of planning. Cherry also suggested that there was no single planning system that could be transplanted across the world. Even if there were many planning forms, cross-fertilised by international exchange, the most appropriate in each single case should be the one expressing the community values of the host nation.

Professor Cherry acknowledged the need for planning to accommodate itself to varying situations. He also recognised the inner tensions in planning — the need for planning to be both idealistic and pragmatic.

In turning his attention to the future, Gordon Cherry addressed the changing form of cities and the measures to be devised in response to these changes:

> We shall never know enough about the urban system we plan for, hence a research capacity in our governmental institutions is imperative. For the immediate future, we have probably learned to distrust both technology and all-wise bureaucracies, and instead put faith in providing opportunities for community expression. The good city is likely to come from a greater understanding of the social sciences, not the disciplines of the built environment. This is not meant to shock the architect and the engineer, but simply to serve as reminder that our great weaknesses lie not in design, structures and technologies, but in a failure to understand human values, how social organisations work and how policy is first formulated and then executed in administrative systems.

We are all grateful to Professor Gordon Cherry for his wisdom, scholarship and human warmth. GRATIAS TIBI AGIMUS!
Halina Dunin-Woyseth, The Oslo School of Architecture.

Gordon Cherry : Seen from South Africa
As I write this tribute to Gordon Cherry, my desk is cluttered with the many letters and notes that I have received from him over the years. Most are in that distinctive free-flowing hand that seemed to provide an additional element of elan to his characteristic turns of phrase, and virtually all reveal facets of his personality. For Gordon was above all a writer and, while admirably articulate, his written word was arguably more telling than the spoken. While we met frequently in such far-flung places as Hong Kong, Ireland, the United States and South Africa, it was, by and large, the flow of letters that fuelled a friendship across a divide of some 6000 miles.

He said in one of his letters

that he was firm believer in lighting forest fires and seeing what happened. This letter was one of encouragement; a note in support of our efforts to bring the Planning History Study Group in South Africa into being. I believe he was gratified by our endeavours. In October 1994, he sent a presidential message to the third symposium of the PHSG:

> Two years have now elapsed since the inaugural symposium in Johannesburg, at which I had the honour to officiate. It was a forest fire well lit, and the flames of academic and professional enterprise continue to lick around the torch of planning history.

That the fire spread to the southern edge of Africa is, in large measure, atributable to his influence and interest.

Gordon came to South Africa in 1992 as a Visiting Professor in the Department of Town and Regional Planning at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. His presence wakened the dormant spirit of planning history in the Republic and a pioneering group of potential planning historians gathered around him at a workshop at the University in August. Contributions to that workshop appeared in *Planning History* 15(2) of 1993, which, at the suggestion of Gordon, was dedicated to South African planning history. The publication of the deition was followed by a letter: "I hope *PH* 15(2) will serve as a spur don't dampen the enthusiasm, John," he wrote, "let it express itself." That spirit of enthusiasm was indeed expressed in two further symposia and some 55 papers of diverse historical content in a two year period. He wrote that it continued to give him pleasure that so much had grown from the first small acorn, and said of the proceedings of the 1994 symposium, "The papers are a mixed bag, but no matter." This was not a rebuke but a gentle reminder that rigorous standards of scholarship are elemental in historical studies.

Gordon Cherry will thus be remembered in South Africa not only for his passion for, and promotion of, the historical foundations of the planning discipline, but equally for his sympathetic interest in, and generous encouragement of those seeking an involvement in, the planning history movement. He will be remembered too for the openness of his friendship, and of his home, 'Quaker Ridge' in the cherished Hampton-in-Arden, upon which colleagues from the African continent descended from time to time.

At a personal level, my memories of the man and his broad spread of interests are stirred by the letters lying in front of me. These refer not only to his labours of love: the IPHS, the Birmingham book ("grinding somewhat but sparks shower occasionally"), his last work on the rise and fall of the planning ideal ("I am rather enjoying putting it together") and the Bournville Village Trust, but also to such diverse and diverting matters as Sibelius in the Finlandia Hall, Oliver Tambo and the ANC, the Ashes ("I remain convinced that the Australian team is not exceptional mind you, English cricket is brittle"), Warsaw, the Vistula and Polish planning, sun tanning in Sicily, the RTPI outstanding service award ("it sounds a bit like a medal for gallantry") and the work of William Holford.

Beyond correspondence, I recall, on Gordon's insistence and with the connivance of Ilan Troen, sweating my way up Hong Kong's Victoria Peak, accompanying him on a walk-about through Richmond's historical precinct, wandering through Hampton-in-Arden (in the rain) after one of Margaret's splendid meals and, most recently, spending time together at the Belfast IFHP congress in September last year. This was the last occasion that Janet and I enjoyed the combined companionship of Margaret and Gordon, and we have particular memories of taking time off from the congress proceedings to drive around the Irish Sea coastline, looking eastward to the Isle of Man, consuming Guinness in Bangor and tea and scones in Downpatrick and losing our way in Belfast's one-way street system (under Gordon's navigational guidance!).

Those who knew him might recognise in all this some of the ingredients that made up the personality and psyche of Gordon Cherry: a zest for life and the drive to make things happen to enrich that life; a sense of fun that gave additional dimensions to both the unusual and the conventional; a consciousness of the responsibilities that attach to serious scholarly endeavour; a natural tendency to offer support to friends and colleagues and, possibly above all, to marshall these attributes in pusuit of the advancement of the cause of planning history. This is manifest in a paragraph penned eighteen months ago:

> Over the past quarter of a century a corpus of knowledge has been built up in such a way that planning history has become arguably the most important, certainly the most consistent and sustained, contribution to the academic discipline and professional activity of town planning.

He went on to say that the "recent flowering of planning history in South Africa does much to endorse that judgement".

In response to a suggestion that he return to enjoy the fruits of that flowering, he said, "South Africa 1996? It would be lovely. I'm not sure how we could make it work, but let's try!" It was not to be. We are left the poorer for his passing, but richer for his willing involvement in our aspirations and efforts.

John Muller, University of Witwatersrand.4

Gordon Cherry: A life in planning history

I first met Gordon Cherry in the Autumn of 1970, when I was one of his post graduate students in the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of Birmingham. Over the next twenty five years I began to work closely with him and got to know him very well. In the piece which follows I try to share with readers something of the person I knew. It is not easy to summarise an association over such a long period. I have tried to give readers a sense of the man as I knew him, largely in the context of his planning history work. In fact, there were aspects of his life that I knew little about. His faith, for example, was extremely important to him, but it was something we barely ever spoke about. Though his own beliefs were deeply held, he would never dream of trying to convert his associates. He always took people as he found them, and invariably found the best in them.

When I first met him, Gordon had been in Birmingham, and academic life, for only a few years. Before that, he had worked as a local authority planner in several towns and cities in the north of England. He came originally from the coal mining town of Barnsley, not far from my own birthplace and pre-University home in another mining district a little further north. Unlike me, however, Gordon had returned to Yorkshire to work as a professional town planner after gaining a Geography degree at Queen Mary College, University of London. By part time study, he qualified both as a town planner and a chartered surveyor.

I have never managed to piece together all the details of his early career. I know though that one of the authorities he worked for was the industrial city of Sheffield. His `patch' as a planner there included the redevelopment area where the vast Park Hill council flats were developed from the late 1950s. British readers, and perhaps some from other countries, will know Park Hill one of the most heroic examples of comprehensive redevelopment anywhere in the world, uncompromisingly modernist in conception. The approach they represented is now discredited but, to a young planner at that time, they were nothing short of a revelation of what a truly visionary approach to remaking the city through planning could achieve.

During the 1960s, immediately before he moved into academic life, Gordon worked for the new city planning department in Newcastle upon Tyne. The department owed its origins to the most extraordinary city leader of 1960s' Britain, T. Dan Smith. A man of vision, immense personal charm and charisma, Smith saw that if Newcastle, the regional capital of a declining coal mining region, was to make anything of itself in the fast-changing 'sixties, it had to modernize its image. He saw planning as one of the principal ways of achieving this and, accordingly, created something quite new in British cities at that time, a city planning department. (Hitherto, most planners in the cities had been subordinate to the city engineer or architect). After scouring the country in a small aeroplane looking for a suitable chief planner (a typical piece of Smith showmanship), Smith appointed Wilf Burns who, in turn, recruited an impressive array of talents. Amongst them was Gordon, who became Research Officer.

At Newcastle, Gordon was at the cutting edge of planning thought and practice. Rather than being limited by the somewhat tedious and rigid statutory planning process of the 1947 Act system, Smith and Burns adopted an altogether more imaginative approach, underpinned by the huge public funding that was available in the 1960s. With other innovators, they were effectively inventing a new planning process, one in which on-going research was to become much more critical. Gordon clearly found it a very stimulating environment, like nowhere else he had worked before. In so far as he ever trusted politicians, Gordon was charmed by Smith and admired his vision and genuine commitment to planning. When Smith was subsequently jailed for corruption, it was typical of Gordon to take the trouble to visit him in prison. More important though was the influence of his immediate boss, Wilf Burns. Under Burns, Gordon enjoyed the corporate cohesiveness, intellectual challenge and sense of purpose of his Newcastle years. And it was Burns, more than anyone else, who encouraged Gordon to explore his interest in planning thought and history and, still more importantly, to write about it.

It was as Gordon was already beginning to make this personal transition from practitioner to thinker and writer that the opportunity to move into academic life came his way. The agent of the shift was Barry Cullingworth who had recently set up the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies and was looking for a Deputy. During a conference at Cambridge, the two of them strolling along 'The Backs', talking, Barry offered Gordon the job. From Newcastle's City Hall, Gordon moved to Selly Wick House, a large white house in a sylvan suburb of Birmingham, about three quarters of a mile from the main University campus. Although most of the grounds of the house had been taken for some piece of University residential development, something of its former grandeur survived in the lawns over which Gordon's office looked. An old croquet set had been left in the cellar to complete the Fabian summer school atmosphere. Soon every corner of the house was

full of researchers contemplating Britain's urban problems.

It was at this point that I first met him. He taught us about the history and current practice of planning, drawing from his first book, *Town Planning in its Social Context*, published in 1970, and the work he was then writing, *Urban Change and Planning*, which appeared in 1972. He also taught us about recreation planning, a subject which developed from his own considerable interest in sports, both as participant — he was a very keen tennis player — and spectator, especially of football. I must confess to being rather unmoved by this second area of his interests, but the history of planning certainly fascinated me. (I had already studied under Tony Sutcliffe as an undergraduate, so I was coming in with some knowledge, though not as much as I thought). When the time came to choose a dissertation topic, I opted for a historical subject. My first choice was to examine green belt policies, never Gordon's favourite aspect of planning, then or subsequently. He steered me away to a more empirical study of Birmingham, encompassing the Cadburys, Nettlefold, Manzoni and the other key figures in the city's planned development.

I must have made a reasonable job of this, because it led to the next stage of our association, when I became his research assistant. I should mention that Gordon by this time had many outside involvements in the world of planning and public policy. One of his most enduring connections was that then developing with the Royal Town Planning Institute. At some point Gordon, recognising that in 1974 the RTPI would be sixty years old, had realised that it would be appropriate to mark this with a history. The RTPI itself was not able to fund the research necessary to complete the work, but Gordon was able to get the money to pay for a research assistant from Paul Cadbury, the member of the famous family who had done most to perpetuate its planning tradition.

I worked directly for Gordon for 18 months, myself based in London, at Portland Place, he in Birmingham. We met regularly in both locations, however, as the work progressed. Gordon was at the same time working on the Cabinet Office official history of planning with Barry Cullingworth, something which frequently brought him to London. I enjoyed working for Gordon and shared his fascination for the topic on which we were both working. He knew when to let me get on with things and when to give direction, something he always did with tact and good sense. During this period I began to get to know him much better. Most of the time we talked about the subject, but, occasionally, he was more revealing about other dimensions of his work.

I know, for example, that he was bitterly disappointed at not succeeding Barry Cullingworth as Director of CURS in 1973. Despite a long spell as Acting Director, he was told that someone with more of a housing focus was required. Yet, when the chosen candidate decided that Birmingham was not to her taste, the University hierarchy headhunted one of Gordon's former colleagues from his Newcastle days, another recreation planner, Tony Travis. Gordon never had any personal resentment of the new Director, but he learned a painful lesson about University politics. I recall especially the unfavourable comparisons he made between the secretive, rather cynical C. P. Snow-type of atmosphere he perceived at Birmingham and the sense of collective purpose he had felt at Newcastle. For a time, he considered whether to move on, perhaps back to professional practice. Fortunately for us though, he never acted on this.

The reality was that he was probably better off without full managerial responsibility at a time when funding was gradually diminishing. Instead, he was able to devote more of his energies to his outside professional interests and, most importantly, to what had now become his central scholarly interest, planning history. The RTPI history, *The Evolution of British Town Planning*, was published in 1974 and his volume of the Cabinet Office history, on National Parks, appeared in 1975. Still more important was his 1974 initiative, with Tony Sutcliffe, to create the Planning History Group. Gordon and CURS hosted several of the early meetings and the precursor of *Planning History* was for many years produced at Birmingham, usually by Gordon's current secretary. (Not the least of his skills was his ability to get the best out of secretaries, reflecting many of the same gentle management skills that I had experienced as his research assistant).

By this time I was myself firmly embarked on an academic career, thanks in no small measure to Gordon's generous recommendation. In 1977 I renewed my close association with Gordon by becoming one of his part-time doctoral students. For the next five years I saw him on a fairly regular basis and our relationship grew. It was still mainly one of mentor/student but there was also by this time a degree of genuine friendship and affection which increased over the years. I recall him bringing out the University sherry to celebrate the birth of my elder daughter in 1982, for example, during one of our extended tutorials.

Gordon's career meanwhile was advancing on all fronts during the later 1970s and 1980s. Thanks to Paul Cadbury, he secured a personal chair at Birmingham. His service to the RTPI was recognized when he became its president in the late 1970s. Gordon and Tony's efforts together built the Planning History Group into a respected international organization. Gradually Gordon, encouraged I think by Tony, widened his interests from the British scene and began to research, write and speak about the development of planning elsewhere. Within the University he also secured more of the managerial responsibility he had wanted. He became a very successful Dean of the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science in the early 1980s.

Despite these onerous managerial duties, the flow of articles and books continued. More of them were at this stage edited works as he brought together the works of other scholars he met through the Planning History Group. He also launched with Tony Sutcliffe and Ann Rudkin the book series 'Studies in History, Planning and the Environment', published originally by Mansell, later by Spon. He also wrote an important study of *The Politics of Town Planning*, largely viewed through the eyes of the historian, in 1982. His biography, *Holford* (co-authored with Leith Penny, another of his doctoral students) was published in 1986 and his textbook, *Cities and Plans* in 1988. It was during this same period, in 1986, that he launched, again with Tony Sutcliffe, the journal *Planning Perspectives*, a refereed journal for the work of planning historians.

My own contact with Gordon continued when I succeeded Tony Sutcliffe as Meetings Secretary for the Planning History Group in 1983. Apart from a few British-based seminars, these years were something of an anti-climax after Tony Sutcliffe's two major international conference in 1977 and 1980. In the absence of the traditional sources of guarantee funding from research councils in the 1970s, there was a danger of losing some of the international momentum. It was certainly Gordon who played an important role in encouraging the Japanese interest in planning history which reasserted these overseas links. After a fallow period, the third international conference, in Tokyo, followed in 1988. The following year Gordon and I again worked worked closely together to organize the international Garden City Conference at Bournville in Birmingham.

Gordon played a crucial role in securing the supporting finance from the Bournville Village and other Trusts, and the City of Birmingham. By this time, Gordon was very heavily involved in Bournville as a Trustee. But the Birmingham money was achieved by his inviting the city's Chief Executive, a Birmingham University alumnus, to dinner at his home. He also helped sketch out the general shape of the programme, on a paper plate during a working lunch at the University of Birmingham Staff House, as I recall. Though far from being a great financial success, the conference was judged successful in other ways and it proved the first step in building closer links with the United States planning historians, who had meanwhile set up their own organization, SACRPH, in 1986. The 1989 Bournville conference allowed Gordon to gain American agreement to combine the fifth conference with the SACRPH conference in Richmond, Virginia, in 1991.

The Richmond Conference was a huge success and laid the basis for the creation of the International Planning History Society, in which the special relationship with SACRPH and the US-based Urban History Association was recognized. I can also recall one fascinating session at Richmond where Gordon was interviewed by Larry Gerckens about his career and work in planning history. Gordon, in fact, had stepped in at the last minute. The original intention had been to interview Carl Feiss, who was unfortunately ill. But circumstances allowed the interview to take place and a tape was made, something which has now, prematurely, and very sadly, become a valuable historical source. Some of the information in this piece is based on my recollections of that interview.

By this time Gordon had become a much more central figure in the University, reliable and well respected in its hierarchy. It made an interesting contrast with his very temporary disenchantment in the 1970s. A few years earlier he had become Head of the Department of Geography at the University of Birmingham. For me it was particularly strange visiting him there, since I had been an undergraduate student of Geography (and History) many years earlier. The odd thing was that, roughly two decades on, the Department looked exactly the same. I was astonished to see that lecturers who, in the somewhat imperfect perception of a 20 year old, had seemed to be on the verge of retirement (though were probably only in their late 'thirties) were still there. Nonetheless, it had the rather smug air of a solid, reliable undergraduate teaching department in a well funded University. With some conspicuous exceptions, many staff were very set in their ways and had not, in Gordon's words "put pen to paper for years". (This was not just a figure of speech, by the way. Gordon always drafted his own books by hand and never caught on to the computer age. He was an appalling typist).

At a time when Universities were under increasing pressure to do more with less resources, Gordon found it difficult to change the culture of his new Department and develop for it a stronger external and research profile. Having said that though, there is no doubt he relished his own teaching contacts with undergraduate students. Nonetheless the sheer hard grind of managing an academic department in these difficult years limited his own opportunities for research and writing. It was with the intention of concentrating more on these, and developing a limited amount of private planning practice,

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that he took early retirement in the early 1990s. The productivity soon resumed. In 1994 he published his last book to appear in his lifetime, a study of his adopted city of Birmingham. A co-authored study of the development of rural planning was in the press at the time of his death. He had also just completed a book on the rise and fall of the planning ideal for Blackwells. It was a study he was commissioned to write and he relished the prospect of writing what he considered a rather critical assessment of planning's more recent fate.

Throughout these years my own close working association with Gordon over planning history matters had become permanent. At his invitation, I had succeeded Dennis Hardy as Editor of Planning History from 1991-4, (one of the most enjoyable and rewarding jobs I have ever done, incidentally). Thereafter, again at his invitation, I became one of the Review Editors of *Planning Perspectives*. I suppose he was the person from whom, year in year out, I received most correspondence, usually handwritten notes with various ideas and thoughts, sometimes several each week. My files are full of them. (Other people tell me that this was his favoured means of communicating with them as well). At a personal level our relationship mellowed into genuine friendship. It was never quite a friendship of equals (I suppose it is often like this between mentor and student), but at least something nearer to it. When our paths crossed at more general academic functions, outside planning history, he was still apt to greet me with phrases like, "that's my boy!", (which, though he was not being entirely serious, was of course, in very many ways, true).

Many readers will have their own memories of Gordon, particularly as an extremely effective and affable personal ambassador of planning history. Certainly he raised the profile of the subject and built it into a recognised and respected specialism. Many people have told me how much they valued his interest in their work, his good humour and patience, his kindness and hospitality. All these were certainly quite genuine qualities that I experienced in increasing measure over a quarter of a century of association with him.

He combined these qualities with a tremendous sense of optimism about life that was always invigorating and encouraging. I don't think he ever brooded resentfully for any length of time about anything, even when he had ample cause. Ultimately, I suppose this optimism grew out of himself, but it was every day renewed by the wider frameworks of his life. His extremely happy marriage and family life, his faith and the sense that he was serving others all contributed to his buoyant and affable disposition. This was linked, I think, to his finely judged skill in managing people to bring out their best. In larger gatherings, he was a very eloquent public speaker, whether fulfilling ceremonial duties (for a time he served as the University's Public Orator) or undertaking scholarly expositions. Occasionally I heard him speak, with a certain regret. about the fact that he had not, in any definitive way, established a school of thought or brought a new theoretical approach to his subject. I never quite understood what he meant by this. While in the very strict sense this may be true, my own view is that he actually did all this and more. Certainly he did not coin new words or concepts that predetermined how his fellow planning historians should think about their subject. He brought instead a fairly traditional approach to the writing of historical geography and applied it to a hitherto obscure sub-field, planning history. His own scholarship and, even more, his networking skills built up this area into an important area of intellectual inquiry. As to how that inquiry was undertaken, he encouraged a plurality of approaches. He understood the impact of impersonal forces such as economic structures and social formations, but he always gave due emphasis to the actions of individuals. (He had, after all, seen at first hand the difference an individual like Dan Smith could make to a city). His only requirement was that the writing should be clear, accessible and scholarly. In that sense I believe we, the membership of IPHS, are all also members of the 'Cherry school'.

We are all in his debt.

Stephen Ward, Oxford Brookes University

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Archives and the Metropolis Conference, London, 11-13 July 1996

An international conference at the Barbican Centre, London will bring together speakers from all over the world to discuss cultural, social and political aspects of the archives of great cities from antiquity to the present day. The aim is to investigate the nature of the records generated by these cities and to increase understanding of the role they play in metropolitan life.

Among the themes covered will be their political purpose and use, their display, access, buildings and value as sources. There will be case studies from a varied range of cities, including Vienna (Ferdinand Opll), Stockholm, Tokyo, Chicago (John Daly), New York (Clifton Hood), Cairo (Raouf Abbas) and, of course, London.

The conference is sponsored by the Corporation of London, and organised by the Centre for Metropolitan History, the Greater London Record Office and Guildhall Library Manuscripts Department.

Details are available from the Greater London Record Office, 40 Northampton Road, London EC1 0HB, or by e-mail from o-myhill@sas.ac.uk.

Centre d'archives d'Architecture du XXeme siecle, Paris.

A feasability study for a national centre for archives relating to town planning is being conducted by several partners in France: the Centre de Documentation en Urbanisme (Ministere de l'Equipement), the Atelier d'Urbanisme de l'Agglomeration de Tours and the Institut Francais d'Architecture.

The first aim of the project is not to centralize the documents, which for the most part are held by public bodies, but to establish a serious link between them and to get 'producers', 'keepers' and 'users' to work together. In other words, it should bring:new methods in filing; a new consideration on the part of producers towards their own documents and those of their partnersgreater accessibilty to the documents to a wide range of users.

A feasability study for this project will be accomplished by June 1996.

*For information contact **D. Peyceré** and **P. Gaconnet** at the Centre d'archives d'Architecture du XXeme siecle, 127-129 rue de Tolbiac, 7503, Paris, France, Tel: 45 85 12 00, Fax: 45 70 79 38.*

Conference on 'The Reconstruction of Blitzed Cities 1945-60', University of Luton, February 1997.

Fifty years ago, the blitzed cities of Britain began reconstruction. Some had commissioned visionary plans which they hoped to realise. Most imagined they would be creating new and better local environments. Over the next fifteen or twenty years there were, however, to be many disappointments. The 'planners' moon' rarely heralded the dawn.of a new age.

This is a fascinating episode in British urban and planning history, and the University of Luton is organising a conference to examine it in more detail. This will be held in Luton on 7-9 February 1997. We hope to encourage a multi-disciplinary approach and also to include comparative studies of the reconcstruction experiences of other countries.

*Offers of papers or general enquiries should be sent to **Nick Tiratsoo**, Department of History, University of Luton, 75 Castle Street, Luton, Bedfordshire LU1 3AJ, Tel: 01582 489043, Fax.: 01582 489014.*

New Towns in the United Kingdom: Fifty Years of New Town Development 1946-1996.

The Planning Exchange is currently working on a project to compile a comprehensive record of the new town movement in the United Kingdom. The work has been commissioned by the Commission for the New Towns, The Scottish Office and the Department of the Environment for Northern Ireland.

Although the post-war new towns programme is recognised as a major social, economic and design inititiative, it is presently difficult to access all of the relevant material, or indeed to identify where it is located. As the movement draws to a close, it was felt an appropriate time to tell the story of the new towns and to draw together in a single source, as much material as possible, before memories fade and records become scattered and lost.

The record is unique in that it will be stored on multi-media CD-Rom. The multi-media presentation will use the PC to mix photographs, sound, text and graphics and to present the material in an interactive way. Material can thus be quickly accessed and cross-referenced. Software is being prepared by the Open University.

Amongst the items which will be stored on the CD-ROM are a library of key books, reports and articles on the new towns, a full set of annual reports of the development corporations, a list of information sources, a comprehensive bibliography and full word search facility. The story of each of the Thirty-three designated new towns will also be told, and accompanied by the accounts of the senior officials of the development corporations, master planners (where possible), photographic material, aerial photographs, news items, master plans and master plan proposals, all to be reproduced in a common format. The views, comments and stories of new town residents will be told in sound, as well as in questionnaires, letters and essays. Contributions commissioned especially for the record will deal

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with the introduction and background to the movement, and items on over thirty topics and subjects will look at how they were handled in the new town context.

Once complete it will contain the most comprehensive and easily accessible single source of material on the new towns. It is intended to appeal to a wide - ranging audience, from the more senior school level through to advanced researchers and professionals from a range of disciplines both at home and overseas. It should be completed in Spring 1996.

*More information on the New Towns Record can be obtained from **Joyce Hartley** or **Colin Hemphrey** on 0141 248 8541.*

'Science, Technology and Industry': Twentieth International Congress of the History of Science (ICHS), University of Liege, Belgium, 20-26 July 1997.

CALL FOR PAPERS

Harold L. Platt and **Chris Sellers** have gained approval for a day long symposium entitled 'The Industrial Environment: Perspectives on the Science, Tecnology and Politics of Pollution in the Age of Industry' at th ICHS. They invite proposals for papers on the historical interactions between industries and their environments, and the important ways in which science and technology mediated these interactions. The symposium will bring together a wide range of perspectives on environmental impacts themselves (from toxic waste dumps to greenhouse effects) and the ways in which lay people as well as scientists became aware of them; that is, when, where, and why different groups began to single out these phenomena and frame them as 'problems'. They are especially interested in bringing together people interested in environmental perspectives from different countries. They also plan to pre-circulate the papers among participants, so drafts must be ready prior to presentation.

*To submit a proposal or to request more information contact **Harold L. Platt**, Centre for the History of Science, Technology and Medicine, University of Manchester M13 9PL, U.K. (e-mail: platt@fs4.ma.man.ac.uk.) or **Christopher Sellers**, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, New Jersey Institute of Technology, Cullimore Hall, University Heights, Newark, N.J. 07102 (e-mail: sellers@tesla.njit.edu). Proposals should be sent immediately and papers will be due on 1 April 1997.*

The Urban History Association Prizes 1995

Recipients of prizes awarded by The Urban History Association in its 1995 competition for scholarly distinction include:

Best dissertation in urban history, without geographic restriction, completed in 1994: **Andrew J. Brown-May**, '"The Itinerary of Our Days":The Historical Experience of the Street in Melbourne 1837-1923', University of Melbourne, 1994. (Andrew May-Brown is Research Associate in History, Monash University, Australia.)

Best scholarly journal article in urban history, without geographic distinction, published during 1994: **Josef Konvitz**, 'The Crisis of Atlantic Port Cities 1880-1920', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol.36 No.2, April 1994, pp.293-318. (Josef Konvitz is the principal administrator, Urban Affairs Division, Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris.)

Best book in Non-North American History published during 1993 or 1994: **Peter Jelavich**, *Berlin Cabaret*, Harvard University Press,1993. (Peter Jelavich is professor of history at the University of Texas at Austin.)

Best book in North American urban history published in 1994: **Carl Smith**, *Urban Order and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb and the Model Town of Pullman*, University of Chicago Press, 1994. (Carl Smith is professor of English at Northwestern University.)

'Foreigners and the physical urban space', Second International Seminar, Dipartimento di Storia dell'Architettura, IUAV, 13-15 June 1996

This Seminar is organised by the Dipartimentodi Storia dell'Architettura di Venezia, the Centre de Recherches Historiques/EHESS, la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, l'Institut d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine de Paris and the Dipartimento di Storia Economica dell'Universita degli Studi di Venezia.

The main themes to be addressed will be: (1) The spatial distribution of foreigners in the city in relation to the structural elements of the urban territory (street, hotel, 'fondouk', church, parish, neighbourhood, ghetto); (2) The way in which foreigners marked, with their presence or with their intervention, the material condition (architectural or urban planning) of the city.

Starting with these specific themes, the ambition of this Second International Seminar is to merge two tendencies in urban history which are often kept separate, that is the social and the architectural.

The organisers aim to publish a collection of essays resulting from the two Seminars (the first of which was held at Maison Suger, Paris, 9-11 November 1995).

*For further information contact: **Professor Donatella Calabi**, Dipartimento di Storia dell'Architettura, S. Polo 2554, 30125 Venezia, Italy. Tel.: 39-41 2571433, Fax.: 39-41 715449.*

TOWNS AND TOILETS: TOWNSCAPE AND TABOO

CLARA GREED, UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST OF ENGLAND

This paper is based upon research currently being undertaken on 'public conveniences', that is toilets (also known as lavatories in Britain). As explained in *Planning History*, 16 (3), I have moved on to this topic because in my previous research on 'women and planning' [1] it was found that many women, especially the elderly and those with young children, encountered access to the built environment because of the lack of availability of public toilets.[2] Thus I started my investigations, and write this paper, from the viewpoint that there is a problem of underprovision, especially for women. Firstly this paper gives an historical overview of public toilets. In order to consider the factors that have influenced the 'chances' of toilets being given a high priority, the different policy 'agendas' which have facilitated or hampered provision will be considered. The development of legislation and provision from the last century will be discussed. In the concluding section the relevance of the topic to town planners will be considered. It is argued that public toilets are both a necessary, practical element in the built environment and an important townscape component. Examples from Bristol and Bath are used to illustrate the urban design dimension of different 'fashions' in public toilet provision. Undoubtedly negative cultural attitudes towards toilet provision, and bodily functions in general, within British society have limited the chances of provision. Attention is drawn throughout to such non-spatial factors which have affected the levels, location and design characteristics of spatial provision.

There have long been public toilets, indeed it may be argued that public latrines, as against private dwelling-based closets, were the normal form of provision for most, except the rich, until the nineteenth century.[3] One of the earliest existing latrines in Britain is at Housteads Fort, on Hadrians Wall, which provided communal provision for twenty soldiers. Roman cities and villas were famed throughout Europe for their advanced sewerage, drainage, and heating systems. Devotees of Cloacina, Roman goddess of the sewer (and sewerage) would no doubt be puzzled by the demand for 'privacy' and individual facilities, and by negative modern attitudes towards 'the sable streams which below the city glide'.[4] In the Middle Ages, public communal latrines were also constructed, thirteen have been identified in London, mainly sited over rivers. For example, early in the twelfth century, Queen Mathilda, wife of Henry I, ordered a latrine to be erected for the use of the cities in Queenhithe, a quay near London Bridge. In 1355 the River Fleet in central London choked up all together from effluent from latrines overhanging this tributary of the Thames.

As cities grew improvements in individual toilet design and in city-wide sewerage systems were required. In 1596, Sir John Harrington invented the first lavatory using water; in 1775 Alexander Cummings patented the U-Bend. In the nineteenth century Sir Thomas Crapper perfected and widely marketed modern W.C's with siphonic cisterns with evocative names like the Deluge.[5] The provision of inside toilets (and bathrooms) in each dwelling was increasingly seen as essential (among the middle classes at least), if only to protect the modesty of 'ladies', and save individuals the treck 'out the back' in the rain and the dark.[6] As many foundational planning books recount it was not uncommon in working class tenements for 200 people to share one privy, and increasingly housing legislation required individual 'closet' provision for the labouring classes too. But, privies were not an absolute necessity as the use of chamber pots among the working classes, and commodes among the more affluent was commonplace.[7] Secondly, the realisation that poor sanitation contributed to the spread of cholera, (which was no respecter of social class), and also the influence of 'civic pride', led to state intervention and the construction of sewerage systems in many large cities.[8] Chadwick's report on sanitary conditions in 1842 was followed by the 1848 Public Health Act, yet improvement was limited. The River Fleet exploded (alongside Fleet Street) in 1846, suggesting that little had changed since Medieval times. 1858 is remembered as 'The Year of the Big Stink', when Parliament closed because of the stench from the adjacent Thames. Subsequently the Royal Sanitary Commission of 1869-71 set more stringent standards, and these were embodied in the 1875 Public Health Act.

In the nineteenth century, public health, housing, sanitation, municipal engineering, surveying, and town planning were all nascent professions which still overlapped and interlinked.[9] 'Sanitation and drainage',[10] 'gas and water socialism' and related 'public health' issues were key components of the agenda of nineteenth century town planning.[11] Early planning reformers saw 'the urban problem' in terms of germs and disease, often combining this with a classist, even eugenicist, desire to clean up the lifestyle and breeding habits of the working classes.[12] Concepts of public health and social hygiene were closely linked.[13] In 1844, the Health of Towns Association was founded, and drainage and sewerage reforms were seen as an integral component of town planning for disease control. Curiosities such as Dr. Richardson's model town plan, 'Hygeia' took the concept of efficient, germless living to the limits but appear entirely logical when seen against the wider public health context of the time.[14]

Not only was private, domestic provision of toilets improved, public toilets were also installed; but to a limited degree. The 1848 Public Health Act first gave general powers of provision, updated by the 1875 Public Health Act. It should be noted that this was enabling legislation: there is no compulsory requirement to this day that provision must be provided, nor any minimum tables of provision in respect of public on-

street toilets, but local authorities 'may' provide facilities if they so wish. (Standards giving very limited provision for off-street public facilities, such as in restaurants, do exist.[15] In spite of the legislation provision of public toilets for women was less than that that for men.[16] It would seem that there is a greater cultural acceptance of the natural right of men to urinate, hence the greater number of male toilets, and so men are less likely to be 'caught short'.[17] Chevalier in *Clochemerle*,[18] which is the story of the installation of a pissoir (male public urinal) in the village states, "Only males are privileged to overflow on the public highway.". The pissoirs of France have been notorious in making (very) public provision for men and not for women. Many British cities also still sport ornate Edwardian wrought iron 'men only' pissoirs (urinals), such as on Horfield Common in Bristol (Fig.1). and also on Black Boy Hill at the top of Whiteladies Road in Bristol (as it name implies previously the site of slave auctions and before that a market). It should be noted that the Ladies which was added later at Horfield Common is, typically and dangerously, shrouded behind bushes.

Yet the need for public conveniences for women was greater than before as more women were travelling about in the city, commuting to work, spending all day in the centre. Women (especially 'ladies') were further tramelled by late Victorian dictates of 'modesty', which

Figure 1. Horfield Common, Bristol. Urinal, pre-1890 and Ladies Toilet, 1934 (C. Greed)

prevented them simply squatting over the gutter, or 'going' under the cover of the wide hoop skirts, as apparently had been socially acceptable in Georgian times for both 'ladies' and 'women'. Women had difficulty being 'heard' as few women were involved in decision-making bodies. In the nineteenth century, patriarchal, sanitary engineers predominated. The situation would be much worse today for women were it not for the ceaseless efforts of 'sewers and drains feminists' [19] such as members of the Ladies Sanitary Association, established in the 1850's (and going through several name changes) who campaigned for public lavatory provision and sought to change the discourse from one of 'plumbing' and 'disease', to that of 'amenity' and 'health'.[20] In 1884 the Ladies Lavatory Company opened its own private public conveniences at Oxford Circus for ladies who had to spend the whole day in London.[21] Indeed, the campaign for public lavatories for women was a key component of the 'Suffragette Movement'. Lyons Corner House Restaurants, and 'tea rooms' in general, were popular with women because they provided toilets for women, in the days when they would not go into a pub or traditional restaurant on their own. The first permanent public toilets for women were built in 1893, opposite the Royal Courts of Justice in the Strand, London. A 1927 survey of toilet provision in the London County Council area (Inner London boroughs) [22] found that there were 233 conveniences for men and 184 for women, in which there were 1260 cubicles for men plus 2,610 urinals but only 876 cubicles for women. Recent research concludes that both the present day proportion and amount of public toilet provision for women has actually declined.[23]

Nevertheless the Victorians should be commended as builders of palatial public lavatories and proponents of improved sanitation standards and toilet technology.[24] Because, in Victorian times public health had the status of a prestige science, sanitary engineering too was highly regarded, an this is reflected in the resources and detail which is lavished upon the building and design of public toilets. They constituted a new, and worthy component within the built environment. As to their impact on the townscape, many Victorian toilets, especially those in London built between 1894-1925, are underground, partly out of propriety, but also because byelaws stipulated the area of the 'subsoil' beneath the public highway should be used for such facilities and for sewer routing,[25] thus creating great inconvenience of access, especially for the disabled, and those with pushchairs. In provincial cities, such as Bristol and Bath, for example, many were built on the surface, and they were designed in a classical style to complement the surrounding Victorian or Edwardian architecture, with no expense spared. Nowadays some are listed buildings, for example in Park Row, Bristol, an edifice which still retains its original porcelain sanitary ware (Fig.2). Mid twentieth century toilets tended to be more utilitarian in design. But signicantly, the Park Row toilets, although right beside the University, and on the tourist circuit, are now in a state of disrepair.

In contrast in Bath, so strong is the urban conservation movement that when the Larkhill public conveniences in Bath were refurbished their appearance was changed from that of twentieth century municipal,

Figure 2. Park Row, Bristol, built in 1904 for £1079 (C. Greed)

'concrete block', functional edifice to a Georgian 'conservation area' style pavillion. The fountain set into the exterior and proudly declaring construction in 1907 was, in fact moved back into the wall from an adjacent free-standing location (Fig.3).[26]

In the early twentieth century, additional toilets were built by the LCC, and other local authorities, usually in an unassuming, municipal, 'modern' style using concrete walls and glass brick windows, and lots of white or green tiles inside; some with children's facilities. A trend towards 'modern abstract' architecture was apparently used as an excuse to build the cheapest

Figure 3. Larkhill, Bath: refurbishment in a Conservation area (C. Greed)

type of toilet block well into the 1970's throughout the country — if they were built at all. Not only were they poorly designed, twentieth century public toilets, in general, are to be found hidden behind trees, down steps, or in underpasses, and in a bad state of repair, as illustrated by the situation in Bristol (Figs.4 and 5). Attempts at building modern 'accessible' toilets in the 1990's have produced some interesting variations. For example, Castle Park Toilet in Bristol is approached by a steep slope, but declares itself to be wheelchair accessible. and is only open during office hours. The new Lifeboat House at Burnham on Sea, notorious for being built as one of 'Challenge Anneka's' escapades, provides 24 hour toilets, but makes twice the provision for men as women, the toilet section having 3 doors, one for men, one for women and one labelled 'urinal'! Such is the gendered nature of seaside space!(Fig.6)

In spite of demonstrable underprovision for women, facilities for women were often seen as an additional expense, for which women themselves should pay extra. For example, the 1936 Public Health Act, Section 87, sub section 3 gave local authorities the right to build and run on-street 'public conveniences' and to charge such fees as they think fit 'other than for urinals'. Thus, although recepients of lesser provision, women

Figure 4. Anchor Road, Canon's Marsh, Bristol, built in 1950s. (C. Greed)

Figure 5. Underneath St. James Barton, the Haymarket, Bristol, built in 1970s. (C. Greed)

were likely to find their access to public toilets further blocked by pay-turnstiles at the entrance. After a heated campaign turnstiles were eventually outlawed under the 1963 Public Lavatories (Turnstiles) Act.[27] Note, the rules outlawing turnstiles never did apply to 'private' conveniences, only 'public' ones, and they never applied to railway stations where they are currently reappearing much to the extreme inconvenience of women passengers.

Even today the statutory guidance documents

Figure 6. Burnham-on-Sea, three door toilet, 1994 (C. Greed)

British Standard BS6465 (Part I), and the linked Approved Document G of the Building Regulations which provide the national guideline standards for toilet provision.make it a legal requirement for men to be provided with approximately a third more provision per set of toilets than women.[28] This is because men are given about the same number of cubicles as in the 'Ladies' plus urinal provision, and they have more provision overall. Nowadays, toilet provision is a matter of concern in Britain, because of poor, and declining levels of provision, and a general lack of investment, maintenance and care. Over the last ten years 771 conveniences have been closed in 180 local authority areas.[29] 42% of local authorities have only 1 public convenience per 5,000 to 10,000 people. According to recent surveys, men still have approximately two thirds more provision than women.[30] There is a disparity of provision, ranging from one facility per 35 men and 86 women in the best local authority area, to one facility per 6,427 men and 11,248 women in the worst.

In the 1990's not only have women inherited less public toilets than men from past generations, but in many areas traditional toilets are being closed down, because of vandalism, and lack of funding for maintenance and supervision. In some cases they are being replaced by Superloos, that is the APC, the Automatic Public Convenience, which many consider to have little architectural merit. Paris was the first city to introduce the APC, known there as the sanisette, and many of its original 'vespasiennes', (the ornate wrought iron men-only pissoirs) have now being turned into magazine kiosks. In Britain redundant public toilets have been turned into shops, bungalows, offices, and restaurants. For example, when Thurrock Council in Essex closed its public toilets and replaced (some of) them with Superloos, one located in South Ockendon was turned into the Raj Indian Restaurant (nicknamed Vinda Loo).[31] The point of these anecdotal examples is that such buildings are recognised as architecturally worthy of retention. Many public conveniences were designed to the highest standards, and were not intended

to be hidden, but to complement the townscape. There is a need to create 'Great Toilet Architecture' again. Westbourne Park, in the Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, London is a rare example of this. Built in 1993 and designed by the architect Piers Gough these public toilets consist of a triangular structure which has received much critical acclaim (but which, illogically, are closed on Sundays).[32] For comparison in Japan there has been a restroom revolution [33] and a range of magnificent new public toilets have been built, each facility consisting of a bijou, architect designed cameo building, in a range of styles including, Gothic, Greek, Shinto and Modern, each conceived as a prominent townscape feature, and containing both Western and Eastern style toilet facilities (Figs.7 and 8).

For women many practical problems remain unresolved regarding toilets, such as the inequality, inadequacy and unreliability of provision, lack of children's toilets and baby changing facilities and the

Figures 7 & 8. Recent Historicist and Modern facilities in Japan (Japanese Toilet Association)

dangerous and 'dirty' ambience of many toilet locations. Attempts have been made to increase provision by means of 'planning gain' (bargaining with the developer or owner to get provision in return for a better overall planning permission) [34], and through incorporating requirements within statutory plans and design guides.[35] Planners, however, have few powers beyond persuasion to implement better provision, precisely because of the historical development of toilet legislation and policy, which has fixed the regulatory powers firmly within the technological domain of building inspectors, public health inspectors and sanitary engineers: and not within the realms of user-related planning policy. In particular it is alarming to find that the present unequal provision standards are the descendants of principles and attitudes first embodied in sections of the 1848 and 1875 Public Health Acts which have never actually been repealed, but were incorporated in subsequent legislation and thus carried down to the present day.

As modern town planning developed in the early twentieth century, one may identify three negative trends coming into play which were to disadvantage the 'chances' of a more social and more holistic, as a against technological or medical, perspective being adopted towards toilet provision right up to the present day. Firstly, the founding fathers of modern planning often appeared to share the 'sanitary engineer's' perspective, in prioritising the need for sewerage systems at the city wide level, rather than considering the local area needs of citizens for toilet provision (a key distinction). Secondly, and overarching this, the town planners seemed to be losing ground to the municipal engineers, and the 'plumbing fraternity', as to who had control over the planning of such infrastructural provision. By 1933 Abercrombie, in discussing the importance of THE PLAN, bemoans the fact it had to be produced without "a full control of sewage (sic) and pollution".[36] However, the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act (Section 3, subsection 6) still required the planner, in producing 'the scheme' to make provision for necessary sewerage and drainage work. But this was merely an enabling role rather than a city-wide strategic, sewerage-planning role. Thirdly, there was an ongoing 'medicalisation' of what were erstwhile public health issues. Mort discusses the roots of this trend in Edwardian times, within the context of a discourse of 'national efficency and imperial health'.[37] 'Blame' for ill health is put upon the individual, especially working class women, and less upon the effects of the inequality of provision of basic facilities and services: including adequate sanitation. Likewise nowadays members of *All Mod Cons* (the national pressure group for more public toilets) have found that their demands are often met with disdain and resistance.

Some planners do not even consider 'toilets' to be a town planning matter. Certain planning inspectors have judged requirements for provision imposed on developers to be *ultra vires*, because toilets are not seen by them as a valid land use matter. More broadly, the new agendas of 'environmentalism' and 'sustainability' although concerned with the 'old' issues of sewage and pollution have not helped with the toilets problem. The renaming of many 'public health' departments as 'environmental health' departments even signals a prioritisation of the environment over the citizens who live in it. Also 'Local Agenda 21' which emanates from the UNA Sustainable Communities Project of 1992 (i.e., the Rio Earth Summit) calls for each local authority to promote sustainable development.[38] Women, and 'housewives' in particular, may feel condemned, rather than helped by such initiatives, as they are seen as 'the culprits' creating so much of the pollution, as the main shoppers and users of washing machines, and in using disposable nappies and sanitary wear.

Rather, to create sustainable environments, deal effectively with sewerage, and improve toilet provision, there is a need for more investment in collectivised solutions to disposal, laundry, and recycling sewerage (possibly back to the land as in pre-industrial times), linked to a greater investment in support services, childcare, and community facilities: including much better public conveniences. Town planners are ideally equipped to deal with such city wide issues. As Lewis Mumford is rumoured to have said, "A civilisation may be judged by the way it disposes of its waste." In such a society buildings and services which meet the excretory needs of its citizens would be respected landmarks and sources of civic pride: not underfunded, vandalised ruins, and those who addressed these issues would be respected.

NOTES

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3. S. Cavanagh and V. Ware *At Women's Convenience: A Handbook on the Design of Women's Public Toilets*, London,1991 Women's Design Service, 'From Cesspools to Restrooms' pp. 9-17. Also see Bindeshwar Pathak, *Sulabh International Museum of Toilets: Guidebook*, Sulabh International Social Service Organisation, New Delhi, 1994, which includes a commentary on British public toilet development, and L. Wright, *Clean and Dirty: The Fascinating History of the Bathroom and the W.C.*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960, page 50.
4. Commented upon in J. Gay,*Trivia*:Part II, a burlesque on street life,1716, see Oxford English Texts edition:,Oxford, 1975.
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6. A. Kira, *The Bathroom*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1975. Professor Kira of Cornell University School of Architecture, is a world authority on public toilets.
7. L. Wood, *The Lady Lever Art Gallery: Catalogue of Commodes* Liverpool: National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, 1994. See the introduction for commentary by William Lever, better known for his town planning reputation, on commode use and design.
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10. A. Wohl, *Endangered Lives: public health in Victorian Britain*, London: Dent, 1983. Compare A. Wohl, *The Eternal Slum: housing and social policy in Victorian England*, London: Edward Arnold, 1974.
11. HJ Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History*, London, Arnold, 1968, p. 34. See footnote 100 for research on water supply at that time.
12. As discussed in C. Greed, *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities*, London: Routledge, pp.90-91 on 'hygiene and filth'.
13. G. Jones, *Social Hygiene in Twentieth Century Britain*, London; Croom Helm, 1986.
14. C and R Bell, *City Fathers: The Early History of Town Planning in Britain*, Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1972 edition, p 284.
15. British Standards Institute *BSI 6465 Sanitary Installations* (Part I revised 1995), but one can trace the geneology of these standards back over 100 years to the regulations linked to the 1875 Public Health Act.
16. L. McKie and J, Edwards, 'The "roll" of the public toilet in the engendered city', Paper presented at the British Sociological Association Conference at Leicester University, April, 1995, and book under preparation.
17. Birmingham City Planning Department, *Caught Short in Brum* Birmingham, in association with Birmingham for People community group, 1991. There are several examples of nineteenth century public conveniences in Birmingham, including wrought iron pissoirs, similar to the ones described in Bristol.
18. G. Chevalier, *Clochemerle*, (1936) London: Mandarin edition, 1993,, p. 97.
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PUBLIC ART AND PLANNING IN BIRMINGHAM

JEREMY BEACH AND GEORGE T. NOSZLOPY, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL ENGLAND

In contrast to the pragmatic attitude generally expected from an industrial city, town planning in central Birmingham has also been influenced by a combination of aesthetic and civic principles as well as by merely practical concerns. In recent years, Birmingham's international profile has been greatly raised, mainly by a large number of modern works in artist-designed spaces, reflecting the city's desire to be seen both as a culturally and commercially viable centre. However, the city's centre has been dominated by architectural sculptures and free-standing monuments since the mid 19th century, a tradition which has since been maintained as a focus for civic pride.

It was not always so. When J.G. Kohl, a German traveller, visited Birmingham in 1842, he wrote

> As far as the useful arts are concerned, Birmingham may be a paradise, but with respect to the fine arts it is a very desert. It may be questioned whether in the whole world another town of equal extent and importance could be found, so destitute of public monuments as Birmingham.[1]

By 1885, though, a local chronicler stated that "it may soon be said we are likely to be overburdened with these public monuments",[2] some fifty pieces having been put up in the intervening period. As so many works of art have been sited over the years in the city,[3] it can be argued that this 'self image' is one based on the integration of art into the urban environment, which is reflected in local public consciousness and a wider appeal to tourists and business persons. As early as 1885, the *Birmingham Daily Mail* wrote of "the mind of the town" when looking at the sort of monuments that had sprung up, saying that

> They are monuments, not only of men, but of the material and moral progress of the town... pointing onward and upward to higher goals, and incarnating, so to speak - giving life and reality to - the proud motto of the borough.[4]

The motto is 'Forward', and this whole hearted embrace of progress conveyed in the form of inscriptions on civic buildings through to dustbins throughout the city has been given a monumental embodiment in the unveiling of a populist work by Raymond Mason bearing that word as a title, as recently as 1991. That Mason's *Forward* dominates the large, award-winning, artist-planned Centenary Square, with other sculptures joining the overall scheme, shows the city's determination to continue emphasising the interplay between public space and public art, which first had its flowering in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Fig.1).

Changing ideas and attitudes, and especially the periodic replanning of the city centre, meant the resiting of most of the free standing monuments and sculpture from inner city sites to new locations through the twentieth century.[5] Apart from resiting,[6] works were often moved into storage[7] or made into exhibits in the Museum and Art Gallery,[8] or dispatched to city parks,[9] truncated to make busts[10] and transformed into bronze from the original marble.[11] This has tended to destroy the original visual context and socio-political intentions behind the commissioning and siting of pieces, which has been compounded by subsequent neglect of what were formerly celebrated works of art. However, Birmingham's public art works have consistently reflected both local and national developments in art in the choice of artists and the style of works chosen. The dominance of local sculptors William and Peter Hollins (in the period from the 1830s to 1860s) and William Bloye and his associates (from the 1920s to the 1960s) has been complemented by the work of nationally famous artists such as Richard Westmacott (1880s) and Antony Gormley (1990s). Stylistically, works from Archer's late Baroque church of St. Philip through to the end of the twentieth century cover the full panoply of artistic movements.

It could be argued that Birmingham has led the rest of Britain in science, manufacturing technology, political idealism and religious reform since the English Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. Sculptures from the Victorian period onwards which refer to this heritage have been placed at prominent junctions, where moral messages would be appreciated by as many people as possible. For example, John Thomas's statue of *Thomas Attwood* (1859), campaigner for "real and effectual representation of the lower and middle classes of people in the House [of Commons]"[12] stood, as befitted an orator and agitator, at the centre of the bustling shopping area at the junction of Stephenson Place and New Street. Thomas's 1862 memorial statue to the diplomat and philanthropist *Joseph Sturge*, however, was sited at the far more peaceful (at the time) location of Five Ways — to the west of the centre — close to where he had lived.[13]

By the 1970s, though, industrial concerns reasserted themselves when John Maine's paean to local steel-tube manufacturers, *Impulse*,[14] was erected in the middle of the major roundabout, created as part of the middle ringroad construction at Five Ways. This major act of road planning shifted the peaceful *Sturge* to one side. Birmingham has been at the forefront of developing road transport networks, with inner and middle ringroads and fast motorway links right to the heart of the city, culminating in the so-called Spaghetti Junction, the largest motorway interchange in Europe at the time. These have become derided for promoting the supremacy of the car, but the "numerous and ingenious subways on different levels [that] have prevented the pedestrian from being subjugated by the car"[15] have become sites for many works of art. These range from a futuristic swing by Kevin Atherton, isolated in the middle of a huge roundabout in the shadow of St. Chad's Roman Catholic cathedral,[16] to a nineteenth century beam engine, reassembled by the council on Dartmouth Circus roundabout, a 'ready made' monument to Birmingham's industrial past.[17] The

Figure 1. Forward, *by Raymond Mason, polyester resin, 1991, Centenary Square.*

roundabouts where these pieces are placed, being major junctions, are precursors for a more recent concept, that of 'gateways' to certain areas of the city. For example, a Development Corporation has placed works of art at prominent sites to define the boundaries of Heartlands,[18] an area to the north east of the centre with working class housing and vast tracts of space where factories once stood.

Whilst raising these general issues, this essay concentrates on an area of the city in which the link between planned space and public art is at its strongest. To the north and west of the modern shopping centre is an area only half a mile square, yet containing most of the major civic, recreational and religious buildings of the city. Victoria, Chamberlain and Centenary Squares form a virtually continuous pedestrianised space, running from the seat of civic power at the Council House to the modern complex combining the activities of culture and economics at the International Convention Centre (see Fig.2).

Victoria Square is now seen as "a public space to rival that of any European city"[19] following its redevelopment in the early 1990s, from what had become a nondescript area cut off from the Council House by a road in the 1980s, into a sloping plaza dominated by a water feature by Dhruva Mistry in 1993,[20] and also containing Antony Gormley's *Iron:Man*[21] and Thomas Brock's *Queen Victoria*.[22] However, public art has always played a central role in the planned space since the building of the Council House and City Museum and Art Gallery (designed by Yeoville Thomason) in 1874-85 . The Town Hall, designed by J.A. Hansom and E. Welch in 1832, is based on the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Roman Forum, conveying the aspirations of the city as a local democracy. Opposite was the classical facade of Christ Church, built in 1805 (demolished in 1899). When the Council House and City Museum and Art Gallery came to be built, the exterior was given over to monumental artistic works (by Richard Boulton and Sons, to the designs of the architect). The elaborate iconographical programme is devoted to Birmingham's place in the nation and her concern for the arts in relation to manufacture. The five large pediments, the central one showing Britannia rewarding the Birmingham manufacturers, with the others representing Manufacture, the Union of the Arts and Sciences, Literature and Commerce, dominate the spaces below with their allegorical message.[23] At the time they would have been viewed with regard to their physical relationship with the nearby library, art gallery, Midland Institute, Mason college and Town Hall, and the whole Council House building faces eastward towards the commercial heart of the city down New Street to the Bull Ring (Fig.3). The central pediment clearly reflects the social hierarchy in the city, as the classically robed Britannia, holding laurel wreaths over the heads of besuited factory owners, rewards them for their achievements, whilst aproned workmen stand beyond displaying their tools and wares.

While the allegorical iconographical programme of the Council House pediments presented a framework for the city centre, a number of monuments to actual people gave it realistic presence, notably in the way that space was given over exclusively for the siting of memorial statues. A massive figure of Robert Peel by the locally-renowned Peter Hollins was the first work to be sited at ground level here in 1873.[24] Situated just beside the Town Hall (prompting a Victorian joke "Why is the Town Hall like an orange..."),[25] *Peel* was also turned to face eastwards in 1878, and behind him an island was set aside for statues which split the traffic flow in two. The works which were sited there were *Joseph Priestley* (1874) and *John Skirrow Wright* (1883), both by F.J. Williamson, and the marble *Queen Victoria* by Thomas Brock unveiled just 12 days before her death in 1901. The two thinkers who flanked her embodied the radical aspect of the Britannia pediment above, which was not an overt celebration of empire like other manifestations of this national symbol could be.[26] Birmingham had an ability to recognise those who were both great *and* good, leading to a distinct moral angle to these memorial commissions, and to a desire to set up

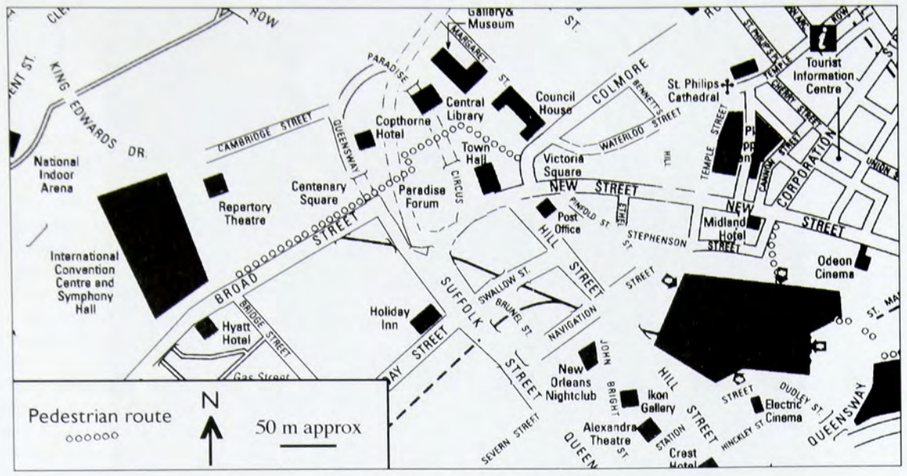

Figure 2. Central Birmingham, 1996.

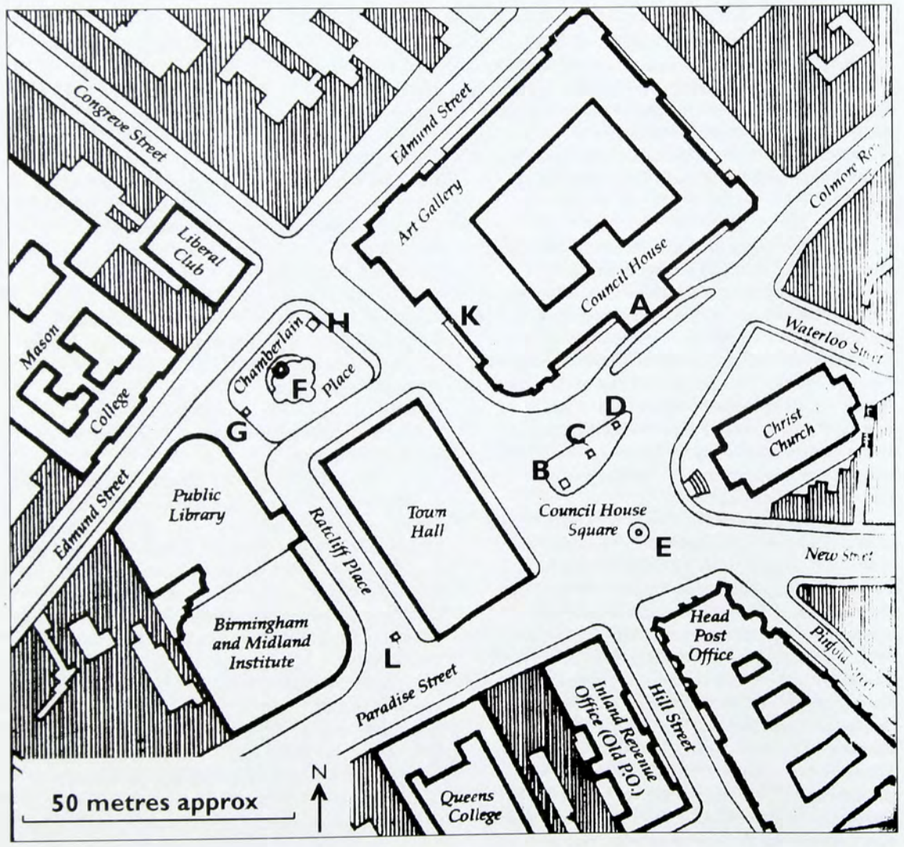

Figure 3. Victoria and Chamberlain Squares, 1901. Public sculpture: A. Richard Boulton & Sons, pediment sculpture with Britannia and supporters, *stone, 1874-9; B. Francis Williamson,* Joseph Priestley, *marble, 1874; C. Thomas Brock,* Queen Victoria, *marble, 1901; D. Francis Williamson,* John Skirrow Wright, *marble, 1883; E. Peter Hollins,* Robert Peel, *bronze, 1855; F. John Chamberlain,* Joseph Chamberlain memorial fountain, *stone, 1880; G. Francis Williamson,* Josiah Mason, *marble, 1885; H. Francis Williamson,* George Dawson, *marble, 1885; K. Francis Williamson,* pediment sculpture of Fame rewarding the Arts, *stone, 1884; L. Alexander Munro,* James Watt, *marble, 1868.*

what amounts to a Pantheon to people intimately connected to the city and its progress.

This was given most concrete form in the setting aside of an entire square in celebration of Joseph Chamberlain's mayoralty (1869-1876), which then became the site for a number of other works over the years. The Chamberlain Memorial fountain[27] of 1880, although viewed unfavourably at the time as "an architectural scarecrow" and "a singular hash of ornamental details",[28] anchors this amphitheatrical plaza beneath a pediment sculpture of *Fame rewarding the Arts* on the Art Gallery, and off-sets the two conventional memorial figures of *James Watt* and *Joseph Williamson*.[29]

The public's involvement in the determination of what happened in this space is illustrated by the story of a memorial to the local firebrand preacher, George Dawson. After his death in November 1876 a public meeting was held on 3rd January 1877 where a George Dawson Memorial Committee was formed and resolved to erect a statue to his memory. They decided to erect the statue under a canopy in emulation of the memorial to Sir Walter Scott at Edinburgh. Thomas Woolner was chosen to execute the work and John Henry Chamberlain was asked to prepare a design for the canopy. A site for the statue was reserved in the space behind the Town Hall then being laid out to receive the Chamberlain Memorial Fountain. The statue and canopy were completed in 1881 and formally unveiled on 5th October.[30] Shortly afterwards, considerable dissatisfaction was expressed with the statue (nor was it the last time that the public's opinion would turn against a work that it had commissioned). The objections seem to have centred on the general agreement that the statue was not a good likeness: the heavy overcoat and wide trousers give little sense of the figure beneath and generally gave it a rather squat appearance. A meeting of the Memorial Committee took place and after much deliberation it was decided to commission a new statue from F.J. Williamson.[31] Woolner's statue was put into a niche in the Old Central Library when the new statue was erected in 1885. It then went into store in 1973 and then was re-erected between the Museum and the Gas Hall in 1975. It was temporarily removed in 1995 as the area was being upgraded, and a fresh site has been found for it behind the Library in an area newly opened to pedestrians. Chamberlain Square's latest 'man of the people' is a bronze statue of *Thomas Attwood* reclining on the steps: its contrast with previous memorial works is marked in the way the great man is devoid of traditional pedestal, and elements of the piece are distributed at ground level across the square, like details from a still life.[32]

Victoria Square's remodelling has also resulted in some striking, modern works of public art which look beyond conventional representations of great personalities and pick up the theme of the general iconographical programme of the Council House pediments once again. Antony Gormley's *Iron:Man* is an enigmatic and monumental figure, its feet buried in the paving slabs. It reflects the alienation of the individual in modern society, whilst relating to Birmingham's industrial heritage in the use of self-oxidising ('rusted') iron, forged at one of the few large-scale foundries left in the area.[33] Dhruva Mistry's solution to the spatial problem of linking an upper terrace in front of the Council House with New Street below[34] was to have four distinct elements, unified by a stepped water feature, seen as essential because of the existing civic pride associated with the modernisation of the water works in the 1870s by Joseph Chamberlain (Figure 4). Equally, a multi-cultural approach to the centre-piece was desirable, to reflect the growing diversity of the city's ethnic groups. The non-didactic approach of these pieces has caused problems of comprehension, despite the artist's claim that "the arsenal of vocabulary would end up creating a cohesive impact".[35] However, the sculptural complex has had a socio-cultural impact by becoming an obvious place to meet and sit out in the summer, with the works of art becoming important landmarks in the cityscape.

The post modern concepts of inter-textuality, contrasting mediums and methods of dealing with subject matter are reflected again in Centenary Square

Figure 4. One of the Guardians *by Dhruva Mistry, stone, 1993, Victoria Square.*

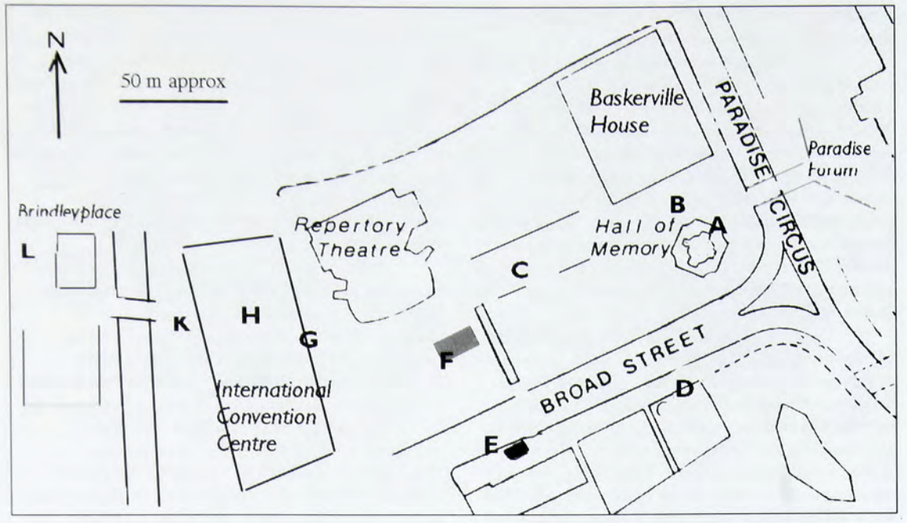

Figure 5. Centenary Square and Broad Street, 1996. Public sculpture: A. Albert Toft, Allegories of Army, Navy, Air Force and Womens' Services, *bronze, 1923-24; B. David Patten,* Industry and Genius: Monument to John Baskerville, *stone and bronze, 1990; C. Tom Lomax,* Spirit of Enterprise, *bronze, 1991; D. Gilbert Bayes,* Building of King Solomon's Temple, *stone relief, 1927; E. William Bloye,* Boulton, Watt and Murdock, *bronze, 1956; F. Raymond Mason,* Forward, *polyester resin, 1991; G. Ron Haselden,* Birdlife, *neon light, 1991; H. Vincent Woropay,* Construction, *bronze, 1991; Richard Perry,* Convention, *limewood, 1992; K. Roderick Tye,* Battle of the Gods and the Giants, *bronze, 1990; L. Miles Davies,* Aquaduct, *bronze, 1995.*

(Figure 5). Originally planned as a new Civic Centre from the 1930s to the 1950s, its centrepiece would have been a colossal statue of *The Spirit of Birmingham* by William Bloye, on a 42 metre high column.[36] Nowadays, this area of approximately 0.5 km x 0.2 km, designed in 1991 by Tess Jaray, contains not only the already existing inter-war Hall of Memory and post war Repertory Theatre, with sculptures at each, but also a number of works commissioned through a 'per cent for art' scheme which used one per cent of the capital costs of the International Convention Centre (I.C.C.) for public art.[37] A walk westwards from Paradise Forum takes one on a continuous art trail across the plaza (Figure 6), then through the I.C.C. and out to Brindleyplace — the most recently redeveloped area — which is again defined by a striking work of art (Miles Davies' *Aquaduct*, referring to the nearby canal system),[38] and one could continue down Broad Street to Five Ways and the works there already mentioned. The pieces in Centenary Square return to celebrating Birmingham in general. The square itself is seen as a painting, with the paving, railings, lighting and bins designed by Jaray, so that the pedestrian moves across a vast work of art where once there was dereliction and decay, now "transform[ed] into a place of beauty, with a strong identity of its own". Subsequent publicity emphasised the teamwork of local designers and craftspeople on the project.[39] Tom Lomax's *Spirit of Enterprise*, significantly another fountain, acts as an allegory of modern multicultural Birmingham in its representation of Industry, Enterprise and Commerce by different heads; Mason's *Forward*, with its cartoon-like appearance antithetical to the traditional sombre colours of monumental sculpture, has at its head a figure holding up his hand which, according to the artist, signifies industry, whilst his other hand folded on his chest signifies Birmingham as the 'Heart of England'.[40] Mason, a Birmingham born and trained sculptor now living in Paris, has monumental sculpture in Paris and Montreal. Despite some severe criticism in the press, and continued attacks on it by established art world figures, *Forward* has now become an icon of the renewal of Birmingham's inner spaces, with children using it as a sort of climbing adventure area, and serves as an important link between the I.C.C. and the spaces beyond.[41]

The notion of public art is so entrenched that no new planning concept of significance in Birmingham can go ahead without some sort of artwork incorporated into it. The modern sculptures in these recently created spaces, however, still reflect the part that commerce plays in Birmingham's life: *Iron:Man* was funded by the TSB bank, the chairman of which greatly enjoyed the controversy surrounding its siting;[42] Centenary Square by 'percent for art' from the public sector scheme of the I.C.C.; other works in the I.C.C. have been directly paid for by private companies;[43] and Brindleyplace Plc have chosen works in consultation with the Royal Society of British Sculptors as part of their scheme.[44] This collaboration between the council and private enterprise has ensured that, despite insinuations to the contrary, remarkably little public money has been devoted to works of art when it might have been spent on more 'worthy' projects such as housing or education.

Birmingham fits into an international movement towards creating more humane and habital city environments by its continued patronage of the arts. It is worth remembering that it is in creating public monuments that the work of the artist and the service of the public good are most intimately joined.[45]

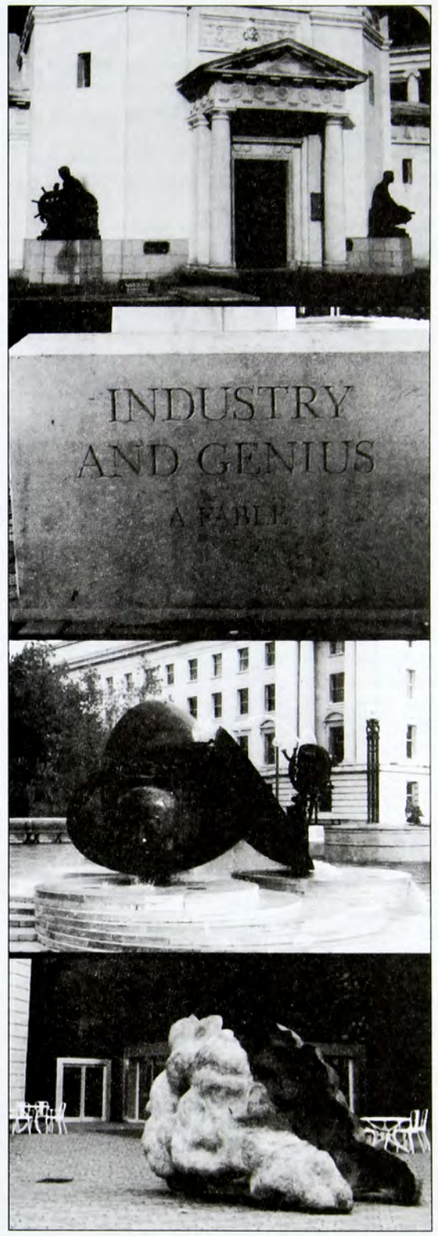

Figure 6. Some of the sculptural works in Centenary Square. (Top) Hall of Memory, with figures representing the armed services by Albert Toft. (Upper Middle) End block of David Patten's Industry and Genius, Monument to John Baskerville. *(Lower Middle) Tom Lomax,* Spirit of Enterprise. *(Bottom) Roderick Tye,* Battle of the Gods and Giants.

NOTES

Parts of this article are based on a draft dissertation for MA History of Art & Design at UCE, in preparation by Jeremy Beach. Most of the information is drawn from the archives of the UCE Public Sculpture Project, which is to be published in 1996 as *The Birmingham Public Sculpture Catalogue*, by George Noszlopy with the assistance of Jeremy Beach, in book and CD-ROM forms. The authors are extremely grateful to the University of Central England Department of Art Research Committee for a grant which made the writing of this article possible.

1. Quoted in J.A. Langford, *A century of Birmingham life 1741-1841*, vol.2, 1868, p.301. No original source is given, though Kohl may be the "Austrian visitor" mentioned by Dent, who published *Impressions of England* in 1844: cf. R.K. Dent, *The making of Birmingham*, Birmingham, 1894, p.558.
2. T. Harman, *Showell's dictionary of Birmingham*, Birmingham, 1885, p.291.
3. Approximately 370 sculptural works are listed on the *Birmingham Public Sculpture Interactive Catalogue* CD-ROM, Birmingham, 1996.
4. *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 12th November, 1885.
5. Jo Darke, *The monument guide to England and Wales*, London and Sydney, 1991, pp.162-3.
6. For example, the statue of *Robert Peel*, by Peter Hollins (1855, bronze) originally stood just to the east of the Town Hall, but was moved first to Calthorpe Park in 1927, then to the police training centre on Pershore Road in 1963.
7. For example, Peter Hollins's statue of *Sir Rowland Hill* (1868, marble) was originally in the Exchange Buildings at Stephenson Place, and after being re-sited to the forecourt of the postmen's office in Edgbaston was finally placed in store in 1940.
8. For example, J. F. Foley's statue of *Prince Albert* (1866, marble) was meant to be sited outdoors under a Gothic canopy, but was 'temporarily' placed in the Corporation Art Gallery. It was subsequently moved to a position on the Council House stairway in 1887.
9. For example, the statue of *Thomas Attwood*, by John Thomas (1859, sicilian marble statue on stone pedestal) originally stood at the busy junction of Stephenson Place and New Street. However, it was moved to Calthorpe Park in 1925, then to Highgate Park in 1975, when an 'unveiling' ceremony took place on 23rd September.
10. This has happened to many previously full-size pieces, though often because of the effects pollution on them. For example, the statue of *John Skirrow Wright* by F.J. Williamson (1883) stood in front of the Council House from until 1913, when it was moved to Chamberlain Square, then to store in 1951. A bronze copy of the bust was made in 1956 before the sculpture was destroyed.
11. The most famous example of this is the statue of *Queen Victoria* by Thomas Brock (1901) which was originally in white marble on a black granite pedestal. After a copy was made in 1951, the dark bronze statue now stands on a white stone pedestal.
12. This was the first aim of the Birmingham Political Union, stated on 25th January 1830, quoted in R.K.Dent, *op. cit.*, p.354.

13. John Thomas, *Joseph Sturge*, 1862, portland stone statue on a stone pedestal: Five Ways.
14. John Maine, *Impulse*, 1972, stainless steel tubes on a concrete plinth: Five Ways.
15. N. Pevsner and A. Wedgwood, *Warwickshire*, Harmondsworth, 1966, p.106.
16. Kevin Atherton, *Swing*, 1988, steel: St. Chad's Circus.
17. City Engineer's Department, *Beam Engine*, re-sited 1965: Dartmouth Circus.
18. These include: Suzi Gregory, *White Curl*, 1992, steel, Dartmouth Middleway; Ondré Nowakowski, *Sleeping Iron Giant*, 1992, iron, Bordesley Green; Ray Smith, *Face to Face*, 1993, steel, above the Aston Expressway.
19. Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, *Public Art in Birmingham Information Sheet 2*, Birmingham, 1994.
20. Dhruva Mistry,*The River*, *Youth*, the *Guardians* and *Object (Variations)*, 1993, bronze, stone and water.
21. Antony Gormley, *Iron:Man*, 1992, iron.
22. Cf. note 9.
23. T. Harman, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-259. Although the iconography is particularly pertinent to Birmingham, the sculptors would have been aware of notable precedents in pediment sculpture such as that on St. George's Hall, Liverpool, by C.R. Cockerell and Alfred Stevens, 1850 and David d'Angers' pediment on the Pantheon in Paris of the early 1790s.
24. Peter Hollins, *Robert Peel*, bronze, 1855: now sited on Bristol Road, outside the police training centre.
25. D. McCalla, *Victorian and Edwardian Birmingham from old photographs*, London, 1989, caption to plate 7, not paginated.
26. Research on representations of Britannia by G. Noszlopy is due to be published in the near future. One of the best known examples of the embodiment of nationalist sentiments in the figure of Britannia is the lost tympanum group on St. George's Hall in Liverpool (cf. note 23), which, according to the Royal Academy catalogue of 1846, showed "Africa [who] does homage for the liberty she and her children owe to her [Britannia's] protection"; cf. T. Cavanagh, *Liverpool Public Sculpture Catalogue*, Liverpool, 1996.
27. John Chamberlain (no relation), *Joseph Chamberlain memorial fountain*, portland stone with gilded mosaic by Salviate Burke & Co. and portrait medallion by Thomas Woolner, 1880.
28. J. Roddis, *The Dart*, 23rd April 1881, p.11.
29. Alexander Munro, *James Watt*, 1868, marble; Francis Williamson, *Joseph Priestley*, 1874, originally marble, recast in bronze, 1951.
30. *The Dart*, 14th October 1881.
31. Francis Williamson, *George Dawson*, marble, Chamberlain Square. Scrapped in 1951, a bronze copy of the bust was sited at Small Heath Park, but stolen in 1991 and not recovered.
32. Fiona Coppinger and Sioban Peever, *Thomas Attwood*, bronze and reinforced reconstituted stone, 1993.
33. T. Grimley, 'Monument to a proud past', *Birmingham Post*, 1st March 1993; A. Roberts, 'Brummies struggle with metal fatigue', *The Times*, 20th April 1993.
34. L. Green, 'Pleasing the heart: Dhruva Mistry in Birmingham', *Contemporary Art*, June 1993, pp.36-40.
35. *Birmingham Mail*, 15th November 1991.
36. H.J. Black, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham*, vol. VI, Birmingham, 1957, pp.573-6, 621.
37. Cf. Public Art Commissions Agency, *Art at the International Convention Centre*, Birmingham, 1995.
38. Miles Davies, *Aquaduct*, bronze and phosphor coating, 1995.
39. Quote by Tess Jaray, in Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, *Public art in Birmingham information sheet 7*, Birmingham, 1994.
40. Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, *Public art in Birmingham information sheet 9*, Birmingham, 1994.
41. Letter from Raymond Mason to Editor, 'Sculpture subjected to simplistic critisism', *Birmingham Post*, 8th June 1991; T. Grimley, 'Sculptor answers his critics', *Birmingham Post*, 12th June 1991.
42. Letter from Sir Nicholas Goodison to Michael Diamond, Director of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 1991 (Public Art Commissions Agency files).
43. For example: Richard Perry, *Convention*, lime wood, 1992, paid for by Pinsent & Co, solicitors.
44. Brindleyplace, *Press release*, 10th August 1995; letter sent by the artist to the authors, 12th February 1996. Cf. note 36.
45. Cf. J. Beach (ed), *Expanding meanings in public art: three debates at the Ikon Gallery*, transcript of a debate on 8th June 1995, Birmingham, 1996, for how this has manifested itself on a local and national level.

RESEARCH

FILMS AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT: BRITAIN 1939-1951

Toby Haggith, Imperial War Museum, London

Virtual reality and computer generated images are being employed by architects and town planners to bring their designs to life in cities such as Los Angeles, Berlin and Newcastle. Building professionals are naturally excited by the possibilities of this new technology. In Newcastle, computer models for the reconstruction of the quay-side has enabled some timely and cost saving modifications of designs which would have obscured parts of the view. Computer simulations will also enable architects to offer the future inhabitants of these reconstructed urban areas an incredibly realistic preview of their designs. By 'experiencing' these designs the people can provide feedback for the professionals which, some suggest, will mean 'the end of planning disasters'.[1]

Although this particular technology is new, the particular building and planning problems it is designed to overcome are perennial. Similarly, this is not the first time that architects and planners have tried to animate their designs to make shortcuts in the building process or inform future clients. During the Second World War, and in the period of post-war reconstruction, many architects and town planners thought that film was the vehicle for portraying the 'Brave New World'. Films and large scale models of urban reconstruction projects were regarded as essential tools to visualise the professional drawings and plans for ordinary people. Thus films were produced about the reconstruction plans for several cities (eg Coventry, London, Dunfermline, and Dover) and aroused keen interest when screened to the people of the featured towns.

From the beginning of cinema film-makers have recorded our built environment. Early actualité films such as *A Tram Ride in Norwich* (1902) recorded views of the built environment in an indiscriminate manner or exploited the cine-camera's ability to capture urban panoramas from the air.[2] But film-makers quickly developed a more conscious perspective towards buildings. Feature film-makers like D.W. Griffiths used sets of palaces and castles to provide escape and drama for audiences, while propagandists used film to transport wealthy private audiences to the slums, highlighting the inequities of housing provision.[3] In fact film has had a long association with the built environment. Feature film-.nakers, particularly in Europe, have continued to be preoccupied by the cinematic potential of buildings and city scapes whether real or artificial. A number of film directors such as Antonioni and Fritz Lang, and a very high proportion of art directors, have had an architectural background. Propaganda and documentary film-makers have also continued to work on subjects about the built environment looking at town planning, architectural history, instructional films for builders, the problems of inner city estates, etc. In Britain between 1920 and 1951 issues of the built environment took a prominent place in many films: my survey has located at least sixty non-fiction films which deal with aspects of this subject.

The purpose of my research is to examine how films relate to the historical debates on reconstruction. Therefore I am concentrating on non-fiction films released between 1939-51. The majority of these films were produced by the government through the wartime Ministry of Information's (MOI) Films Division or after 1946 in the same section of the Central Office of Information (COI). A minority of films, including some particularly influential ones such as *When We Build Again* (1942) and *Land Of Promise* (1946), were produced independently.

Writing on reconstruction films.

Although a number of historians have looked at official film during this period they have generally been interested in issues of propaganda in general rather than specific aspects of policy. Therefore very few studies systematically examine the film treatment of reconstruction of the built environment. The nearest one gets to this from a film historian is a polemical study of MOI 'Peace-aims' films by Nicholas Pronay.[4] This analysis places Pronay alongside the historian Corelli Barnett, as he suggests that the Labour victory was partly due to the exposure of the public to officially sponsored propaganda films. Pronay states that the left-wing documentary film movement took control at the MOI Films Division from 1940, and thereafter were able to produce a stream of subversive propaganda films attacking the inter-war years and advocating radical reform. He is particularly vehement in his attack on planning films which, he contends, presented planning from the perspective of the technocrats and planning visionaries.[5] Typically, he says, the films explained to the viewer the problems of cities and then advocated the creation of 'New Jerusalems', 'some of them glaringly obvious and dreadful post-war mistakes in town planning including several of the very blocks of flats which were blown up as uninhabitable'.[6] He is also highly critical of those films which emphasised the consultation process in planning, arguing that they were not only manipulative but a laughably innacurate representation of events on the ground.[7]

The most important and thorough analysis of films about the reconstruction of the built environment has been produced by John Gold and Stephen Ward.[8] In contrast to Pronay, they take the view that film on urban redevelopment remained within the official consensus. They describe an evolution in the film depiction of housing issues. The pre-war period films such as

Figure 1. Housing Problems, *1935. (Courtesy of British Gas plc.)*

Housing Problems (1935)(Fig.1) and *Kensal House* (1938) advocated slum clearance as the method of urban renewal, with planning not portrayed until the war years.[9] In other words, not until those in government had begun to accept that planning was the way forward, could film propound this approach. After the war, Gold and Ward observe that films on urban planning were superseded by films such as *New Town* (1948) and *A Home of Your Own* (1951), which promoted the new town.[10] This development occurred as it became necessary to push the new towns after the passing of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act.

Gold and Ward are also interested in the cinematic problems that planning presents to the film-maker: it was an essentially boring two-dimensional subject with little scope for drama. They say that film-makers got around this problem in two ways. Firstly they presented the planner as a visionary and secondly they depicted planning as a scientific process.[11] These two methods were, they infer, indicative of a more general characteristic of planning in this period, the divorcing of the people from the planning process.[12] The planner tends to talk in an upper-class elitist fashion, while the people listen, watch and learn about the plans for the reconstruction of their towns.

In the post-war period films on the built environment moved away from "planning ideas into a more individualistic, home based conception of the urban future".[13] This was done to promote the new towns, and planning generally, more effectively to the public who it was thought were being alienated by the arcane film and planning debates of the war years. From this observation Gold and Ward draw a controversial but interesting conclusion that the films illustrate "a profound gap between planner and society" that revealed itself in the disastrous urban reconstruction of the post-war years.

Research methods

One of the principle weaknesses of previous studies has been that they have referred to a 'representative sample' of films. Therefore I have been careful to conduct a systematic trawl of British film archives. This comprehensive search has led to the inclusion of a

number of films which have been ignored in other studies. I have also been fortunate to locate some relevant films which were considered lost. By referring to a broader range of films it has been possible to challenge and modify existing knowledge. For example, Gold and Ward's work has missed a small number of films which do not adhere to their stagist model. As a case in point the film *Housing Progress* (1937), produced for the Housing Centre, questions the slum clearance campaigns of the time and advocates the creation of more garden cities.

My research has examined the films in three ways, it looks at how the films were produced; how the films portray issues of reconstruction; and how the films were screened and received. This approach attempts to blend formal historical methods, primarily using documents and other written sources, with film text analysis. I have also been keen to contact and interview, where appropriate, people involved in the production of the films. I have chosen this multi-faceted approach to avoid the pitfalls of previous work. Film historians and cineasts who have based their analysis of 'government-policy' films mainly on the 'visuals' have often made serious historical errors and crude generalisations. On the other hand a study which concentrated purely on the context of film production, drawn from an examination of documents, would be an arid pursuit. Similarly, it is my contention that an examination of propaganda films is worthless without some attempt to discover how they were distributed, screened and received.

This multi-faceted approach does present theoretical and methodological problems. For a few films, a large range of documents have survived such as treatments, scripts, correspondence, production cost breakdowns etc, but for the majority associated documentation is sparse. Comparing and contrasting a fully documented film with one supported only by some contemporary reviews or a brief mention in council minutes undermines balanced and coherent analysis. Another difficulty that arises when writing-up is simply blending commentary on the films' text (visuals) with historical comment and narrative. Both these particular methodological problems also raise theoretical conundrums. Is it fair to compare films about which we posses such different levels of historical knowledge ? Can films produced by different organisations be compared at all, even when they share subject matter? Should the historian employ a special technique in order to 'read' a film's text?

One way I have got around the documentation problem is to examine a large number of films in order to ensure that my ideas are well corroborated. An archaelogist or historian of the decorative arts would adopt a similar practise. Similarly, by working on the wider historical context of a film it is possible to 'map' the film without necessarily having all the immediate evidence at hand. Finally, I am reassured that my approach is broadly right as it has coincidentally also been adopted by another historian working in the related area of films on public health.[14]

Conclusions and broad themes

One of the interesting things to come out of this research has been the degree to which building professionals have been drawn to film as an educational and propaganda tool. Since the thirties, when Maxwell Fry first suggested the idea, architects have argued that film propaganda could be exploited to promote the role of the architect in British building. Planners have also been keen to use film to promote the garden city and urban redevelopment. In fact, the RIBA, The Housing Centre, and the Town and County Planning Association have all been closely involved with films as advisers, distributors and scriptwriters. The Bournville Village Trust even produced and distributed its own campaigning film *When We Build Again* (1942) based on its survey of Birmingham housing.

Although some film-makers and building professionals were keen to peddle their own propagandist message in official films, they were not given a free hand. My research has completely contradicted Pronay's contention about subversive propaganda. In the case of films about reconstruction policy, scripts were examined by civil servants working at the Ministries of Health, Works and Buildings, and, after 1944, Town and Country Planning. This external monitoring was in addition to checks being conducted by civil servants at the MOI or COI. These officials were very aware of the wider political climate relating to reconstruction in general as well as detailed policy on the built environment. To give an example, during the production of *A City Reborn* (1945) about the reconstruction of Coventry, the Deputy Director General of the Ministry of Information ordered changes to be made to a script he considered politically controversial. While this evidence indicates sensitivity to the wider political issues of reconstruction, documentary evidence reveals how film projects could become a battle ground between conflicting redevelopment theories. For example during the production of a British Council film, *Garden Cities*, Frederic Osborne, the scriptwriter, came into conflict with civil servants from the Ministry of Health because of his opposition to flats. The conclusion from my research is that making films on reconstruction was very tricky. Film producers had to present a consensus view while government policy was often still being formed and when receiving conflicting advice from outside bodies like the TCPA and the RIBA.

During the war, officials at the Ministry of Information, British Council and other Ministries often seemed to be in two minds about films on reconstruction. On the one hand, they were under some

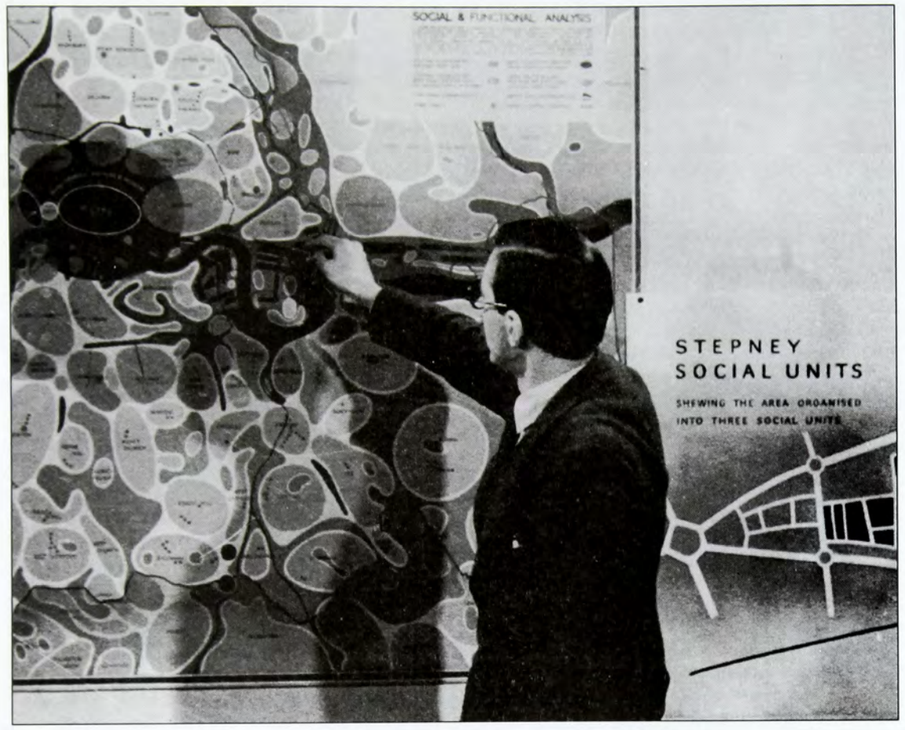

Figure 2. Proud City, *1945 (Courtesy of the COI.)*

pressure from planning lobbyists and, for certain periods, the general public, to issue proposals about reconstruction. On the other hand, they were unwilling to make proposals that did not have official approval or seemed unlikely to be feasible.

After the war the debate on reconstruction seemed to have been settled. New towns were now government policy and a large urban reconstruction programme promised. However, in the post-war era new problems arose for the propaganda film-maker as the way of presenting, these new ideas were fraught with difficulty. The peoples attitude to new towns was extremely mixed and the way of presenting such a radically new and disruptive measure proved very difficult. For example, the class composition of the new town inhabitants and the location of new towns created particular difficulties for film producers working on projects like *Charley: New Town* (1948). Another dilemma was how to reassure the public that the government was doing its best to fulfil its electoral promises on reconstruction, while being faced with shortages of all kinds. This problem led the Ministry of Health to try to dissuade the COI and the Ministry of Works from distributing a theatrical version of *The Task Before the Building Industry* (1950), a film which had previously only been screened to members of the construction industry.

Pronay and Gold and Ward have argued that wartime films on reconstruction of the built environment tend to reveal planning as a dictatorial process, with very little actual dialogue, or input from, the people to be 'planned'. While this is certainly true of films such as *The City* (1940), *Proud City* (1945)(Fig.2) and *Houses In The Town*, it ignores many films that invited the peoples' involvement such as *New Towns For Old* (1942), *When We Build Again (1942), Land of Promise* (1946,) *The People and The Plan* (1945), *The Way we Live* (1946) and *Town and Country Planning* (1946). These films emphasised the democratic nature of planning, encouraging the people to ensure they received the plans they wanted by voting or, better still, becoming active in local politics. People were also encouraged to have a direct input into the plans as they were being created. This element is even present in *Proud City* about the County of London Plan, when at the end of the film, the leader of the LCC, Lord Latham,

Figure 3. The Way We Live, *1946 (Courtesy of Rank Film Distributors.)*

invites the viewers to comment on the plan. Many of the films also showed how a particular plan was based upon a survey of the people or some other form of participation. With hindsight these elements could easily be dismissed as a simple ploy by politicians and planners to ensure their plans were made palatable to the people. However, this would be to ignore the intentions of the film-makers, planners and officials involved.

A recurring theme in planning and architectural literature during and after the war, was the need to sustain the interest of the people in planning reform and to involve them in the creation of the plans. In fact the overtures to participation found in *Proud City* merely echoed the intentions of officials and politicians at the LCC who were responsible for setting up a public exhibition of the Greater London Plan and publishing a cheap pamphlet version. One should remember that in a number of towns such as Bilston and Middlesborough planners were successful in eliciting a good deal of input from the people. Documentary film-makers like Jill Craigie, Kay Mander and Paul Rotha who were particularly sympathetic to this kind of planning, encouraged building professionals to grasp the possibilities offered by film. Paul Rotha, introducing some documentary films to an audience at the Architectural Association said:

> I do not believe that in a democracy you can have a plan worked out by experts and superimposed on the people. There will have to be several plans, and each one will need explanation, discussion and amplification before it will be accepted by the people in this country. In my view the screen is an excellent place for these preliminary discussions.[15]

Distribution and Screening of Reconstruction films

Films produced about reconstruction were much in demand both during and after the war. Some received theatrical distribution through special agreements struck between the MOI/COI and the cinema industry, but the majority were distributed non-theatrically. During the war the Ministry of Information set up a well organised film distribution network to screen official films to people who did not have easy access to cinemas.

Typically these shows were held in factories, village halls, schools, construction sites etc. It was also possible to borrow these films directly from the Central Film Library. This became the principal source for titles shown at planning meetings, and screenings organised by groups such as the TCPA and Housing Centre who were trying to raise public awareness of reconstruction. However, one of the most widely seen reconstruction films of the war was probably the independently financed *When We build Again*, which accompanied the TCPA's touring exhibition.

Local Films

Towards the end of the war and in the post-war era, local government became particularly interested in screening films on reconstruction. These were used to educate local officials responsible for reconstruction and to interest the electorate in specific reconstruction schemes. In a number of areas local government publicity officers arranged for screenings to be accompanied by talks about local reconstruction plans. In at least two towns, models and plans for local reconstruction schemes were displayed in the foyers of cinemas when *The Way We Live* (1946), about the Plymouth plan, was screened (Fig.3).

After the war some local authorities even produced their own films promoting reconstruction plans. The existence of these films and the history of their production, provides an interesting counterpoint to nationally produced and distributed examples. As these films were all produced by Labour authorities they tend to challenge the notion that the Labour Party ignored modern publicity techniques. Stylistically some of these films are rather dull, but a few, notably *Neighbourhood 15* and *A City Speaks*, provide an exciting contrast to the films produced by the government and commercial producers.

Reception

It is extremely difficult to assess how reconstruction films were received and whether or not they had any impact on public debate about reconstruction. When my research is completed I hope to be able to answer this question more satisfactorily. However, what we do know is that when films about reconstruction plans were screened in the towns featured, they were shown to packed houses and aroused a good deal of interest and comment.

The films themselves offer a rich contemporary perspective on reconstruction. As I have already stated reconstruction films offer two versions of the planning process; the dictatorial and the participatory. A related issue is the portrayal of the planner. In some films planners such as Abercrombie, Paton-Watson and Charles Bressey are shown as visionary figures, creating innovatory and brave town plans on the peoples behalf. But in *A City Reborn* and *Neighbourhood 15* the planners are portrayed as approachable figures, working closely and, indeed, in a subservient fashion to the people.

There are a number of other important elements of reconstruction which would merit scrutiny, for example: How are the ordinary people portrayed?; What is the role of government?; Is a relationship between planning and society described?; What architectural styles are preferred? etc. These will be addressed in my final thesis.

Conclusion

In the period from the 1930s to the 1950s, film was regarded by many people concerned with the built environment as a valuable tool of education and propaganda. In particular it offered a much needed way of visualising complicated planning principles and reconstruction plans to the public. In part this was motivated by the need to publicise these in order to ensure political support. But public relations during this period also entailed the encouragement of citizens to participate in a range of local political processes, including reconstruction.

For planners and architects of the 1940s and 1950s film was as exciting and novel a method of reaching and communicating with their clients as computer imagery is to contemporary professionals. In the past building professionals saw films as a way to ensure democratic planning; now architects and planners describe their goal as `client satisfaction'. The mechanics of managing this participation, once the interest and involvement of the people has been achieved, is a far more controversial issue. Some planners of the 1940'and 1950's had thought this through and devised methods of incorporating the peoples' ideas in to new plans.[16] However, at the moment modern planners seem to be so excited by the new visualising technology that they have not really thought through the political implications.

If film is studied in context and examined imaginatively it can provide many valuable insights into the history of our built environment. Moreover, as I have suggested, film is relevant to many debates in planning history. It would be a shame if film, as John Gold and Stephen Ward will agree, remained a relaxing diversion to be screened after boozy breaks at IPHS conferences.

Acknowledgments:
Pictures courtesy of BFI Stills, Posters and Designs. Special thanks to Bryony Dixon, Julie Rigg & Ali Strauss of Viewing Services, BFI. Thanks also to Dr Nick Tiratsoo for help with the text.

NOTES

1. Clive Davidson, 'Simulated Cities: The Game Boy Grows Up', *New Scientist,* 10 June 1995, p. 36
2. *Paris à Vol D'Oiseau* (1913).
3. One of the earliest surviving British films to do this is *Kensington Calling* made for the Kensington Housing Trust in 1929.
4. Nicholas Pronay, 'Land of Promise: The Projection of Peace Aims in Britain', in KRM Sort (ed) *Film and Propaganda in World War II,* Croom Helm, 1983.
5. Pronay, 'Land of Promise', p. 70.
6. Pronay, 'Land of Promise', p. 70.
7. Pronay, 'Land of Promise', p. 70.
8. John Gold and Stephen Ward, '"We're going to do it right this time": Cinematic Representations of Urban Planning and the British New Towns, 1939-51.' in S.C. Aitken and L. Zonn (eds), *Place, power, situation and spectacle: A Geography of Film,* Savage, MD, Rowan and Littlefield. 1994.
9 Gold and Ward, p. 6. (Please note these page references are taken from the authors pre-publication manuscript and so may differ from the published version).
10. Gold and Ward, p. 3.
11. Gold and Ward, p. 31-32.
12. Gold and Ward, p. 31-32.
13. Gold and Ward, p. 32.
14. Tim Boon, of the Science Museum, London, is doing doctoral research on British films and public health from the 1920s tot he 1950s. His essay, 'The Smoke Menace: Cinema Sponsorship and the Social Relation of Science in 1937,' published in Michael Shorthand (ed) *Science and Nature, essays in the History of Environmental Sciences*, BSHS Monograph 8, Oxford, 1993.
15. Paul Rotha, at the General Meeting of the Architectural Association, *A.A. Journal*, April, 1944.
16. Frederic Osborne, E.V. Williams and Max Lock had all suggested or introduced methods of obtaining peoples' ideas and comments on planning proposals.

Films on the Reform of the Built Environment: Britain 1920-1951

ABBREVIATIONS

NFTVA = *National Film, Television and Video Archive*
IWMFVA = *Imperial War Museum Film and Video Archive*
SFA = *Scottish Film Archive*
ETV = *Educational and Television Film Ltd.*
Sp = *Sponsor*
Pc = *Production company*
Dir = *Director*
Rt = *Running time*

Glasgow's Housing Program and it's Solution
(1917-20)
Sp: Glasgow Corporation
Pc: Greens Film Service
Rt: 81 ft.
SFA.

Kensington Calling
(1929) Silent
Sp: Kensington Housing Trust
Rt: 5 mins.
NFTVA

Silver Lining
(1932) Silent
Sp: Health & Cleanliness Council
Pc: British Utility Films
Rt: 395 ft (16 mm) 16 mins.
NFTVA

Challenge: War on Slums
(1934) Shortened version
Sp: St Pancras House Improvement Society
Rt: 468 ft (16 mm) 13 mins.
NFTVA

Housing Problems
(1935) Silent
Sp: Gas Light & Coke Co.
Pc: Associated Realist Producers
Rt: 1178 ft (35 mm) 13 mins.
NFTVA

The Great Crusade: Story of A Million Homes
(1936)
Sp: Various sponsors.
Pc: Pathe Pictures Ltd.
Rt: 18 mins.
NFTVA

Housing Progress
(1937)
Sp: Housing Centre
Pc: Matthew Nathan
Rt: 17 mins.
NFTVA

Lambeth Housing
(1937)
Sp: Lambeth Housing Movement
Rt: 15 mins.
NFTVA and **Lambeth Archives**

One Hundred Years
(1937)
Sp: Pearl Assurance with Co-op of Min. of Health
Pc: National Progress
Dir: Charles Barnett
Rt: 478 ft (16 mm) 12 mins.
NFTVA

Some Activities of the Bermondsey Borough Council
(1937)
Sp: Bermondsey Borough Council Health Propaganda Dept.
Rt: 25 mins.
Southwark Council Archives and **NFTVA**

Kensal House
(1938)
Sp: Gas Council
Pc: Associated Realist Producers.
Dir: Frank Sainsbury
Rt: 15 mins.
NFTVA

The Londoners
(1938)
Sp: British Gas Assoc.
Pc: Realist
Rt: 18 mins.
NFTVA

Rural Reconditioning
(1938)
Sp: Housing Centre
Pc: Matthew Nathan
Rt: 7 mins.
NFTVA

Contrasts in Kensington Housing
(1938)
Sp: Kensington Housing Trust
Pc: Ace Films
Rt: 11 mins.
Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea Archives Dept.

Wealth of a Nation
(1938)
Pc: Strand
Rt: 14 mins.
NFTVA

The City
(1939)
Pc: GPO Film Unit
Rt: 2000 ft (35 mm) 22 mins.
NFTVA

Housing Societies
(1939)
Sp: National Federation of Housing Societies
Pc: Matthew Nathan
Rt: 45 mins.
IMWFVA

Peace and Plenty
(1939)
Sp: GPGB
Dir: Ivor Montagu.
Rt: 620 ft (16 mm) 11 mins.
NFTVA and **ETV**

Now and Yesterday
(1940)
Sp: Health and Cleanliness Council
Pc: GB Instructional
Rt: 424 ft (16 mm) 11 mins.
NFTVA

Dawn Guard
(1941)
Sp: MOI
Pc: Charter
Rt: 7 mins.
IWMFVA and **NFTVA**

New Towns for Old
(1942)
Sp: MOI
Pc: Strand
Rt: 7 mins.
NFTVA

When we Build Again
(1942)
Sp: Cadbury Brothers
Pc: Strand
Rt: 30 mins.
NFTVA

Forward March
(1942) Silent
Sp: Health & Cleanliness Council
Pc: Visonoor Educational Films
Rt: 150 ft (16 mm) 6 mins.
NFTVA

Building Dreams
(1942)
Pc: Visonoor Educational Films
Rt: 177 ft (16 mm) 7 mins.
NFTVA

Development of the English Town
(1943)
Sp: British Council
Pc: GB Instructional
Rt: 1490 ft (35 mm) 16 mins.
NFTVA

The Road Ahead
(1945)
Unknown
NFTVA

Homes for the People
(1945)
Sp: Daily Herald
Pc: Basic Films
Rt: 2066 ft (35 mm) 22 mins.
NFTVA

A City Reborn
(1945)
Sp: MOI
Pc: Gryphon
Rt: 23 mins.
NFTVA

A Proud City
(1945)
Sp: MOI
Pc: Green Park
Rt: 26 mins.
NFTVA

A Plan to Work On
(1945)
Sp: COI for Dept of Health for Scotland
Pc: Basic
Rt: 3002 ft (35 mm) 34 mins.
NFTVA

Housing in Scotland
(1945)
Sp: MOI and Scottish Dept of Health
Pc: Merlin
Rt: 14 mins.
NFTVA

The Ten Year Plan
(1945)

RESEARCH

Pc: GB Instructional
Rt: 1524 ft (35 mm) 16 mins.
NFTVA

Town and Country Planning
(1946)
Sp: ABCA/War Office
Pc: Kinema Corporation
Rt: 10 mins.
NFTVA

The Way We Live
(1946)
Sp: Rank Films
Pc: Two Cities
NFTVA

Britain Can Make it No. 3
(1946)
Sp: MOI for Min. of Supply and Board of Trade
Pc: Films of Fact
Rt: 873 ft (35 mm) 10 mins.
NFTVA

Fair Rent
(1946)
Sp: COI for Dept of Health for Scotland
Pc: Crown
Rt: 998 ft (35 mm) 11 mins.
NFTVA

Progress Report
(1946)
Sp: Glasgow Corporation
Pc: Thames and Clyde
Rt: 10 mins.
SFA

Land of Promise
(1946)
Pc: Paul Rotha Productions
Rt: 6132 ft (35 mm) 69 mins.
NFTVA

Dover Spring
(1947)
Sp: COI for Min. of Health
Pc: DATA
Rt: 1033 ft (35 mm) 12 mins.
NFTVA

A City Speaks
(1947)
Sp: Manchester Corporation
Pc: Paul Rotha Films
Rt: 6070 ft (35 mm) 67 mins.
NFTVA

Homes of All
(1947)
Sp: Rank Film
Pc: This Modern Age
NFTVA

This is Britain No. 35
(ND)
Sp: COI/Board of Trade
Pc: Merlin Films
Rt: 983 ft (35 mm) 12 mins.
NFTVA

A Plan to Work On
(1948)
Sp: COI for Dept of Health to Scotland
Pc: Basic
NFTVA

Neighbourhood 15
(1948)
Sp: West Ham County Borough
Pc: Look and Learn Film Unit
Rt: 40 mins.
NFTVA

New Town (Charley Film)
(1948)
Sp: COI/Min. of T & CP
Pc: Hallas and Batchelor
Rt: 782 ft (35 mm) 9 mins.
NFTVA

Homes for Workers
(1949)
Sp: Liverpool Gas Company
Pc: National Film Company
Rt: 382 ft (16 mm) 10 mins.
NFTVA

A Planned Town
(1950)
Sp: Rank Film
Hertfordshire Archives

A Home of Your Own
(1951)
Sp: Hemel Hempstead Development Corporation
Pc: DATA
Rt: 20 mins.
Hertfordshire Archives

Houses in the Town
(1951)
Sp: COI for Min. of Planning and Scottish Health
Pc: Crown
Rt: 1800 ft (35 mm) 18 mins.
NFTVA

REPORTS

Rebuilding the Homefront, A One Day Symposium, Birmingham,10 February 1996.
Michael Harrison, University of Central England in Birminham.

This one day symposium was organised by Birmingham Central Library and the University of Birmingham's School of Continuing Studies to coincide with an exhibition of photographs by Bill Brandt and Max Jones from the collection of the Bournville Village Trust.The event brought together specialists from the fields of housing, planning and photography to explore Brandt's photographs of housing conditions in Birmingham and London in the early 1940s. The aim was to place the work in its social, historical and photographic context. The sessions were chaired by **Peter James**, the Photography Development Officer at Birmingham Central Library.

The day began with a barnstorming presentation on 'Homes for the people' by **Carl Chinn** (University of Birmingham). He provided a richly illustrated historical review of housing provision for the working class in Birmingham. He ranged from the back-to-backs and courtyard dwellings of the 19th century through to the inter-war council estates. He concluded by looking at post-war schemes aimed at building a 'New Jerusalem'. He argued that that the planners did not notice (or ignored) the things that made the old neighbourhoods tolerable (like the corner shops and the extended family).

Mike Beazley (University of Birmingham) gave a lucid account of the creation of the post-war planning machinery, concluding with that 'momentous piece of legislation', the 1947 Act. He reviewed the anti-slum campaign, government reports (Barlow, Scott, Uthwatt, Reith, etc.) and some of the literature on the 'Rebuilding of Britain'. Beazley drew special attention to Birmingham, which he claimed to be "a unique

Bill Brandt, 'Children Playing in the Street, Hockley, Birmingham, 1943.'
(Bournville Village Trust)

laboratory for the studying of planning history". He pointed to the work of the Bournville Village Trust and the West Midlands Group on Post-War Reconstruction and highlighted their publications, especially *When We Build Again* (1941), *English County* (1946) and *Conurbation* (1948).

Mike Hallett (University of Central England) took as his theme British photojournalism. He introduced the large audience to *Lilliput* ('a pocket magazine for everyone'), *Weekly Illustrated* and *Picture Post* and the work of Stefan Lorant. As editor of these ventures, Lorant introduced illustrated stories. He used prominent photographers, such as Brassai, Kertesz and Brandt. Hallett explored the way in which stories were commissioned and worked up. He highlighted the way in which Brandt built up his pictures. He showed that Brandt had shown an interest in housing before he was commissioned to work on this theme by the Bournville Village Trust and generally stressed his empathy with the working class. He warned those present about the dangers of using photographic sources, encouraging them, in particular, to check whether the publication date of a photograph was the same as when it was actually taken.

After lunch the delegates were treated to a showing of the film version of *When We Build Again* (1943). It was introduced by **Philip Henslowe** (Bournville Village Trust). He put the film, which contrasted the 'landscape of the slum' with new suburban estates and Bournville, in its context. The film suggested that planners and architects should 'listen to people'. (Interestingly, Mass Observation investigators were in 'Modelville' at much the same time as the Strand Film Company were making *When We Build Again*.)

Bill Brandt, 'Family Meal. Kingstanding, Birmingham, c.1943'
(Bournville Village Trust)

The rest of the afternoon session was given over to photographers. **Bryn Campbell** (former Picture Editor, *The Observer*) offered a personal perspective on Bill Brandt. He explored Brandt's links with Man Ray and the Surrealists. He also analysed the professional way in which Brandt worked on an assignment. Campbell paid particular attention to Brandt's interest in buildings and people. This comes through in his well-known pictorial series and in the work commissioned by the Bournville Village Trust.

Richard Sadler (former Head of Photography, University of Derby) reviewed the equipment, techniques, methods and themes used in Brandt's photographic representations of the Home Front. He reflected on what Brandt could do with the cameras at his disposal (Rolleiflex, Reflexe-Korelle, etc.). He analysed the way Brandt used lighting to intensify the atmosphere.(Sadler reminded the audience of the time Brandt spent with Brassai.) He also noted the cramped and claustrophobic conditions in many of the photographs of interiors, especially slum interiors. Despite their knowledge of the man and his work, they found Brandt difficult to pin down: Campbell found him 'enigmatic', and Sadler claimed it was 'difficult to unzip him'.

Max Jones concluded the Symposium by describing how he came to follow in Bill Brandt's footsteps. He had been invited by the Bournville Village Trust to make a contemporary record of life at Bournville in 1995, to mark the centenary of the commencement of the estate. Jones explained how he had made a conscious decision to parallel the work of Brandt. At the same time, he believes he has produced a set of images that reflect typical people and scenes at Bournville. We will have to wait some time to see whether this group of photographs interests planning and photographic historians.

What this, otherwise excellent, symposium lacked was someone (and some time) to pull the various stands together. Some reference to documentary films and the vast literature on 'Rebuilding Britain' would have added to the richness of the event and helped to establish the broader context in which the Brandt photographs should be seen.

'Architecture in Uniform': A One Day Symposium at the Royal Festival Hall, London, 20 January 1996
Simon Sadler, The Open University and Benjamin Franks, The University of Kent, U.K.

At 'Architecture in Uniform', the Twentieth Century Society provided a forum for discussion arising from the major exhibition '**Art and Power**', held next door at the Hayward Gallery (moving to Barcelona from February to May, and then to Berlin from June to August).

The day was convened by an ebullient **Gavin Stamp** (Mackintosh School of Architecture, Glasgow), who wanted the conference to address the question which he felt the exhibition had dodged: how should we evaluate totalitarian architecture fifty years after its inception? Neo-classicism, above all, had been misrepresented in the show as being somehow inherently fascist, whereas neo-classicism had, he argued, been more nearly an 'international style', as readily employed for English, Swedish and Danish town halls, and for the buildings of the American Works Progress Administration, as for Albert Speer's Berlin.

Furthermore, Stamp showed that Nazism did not limit itself to neo-classicism, but simply placed it at the apex of an architectural hierarchy that could accommodate the vernacular and modernism 'in their place' (in houses and factories). This sense of appropriateness was expressed in Hitler's assertion that the 'folk' values expressed by a Christmas tree are annihilated if the tree is placed in front of "a wall of glass" — a sensibility which Stamp candidly admitted was probably shared by himself and The Prince of Wales.

Stamp urged us to dissociate totalitarian architecture and planning from its production, function, and connotation, allowing us to ask only one question of it: "Is it good?" The risk here was a degeneration into a somewhat connoisseurish approach to totalitarianism, exemplified in the architect **Roderick Gradidge**'s appreciation of the extravagant classicism of High Stalinist architecture, from the neo-Palladian to the positively wedding-cake. Stalin, Gradidge admitted, was "a repulsive man, but he created an atmosphere of art", the product of which was "some fantastic stuff". Yet even if it were possible to dissociate an "atmosphere of art" from slave labour, Gradidge's approach barely clarified the basis of evaluation.

Indeed, there was an undercurrent of a distinctly latter-day pluralist dispute between modernism, classicism and the vernacular at the symposium (reminiscent of the stylistic rivalries at the 1937 Paris Exposition, of which the Twentieth Century Society's **Alan Powers** gave us a 'guided tour'). Speaking from the floor, Gradidge dismissed the Italian rationalist work of Ettore Sottsass Snr., subject of the architect **Thomas Muirhead**'s paper, as "rubbish", demanding instead to see more Classical Novecento work. Muirhead, meanwhile, was straightforward about the complicity of Sottsass's work with Fascist ideology, as in his youth camp at Massa, but was again keen to make the case for a totalitarian 'atmosphere of art' which affected the appearance of almost every town in Italy, for example, through station-building. Under these conditions Sottsass had achieved a complex interaction of architecture, plan and nature that has lessons for

students of modernism today. His buildings are now critically neglected, partly because of their Fascist associations, but Muirhead was certain that Sottsass's work deserves to be rehabilitated for its architectural merit alone.

Left at this level, evaluation of totalitarian architecture would mainly be a matter of taste, preference and criticism of 'architectural effect', independent of the buildings' original function. But these are elastic concepts which soon elide with questions of function and symbolism anyway. Nuremberg's Zeppelin field and parade grounds were good architectural solutions for the staging of political rallies, Stamp insisted, thus having it both ways: Speer had successfully addressed form *and* function. Likewise, as Stamp demonstrated, Hitler's Chancellery was 'effective' architecture in the way that it functioned to 'overawe' visitors.

Stamp's pragmatism was, in fact, subtle and persuasive, but although it attracted little in the way of direct rejoinders, it has to be said that problems with such pragmatism are either self-evident or could be adduced from some other papers, notably that of **Peter Blundell Jones** (Sheffield University). Blundell Jones feels that the grey areas in the relationship between architecture and power (Mies van der Rohe's flirtations with Nazism, or Italian Rationalism's patronage by Mussolini) should not distract us too much from a tendentious awareness of the danger of fascism. Of course, the symbolism and axiality of classicism are not automatically totalitarian, but they can be *amplified* to the point where they become so. The monumental and giantist anti-humanism of Speer's projects for Berlin could hardly be a matter for misinterpretation, or reinterpretation. That Speer envisaged only four per cent demolition of old Berlin, as opposed to Le Corbusier's one hundred per cent demolition of old Paris for the Plan Voisin, does not make the former the more humanist, and Stamp's efforts to compare pre-war Berlin projects with those of post-war British reconstruction did not account for the uninvited demolition work of the Luftwaffe.

Ultimately, aesthetical and ethical modes of evaluation are impoverished without proper historical evaluation. Happily, two speakers in particular, **Catherine Cooke** (Open University) discussing Stalinism, and **Francesco Garofalo** (University of Venice) on Mussolini's patronage, fleshed out the debates with the social and historical contexts in which totalitarian buildings were planned and built. In both Italy and Russia the production of totalitarian architecture was an intriguing process. In Italy, the rivalry between rationalism and classicism for the attentions of Il Duce was practically 'resolved' in a compromise between classical axial planning and modern structural techniques; Garofalo left us with the image of Libera's projected Symbolic Arch for Rome, 1942, which at the same time spanned an heroically 'fascist' axial plan *and* anticipated Saarinen's 'democratic' 1948 Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at St. Louis, USA. Cooke ended her talk by pointedly explaining the popularity that Stalinist urbanism in Leningrad and Moscow enjoyed in co-opting worker consent. In Moscow, street widening and the opening of the Metro provided genuine services and an introduction to the exhilaration of modernity; and one could hardly deny the indelible impression left by Gradidge's photograph of Metro trains speeding along neo-classical corridors lit by chandeliers.

It is unlikely that the organisers of 'Art and Power' expected that their exhibition would make them new friends. Aside from the fact that, in Stamp's opinion, other exhibitions have done the job better (particularly 'Berlin-Moskau 1900-1950', showing in Berlin and Moscow this year), 'Art and Power' has inevitably been the filling sandwiched between two slices of opinion, one slice being the dutiful 'concern' of critics like *Time Out* magazine's Sarah Kent (for whom the exhibition was "pernicious" in its failure to relentlessly oppress the visitor with the horror of totalitarianism), the other slice being the revisionism of this symposium. "Most speakers wished to avoid moral arguments", Stamp noted in his summing-up; "that's what we've had for years".

Without doubt, totalitarianism, and its representation, needs to be discussed, but to what end? One would hardly need a symposium to demonstrate that totalitarian art is interesting, nor that some of its products should escape outright damnation. Now that the architect-historian Leon Krier has broken cover, it is no longer shocking to reassess Speer, and sensible historians of modernism have long since given up trying to avoid admitting to Terragni's brilliance. More importantly, the process of *critical* revision and assimilation of the fascist past has been an ongoing process in European art and architecture since the 1960s, as in German painting (Anselm Kiefer *et al.*). In architecture, James Stirling's Staatsgalerie Stuttgart is perhaps the best-known example of the process, and happily it is possible these days to share Speer's admiration of Schinkel, without being cast as an anti-democrat one-self. And, of course, postmodernism has ridiculed modernism's claim to moral authority, and ensured that Beaux-Arts axiality lived to fight another day.

But too often at 'Architecture in Uniform', an appropriate level of critical sensitivity was overtaken by the will to provide architectural entertainment. Not even the most guarded speaker was prepared to question the legitimacy of political and socio-economic authority *per se*, as if its imposition through architecture is okay as long as it isn't excessive. Symptomatic of this rather cavalier attitude was one speaker's suggestion that the work on the screens in front of us was interesting precisely because it was amongst the last surviving examples of totalitarian architecture.

We propose symposia on the new architecture of, say, China and Iraq.

France Ivansek (ed.), *Hommage à Edvard Raviknar 1907-1993*, Ljubljana: France and Marta Ivansek, Pod topoli 85, 61000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, 1995, 488 pp., ISBN 47755520, Cloth $89.00, DEM 130.00 (Europe); $102.00, DEM149.00 (All other countries).

This is the first book on the Slovene academician and professor, Edvard Raviknar. He was an architect and urban designer, painter and graphic artist, teacher and thinker. He was a follower of the pioneers of modern Slovene architecture, Fabiani and Plecnik, a collaborator with Le Corbusier and the great pursuer of the Central European architectural tradition. This is a well-illustrated collective work by fifty authors from nine countries. It was conceived and edited by the Slovene architect and publicist, France Ivansek. The text is in Slovene and English. The book begins with a review of Raviknar's career, an extensive collection of photographs from his personal collection and a catalogue of his architectural works. There follows a rich collection of reminiscences on the man and his varied work. It concludes with a list of Professor Raviknars students. This is an unusual, but invaluable and comprehensive study.

Miles Lewis, *Melbourne: The City's History and Development*, City of Melbourne, 1995, 220 pp., ISBN 0 949624 88 8, Cloth $35A.

This handsome book emerges from a Central City Heritage Study commissioned by the City of Melbourne in 1992. It has many of the trappings of a conventional heritage study, from its opening 'statement of cultural significance' through its articulation of nine key historical themes to be explored (history, social development, city economy, government, town planning, utilities, public works, building, and architecture and streetscape) to the extensive bibliography, which provides a valuable guide to primary sources. The historical themes provide the basic structiure for each of the seven core chronological chapters, starting with the 'frontier town' of the early nineteenth century and ending with 'the urban spurt 1956-1975'. (Robert Freestone, University of New South Wales.)

Paul Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, 401 pp., ISBN 0 520 06876 9, Cloth $35.

Living Downtown examines the history of the residential hotel, from 'palace hotels' to skid-row flophouses. This lively and multi-faceted analysis examines architecture, real estate development, social history and planning thought in its attempt to discern the history of this important, but neglected, urban institution. In the first half of the book, the author ideentifies and explores four categories of residential hotels. In the second half of the book, he traces the fate of the residential hotel since its peak of popularity in the early twentieth century. (Thomas Hanchett, Emory University, Atlanta.)

Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret*, New Haven and London: Harvard University Press, 1993, ISBN 0 674 06761 4, Cloth £26.95, 0 674 06762 2, Paper £11.50..

Peter Jelavich's book is an exceptionally rich and rewarding study of the rise and fall of Berlin cabaret between the beginning of the twentieth century and the Second World War. Jelavich situates this art form within the context of Berlin's metropolitan culture. He describes the social origins, commercial ambitions and artistic creativity of a succession of theatrical groups and he shows that the satirical impulse of cabaret was tempered by business calculations as well as by political censorship. Even during the Weimar Republic, nudity was a more contraversial aspect of most cabaret revues than political satire, which more often than not expressed widespread disillusionment with the Republic itself.Jelavich suggests that in Berlin cabaret, entertainment was more important than politics. In the last part of the book, he tells the tragic story of Jewish cabaret artists, many of whom underestimated the danger of Nazism until it was too late.The last performances of Berlin cabaret took place in the concentration camps of Westerbork and Theresienstadt, from which most of the performers were sent to their deaths at Auschwitz. Throughout this deeply-researched and beautifully-written book, Jelavich demonstrates the ambivalent relationship between the metropolitan culture of the cabaret and the political culture of the German nation. In the trajectory from Berlin to Auschwitz, a vital part of Berlin's metropolitan culture, as exemplified by its Jewish cabaret artists and impressarios, was annihilated. (Reprinted from *The Urban History Newsletter.)*

Alan Lessoff, *The Nation and its City: Politics, 'Corruption' and Progress in Washington D.C. 1861-1902*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, 337 pp., ISBN 0 8018 4464 9, Cloth $45.

This book provides an ambitious and insightdful account of the physical transformation of Washignton D.C. during the last four decades of the nineteenth century. The author evaluates the nature of the city's development and suggests that despite the greater influence of planners and professional managers, the essential character of the city's 'promotional regimes' or the physical structures built differed but little from cities dominated by bosses and corrupt politics. (Seymour J. Mandlebaum, University of Pennsylvania.)

Martin V. Melosi, *Urban Public Policy: Historical Modes and Methods*, University Park: Penn State Press, 1994, 206 pp., ISBN 0 271 01093 2, Paper $13.95, £11.95.

This anthology focuses on a variety of public policy issues, including downtown planning,

PUBLICATIONS

Section 235 of the Housing and Redeveloopment Act of 1968, federal transit policy, the garbage crisis, historic preservation and electrical development. Authors include Carl Abbott, Paul George Lewis, Sy Adler, Martin Melosi and Seymour Mandlebaum. (Eugene P. Moehring.)

Kevin Nute,*Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan: The Role of Traditional Japanese Art and Architecture in the Work of Frank Lloyd Wright*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1993, 244 pp., ISBN 0 412 57420 9, Cloth £45.00.

This book examines the supposed influence of the architecture of Japan on the work of Frank Lloyd Wright. The author has systematically culled the enormous literature on Wright and presents both arguments for and against such influence. The chapters devoted to Wright's contemporaries who brought 'Japonisme' to America are particularly interesting. (Jay C. Henry, University of Texas at Arlington.)

Michael A. Pagano and Ann O'M. Bowman, *Cityscapes and Capital: The Politics of Urban Development*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, 188 pp., ISBN 0 80188 5034 7, Cloth $32.50.

This book examines economic development programmes undertaken by ten medium sized cities during the 1980s and 1990s. The authors emphasise the decision-making role of local leaders and conclude that politics matters in regard to urban development. The book's modification of development theory contributes to a sparse dialogue between economists and scholars from fields such as history and political science. (Alison Isenberg, Florida International University.)

Christopher Silver and John V. Moeser, *The Separate City: Black Communities in the Urban South 1940-1980*, Lexington: University of Kentucky Pres, 1995, 220 pp., ISBN 0 8131 1911 1, Cloth $29.95.

This book examines the development of the African-American community in three Southern cities: Atlanta, Memphis and Richmond. It reviews the racial politics of the cities and examines the interplay between competing groups within the black ghetto and the white power structure. The authors describe the effects of developmental politics, urban renewal programmes and the battle over desegregation in public schools. (Robert A. Calvert, Texas A and M University.)

Carol Willis, *Form Follows Finance: Skyscrapers and Skylines in New York and Chicago*, New York: Princeton Architectutural Press, 1995, 217 pp., ISBN 1 56898 044 2, Paper $22.50.

This book examines the skyline of New York and Chicago to demonstrate how land costs, rents, building technologies and public regulations affected the development of the skyscraper. The author argues that these factors, rather than the will of the develooper or the aesthetic ideals of the architect, determined the final building form. One of the book's great strengths is its presentation of highly useful information about the workings of the real estate market. (Robert Bruegmann, University of Illinois at Chicago.)

PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

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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.

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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.

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PRESIDENT

Professor Gordon E Cherry
School of Geography
University of Birmingham
PO Box 363
Birmingham B15 2TT
UK

Tel: 0121-414 5538
Fax: 0121-414 3971

EDITOR OF PLANNING HISTORY

Dr. Michael Harrison
School of Theoretical & Historical Studies in Art & Design
Department of Art
University of Central England
Birmingham Institute of Art & Design
Corporation Street
Birmingham B4 7DX
UK

Tel: 0121-331 5882
Fax: 0121-331 7804

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Dr. David W Massey
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Department of Civic Design
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