PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

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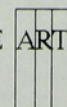555 North Sheridan Road
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CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

It is only right that the Society's Bulletin should reflect the international nature of the membership. This issue of *Planning History*, like others before it, highlights the geographical diversity of the work of members of the International Planning History Society. This is exemplified in the pieces on the World Series of Goad Insurance Maps and Charles Reade's peripatetic career as a town planning missionary. The articles in this edition also cover city regions as far apart as Caracas and Glasgow. The conference notices, book notes and references to the World Wide Web reinforce this picture of an international group of scholars and practitioners.

The approaches adopted in this issue are also typically varied. Like other recent contributors to *Planning History* (see Vol.16 No.2 and Vol.17 No.2), Christine Garnaut shows the value of oral history in analysing the trials and tribulations in the career of a planning pioneer (and his family). The relationship between interviewer and interviewees can sometimes be subtle and complex. In the case of the Reades this seems to have been a two-way process, for while Michael and Winwood Reade clearly offer up some useful personal observations, it is also apparent that they have learnt something from historians like Garnaut, Tregenza and others.

The article by Urlan Wannop was sponsored by the International Planning History Society and was was first given as a paper at the Metropolitan Regions Conference in Glasgow in April of this year. In this piece he gives a lucid and informed account of the varied experience of regional planning in the West of Scotland. He pays particular attention to the 1946 Clyde Valley Regional Plan (a reproduction of which was advertised in Vol.17 No.3). A respected scholar in the field of regional studies and a participant in the latter stages of this survey, Wannop provides a sophisticated account of a changing region with a devloping political structure. He concludes that while regions themselves may be impermanent, the need for regional planning is more enduring.

Local and regional issues occasionally surface in Arturo Almandoz's article on Caracas. It is good to have this well-researched piece on Latin American planning history, even if it covers a period when 'Frenchified decor' was popular. Almandoz analyses the continuing importance of European ideas in the planning of Caracas in a period when the political, social and economic context was changing. His contribution can be seen as part of the debate on the export of planning or the internationalisation of planning, but it should be recognised that he relates the impact of these European ideas and practices to the wider context of Venezuelan society and culture.

Robert Home's note on Goad plans (which are available for other cities in Latin America) allows me to remind members of the Society that the Bulletin is a good place to publish short pieces on important source materials. Similarly, abstracts of relevant publications originally published in a language other than English continue to be welcomed. While *Planning History* continues to publish empirical essays and articles on aspects of planning history practice (like conservation), theoretical pieces would provide a stimulating contrast to the more typical contributions.

The last issue of *Planning History*, with its tributes to Gordon Cherry, was much longer that usual. Almost as if to redress the balance, this edition is considerably shorter. All seems quiet on the conference front at the moment, and so, despite requests for contributions from the editor, this issue does not carry any Reports. Some good material should emerge from conferences noted in this and previous issues of *Planning History*, not least the Seventh International Conference of the International Planning History Society in Thessaloniki in October 1996. Members attending conferences or visiting exhibitions should submit reports to the editor so that important debates and events can recorded and noted. Remember the aim of the Bulletin is to increase awareness of developments and ideas in planning history in all parts of the world. Your Birmingham-based editor cannot be everywhere, but he is willing to disseminate information sent to him for publication in the Bulletin.

When I took over the editorship of *Planning History* from Stephen Ward it seemed appropriate to write about taking over the baton, because I am a runner. I am now approaching the end of my lap and I am starting to look for a successor. The next member of the editorial relay team should not expect to have to continue for too long; three years seems to be the norm. As with any challenge, the results can be rewarding. Certainly, I have found the work interesting and rewarding, particularly because it brought me into contact with many like-minded and generous people. I have also learnt a lot from, and had the support of, contributors, fellow members and my local collaborators. Anyone interested in taking over the editorial baton should contact me, or their 'local' member of the Editorial Board.

NOTICES

The Australian City — Future/Past
Third Planning History/Urban History Conference, 12-14 December 1996, Melbourne

CALL FOR PAPERS

Following successful ventures in Sydney (1993) and Canberra (1995), the third planning history/urban history conference will be held in Melbourne in December 1996.

The conference organisers welcome papers in all areas of planning and urban history. They are particularly interested in panels or joint papers addressing particular cities, planners, themes and/or key theoretical and conceptual issues. Because the conference will feature a range of visual materials, the organisers are also particularly interested in proposals using, or focusing on, visual presentations.

For more information contact **Tony Dingle** *(tony.dingle@arts.monash.edu.au.),* **Mark Peel** *(mark.peel@arts.monash.edu.au)* or **Graeme Davison** *(graeme.davison@arts.monash.edu. au).*

Anyone interested in presenting a paper in the broad areas of planning history and urban history is invited to send in an abstract of no more than 300 words, along with your fax, mail and e-mail addresses to: **Tony Dingle,** *Department of Economics, Monash University, Clayton VIC 3168, Australia. Fax: (61) +3 9905 5476.*

Sixth Northern Victorian Studies Colloquium: 'Citizenship and Duty: Remoralizing the Late Victorian City', 8 March 1997, Trinity and All Saints, Leeds, U.K.

CALL FOR PAPERS

The sixth Northern Victorian Studies Colloquium will consider the late Victorian response to the threat of the uncivilized city. The speakers will include Helen Meller (Nottingham), Michael Rose (Manchester) and Rick Trainor (Glasgow). The Victorian response to the apparent threats of urbanisation — the steady spread of 'slums', the dangers of 'darkest England', the challenges of social unrest — and, in particular, the ways in which notions of citizenship and duty were constructed as fundamental to strategies of urban regeneration will be considered.

Please send proposals for papers (one page) to the address below as soon as possible. The formal deadline for proposals is 15 November 1996, although potential participants who miss this date are invited to enquire if space is available. Those interested in receiving details of the conference programme and registration information once these have been finalised can register their interest at the same address.

Dr Martin Hewitt, *Leeds Centre for Victorian Studies, Trinity and All Saints, Brownberrie Lane, Horsforth, Leeds LS18 5HD. Tel.: 0113 2837231; e-mail: m.hewitt@tasc.ac.uk; Fax: 0113 2837200.*

Fourth International Seminar on Urban Form
18-21 July 1997, University of Birmingham, U.K.

Extending over four days, this interdisciplinary conference will cover a wide range of aspects of the physical form of cities. Participants will mostly be architects, geographers, planners, historians and urban designers. The programme will include invited and submitted papers, poster and video sessions, excursions, an exhibition of publications and a young researchers forum. Themes on which paper sessions are planned include urban morphological theory, terminology for describing and conceptualizing urban form, national and disciplinary schools of thought, historical urban morphology, urban morphology and planning practice and the form of non-Western cities.

The conference is organized by the Urban Morphology Research Group on behalf of the International Seminar on Urban Form, and the RGS-IBG Urban Geography and Historical Geography Research Groups.

Abstracts of proposed papers (about 300 words) should be sent (by 30 November 1996) to **Professor J.W.R. Whitehand,** *Urban Morphology Research Group, School of Geography, University of Birmingham, Birmingham B15 2TT, U.K., from whom further information may be obtained. Tel.: 0121 414 55236; Fax: 0121 414 5528; e-mail: umrg@bham.ac.uk.*

NOTICES

The International Society of City and Regional Planners, with the support of the ISoCaRP Local Organizing Committee and the Israeli Ministry of the Interior will host the 32nd International Congress on 'Migration and the Global Economy: Planning responses to disintegrating patterns and frontiers' in Jerusalem between 13 and 16 October 1996. Keynote speeches will be made by Peter Hall (The Bartlett University College, London), Saskia Sassen (Columbia University, New York) and Arie Shachar (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem). Three workshops will be devoted to what appear to be the most pressing issues stemming from the phenomenon of mass migrations within disintegrating spatial matrices: 1. social issues; 2. economic issues; 3. cultural issues.

For further information contact: The ISoCaRP Secretariat, Mauritskade 23, 2514 HD The Hague, The Netherlands. Fax.: +31 70 361 7909.

UMRG World Wide Web Site

The Urban Morphology Research Group launched its own Internet web site on 26 February 1996. The site is designed to provide information for both Group members and non-members alike. It includes information about a variety of aspects of the Group, including:
The Group's background;
The Group's research interests (including recent research projects);
A list of Group members actively engaged in research, their individual research interests and details of how to contact them (all members may be contacted by e-mail);
Details about the *Urban Morphology Newsletter*, including archived issues available to view online;
The programme of forthcoming events;
An annotated guide to web sites of related interest, including government bodies (such as the DoE or National Heritage), academic institutions, research grpoups, newsgroups, publishing houses and tools to search the Internet.

In addition, the site contains a visitors' book for browsers to sign, and a simple to use self-completion feedback form, to suggest possible additions or deletions to the pages.
The site is located at **http://www.bham.ac.uk/geography/umrg.html**. This should be entered exactly as written (during your first visit it is advisable to add a bookmark for this location to save having to enter it every time). The pages are best viewed using a Netscape Internet browser (copies of which may be downloaded (ftp) from the menu page), though they may be just as easily be viewed using alternatives such as Mosaic or Microsoft's Internet Explorer. (If you are unfamiliar with the Internet, then these packages are often to be found under the LAN Workplace window on a networked machine, if they do not have a windows group of their own.)

If you want any more information on the WWW site contact **Simon Marshall:** *Tel.: 0121 414 5682; e-mail: s.w.marshall@bham.ac.uk.*

THE REGIONAL IMPERATIVE: STRATHCLYDE AND REGIONAL PLANNING IN THE WEST OF SCOTLAND[1]

URLAN WANNOP, UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

THE DISTINCTIVE EXPERIENCE OF THE WEST OF SCOTLAND

No region of the United Kingdom has had more varied experience of regional planning than the West of Scotland. In seventy years of intermittently unfolding regional, the focus of regional action moved irregularly. It shifted from superficial collaboration between local councils in a strategic planning scheme in 1927 of the kind common in Britain at the time, represented often by exaggerated plans for new arterial roads, forward through advisory plans and investment programmes between 1946 and 1974 to the creation in 1975 of Strathclyde Regional Council, which was the only local government for a full conurbation region ever introduced in the UK and had the largest annual expenditure ever of any local government in the UK, excepting only the Greater London Council. And after the abolition of the Regional Council in 1996, Clydeside's local authorities will employ the first permanent structure planning team engaged for any full metropolitan region of the UK.

The West of Scotland also provides an exemplary illustration of the impermanence of attempted solutions to regional governance. However influential and notably effective in many ways, the distinctive experience of regional initiatives in the West of Scotland confirms the inherent volatility of regional contexts.

Strathclyde Regional Council has been a unique experiment. Created by a Conservative Government in 1975 after local government had failed to effectively cooperate in regional planning in the twenty years of most vigorous urban expansion following the Second World War, the Regional Council has been the only case of local government for a full metropolitan region ever attempted in the UK. Possessing an exceptional range of service competencies by which to support its strategic social and economic policies; it has been as unified a form of regional local governance as anywhere in Europe.

The abolition of Strathclyde in 1996 has been widely interpreted as being for the political advantage of the Conservative Government. But whatever the undoubted motives of Party interest, the Regional Council had certainly been overtaken by natural changes in the context of regional planning, which was the prime purpose for which the Council was established in 1975.

But despite its obsolescence under changing circumstances, during its life the Regional Council was significantly successful and notably innovative in many important aspects of local government administration and policy.

INCREMENTAL REGIONAL PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE

Voluntarist regional initiatives 1920's - 1943

In common with many other but generally smaller regions of the UK, a Clyde Valley Joint Planning Scheme was prepared in 1927 under the terms of the 1919 Housing and Town Planning Act. Its proposals were primarily for roads and transport, so that in 1936 the Secretary of State for Scotland would observe that Scotland had an urgent need for regional planning.[2] A handful of staff from the local authorities worked on 'regional' matters, arranging landscape designs for new major roads predominantly. But the Corporation of Glasgow had been preparing to expand its boundaries since at least 1919, pre-empting regional issues larger than even the ambitions of county engineers to build new highways.

The inadequacy of strategic planning concerned some in Glasgow Corporation, notably Jean Mann, a senior councillor who strongly favoured the creation of new towns. Mann's views were not then shared by her colleagues on the Corporation's Labour Group, but her call through the Town and Country Planning Association (Scotland) for a strategic and not a parochial solution to the problems of Glasgow's squalid slums and congestion was supported by Sir William Whyte, the Clerk of Lanarkshire County Council.[3] Whyte's membership of the Barlow Commission[4] put him in contact with Patrick Abercrombie's ideas on regional planning, as well as with larger problems of national planning. But for a senior councillor like Mann and a senior local government official like Whyte, only unofficial bodies like the Town and Country Planning Association shared their enthusiasm for creative strategic planning.

The Government intervenes : the Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1943 - 1951

Strategic planning for the region gained real force only when the Labour Secretary of State in the wartime National Government, Tom Johnston, caused the formation of the Clyde Valley Regional Planning

Advisory Committee in 1943. The motivation was not only to prepare for a post-War programme of slum clearance and new public housing, for Johnston set up committees also for Tayside and South East Scotland, partially as defence against any attempt by English colleagues in the Cabinet to stretch their departmental authority into Scotland.[5] The Clyde Valley Committee appointed Abercrombie to prepare a regional plan, with Robert Matthew, the Chief Architect and Planning Officer to the Scottish Office, acting nominally as Deputy Consultant. Abercrombie selected a team of nine full-time professionals, of whom Robert Grieve was the leader between Abercrombie's periodic visits to work in Glasgow. (Fig. 1)

The Clyde Valley Regional Plan became the first significant regional planning in the West of Scotland, and perhaps the single most influential.[6] The Plan's proposals were for comprehensive and dramatic change in both the physical conditions of the region but in the management of its affairs. The Plan quickly and enduringly earned a visionary reputation, the more justified by the 30 years that passed before some of its principal proposals were adopted. Grieve's significance was both in the preparation of the Plan and in the long and patient action to achieve its programme of new towns, of regional parks, of architectural conservation and of administrative reorganisation.

The roots of the Plan's strategy lay in relieving the most severe concentration of slum housing in the UK, mostly in Glasgow but spread through all the older towns which had contributed to the West of Scotland's industrialisation in the nineteenth century. In 1919 it had been estimated that 57,000 new houses were needed to meet Glasgow's needs, but despite a major public housing programme between the two World Wars conditions had worsened, and the Plan raised the estimate to 100,000.

The Plan had 76 Conclusions or Recommendations. As in his plan for Greater London of 1944, Abercrombie's principle was to curb suburban growth by a green belt and to disperse overcrowded slum dwellers beyond it. East Kilbride, Bishopton, Houston and Cumbernauld were to be the new towns to help people leave not just Glasgow but also Greenock, Paisley and eleven other of Clydeside's old industrial towns. In retrospect, the new towns seem not such a dominating element in the Plan as they must have seemed in 1946. Indeed, setting aside half of Houston's full capacity required only if North Lanarkshire's steel industry were to transfer to the Lower Clyde estuary as had been suggested, the other new towns were to house a maximum of only 190,000 of the 550,000 people whom the Plan sought to decentralise from Glasgow and of the 166,500 to move from areas for redevelopment elsewhere on Clydeside.

Fewer than a third of people who were to leave the teeming tenements under the Plan were to move to new towns. The majority were to be rehoused in the historic way by the outward spread of contiguous urban areas. At least 250,000 of the 550,000 decentralised Glaswegians would be relocated on green fields on the City's periphery, inside the inner edge of the green belt.

The Plan was assembled in a running dispute about the ability of the City Corporation to create a satisfactory new Glasgow. The Plan would have reduced much of the massive capacity for rehousing inside the City's large boundary extensions of less than ten years before. This was contrary to dominant opinion in the City Corporation, which prefered the need for new houses to be met within the Glasgow's relatively generous boundaries. The City Engineer, Bruce, would

not hear the case for new towns of which Grieve tried to persuade him as the Plan was drawn up. Bruce reported to the Corporation on how all citizens might be rehoused within a rebuilt Glasgow, in which the entire central city would be flattened and reconstructed as a Corbusier-like landscape.[7] So, despite envisaging still considerable growth of Glasgow's built-up area, the Plan was fought by the City Corporation on the issue of decentralisation. Struggle between the City and the Government over the scale and quality of Glasgow's renewal was to persist up to 1975, thirty years after the Plan.

After considering the Plan, the Clyde Valley Regional Planning Advisory Committee (1947) gave support on 54 matters, but expressed no opinion on ten contentious issues of which the largest was the proposed programme of decentralisation and of new towns, to which some industrial relocation would be integral.[8] When the first of Clydeside's new towns at East Kilbride was launched in 1947, it was against the City Corporation's objections. However, the Committee was able to support the Plan's call for a joint Inquiry by the Secretary of State and the local authorities into the question of creating a Regional Authority to supervise the Plan and to control the green belt, the distribution of industry, rehabilitation of derelict areas, new towns, regional parks, local planning and water resources. The Plan's case was for a confined Regional Authority, reflecting the coherence and compactness of the Clydeside Conurbation and its 'great congested area where the threat of complete fusion and close development are imminent'. Dealing with the rural and coastal parts of the region, the Plan implicitly anticipated the responsibilities of the Countryside Commission for Scotland.

The issue of housing programmes and decentralisation helped bring about the suspension of the Clyde Valley Regional Planning Advisory Committee. As Glasgow Corporation proceeded to build four major peripheral housing schemes encroaching on the Plan's green belt, the Committee withdrew from cooperative regional planning. Driven by pressure to achieve political targets for slum clearance, the Scottish Office conceded more housebuilding within Glasgow's boundaries than the Plan intended. Only after planning became the responsibility of a new City Architect did the Labour majority on the Corporation come to accept, in 1952, that not all Glaswegians could be rehoused within the City. Glasgow thereafter accepted the Plan's view that new towns were a necessary part of a regional strategy, within which Glasgow would aim at the largest programme of comprehensive development in Europe.

The Government retreats: the fallow decade 1951-62
Although Glasgow was by then no longer reluctant to accept a strategy of decentralisation, the election in 1951 of a Conservative government which was unsympathetic to planning introduced a fallow decade for strategic cooperation. The Clyde Valley Plan's influence seemed to be not just incompletely developed, but to be fading. But the Plan had not fallen out of sight of professional staff in government service. Grieve had moved to the Scottish Office when the Plan was completed, where he joined James McGuinness who had been associated with the Plan as an administrative civil servant. So, professional staff of the Scottish Office kept the potential for regional planning in mind throughout the 1950's. Grieve became Chief Planner to the Scottish

Office in 1962, and McGuinness began to build what later became the Scottish Economic Planning Department.

Some regional initiatives escaped the political tide disfavouring strategic planning in the 1950's. Glasgow's housing conditions remained a national scandal and the contribution of East Kilbride and of the City's housebuilding so insufficient that, in 1955, the Government conceded that a new town specifically for Glasgow should be built at Cumbernauld. This was the last new town in the UK started solely to help relieve slum housing conditions. But not till the early 1960's did industrial issues and regional economic development become such politically opportune matters as to lead the Government back to regional planning.

The regional reassertion : the Clyde Valley Plan confirmed 1963-70
Rising anxiety that deteriorating economic conditions in several regions of the UK would bring defeat at the general election of 1964 caused the Conservative Government to return to the idea of regional planning. The Scottish Development Department's Programme for Development and Growth for Central Scotland of 1963 was built on the concept of economic growth poles, rooted in new towns or in selected areas of growth and rehabilitation. This programme for investment reinforced the new conception of a Central Scotland economic region, growing as the old heavy industries of Clydeside were replaced. So the Government started the new towns of Livingston and of Irvine, both aimed at housing factories first and people second. Irvine particularly marked a new priority in the West of Scotland's planning, with the Development Corporation preferring that Irvine be dissociated from Glasgow lest potential investors think the new town tainted with the image of a failed city. (Fig. 2)

The 1963 Programme was effectively the first review of strategic planning for Clydeside for twenty years. But while putting the region in the wider context of Central Scotland, the Programme was narrower in scope than the Clyde Valley Plan and less reflective. It was more immediate but also superficial in considering the means of implementation. It had two damaging effects. First, it assumed that Scotland's population would grow to almost six million in 1981, when the actual outcome was nearly a million fewer. So the new growth poles started by the Government were too many for the resources subsequently available. Neither the new town of Irvine nor the aborted new town of Stonehouse was justified on a more realistic view of regional prospects. Secondly, the Programme became seriously unbalanced by the Government's concentration on developing the new growth areas, without adequate arrangements to similarly exploit the potential of the older areas for rehabilitation.

But regional planning accelerated through the 1960's. Collaborative Land Use Working Parties of the Scottish Office and local authorities examined where in the region it might be possible to house the major growth of population being forecast in the mid 1960's. The site for a further new town was found at Stonehouse, south of East Kilbride. This was to be the last throw in the 1960's game of expansive regional development, stretching ambitions for growth beyond sustainable limits. The expansionist strategy was blindly optimistic and inflexible. Investment in even the favoured new towns was spread too thinly, and there

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THE CLYDE VALLEY
REGIONAL PLAN 1946

A REPORT PREPARED FOR
THE CLYDE VALLEY REGIONAL PLANNING
COMMITTEE

*Consisting of Representatives from the Corporation of the City of
Glasgow, the large Burghs of Airdrie, Ayr, Clydebank, Coat-
bridge, Dumbarton, Greenock, Hamilton, Kilmarnock,
Motherwell and Wishaw, Paisley, Port Glasgow,
Rutherglen and the County Councils of
the Counties of Ayr, Dunbar-
ton, Lanark, Renfrew,
Stirling*

BY

SIR PATRICK ABERCROMBIE
M.A., F.R.I.B.A., P.P.T.P.I., PLANNING CONSULTANT

AND

ROBERT H. MATTHEW, A.R.I.B.A.
DEPUTY PLANNING CONSULTANT

EDINBURGH: HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
1949

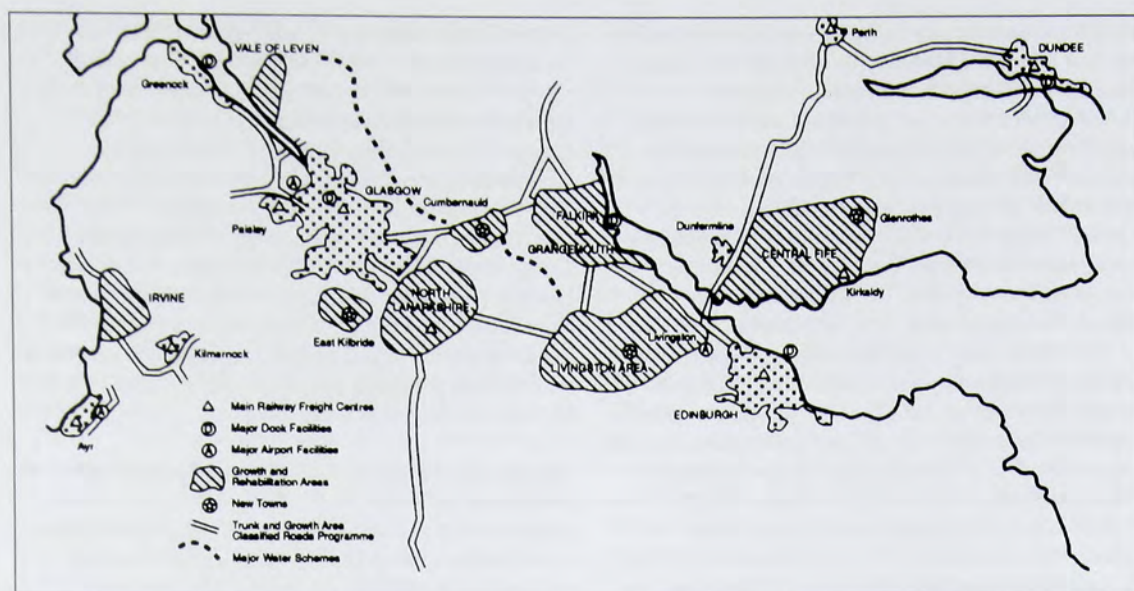*Figure 1. Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1946*

Figure 2. Central Scotland Programme for Development and Growth 1963

Figure 3. West Central Scotland Plan 1974

was economic as well as social damage by delay in rehabilitating the older industrial parts of the region.

By 1969, the possibility of a wholly new basis for regional planning was emerging. Not for regional planning as an intermittent task, but as within a continuous system of reorganised regional governance. The Royal Commission on Local Government in Scotland (1969) borrowed much of the Clyde Valley Plan's analysis of the need for a regional authority for Clydeside to recommend one for a much larger West Region.[9] The Commission put strategic planning first amongst the functions of new authorities in Scotland, and it drew quotations from the Plan on which to base its case for an authority for a West Region stretching far beyond a core of metropolitan Clydeside. But the Plan of 1946 had argued for a strategic authority only for the metropolitan area, rejecting a unified administration for the wider Clyde Valley. The Commission of 1969 failed to admit to its sleight of hand in transposing the Plan's arguments to envelop also a greatly extended rural hinterland. Nonetheless, the Commission was justified because social and economic change, population redistribution and unfolding transport improvements had much extended the metropolitan influence since the Plan of over 20 years before.

Crisis on the Clyde: the West Central Scotland Plan 1970 -75
Only in September 1970 was a West Central Scotland Plan Steering Committee of local and central government representatives established to oversee a new regional plan to succeed the Clyde Valley Plan of almost 25 years before. The region for study was similar in extent to that of the Plan of 1946, but the scope of the new strategic review much more strongly emphasised economic issues and policy. The origins of the new Plan lay in political anxieties over intensifying problems in the Clydeside economy and in sharply deteriorating prospects for Clydeside shipbuilding. There was also growing discontent in the Scottish Office over the quality of urban renewal in Glasgow. The Corporation's

programme of 29 areas of comprehensive redevelopment was falling behind time and below the standards which the Scottish Office thought likely to induce social and economic health in the Glasgow of the late twentieth. century.

The initial stage of surveys and data analysis for the Plan was completed by a team of planners and economists seconded from the Scottish Office, supported in the concluding stages of strategy and policy making by Colin Buchanan and Partners and Professor Kenneth Alexander, as planning and as economic consultants respectively. Alex.Wyllie, who had led the initial stage, was succeeded by Urlan Wannop, who directed the concluding two years of work. The Plan was published in 1974, a year prior to the dissolution of the local authorities who had shared its sponsorship and to the creation of the Strathclyde Regional Council.[10] (Fig. 3)

The Plan's economic analysis was that civil servants of a government ministry responsible for financial aid to industry throughout the UK could not be fully sensitive to regional differences, being inevitably bound by national guidelines. There was need to establish a regional economic development agency which was closer to local circumstances and less bound by restraints. The Plan's analysis of current planning strategy was that expectations of growth in the new towns were unrealistically high, and that a start to the newly designated new town of Stonehouse should be deferred. Linking its economic and physical analyses, the Plan also concluded that a Task Force for environmental improvement was required to rehabilitate the dereliction and decay allied to declining heavy industry and deteriorating housing.

The Plan's principal proposals were accompanied by a programme for building and renewal in the region's districts, recognising that continued expansion of urban Clydeside on the scale hitherto envisaged would continue to wastefully stretch resources. The Plan had evidence of a new and almost certainly sustained trend for a dwindling of population
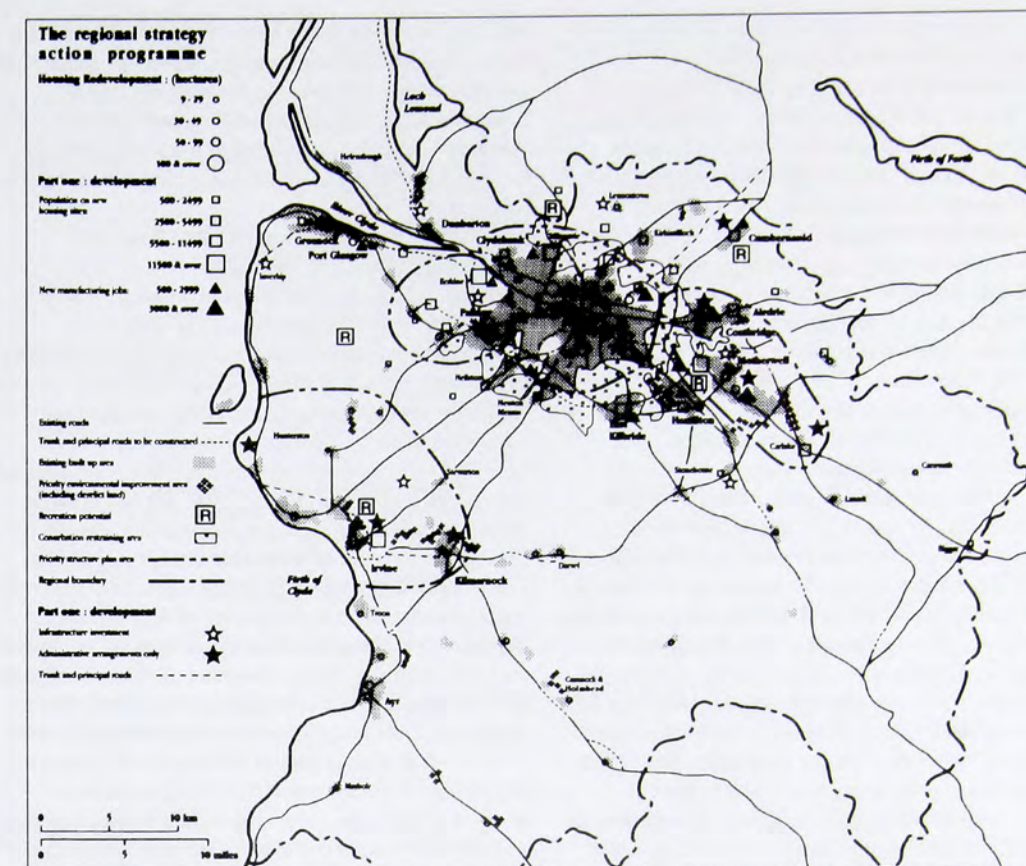
and employment in the region, quite against the expectations of the Central Scotland Programme of 1963, as of the Clyde Valley Plan before it.

The Plan's proposal for a regional economic development agency ran parallel to Scottish Office ambitions, which wished to administer the most regionally sensitive components of government aid to industry, then the responsibility of the UK Department of Trade and Industry. The Plan added analytical weight to pressure the Scottish Office was putting on Whitehall to capture this responsibility. Because on this issue the Plan ran alongside a campaign already underway uniting significant Scottish industrial and political interests, it was welcome to the Scottish Office and to most Scottish economic interests. But that was not so with the Plan's advice that Stonehouse was probably one new town too many for the region. This ran contrary to the expansive spirit of the past 25 years or so of Scottish Office strategic policy. The Scottish Office had come to regard new towns as flagships of economic progress, and it was hard for it to contemplate suspending a new town begun only in 1973. Nor after having been newly given the job of building Stonehouse could the East Kilbride Development Corporation do other than fiercely oppose an abrupt curb to its work.

The Plan was never collectively debated or adopted by its sponsors. The then local authorities were in their last year of life and elections were underway for the new councils. But the implicit acceptance of its significant proposals by either or both the Scottish Office and the embryonic Strathclyde Regional Council

was quickly seen. Whereas the Clyde Valley Regional Plan had to wait 20 years for contexts in which a majority of its proposals could be effected, the West Central Scotland Plan emerged in a more immediately favourable political context. The General Election of 1974 replacing a Conservative by a Labour government and the creation of the Regional Council in 1975 were critical to rapid action on the Plan's main concerns.

Strathclyde Regional Council : the Regional Report and strategic planning 1975 - 79
Thirty years after the Clyde Valley Plan had made the case for it, it was not until 1975 that local government was reorganised. And only then after adjustments to the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1969. The Regional Council introduced for Strathclyde was certainly more appropriate to contemporary circumstances than the prior system, which was almost 80 years old in essence. But since the Commission's report there had already been significant events in politics and in issues in regional planning. Just as the West of Scotland region for strategic planning had been redefined between the Clyde Valley Plan and the Royal Commission, it was again being redefined in the mid 1970's. A new context for regional planning policy had been set with the completion of the West Central Scotland Plan in 1974, extended through progressive interventions in strategic development by new government agencies. Starting under the Scottish Development Agency established in 1975 and added to through the Scottish Homes agency in the 1980's, these

interventions gave government agencies a share in strategic urban projects and policies which were previously exclusively initiated by local government.

Strathclyde Regional Council assumed full responsibility for almost all major local government services in the region, with the significant exception of housing. Regional governance was introduced with collective responsibilities which were distinctive in British local government. And there was a new awareness that the greatest challenge to policy was probably the impacts of decline in basic industries of Clydeside, more even than traditional problems of housing. The Council established a department for Policy Planning as well as one for Physical Planning, which was directed by Dewar Torrance initially and subsequently by Robert Maund.

A first task of the Regional Council was to submit a Regional Report (1976) as required by the Secretary of State for Scotland from all the new regional councils within twelve months.[11] Declaring its strategic objectives in the Report allowed the Council to assert its new authority in the region's planning. Alongside the less exceptionable objectives of alleviating poverty and helping restore economic strength to the region, was the firm recommendation that Stonehouse new town should be terminated rather than merely suspended. Strathclyde already had three incomplete new towns at East Kilbride, Cumbernauld and Stonehouse. In conditions in which both jobs and population were dwindling in the region, the established new towns had ample capacity to collectively house all who might wish to live there. Barely a third of households moving from the central conurbation of Clydeside to new houses outside had chosen a new town, which was far below expectations as late as the mid 1960's. Vacant and derelict spaces were now fast opening up in Clydeside's urban fabric, as the population fell, industries closed and urban renewal was inadequate at filling the gaps. The historic overcrowding and congestion which had been a dominant policy issue in Glasgow until the early 1970's, was suddenly replaced by a widespread problem of insufficient demand for reuse of urban land.

By its stance on Stonehouse, the Council challenged the Secretary of State to yield to it on planning strategy. Stonehouse had a symbolic importance for the Council, perhaps greater than the value of the resources which abandoning the new town would allow to be diverted to higher priorities in the region. The Council won its case when in 1976 the Secretary of State announced that Stonehouse would be stopped, the only new town in the UK ever to be stillborn. But an almost simultaneous announcement was made that the SDA was to coordinate and lead the social, physical and economic rehabilitation of a major sector of the city of Glasgow, the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) project. GEAR was unprecedented in UK experience of urban regeneration in extent, ambition and in the collaboration between several public authorities led by a central government agency. It marked a switch in flagships of regional strategy from new towns to urban regeneration initiatives. At the same time, it was something of a Trojan Horse because it introduced a government agency into direct action in urban regeneration in Britain, previously managed entirely by local government.

In its first five years, the Regional Council did have a relatively clear run in strategic planning. Having

not only the region's new towns within its boundaries, but also responsibilities for water, sewerage, social work and education which were lacking to the Greater London and English metropolitan county councils, Strathclyde enjoyed a potential to influence startegic development unique amongst UK metropolitan regions.

Strathclyde Regional Council : the Regional Structure Plans 1979 - 96
Work on the first Strathclyde Structure Plan led by Roger Read was completed in 1979.[12] The Plan interpreted the earlier Regional Report through policies to support a revival of the economy and social health of the longer established built-up area of metropolitan Clydeside, wishing that the outflow of people and economic activity might be stemmed. The main strategic policy tool was to consolidate green belts around the principal built-up areas of the region and to severely restrain the amount of greenfield land provided for further building. Thereby, the aim was to help foster the reuse of vacant land and recycling of obsolescent industrial and commercial buildings in the metropolitan area, where policy was to resuscitate traditional shopping and business areas by refusing planning permission to major new and competitive out-of-town developments.

The Plan proposed broad areas for action to rehabilitate the worst parts of Clydeside and those districts of the region whose condition was unappealing to both local people and to potential investors in the region. The Plan could not itself directly influence action in most of these areas, however. It largely depended upon agents of change other than the Council, and these agents' priorities and resources were independently determined. Also, the areas proposed for action were extensive and not all capable of being comprehensively treated within the Plan's five year horizon for housebuilding, or its longer horizons for industry and commerce.

The Plan's programme of land release for building was biennially updated and dynamic in this respect. However, as a means of setting priorities for physical change and regeneration within metropolitan Clydeside and other parts of the region in greatest need of renewal, the Structure Plan mostly followed rather than led the local councils and government agencies initiating renewal work. The renewers had inevitably greater local knowledge and their own view of priorities. The Plan's powers were direct only where the Council had the opportunity to refuse permission to development proposals contrary to the Plan, or where the Planning Department could influence action by other Council departments or by government agencies, or where the Department could itself undertake projects in the countryside using its own budget. Within urban areas the Plan seemed less influential. It offered little information about the rate of future change in the social, economic or physical environment of the metropolitan area. Nor did it assess the future need for technological infrastructure nor speculate about the longer-term future as some metropolitan and regional planners were doing in other European countries.

So control of urban affairs and the detail of strategy for Strathclyde lay in many hands, amongst which the Plan was only one of several significant strategic influences. The Council's greatest strategic significance lay probably not in physical planning but in its capacity to raise local taxes from a wide area,
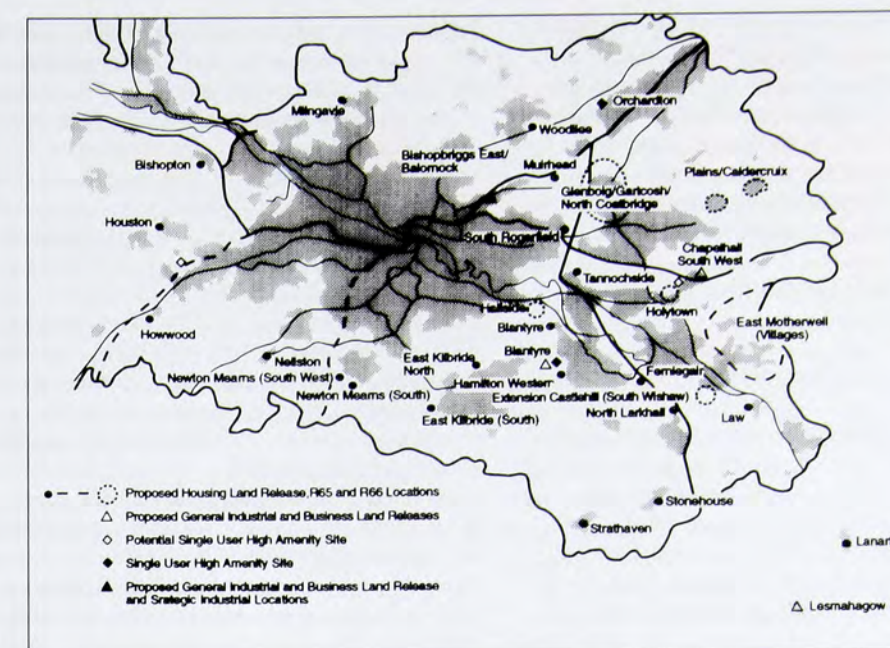
redeploying them to selected areas of acute need within the metropolitan region and some more remote rural areas. Scope for strategic intervention of this kind was notably evident in equalisation of prior imbalances in the distribution of teachers, and also in elements of public transport policy. In strategic planning with a physical output there were now too many players on the strategic scene for the Council or its Structure Plan to play the dominating role originally envisaged. And it has been said that land-use and financial planning were never effectively integrated.[13] But the uniqueness of the Strathclyde experiment was recognised when the European Community's award for regional planning for 1990/91 was given to the Strathclyde Structure Plan. (Fig. 4)

The Advance of Government Agencies: Pluralism in strategic planning 1979 - 96
In the mid 1970's, the rising share of government agencies in strategic urban projects and policies previously the almost exclusive responsibility of local government began with the GEAR project in Glasgow, spreading to initiatives in the Garnock Valley of North Ayrshire, Clydebank, Motherwell, Inverclyde and many later, lesser but cumulatively significant, local projects. The Scottish Development Agency (later Scottish Enterprise) fostered a mosaic of local enterprise companies engaged in local economic and environmental action. Scottish Homes (succeeding the Scottish Special Housing Association) pursued social and economic as well as housing action in problem areas of local authority housing. As the Government achieved growing nationalisation of local affairs, the context for strategic planning became more complex than had foreseen by the Local Government Commission in 1969. Regional strategic planning had become much more than before a pluralist enterprise, to which the Scottish Office progressively contributed through its system of National Planning Guidelines.

Strathclyde superseded: the logic of regional evolution 1996 - ?
Clothed in rhetoric about gains to come in cost savings and in local democracy — the Prime Minister, John Major, had notoriously described Strathclyde as 'monstrous' — there was also naked party political partisanship in the reasons for the abolition of Strathclyde in 1996. There had been no widespread popular demand for local government reorganisation except from minority Conservative interests. However, this did not mean that Strathclyde was incompatible only with a Conservative Government. The three other major parties in Scotland also favoured abolishing the Strathclyde Council in the event of their achieving their preference for an assembly or parliament for Scotland .

Strathclyde was therefore not going to survive to the year 2000 in any circumstances. It might have fallen even sooner if the Conservative Party had not frustrated the opposition parties at all general elections from 1979 onwards. The Regional Council's demise was inevitable under any UK government of the 1990's, and a recasting of regional planning was accordingly also inevitable.

Although its enthusiasm for regional planning in the 1960's and 1970's was much tempered after 1979, the Scottish Office's stipulated that collaborative structure planning was necessary after the coming of the new local government system in 1996. This was a reformed idea of regional planning, whereby eight of the new unitary councils formed a Clyde Valley Joint Structure Planning Committee, jointly appointing a team to prepare and maintain a structure plan for the Clyde Valley from the estuary of the river to its source. Including the metropolitan area centred on Glasgow, this region is smaller in area than Strathclyde but has a population of 1 3/4 million.

Whatever the Regional Council's merits and the improvements in efficiency, equity and imagination

it brought in several fields of public administration and enterprise, the demise of Strathclyde was appropriate in many changed circumstances. Even at its inception in 1975, the concept of regional planning which had driven the Council's creation had already been modified by events. Government agencies had become profoundly strategic in their collective influence, and the socio-economic shape of the region had altered.

THE WEST OF SCOTLAND AND THE REGIONAL IDEA

Has regional planning for the West of Scotland been successful ?

Its distinctive, considerable and varied experience means that the case of the West of Scotland is important to any judgement on the nature of regional planning, and as to how well it can succeed in the UK.

The Clyde Valley Plan was highly successful in its analysis of what the region required. Though only slowly adopted between 1946 and the early 1970's, its proposals were then fulfilled in quantity. By 1976, 11 of the Plan's 15 key proposals had been implemented, as had 39 of 61 other recommendations of lesser significance. This was attribute to the Plan's depth and foresight, both in terms of substantive policies and on the need for institutional structures to carry then through. The Plan's influence was strong in the reorganisation of local government in Strathclyde in 1975, as it was in other Scottish initiatives in governance, particularly for leisure, recreation and the countryside.

If the Plan was highly successful because so many of its proposals were later achieved, this does not mean that the Plan was wholly right in all of them. In the perspective of a long history, it might be questioned whether the Plan was right to propose to curtail the spread of Glasgow as acutely as it did. It could be argued that the ill-repute into which the City's large peripheral housing schemes fell was due not to their being larger than the Plan wished, but was rather because they were inadequately managed and meagrely financed by comparison with the new towns. It might have been that the social and economic plight of some poor, unemployed people residents on the City periphery would have been worse if a new town had been their home.

The Central Scotland Programme for Development and Growth of 1963 proved to be seriously unbalanced in the way it was implemented, and seriously erring in its assumption of large growth in Scotland's population. The Programme was unjustifiably bold about the prospects for long-term growth of people and of employment. Early investment in urban infrastructure was accordingly spread too widely and too thinly. Without the expected increase of people and employment, the new growth poles started by the Government were too many and unjustifiably large. The Programme also became seriously unbalanced by the Government's concentration on developing the new growth areas, for it did not sufficiently pursue adequate arrangements to arrange to bring older areas up to a matching state of economic efficiency and social health.

The West Central Scotland Plan was fortunate in the particular political circumstances in which it emerged. Its major proposal for a Strathclyde Economic Development Corporation accorded with what the Scottish Office and many Scottish business, industrial and labour interests were already working towards, and the arrival of a Labour government in 1974 brought a similar agency in the form of the SDA. And on the issue of the necessary downward adjustment in the expectations of the new towns, the suspension of the new town of Stonehouse which the Plan proposed was probably achieved only because the competing interests of the former county councils were eliminated by Strathclyde's creation in 1975, backed by the replacement of a Conservative by a Labour government.

The Strathclyde Structure Plan turned from the cavalier style of advisory regional planning to the mould of conventional statutory practice. This reversion occurred as the dominant issue in regional planning strategy which up to 1975 had been how to shape urban expansion, had become the issue of metropolitan and economic regeneration. But decisions and physical action by the City of Glasgow District Council and the Government's various agencies combined to be more significant in how this strategy was fulfilled than were the powers of the Regional Council as a planning authority. The Plan was that of an executive regional authority, however, with a statutory status lacking to its predecessors, the Clyde Valley and West Central Scotland Plans. It was distinctive in the opportunity it took to roll its programme and some of its policies forward biennially, in its view that it should point to what others might do rather than to presume that it could itself be deterministic, and it also adopted the guideline of environmental sustainability.

It has been said that the Structure Plan had relatively little impact.[14] Of course, only a part of the influence of any planning department lies in the text of its statutory plan, but the presence in the region of so many government development agencies made for a more complex strategic environment than existed elsewhere in metropolitan Britain, except perhaps Greater London after 1986. In this distinctive context, the Plan was relatively oblique and did not strike out in new directions of strategy as had its predecessors, the plans for the Clyde Valley, Central Scotland and West Central Scotland. The new dominating preoccupation with urban regeneration had been no more foreseen in the reorganisation of Scottish local government than it was in the English reorganisation of 1974. Stimulating urban redevelopment had become more urgent than to mould urban growth. Planning had to work harder for obvious returns, and the new regional planning was not expected to be in the old style of county planning of the years before 1975. It was conceived of as qualitatively different. But as the team preparing the regional Structure Plan was largely recruited from staff familiar with an older style of development planning, transition to a new context and to innovative strategy-making was difficult.

Redefining the region: the West of Scotland in the 1990's.

Even by the same socio-economic principles as underlay the Clyde Valley Plan, some redefinition of the West of Scotland region would have been necessary in the 1990's. Since Strathclyde had been conceived there had been political changes of several kinds. The Regional Council had provided a unique and a creative context for regional planning in the UK, but was yet less dominant in this role than was envisaged when the Council was set up. And as in most historic industrial regions in Europe and North America, the West of Scotland region had been progressively and significantly redefined by changing economic, social and political circumstances.

So priorities for regional planning and action have shifted during 50 years. The region of the Clyde Valley Regional Plan of 1946 was absorbed into a much wider region for the Central Scotland Programme for Development and Growth of 1963, but was again reshaped for the West Central Scotland Plan of 1974, as it was for the Strathclyde Structure Plans of 1979 and later. After 1996, the new structure planning team will cover a reduced area approximating to the historic Central Clydeside Conurbation.

The latest reshaping of the region is the consequence not of any shrinkage in the scale of regional issues, but of many of these having outgrown Strathclyde in either their geographical scale or their political importance. For the purpose of strategic planning and action, the significant region in which Clydeside lies now includes much of Central Scotland. Only this scale matches that of the significant metropolitan regions in Europe.

Seen in this light, the Regional Council has been an important experiment in regional planning which greatly improved the quality and efficiency of public administration in the region in some significant respects. It proved the merits, feasibility and potential of continuity and coherence in regional planning. But the Council was overtaken by permanent changes in politics and in regional geography. It became a form of governance no longer fully meeting the needs for regional planning in Strathclyde. However, the Council's abolition leaves the region without fully adequate arrangements for strategic planning. Unified structure planning for Clydeside from 1996 will meet the continuing need for coordinated development planning at that scale, but at the larger regional scale of Central Scotland no formalised arrangements have been made whereby its strategic future can be considered as in many comparable regions in Europe.

The experience of the West of Scotland confirms both the impermanence of regions and the enduring imperative of regional planning.

NOTES

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EUROPEAN URBANISM IN CARACAS (1870s-1930s)[1]

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Although Caracas has traditionally been disregarded as an important recipient of the European urbanism imported to Latin America since the mid-nineteenth century, the Venezuelan capital can be seen as a *sui generis* example of an "Old World-like" city. The oblivion has mainly been due to the fact that the urbanistic transfer from Europe into Caracas cannot be appreciated on the scale of other major Latin American capitals, where monumental avenues and edifices have been taken as proof of an urbanistic transfer.[3] Given the continental backwardness of the Venezuelan capital up to the petroleum boom in the 1920s, the Caraquenians' imitation of Europe was rather restricted to the subtler domains of an elite fascinated by the glamorous culture of the Old World. This article summarizes how this importation of urban ideas and culture informed a European-oriented cycle in the history of the city which was initiated by Guzmán Blanco's reforms during the so-called "Guzmanato" (1870-1888), was followed by the *belle-époque* extravaganza during the Andean dictatorships of the new century, and concluded in the democratic renewal with the 1939 "Plan Monumental de Caracas", designed under the guidance of French urbanist Maurice Rotival.

Included in the agenda imported from Europe by that elite, the reforms which underpinned Venezuela's modern urbanism were but one set of ideas amongst a more extensive baggage of urban culture — a fact which is essential for understanding the emergence of the technical discipline during this period. This relationship between urban culture and urbanism is often disregarded in traditional approaches to the problem of European transfer into Latin capitals, which are more concerned with tracing architectural or morphological similarities in the urban tissue, without exploring other domains of the urban culture. Instead, the research summarized in this article has attempted a reconstruction of the Europeanized Caracas, which has been based on the revision of four types of urban discourse: the legal, political and administrative texts, the urban novels, the travel chronicles, and the technical literature which appeared during this period.

Guzmanian Urban Art

The whole story started in the early republican time of Latin America. Capitalizing on a political, economic and cultural predominance which had been gained during the late colonial era, Britain and France were offered the chance by local elites to become godparents of Latin America's post-colonial dependence on Europe. By the second-half of the nineteenth century, Buenos Aires, Santiago, Montevideo and other capitals of the expanding economies could already exhibit the advantages of their new economic and cultural parentage with Victorian England and Second-Empire France. In the case of Venezuela, this parentage was confirmed by the well-travelled president Antonio

Guzmán Blanco, whose national project meant the adoption of diverse elements of Latin American progressivism, such as the encouragement of immigration and the construction of railways. (Fig. 1)

Much of Guzmán's urban project can be regarded as the conspicuous preparation for a celebration of the progress of civilization, which was epitomized by the 1883 Exposición Nacional. In accordance with this search for modernization, infrastructure and ornamentation were the two main strands of a project masterminded by Guzmán himself; on the battlefield as well as in cabinet meetings, in decrees and ordinances as well as in letters to his wife[4]. Those ingredients were assembled from 1874 in the Ministerio de Obras Públicas (MOP), one of the Guzmanato's major contributions to Venezuela's urban administration. With its two departments of 'town ornamentation' and 'infrastructure', the creation of the MOP epitomized the twofold project of the president, who thereafter dressed the tiny capital with an architectural attire worthy of a continental hostess. The Capitolio palaces, the Paseo and the Teatro Guzmán Blanco (Fig. 2), the Basilica de Santa Ana y Santa Teresa, the Santa Capilla, and the Panteón Nacional were among the monumental works introduced by Guzmanian architects in the up to then untouched chessboard of the post-colonial capital.

Although these works are traditionally taken as Guzmán's sole contribution to Caracas, his project also encompassed the improvement of municipal administration. With its apparatus of decrees and ordinances, and especially with the 1871 *Ordenanza sobre Policía Urbana y Rural*, the Guzmanato also boosted the regulation of municipal life, thus enlarging the traditional limits of urban policing inherited from colonial times. In this respect, the cleanliness and appearance of streets, monuments and houses, the controls on public behaviour and the improvement of transport were different, yet complementary, components of the first modern agenda that Caracas had in the republican era[5].

Political resentment against Guzmán grew. The alleged imitation of Napoleon III was denounced by his opponents at the time[6] and the Guzmanian urban project has also been criticized throughout this century on account of its alleged copying of Haussmann's Paris — a critique which lacks both historical and urbanistic bases. Even though the eclecticism of Second-Empire Paris certainly was an architectural reference for Guzmanian architects, the morphological "Haussmannization" cannot be traced in Caracas, nor can the Baron's theoretical presence be proved in the urban debate of Guzmanian Venezuela. If Haussmann's hygienic and economic principles were not yet recognized, or applied, in the first Haussmannization of the major Latin American capitals, it was much harder for his "urbanism of regularization" to be grasped fully
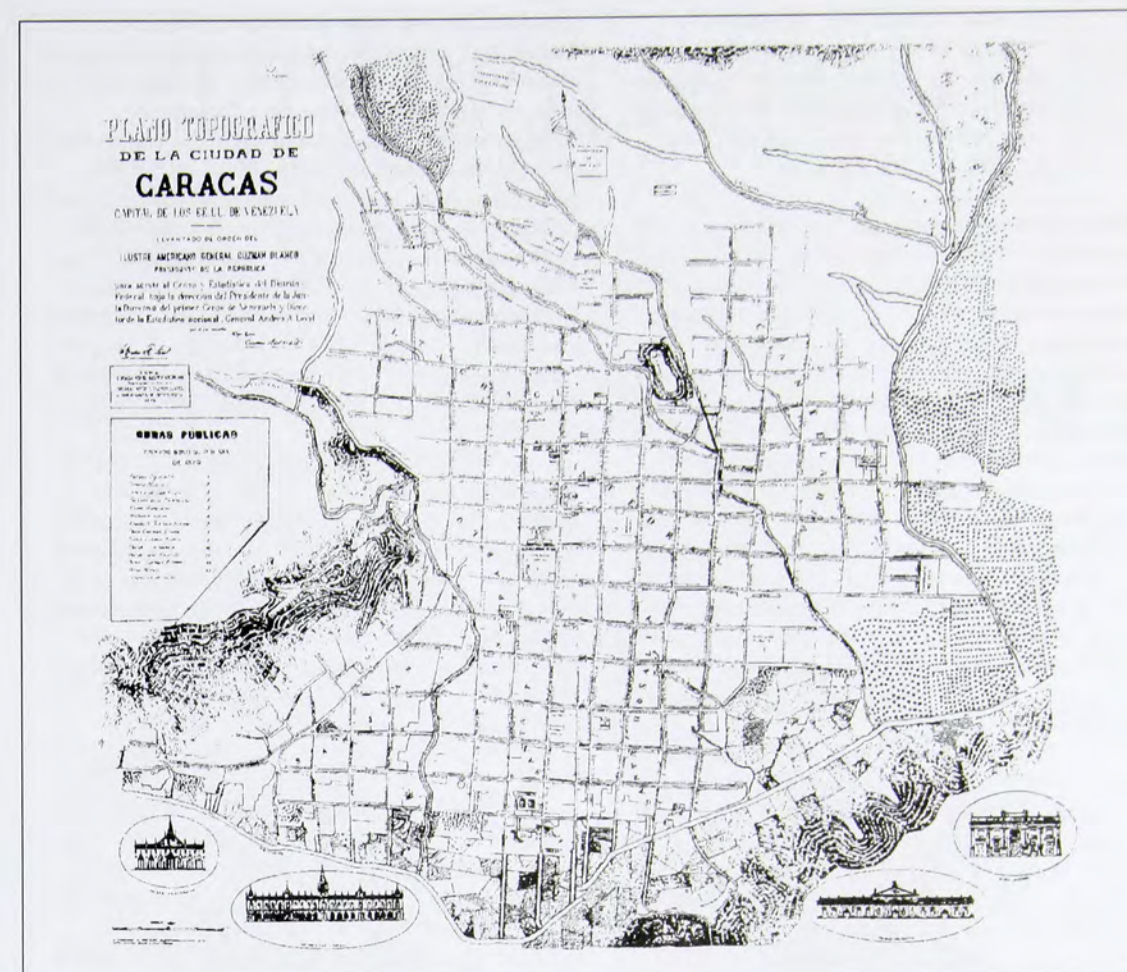

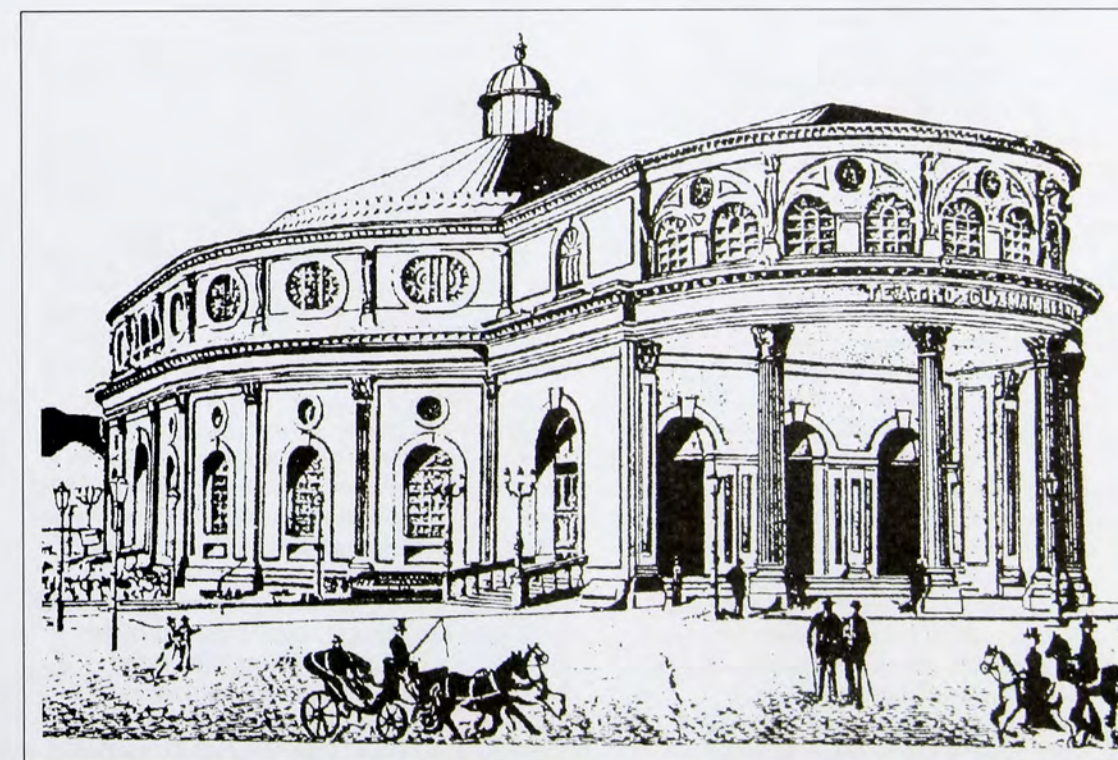
Figure 1. Guzmanian Caracas 1870

Figure 2. Teatro Guzman Blanco (Miguel Tejera, Venezuela pintoresca e ilustrada, 1878)

in the incipient urban debate within Guzmanian society.[7] Even so, the Haussmann question should not diminish the merit of the Guzmanian urban art, whose search for monumental architecture and urban decorum, for infrastructure and ornamentation, established the bases of Venezuela's modern urbanism.

The *Bella Epoca*: Hygiene and Progress
Thanks to the cultural renovation of the Guzmanato, late-nineteenth-century Caracas was able to keep a Europeanized ethos which was noticed by American and European visitors. In this respect, Davis's proclamation of the Venezuelan capital as "the Paris of South America" reaffirmed Curtis's previous appraisal of Guzmanian Caracas as "one-story Paris"[8]. With Caivano's confirmation of Caracas as a product of the *fine-di-secolo* civilization[9], the continuity of Guzmán's Europeanism was granted — as the prolonged success of the Europeanized magazine *El Cojo Ilustrado* (1892-1915) would demonstrate (Fig. 3). Even though the United States beat Britain in the economic and political arena during Cipriano Castro's disastrous regime (1899-1908), France and Europe were still able to dominate the cultural fortress of Caracas until the end of the "bella época".

Nevertheless, that Frenchified image in the minds of visitors could never be endorsed by cosmopolitan Caraquenians, who realized that the gap between the parochial capital and the European metropolises they returned from was insuperable. The urban drama was displayed and resolved in different ways by the personae of Venezuelan *costumbrismo* and modernism throughout the first novels set in that pseudo-European Caracas, such as Miguel Eduardo Pardo's *Todo un pueblo* (1899), Manuel Díaz Rodríguez's *Ídolos Rotos* (1901), Pío Gil's *El Cabito* (1909) and José Rafael Pocaterra's *Vidas oscuras* (1916). At the same time (as an interesting coincidence which illustrates the correspondence between different urban discourses) the backwardness of that capital was confirmed by Luis Razetti and the leading voices of the sanitary movement which had emerged from the 1890s. In view of the high mortality and the defective infrastructure of the capital, the fathers of modern medicine in Venezuela reinforced the warnings of the cosmopolitan characters of the novels: *belle-époque* Caracas was far from being a "complete city".[10]

The doctors' warnings made possible a silent revolution, hitherto unnoticed by Caraquenian historians. If one of the Guzmanato's contributions had been the new concern for cleanliness and appearance, Castro's Caracas witnessed the emergence of the debate on the importance of hygiene — the new parameter of European progress and civilization. The major outcome of this debate was the 1910 *Ordenanza de Policía Urbana y Rural*, which for the first time incorporated the requisites of modern hygiene into the traditional apparatus of the urban police. Sanitary controls thus placed Caracas on the threshold of urbanism by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, not much later than those controls had been introduced in more advanced capitals of Latin America, such as Buenos Aires, Montevideo and Havana.

During the 27 years of the "Gomezalato" (1908-1935), Juan Vicente Gómez's policies represented a mutation of Guzmán's campaign for progress and civilization. If the latter's search for

ornamentation was rather obliterated in the early Gomezalato, progress was certainly pursued through the growing investment in infrastructure. With the approval of the experts gathered in the 1911 Congreso de Municipalidades, an early milestone of Gómez's urban administration, communication and sanitation were endorsed as the new governmental priorities in terms of public works, while Razetti urged private initiative to take on its own responsibility in "social hygiene".[11] In this respect, although the public health agenda had originally been imported from Europe, Gómez entrusted the fostering of sanitary matters to the Americans, thus mirroring the penetration of the country by mighty new ambassadors such as the oil companies and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Until the Venezuelan debts had been paid in the years before 1920, Gómez's project favoured the province over the capital. The slight was felt especially by Caraquenians returning from abroad to the rebuffed Caracas, whose cosmopolitan façade might look up-to-date when compared with provincial Venezuelan towns, but not with European or North American metropolises. The Caraquenian atmosphere was not European enough for the protagonist of Teresa de la Parra's *Ifigenia* (1924), nor was it for most of the well-travelled bourgeosie of Pocaterra's *La casa de los Abila* (1921-22) or Vallenilla Lanz hijo's *Allá en Caracas* (1948); nor could the dictator's capital be sufficiently liberal for the tragic intellectuals of Rómulo Gallegos's *Reinaldo Solar* (1921) or Miguel Otero Silva's *Fiebre* (1939). The renunciations and sacrifices made by the personae of Venezuelan realism characterized the second dramatic cycle of the late "bella época", epitomized by the creole Iphigenia's immolation of her Parisian dreams in the punished capital. But the cycle of sacrifices was concluded with Gallegos's *La Trepadora* (1925), whose heroine's redemption in the capital of the oil-exporter country confirmed the entrance of Caracas into an Americanized culture which put an end to the Europeanized "bella época".

In the oil-exporter bonanza of 1920s Venezuela, the Gómez administration created a new urban agenda for the growing capital. Endless regulations on traffic were the first demonstration of governmental concern about the city since the spread of the car in Caracas in the second decade of the twentieth century. The urban sprawl of the new suburbs also became a core issue of that agenda from the 1920s, after the elite's first move towards southwestern El Paraíso had been rejected from the sanitary and technical point of view[12]. By building their new villas in the eastern suburbs of Caracas, Gómez's bourgeosie not only offered opportunities to newly-arrived architects to experiment with a fresher eclecticism, but also turned aside from the initial path of expansion set by Castro's plutocracy. In order to meet the new requirements of the congested city, the 1926 *Ordenanza de Policía Urbana y Rural* updated the hygienic and technical controls of its 1910 predecessor; later on, the 1930 *Ordenanza sobre Arquitectura Civil* was the first attempt to control the design and equipment of new areas. Lastly, the provision of working-class housing was finally recognized by the government with the creation of the Banco Obrero in 1928 — the first housing agency of Latin America and one of the major achievements of Gómez's urban administration. Although it is true that the dictator did not undertake an urban plan for Caracas,

Figure 3. El Cojo Ilustrado, *1 February 1895*

it must be recognized that the Gómez agenda on traffic, urban sprawl and housing reunited all the ingredients for the forthcoming discussion on urban reforms in the democratic capital, which would mark the beginning of Venezuela's modern urbanism.

Monumental Urbanism

As Allen and Fergusson approvingly observed after their visits to the democratic country, post-Gómez Venezuela had become an enclave of North-American-educated technocrats.[13] However, the booming society still faced a metropolitan dilemma which came from the late "bella época": Paris or New York? Without solving this dilemma, the proposals for the reforms of the democratic capital succeeded in articulating the problems of Caracas in terms of another dichotomy: urban renewal or expansion?[14] These questions were to be solved with the creation of the Dirección de Urbanismo (DU), which not only provided Venezuela's first example of an urban planning office, but also put an end to the Caraquenians' long-lasting irresolution. That the Governor of Caracas then contracted the services of Henri Prost's urbanists (led by Maurice Rotival) can be partially explained by the DU members' Parisian training; but, above all, the decision crowned the old Parisian dream of Caracas, begun in the Guzmanian fiesta and prolonged through the belle-époque extravaganza.

From Prost's colonial plans in Africa to Rotival's theoretical appraisal of Haussmannian grandeur, the French team summoned to the Venezuelan capital had most of the eclectic ingredients of the École Française d'Urbanisme (EFU)[15], which made possible Haussmann's final arrival in Caracas. The Haussmannian example inspired some of the proposals of the "Plan Monumental de Caracas" (PMC), from the major decision on the renewal of the centre to the device of a Champs-Elysées-like Avenida Central (Fig. 4). But the Haussmannian surgery arrived in Caracas too late, and that delay was, perhaps, the major fault of Rotival, whose subdued modernity in the PMC has aroused the most important criticisms made against this original member of the CIAM generation. However, as other ambassadors of French colonial urbanism did, Prost's young associate simply honoured the French mission he was in charge of in Caracas, thus tempering potentially disruptive modernity for the sake of a monumentality he thought to be more suitable for the post-belle-époque capital of a post-dictatorial regime.

In the early 1940s, the alterations to the PMC marked the termination of the Frenchified era in the Americanized capital. With the new importation of the American Francis Violich as a consultant, the reappearance of Rotival dressed as a planner, and the return of national technocrats from the United States, the era of Venezuelan planning began. The three European-oriented episodes which had led to the emergence of Caraquenian urbanism were over, and so was the Frenchified décor on the basis of which that discipline had emerged. That which Violich would recollect many years later as the Caracas planners' abandonment of the late Beaux-Arts approach by the time of his arrival[16], was in fact the conclusion of a long European-oriented cycle which Caracas had gone through, as the major Latin American capitals had since the mid-nineteenth century.

Figure 4. La Plaza Mayor from 'Plan Monumental de Caracas', 1939

NOTES

1. This article is based on the conclusions of the author's PhD thesis, developed at the Architectural Association, London, under the supervision of Dr. Nicholas Bullock, King's College, Cambridge.
2. Member of the Departamento de Planificación Urbana, Universidad Simón Bolívar, Caracas, Venezuela.
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REVEALING REMINISCENCES: CHARLES READE FROM HIS CHILDREN'S PERSPECTIVE

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Introduction

Oral history can be a valuable resource in the compilation and interpretation of historical data. It frequently provides information unobtainable elsewhere. This has proved to be so in the case of town planner Charles Reade (1880-1933)(Fig. 1). To date, researchers have relied on sources outside Reade's family to piece together his life story. Amongst the extant official records (the largest collection is in Australia) there is little evidence of his personal life but his son, Michael and daughter, Winwood, have been able to assist in that regard. The opportunity to interview them presented during my research visit to England in October 1995. Initial contact was made with Winwood in 1993 and since then we have corresponded regularly.

This paper is a compilation of material recorded during interview sessions held over two days at Winwood's home in Oxfordshire. I am grateful to Michael and Winwood for their cooperation in agreeing to tell what they know of their father's story. Their enthusiasm and openess has brought previously unknown information into the public domain. (Fig. 2)

Charles Reade committed suicided in Johannesburg in October 1933, leaving his wife, Marjorie and their two teenage children. His death brought them together permanently as a family unit for the first time since they left Australia in December 1920. When he took up successive appointments in the Federated Malay States, Northern Rhodesia and South Africa his son and daughter seldom saw him. From 1923 the Reade children attended boarding schools in England, holidaying occasionally with their parents at term breaks or when their father was on leave. Winwood reflects that their lifestyle was not unusual for employees of the Empire.

Despite the infrequency of their contact the Reades have a rich fund of factual and anecdotal information about their father's appointments, personality and their family life. Their own memories and impressions as well as information gleaned from their mother and correspondence with their father provide the basis of that knowledge. Apart from a single letter, no other papers or documents have passed into their hands.

Early years

The Reades know little about their father's early years. He was born into the branch of the Reade family who resided in New Zealand. That was where his father, Lawrence Edward, worked after moving from his birthplace, India. However there was contact between the relatives in New Zealand and England. Charles'

Figure 1. Charles Reade (G.R.O. Adelaide)

paternal grandfather, Edward Anderdon Reade, had returned to Ipsden from India after his retirement from the Indian Civil Service. One of his uncles had migrated to England from New Zealand and lived at "Redeholme" in Streatham. A letter in Michael and Winwood's possession was written at "Redeholme" by Charles to his brother, Arthur. Dated 6 January 1906, he explained that he came to England with the touring New Zealand footballers late in 1905. One of the players was their cousin, Ernie Booth, who provided a reason for Charles to follow the team. Before Christmas 1905 he attended the games as a spectator but on Boxing Day he travelled with the side to Wales and reported the matches for the Cardiff Daily News and the London Standard. He indicated that through the team's presence in England he made contact with several newspaper editors, describing the opportunity to report the games as his "harvest". It seems certain that while in Britain he intended to seize any chance to gain experience in journalism. Apart from his career as a journalist until

Figure 2. Michael and Winwood Reade (C. Garnaut)

1909, their father's movements until his marriage in 1914 are unknown to the Reades.

Marriage

Charles Compton Reade married Marjorie Pratt on 26 February 1914 at the St Pancras district Registry Office. Exactly one week later the newlyweds departed for Australia where he was to organise the Australasian Town Planning Tour. His bride was anxious and frightened about the prospect of a move so far from her homeland. As the youngest of ten children, her life had been sheltered. Nevertheless, she supported her husband's endeavour and both children stressed the steadfastness of that support throughout the marriage.

Michael Gibbon (a variation on his maternal grandfather's name) Reade was born in Hobart, Tasmania on 14 March 1916. His parents were then in transit between cities while Charles presented return lectures as a result of the Australasian Tour. Winwood (named Marjorie Winwood but from a young age called Winwood to avoid confusion with her mother) was born in Adelaide on 31 December 1917. By then her parents lived at Fitzroy Terrace, Prospect. Her father was by this time Adviser on Town Planning to the State Government.

Australia

Due to their youthfulness when in South Australia the Reades know little about their years in Australia. Michael remembers a bushfire in the Adelaide hills while his family was staying on a farm. A photograph of a house at the seaside suburb of Brighton prompted him to recall visiting the building during its construction. Located at 2 Elm Street, this substantial two storey residence with sea views was intended to become the family home. Circumstances changed for their father before it was completed and the Reades never lived there. (Fig. 3)

Federated Malay States

Michael was five when they moved to Kuala Lumpur and Winwood turned three during the voyage. They stopped en route at Java and the Reades remember being given sugar cane. They enjoyed sucking its sugary liquid. Kuala Lumpur was the only destination to which they travelled with their parents. They stayed there for several years; long enough to remember the large bungalow where they lived and the heavy mosquito nets over their beds. They frequently attended children's parties and recall their father keenly photographing the groups of party-goers. The Reades had a nurse, Blanche. She assisted with their care and Winwood remembers that she was strict in her discipline.

Kuala Lumpur was very hot and on at least one occasion there was an expedition to the highlands in search of relief. Winwood was carried in a sling but Michael recalls riding in a sedan chair. Their parents went with them and their father photographed the expedition. He was a keen photographer, always careful, they recall, about the accuracy of his exposures and the positioning of his subjects.

Children's education

The Reade children left Kuala Lumpur in 1923. The tropical climate was not considered suitable for their health after the age of six or seven. Like others whose parents were abroad they attended school in England. Charles and Marjorie chose one that was run by his cousin, Miss Violet Hedges. She and Charles were both grandchildren of Edward Anderdon Reade. The school was situated at Wallingford, Oxfordshire, about six miles from the Reade family estate at Ipsden (Fig. 4). Day pupils and boarders attended Miss Hedges' school. Although they did not have strong affiliations with the landed branch of the family, Charles and Marjorie maintained contact with his Ipsden relatives, probably

Figure 3. House built by Charles and Marjorie Reade, Brighton, South Australia, 1920 (C. Garnaut)

Figure 4. Reade family home, Ipsden House, Oxfordshire, UK (J. Noel)

through the branch who lived at Streatham. Winwood noted the strong sense of kinship amongst the Reades and the desire to assist family members whenever there was a need.

When her children started school, Marjorie took rooms in the Market Place, Wallingford. Michael and Winwood were initially day students and their mother remained in the town for about eighteen months. It was to become her usual practice to spend half of her husband's appointment time with him, abroad, and half with the children.

Family connections again influenced Charles and Marjorie in their later choice of schools. When he turned eight Michael was eligible for Prep school and attended the Grange at Eastbourne. Two Rothwell boys, cousins of the Hedges, were enrolled at the Grange. From Prep school Michael attended Oundle, a public school in Northamptonshire. Another cousin of Charles', Henry St John Reade, had been a headmaster at Oundle.

From the age of twelve, Winwood completed her education at Downe House, a public school for girls near Newbury. Several of the Hedges had attended Downe.

Holidays

School holidays were not always spent with their parents. Until Winwood graduated from Wallingford, Miss Hedges looked after the Reades if their parents were abroad. At Easter, together with any other children left at the school, they went to Cold Ash near Newbury. They stayed in cottages used by staff in term time. In the summer they enjoyed Bexhill-on-Sea. If their mother was "home" at holiday time she took rooms in Wallingford or rented a country cottage near Newbury. Marian Pratt — Aunty Mim to the children and Marjorie's eldest sister (by 18-20 years) — always stayed with them. Their mother enjoyed her sister's company and the assistance she rendered in looking after the children. Marian also acted as legal guardian when both parents were abroad.

There were a few holidays which the Reades remembered sharing with both parents. These occasions either coincided with the end of Charles' appointments or with his periods of leave. A country cottage was usually rented. In 1929 they stayed at Minehead, in Somerset after their father's job ended in the Federated Malay States. There were also stays at Tenby, a short holiday in France and at the inn in Bucklebury. In 1932 they had a memorable last family holiday in a cottage on Bucklebury Common.

Political persuasions

Michael and Winwood believe that their parents met at a Fabian Society meeting. Marjorie had friends who were Fabians and members of the Smoke Abatement Society; she was also a suffragette. It is not known to his children how Charles became involved with the Fabians. (However although they are aware that in his 'Foreword' to *The Revelation of Britain* he acknowledged the assistance of the prominent Fabian, Sidney Webb. They do not, however, remember Webb's name being mentioned by either parent.) One reason for Marjorie and Charles' attraction to each other was their common interest in social reform.

Winwood recalls that her mother's enthusiasm for politics waned. She believes that Marjorie grew fearful of where Charles' politics would lead him.

Whilst she always supported him, she saw before Charles did that his Radical (left-of-centre) stand would not enamour him to politicians, administrators and the public at large. She was a very protective person and very fond of her husband; she did not want to see him hurt. Winwood notes that she experienced her mother's protective streak after her father's death. As a student at the London School of Economics, Winwood's political involvement was not encouraged. Her mother even forbade her children to discuss politics in her presence.

Religious affiliations

Neither Michael nor Winwood remember their father attending church, but their mother introduced them to the Church of England. Miss Hedges reinforced this while they were under her care. Winwood recalls her mother's literary interest in other religions. Michael suggests that Charles was probably influenced by religious considerations. Their father did not discourage their religious beliefs and both have maintained their affiliation with the Church of England.

Family relations and pressures

Although the family members were separated after 1923, they maintained close contact. The Reades did not see a great deal of their father but always enjoyed the times when he was home with them. He corresponded regularly with his children and they looked forward to his letters.

Marjorie was the link between the children and their father. Winwood notes that for a person who "loved London" her life spent in foreign places must have meant adjustment and enormous sacrifice of self and interests in support of her husband.

Winwood recalls the lack of security in their lives. As noted, there was no family home (to the Reades "home" was their school) and both parents were frequently absent. She says that they "vanished" in her childhood. Their father did not have the security of a permanent job and his address seemingly changed often. When the family was together it was often between Charles' appointments when there was always anxiety and concern over his next job. The children recall his frequent trips from their holiday destinations to London to visit his employer, the Crown Agents. Winwood remembers an example of the pressure that her father felt when he took her aside on one of their holidays and asked if she would like to live in France. Her reply was "No", because a move would have meant leaving school, her only place of security. She believes that he was considering resigning his current position because there was very little money and it would have been cheaper to live in France and perhaps easier to provide a more secure life for his family if they were together.

Winwood remembers that one of the frustrations in her relationship with her father was the brevity of the time he could spend with them when he was at home. At Tenby, he stayed for only a few days. She recalls a childhood image of him as a "magic person" who disappeared almost as quickly as he came. This frustration was compounded occasionally by other events. In 1929 Charles' uncle and the squire of Ipsden, Herbert Reade, died. News of his death arrived soon after the family reached its holiday destination at Minehead, so Charles left immediately to attend the funeral. Winwood was disappointed and thought it unfair that her father went because it was a long time

since she had seen him. On their last family holiday Winwood recalls her father spending long periods alone upstairs in the cottage. She would gladly have had him spend that time with her.

However holidays were also times of enjoyment. With their parents they took walks in the woods and rode bicycles. Once Michael and Charles went boating for a day. Their father enjoyed the opportunity to explore in the woodlands (he was an outdoor enthusiast) and relished the chance to be close to nature. Winwood describes him as a lover of wild places. He also could not help attracting stray dogs and she recalls one dog after another appearing from nowhere and tagging along with them on their walks. They all had to be told to go home by her father or he would be accused, by Marjorie, of enticing them to stray from their owners. To this day Winwood finds that dogs turn up for walks with her.

The Reades remember that they always lived frugally because money was short. There were never any luxuries. They were not aware of the salary received by their father in the Federated Malay States. Michael said that his father was paid £720 per annum in Northern Rhodesia. However, he recalls that his parents considered withdrawing him from Oundle because they were experiencing difficulty paying the fees. A scholarship was offered by the school which enabled him to stay. According to Michael, Charles' job in South Africa was to pay £1950 per annum. He died soon after taking up the appointment and Winwood remembers continuing at Downe House on a reduced-fee-paying basis until, when her financial affairs were organised, her mother could repay the outstanding fees.

Their financial position also showed in the type of holiday accommodation rented. The rather basic cottage at Bucklebury where they stayed in 1932 was a good indication of what they could afford. The Reades agreed that they loved the house even though its only source of water was a hand pump over the kitchen sink.

When on leave, Charles could not always afford to make the journey to England, so he chose to take "local leave". On those occasions, he went to places like Borneo, China and Thailand which the Reades believe also helped to satisfy his thirst for exploration.

His financial situation brought tension, anxiety and pressure and added another dimension to the burden of uncertainty about employment as contracts expired in the Federated Malay States and Northern Rhodesia.

Father's work

Michael and Winwood describe their father's occupation as a town planner. They remember that he was always employed by the Crown Agents. They can make no firm suggestions as to what or who stimulated his interest in the subject of town planning. However, they did not consider that his Reade ancestors were a major influence because his branch of the family was firmly based in New Zealand. Michael suggests that contacts made with the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association during his years as a journalist were the main influence on his decision to become involved in the movement. He remembers the names George Pepler and Raymond Unwin being mentioned. Michael even recalls attending a meeting with his father at Hampstead Garden Suburb, at which Pepler was present. Michael was only young and was given a

Meccano set to play with on the floor!

Winwood considers *The Revelation of Britain* a key source in understanding her father's passion for town planning. She describes it as his panacea for social ills and highlights the rage which her father expressed in the book about people's inability to obtain their birthright: a decent home in which to live.

Winwood believes that Charles Reade was "ahead of his time" in terms of his vision and methodologies. She suggests that he was worn down by the colonial mentality to show a better way, to create a patch of England in another setting. In the end he grew weary of trying to convey his message to new, and not always receptive, audiences. Michael remembers that he was not "entirely happy with the people in Kuala Lumpur" and that "town planning was not all that popular in Malaysia. It was considered as a part that did not fit into the old fashioned bureacracy....he had all this opposition from some of the established civil servants there." In Northern Rhodesia he considered that his pay was low and he knew that his tenure was limited. Michael recalls the relief when a job was secured in South Africa in 1933.

Charles Reade's death

Michael was aged 17 and Winwood 16 when their father died. It was term time and they were both at boarding school. He received a postcard from his father on the morning of the day when the headmaster delivered the news. Winwood received a letter a few days later. Because of this correspondence their reaction was one of disbelief. Winwood recalls requesting a memento of her father but was told not to "bother" her mother because she was unwell. Marjorie never again spoke of Charles to her children. Suicide brought grief, guilt and shame. Both children looked to the future and put their father and the past to the back of their mind.

The Reades were unaware of the nature, extent or significance of his work. Indeed on a trip to Malaysia, Michael visited the Cameron Highlands and commented during our interview on its similarities with Letchworth Garden City. He did not realise the part that his father had played in the design of the settlement. It was not until Tregenza's research (1981) was made known to Winwood that she and Michael began to bring their father back into their consciousness. The academic literature of the 1980's and 1990's about Charles Reade has recently been made available to them and will assist their present investigation into their father's life.

After 1933

Following her husband's death Marjorie took rooms in London. Her children continued at boarding schools and she became travelling companion and secretary to Mrs Wishart, a friend from her Malaysia days. Together they visited France. Eventually Marjorie moved into a flat in Greenwich, south-east London, near the open green space of Blackheath. This was the first residence that her children called "home". Later she purchased a small house with a tiny garden overlooking the naval college at Greenwich on the edge of Blackheath. She lived there throughout the bombing raids of World War 2. The house was badly damaged but she escaped injury. After the war she sold her house and moved to the country to "Scots Gate" in Oxfordshire to keep house for Michael and his wife, Joan. In 1947 Michael inherited the Ipsden Estate. "Scots Gate" is on the edge of the estate. He and

Joan continued to live in Hampstead, north-west London during the week, journeying to deal with estate matters at the weekends.

An event significant to understanding Marjorie's reaction to her husband's death occurred some years after she moved to "Scots Gate". One of her brothers, Bob, arrived unexpectedly on the doorstep. She had not had contact with him for a long time and he had become a tramp. Marjorie reluctantly agreed to help him. Some weeks after his arrival he disappeared and was found several days later in the nearby woodland. He had committed suicide. Winwood recalls her mother's response to the news. "What can I do? I have failed twice." This was her only comment on her husband's death.

When her mother needed constant care after suffering a stroke, Winwood moved into "Scots Gate" and nursed her until Marjorie's death in 1969. Winwood then purchased a bungalow about a mile from her brother's house. Michael and Joan retired from London to the estate.

Michael and Winwood pursued varied career paths. He was accepted at Oxford University, but that plan was interrupted when his father died. William (Billy) Reade, a don at Keble College, Oxford, offered to finance Michael's University education but Marjorie would not accept the gesture. She was a very proud and independent person who realised she would not be able to repay the money.

Michael found employment at once through a family friend in the chocolate manufacturing industry. He joined the Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve (R.N.V.R.) in 1936 and was on active service from 1939 until the end of the war. Michael was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross (D.S.C.) and attended the Nurnberg War Crimes Trial as a navy consultant. After that task was completed he returned to London where he forged a significant career as an inventor and consultant in food processing. Since inheriting Ipsden he has become recognised as an expert in forestry and woodland management.

Winwood attended the London School of Economics and then worked in labour/personnel management and industrial relations. She fostered her love for nature through editing and translating books on different species of animals. For eight years she produced radio and television programmes on natural history for the BBC. Today she continues to receive invitations to assist in publications about the natural environment.

Conclusion

Michael and Winwood Reade paint a picture of a man with a mission. They remember their father as a person directed by a belief in what he considered a right and necessary cause. Winwood believes that he abhorred conditions which did not allow the individual the opportunity to live a decent life and found fault with administrators who lacked planning foresight and vision. She considers that it was his strength of vision and his unbending belief that he was on the right path which led to clashes with administrators. In her mind his weariness with these clashes, his sense of having to start all over again with the same text but new players on a new stage probably triggered his suicide. It came after a period of depression on their last holiday at Bucklebury. Michael recalls his father being unwell at this time and

there was talk of recurrent bouts of malaria. Charles was well enough to take up his appointment. He went ahead leaving Marjorie in England until he could make arrangements about accommodation. His suicide occurred in a city where Winwood believes he would have felt alone and oppressed by the inert lifestyle. She suggests that if he had been in the country where he felt a sense of security and oneness with nature then his perspective on life may have been different.

Her father's letter of 1906 supports this contention that he found calmness in nature. He wrote to Arthur, "life in the great turmoil of a city is not all pleasure" and compared England with their homeland. "There is none of that delightful calm, that prevailing peace stealing through the scenes of natural beauty that adorn our island. The art of nature is after all, the purest and the best, and those who live in ignorance of the artificial pleasures of great cities, live in a happiness and peace of mind unknown to any but them...The simple life is the happiest." By October 1933 his life appears to have become very complex and his mission overburdening.

Charles Reade's children have learnt much about their father in recent times. Researchers are now recognising the value and extent of his world-wide contribution to planning thought. Michael and Winwood have given a perspective which transcends the formal and official reports of Reade's work and opens the door on his human side. Historians are the richer for their generous contribution.

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GOAD FIRE INSURANCE PLANS: A RESOURCE FOR INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY

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The fire insurance plans of British cities prepared by Charles Goad's company from 1886 are a familiar resource to urban and planning historians. The central areas of 52 major towns and cities were mapped, usually to a scale of 40 feet to 1 inch (1:480), showing individual properties, their primary use, building material and information relevant to fire insurance (location of skylights, hydrants, means of escape, etc.). A study of the plans was prepared by Gwyn Rowley, of the University of Sheffield, in 1984, and published by the company. As the market for fire insurance plans declined, the company began publishing a series of shopping centre plans from the 1960s. These are now the company's main product.

Less well known is the Goad company's international dimension. Goad started his business in Canada in 1878, and, as well as Canadian cities, its 'world series' includes plans for many South and Central African

towns, the eastern Mediterranean, parts of Central and South America and Europe. The coverage is patchy, as the acompanying list shows. Some of the individual plans and bound volumes are available in reference libraries, and many of the original plans can still be purchased from the Goad Company at £30 per sheet.

For further information on these maps contact:
Charles Goad Mapping Division,
8-12 Salisbury Sqare,
Old Hatfield,
Hertfordshire AL9 5BJ,
UK
Tel.: 01707 271 171.

Robert Home is interested in these maps because of his long-term research into British colonial town planning history, and would welcome cotnact with interested researchers:Dr. R.K. Home, School of Surveying, University of East London, Longbridge Road, Dagenham, Essex RM8 2AS, UK. e-mail: HOME @ uel.ac.uk.
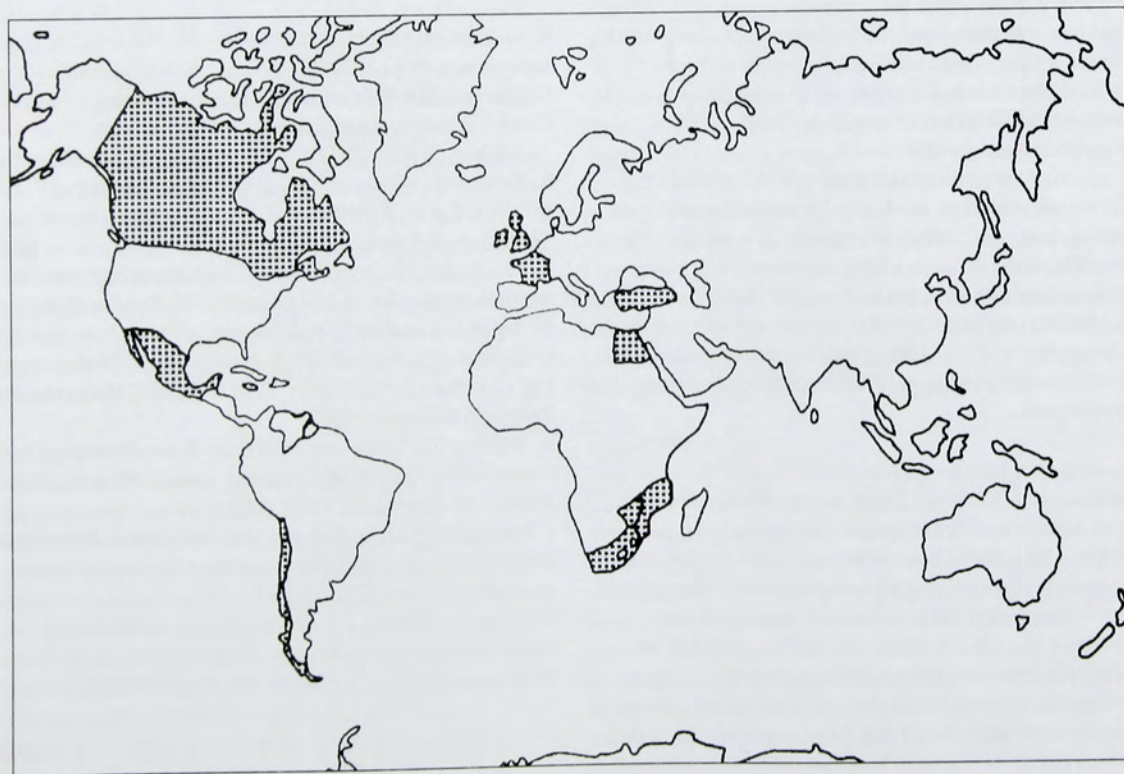
Goad Fire Insurance Plans, World Series

GOAD FIRE INSURANCE PLANS, WORLD SERIES

CANADA
Manitoba (Index Map only)
New Brunswick (Index Map only)
1890 Ontario, Victoria Harbour
1898 Ontario, Victoria Road
1901 Saskatchewan, Saltcoats

CHILE
1909 Conception
1909 Santiago
1909 Talcahuano
1909 Valparaiso

DENMARK
1908 Copenhagen

EGYPT
1898-1910 Alexandria
1905 Cairo

FRANCE
1895 Bordeaux

GUYANA
1897 Georgetown

MEXICO
1897 Merida Yucatain
1897 Progreso
1897 Vera Cruz

PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA (MOZAMBIQUE)
1925 Lourenco Marques
RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE)
1925-1957 Bulawayo
1925-1957 Salisbury

SOUTH AFRICA
1925 Benoni
1903-1921 Bloemfontain
1925-1937 Cape Town
1931 Durban
1931 East London
1910 Germiston
1895-1903 Graff Reinet
1895-1938 Grahamstown
1895-1938 Johannesburg
1895-1956 Kimberley
1925 Krugersdorp
1906 Pietermaritzburg
1920-1949 Port Elizabeth
1895 Pretoria
1906-1925 Queenstown
1938 Springs
1906 Uitenhage
1925-1926 Witbank

TURKEY
1904-1906 Constantinople
1905 Smyrne

WEST INDIES
1897 Antigua, St Johns
1894 Jamaica, Kingston

PUBLICATIONS

M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*, Cambridge MA and London: MIT Press, 1994, ISBN 0 262 02371 7 Cloth $45.00.

This is a monumental work: it is at once a study in the theoretical approaches to understanding the city as a "theatre of our memory", a history of various "instruments of memory", such as historic preservation and print collecting since the nineteenth century and, finally, a study in contemporary urban planning and preservatiion strategies. It is a significant contribution to the growing literature that seeks to link collective memory and urban transformation. (Max Page, Georgia State University)

Murray Fraser, *John Bull's Other Homes: State Housing and British Policy in Ireland, 1883-1922*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996, 302pp., ISBN 085323 670 4 Cloth £35.00, ISBN 085323 680 1 Paper £17.95.

This book argues that housing policy formed a significant element in colonial relations between Ireland and Great Britain from the 1880s to the early 1920s and that as a result, early state housing in Ireland was an Anglo-Irish creation. Using both Irish and English sources, it shows that there was recurrent pressure for the state to intervene in housing in Ireland in a period when the 'Irish Question' was a major political issue. What emerges is that the subsequent state housing policy in Great Britain (direct financial subsidy from a central exchequer linked with the use of officially recommended house-plan types) was first introduced in Ireland. In parallel with policy developments, there was a continued attempt to introduce British Garden suburb principles. Post-war housing legislation finally codified garden suburb design as the new orthodoxy, but opposition from Sinn Fein and a disadvantageous subsidy system meant that little could be built in the run up to independence and partition in 1922.

Howard Gillette Jnr., *Between Justice and Beauty: Race, Planning and the Failure of Urban Policy in Washington, D.C.*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, ISBN 0 8018 5069 Cloth $32.95.

Howard Gillette Jnr. explores the relationship between aesthetic and social goals in the urban history of Washington, D.C. and effectively places planning issues in their larger social and political context. The book scans the history of Washington from the early national period to the present in an attempt to find the reconciliation of the two goals of beauty and justice. Special attention is given to the issue of race in the city and its relationship to the goals of beauty and justice. (W. Edward Orser, University of Maryland)

C. Mark Hamilton, *Nineteenth Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, ISBN 0 19 507505 6 Cloth $65.00.

The author provides a well-documented source book on planned Mormon cities. While valuable as a reference to future scholars for its illustrations and background information on Mormon buildings, the book's emphasis on the doctrinal concept of Zion limits its contribution to the larger history of nineteenth century utopian architecture and planning. (John Stuart, Florida International University)

Clifford Hood, *722 Miles: The Building of subways and how they transformed New York*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, ISBN 0 8018 5244 7, Paper $15.95.

This book provides the first comprehensive history of New York subways. It weaves together discussions of mass transit politics and policy, the system's impact on metropolitan development and subway construction ans engineering. (James Connolly, Ball State University)

Helen Long, *The Edwardian House*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994, 256pp., ISBN 0 7190 3729 8 Paper £15.99.

This book covers a prolific housebuilding period in British history, resulting in the growth of leafy middle class suburbs. Long examines a wide variety of different factors influencing the appearance and structure of these houses, from popular home decorating magazines to the new Ideal Home exhibitions. While the first part of the book looks at Edwardian society and the general background to the design of Edwardian houses, the second part reviews in more detail the enormous range of fittings available and the cultural, technical and economic reasons behind the design choices that were made.

Mark Luccarelli, *Lewis Mumford and the Ecological Region: The Politics of Planning*, New York: Guilford Publications, 1995, ISBN 1 57230 001 9, Cloth $26.95.

Mark Luccarelli initiates a much-needed reappraisal of Lewis Mumford. Much of his book summarizes, from a wide range of sources, Mumford's thinking regarding regionalism, regional planning, technology, culture and humanity's relationship with nature. The rest of the book provides an overview of Mumford's associates in the Regional Planning Association of America. (Edward K. Span, Indiana State University)

PLANNING HISTORY
BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY
NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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

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

ARTICLES

These should be in the range of 2,000-3,000 words. They may be on any topic within the general remit of IPHS and may well reflect work in progress. Illustrations should be supplied as Xerox copies for line drawings or as good quality black and white photographs where there are half tones. Articles should normally be referenced with superscript numbers and a full reference list at the end.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

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

NOTICES OF CURRENT EVENTS

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

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INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY (IPHS)

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• endeavours to foster the study of planning history. It seeks to advance scholarship in the fields of history, planning and the environment, particularly focussing on industrial and post-industrial cities. In pursuit of these aims its interests are worldwide.

• welcomes members from both academic disciplines and the professions of the built environment. Membership of the Society is both multi-disciplinary and practice orientated.

• encourages and gives support to networks, which may be interest based, region- or nation-based, working in the fields of planning history.

• provides services for members: publishing a journal, promoting conferences, and providing an international framework for informal individual member contact.

• invites national organisations, whose work is relevant to IPHS, to affiliate status.

• administers its affairs through an elected Council and Management Board.

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

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

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