PLANNING HISTORY

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EDITORIAL

MICHAEL HARRISON, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL ENGLAND

This issue of *Planning History* typically ranges far and wide. Geographically, we move with our contributors from Milton Keynes to New Zealand via Poland and Turkey. In terms of approach, the articles include broad-ranging historical and political surveys as well as detailed case studies. They explore the ideas behind a variety of planning policies as well as the problems faced by those seeking to turn theory into practice. The time span covered by the pieces included in this issue is especially wide.

Slavomir Gzell offers us a broad-ranging historical review of the development of Warsaw. He explores, in particular, the factors which led to the choice of Warsaw as capital of Poland and the political and other changes which have shaped the urban landscape of Warsaw from medieval times through to the present.

Nur Akin provides us with a clear outline of the development of conservation policy in Turkey. He introduces us to the types of building and districts which have come under threat in recent decades. Akin reviews some of the many problems faced by conservationists in Turkey (and elsewhere). He touches on the economic, social, political and educational issues which are central to any realistic appraisal of the conservation scene.

Mark Clapson's case study of Milton Keynes addresses the important, but sometimes under-represented, theme of social analysis in planning. His article on Britain's largest and most recent new town explores the social ideas behind the development plan for Milton Keynes. He relates the way in which the social thinking behind the plan for Milton Keynes led to a move away from neighbourhood units. He believes that this kind of study can tell us much about late 20th century Britain. Indeed, he suggests that Milton Keynes might be seen as an appropriate paradigm for the period, just as Manchester was for the 19th century.

Roche and Miller's research essay offers us a case study of Sir Julius Vogel's plans for regional resource development and settlement in the 1870s. Vogel's broad strategies encompassed the physical, political and social aspects of planning. In reviewing these policies Roche and Miller open up new lines of research in New Zealand planning history. They also challenge some of the broader generalisations about colonial planning. The emphasis on natural resource planning in their essay has a particular resonance for those advocating 'sustainable development' today.

This is my last edition of *Planning History*. I hand over the editorship to Peter Larkham, a lecturer in the School of Planning, here at the University of Central England. As he is so close geographically, we hope that the changeover will go smoothly. (I will be at hand if he needs me.) Peter Larkham, as many IPHS members will know, is an expert on conservation policy and practice in Britain. He has published widely on the subject, including pieces for *Planning History* and *Planning Perspectives*. Besides being an active IPHS member, Peter Larkham is a key figure in the world of urban morphology. Members attending the Fourth International Seminar on Urban Form in Birmingham in July are sure to bump into him. I am certain he has the personal qualities, the experience and the institutional support that will enable him to carry out the duties of editor of *Planning History* effectively. I wish him well.

As I, and my predecessors, have found out, an editor needs support. My colleagues in IPHS and at the University of Central England have been incredibly helpful. I would like to take this opportunity to thank some of them.Our late President, Gordon Cherry, invited me to become editor of *Planning History*. I have much to thank him for. Stephen Ward, his successor as President of IPHS and a former editor of *Planning History*, not only showed me the ropes initially, he continued to give me sound advice and provide me with much material for the bulletin. David Massey has been so kind, generous and helpful to me over the last three years, even though he has had more than enough IPHS and other work of his own to be getting on with. Tony Sutcliffe, the editor of *Planning Perspectives*, has offered me useful advice and sent me appropriate pieces over a number of years. Among the members of the Editorial Board of *Planning History* who have encouraged contributors to send work to me and made significant contributions themselves, a special word of thanks must go to Rob Freestone in Australia and John Muller in South Africa. I would like to thank all those who have contributed to the bulletin during my period in office. They have made the experience an enjoyable and educative one.

Planning History would never have appeared over the last three years if it had not been for the efforts of some of my colleagues at the University of Central England. Michael Hallett designed the new format (which, I think, will be retained). Jeremy Beach, Ruth Levy, Alice Clifford and Tony Davis have all provided much-needed technical and editorial assistance. I owe them a debt of gratitude. It is rather disappointing, therefore, that my last edition will reach you later than usual. This is due to family bereavements and technical difficulties.

NOTICES

Taking Stock: The Twentieth Century Experience — Eighth International Planning History Conference, 14-18 July 1998, Sydney, Australia.

The eighth international conference of the International Planning History Society will be held at the University of New South Wales in Sydney in mid-July 1998. The conference will take as its theme 'Taking Stock: the twentieth century experience'. Promoting a dialogue with contemporary policy issues and debates, the primary focus will be on critical evaluations of the ideas, ideologies, institutions, achievements, conundrums, problems, legacies and challenges of urban and regional planning in the twentieth century. A regional focus on Asian/Pacific Rim cities will be encouraged. Formal calls for papers and other conference information will be distributed from early 1997.

If you are interested in presenting a paper and would like to be placed on the mailing list, please contact Dr Robert Freestone, School of Planning and Urban Development, University of New South Wales, Sydney, NSW 2052, Australia, Tel.: +61 2 9385 4836; Fax: +61 2 9385 4531; e-mail: R.Freestone@unsw.edu.au. There is a temporary conference information website at http://www.erch.unsw.edu.au/notices/planhist/

Historical Urban Transport Conference

A Major international conference entitled 'Suburbanising the Masses: Public Transport and Urban Development in Historical Perspective' is to be held at the National Railway Museum in York from 14-16 November 1997. The conference is jointly organised by the Institute of Railway Studies and the National Tramway Museum.

The theme will be the historical relationship between public transport and the urban development of cities. Top academic and transport speakers from the U.K. and overseas will present about a dozen papers on general trends and specific case studies during the three day conference. Topics will include the development of urban transport systems over the last 100 years in differing economic and regulatory environments in cities around the world, including the U.S.A., India, New Zealand, Germany and England. Many of the papers will be breaking new ground in their content.

A low conference fee of £30 has been set for attendance by delegates over the entire three days and it is hoped that this will result in a large number of participants with interests in light rail and tramways being able to attend. Overnight accommodation in York will be available across a range of prices.

During the conference, there will be an option of a formal evening dinner to be held in the atmospheric South Hall of the National Railway Museum. Following on the conference, on Monday 17 November, it is hoped there will be an optional coach trip to the award-winning National Tramway Museum at Crich in Derbyshire, where vintage trams may be seen and ridden on over the scenic line. The museum's exhibition hall and library will also be open for inspection.

Further details may be obtained from Professor Colin Diall, Institute of Railway Studies, National Railway Museum, Leeman Road, York YO2 4XJ, U.K., Tel: 01904 686229 or 01904 432990, Fax: 01904 611112, e-mail; cd 11@york.ac.uk.

Gordon Stephenson (1908-1997)

Gordon Stephenson, Emeritus and Foundation Professor of Architecture at the University of Western Australia, died quietly in his sleep on Saturday 29 March after a pleasant afternoon with his family. In his passing we must acknowledge and pay homage to one of Australia's great, and probably greatest, modern architect-planner.

Gordon Stephenson's life straddled almost the entire history of modern multi-disciplinary planning; a period which both shaped him and which, in turn, was shaped by him in England, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Born in Liverpool in 1908, his connection with Liverpool culminated in his appointment to Liverpool's prestigious chair of Civic Design in 1948; a post he held until 1953.

Gordon Stephenson was a highly directed and focused man who, from a very early age, knew what he wanted. He turned his artistry, which was considerable, into drafting skills as an architect. His budding design skills as a student gave him the chance to work on the plans for the Rockefeller Centre in New York shortly before the Wall Street Crash changed the world. His questing nature first took him to Italy and the to Paris, where he worked and studied under Le Corbusier during the political ferment of 1930-32. He was later to describe his time in Paris as educationally his best years, as they helped to balance his earlier, and far more rigid and classical, training at Liverpool University's School of Architecture. After Paris, he returned to Liverpool as a lecturer.

His earlier American connection he later developed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1936-38, where, as a Harkness Fellow, he not only gained a Master's Degree in City Planning but also married Flora Crockett. She was a woman of great character, an outstanding fellow student, and one to whom he was to owe a great deal as a professional working companion. Flora died in 1979.

World War II brought him a wealth of opprtunities. In the beginning it gave him experience in the design of very large factory buildings and, from 1942, five years as a public servant with what became the Ministry of

Town and Country Planning. Experientially, these were the formative years of his life as the challenges of post-war reconstruction brought Gordon Stephenson into the thick of national planning and its professional and political controversies. He was an exponent of low-density housing and opposed to those who equated high-density housing with high buildings. His position on this showed him not to be an uncritical admirer of Le Corbusier's ideas expressed in his idea of La Ville Radieuse.

Whilst at the Ministry he worked with, among others, William (later Lord) Holford, Dame Evelyn Sharp, one of the earliest senior women civil servants, (Sir) Patrick Abercrombie on his Greater London Plan (1944), Colin Buchanan, Percy Johnson-Marshall, H. Myles Wright, (Sir) Hugh Casson and (Sir) Peter Shepheard.

Gordon Stephenson's role as Chief Planner at the Ministry was to provide a series of planning manuals to assist local planning authorities with their task of post-war and post-Depression reconstruction and development. These manuals provided much-needed guidance and support to those for whom comprehensive planning was, to say the least, revolutionary. The most well-known was the highly influential *The Redevelopment of Central Areas (1947)*.

Aside from these technical contributions, Gordon Stephenson was closely involved with (Sir) F.J. Osborn, an ardent supporter of low density garden cities and the 100 New Towns movement, in the implementation of Britain's New Towns. He took a leading part in the design and organisation of Stevenage, the first of these new towns. His 1950 proposal, in association with Clarence Stein (of Radburn fame) and Clifford Holliday, that Stevenage town centre be made pedestrianised and made free of motor cars was for many years ignored. His war-time experience had two major influences. First, it gave him inestimable experience as a civil servant in the handling of professional civil servants and knowledge of the way in which the civil service operated. Second, thewar-time concensus about the need for strong government intervention in social, economic and urban and industrial development and planning, confirmed ideas he had already been developing since his heady days in Paris. In his brief but effective history of town planning, entitled *Compassionate Town Planning* (1995), which treated town planning from its radical beginnings in the 19th century, he revealed much of his thinking about its public purposes. He took exception to the reurgence of capitalism in the late 1970s with the advent of Thatcherism, which, he believed, took the compassion out of planning.

Gordon Stephenson's return to academic life after the war began with his acceptance of Liverpool University's offer of the chair of Civic Design in 1948. Here he began to teach and apply the lessons he had learnt during the war. The passage of key planning legislation greatly helped the spread of his ideas about planning. Perhaps his most important contribution during this period was his outstanding six years' editorship of the Town Planning Review. One of his early contacts was with the American Lewis Mumford who, as a disciple of Patrick Geddes, had carried on, developed and publicised Geddes approach. Mumford exerted an enormous influence on Gordon Stephenson which he acknowledged by devoting the last chapter of his autobiography, *On Human Scale* (1992) to an account of Mumford's life.

Gordon Stephenson first came to Western Australia in 1953 at the invitation of the State Government to produce with the Town Planning Commissioner, Alistair Hepburn, his master work, which, to this day is still referred to as the Stephenson Plan (1955).

The Metropolitan Region Plan was a tour de force in that it brought together all the fields of planning in such a way that no-one in the state goernment bureaucracy could say that either they or their departmental interests had been ignored. By modern standards, Gordon's methods stood participation on its head as his politically astute idea of participation inoled politicians, ministers and a multitude of state goernment agencies and their interests, rather than those of the people. But he was working on fertile ground as thanks to a succession of earlier planning enthusiasts, in particular Perth's Town Clerks Bold and Green, and architect Harold Boas, West Australians were already, long before Gordon Stephenson's arrival, in faour of planning and land use control. The community took the Stephenson Plan to its bosom.

On completion of his work in Perth in 1955, he had intended to return to MIT, but his pre-war visits to Russia and his acqaintance with known communists (and who did not have such acquaintances?) made him an undesirable immigrant under McCarthyism. This gave the University of Toronto the opportunity to offer him the Foundation Chair of Town and Regional Planning. This he occupied for five years. While at Toronto he further developed his planning experience and expertise with a number of plans. The most interesting was *A Redevelopment Study of Halifax*, Nova Scotia (1957). Here, with his wife and using their joint skills in social surey, Gordon Stephenson introduced the idea that slum dwellers should be relocated as with such a wealth of experience as an architect-planner that he had no equal anywhere in Australia. Why he left Toronto is not clear, but it was with the enthusiastic support of his family. He returned to a university campus on whose future planning and development he had already advised; and to a city where he became quickly involved in the translation of his advisory plan of 1955 into the somewhat Procrustean bed of the statutory Metropolitan Region Scheme (MRS) of 1963. As one closely associated with him as joint-lecturer in his planning course, I was never able to fathom what his iews were on the conersion of his sensitie 1955 inner-city road system to the Main Roads Department's 1963 destructie and out-of-scale inner-city ring-freeway proposal which those, like myself, who opposed it finally succeeded in having removed from the MRS. As joint-lecturer I did learn of his skills as a teacher and, when from time to time to give his lectures, discovered the extent of the ery heay demands made upon him as a consultant throughout Australia. Indeed, as Sir John Overall was to comment to me, "Gordon made an enormous contribution not only to plans and planning, but we who were involed in planning by giing us much sound practical advice at a time when these were in short supply. He had an uncanny knack of placement and using space."

The University of Western Australia's campus is testimony to Sir John' assessment, where, aside from designing its modern layout, he worked as associate architect on eleen major university buildings. Gordon als worked as a consultant on projects in other university campuses. He did work in Canterbury, New Zealand, Canberra (where between 1967-73 he was a member of the National Capital Planning Committee under the chairmanship of Sir John Overall), Sydney (on the Law Courts and Queen's Square) and Perth (where, among many other projects, he advised on designs for city centres there and for the proposed new town of Joondaloop). Most recently, while in his eighties, he was consulted on designs for railway stations along the new northern suburban railway line.

Gordon encouraged an extraordinary degree of loyalty among his professional colleagues, friends and associates in Australia, as well as overseas. He supported them in whateer they did. He was very adept in convincing government ministers (who were in awe of him), and his professionalism was such that he not only quickly won the confidence and support of their senior public servants, but turned them into willing allies.

In coming back to Western Australia, Gordon was plunged almost immediately into the heady boom years of the 1960s and 1970s and in time for him to make his special contribution to planning and development, without which, as the 1951 Royal Commission into Planning had already forewarned, there would have been piecemeal development of the worst kind, and, aboe all, a public loss of confidence in planning. But he was not just a technician: he was a man of strong convictions drien by the belief that architecture and planning were essentially moral entrprises, there for the benefit of the people.

His imagination and output were prodigious. They ranged from the most minute detail, including designing the University of Western Australia Library's bookplate and the positioning of the university organ, to the laying out of many university campuses, beside that of the University of Western Australia, designing buildings, planning and advising on new suburbs as well as new towns and, as he demonstated in Metropolitan Perth, envisioning the breadth and scope of an entire region.

Yet, although he was rightly conscious of his skills, he was never aloof. He remained always accessible and always ready to talk to others, especially to his family and grandchildren.He was a humanist, and in the 1930s, when it was not fashionable, he was one of very few who helped Jews to escape from Nazi Germany. Because of his iews he was also discriminated against during the 1950s McCarthy era.

He knew, and accepted the fact, that he belonged to an older and, perhaps, more noble tradition of designer-planner. To quote his autobiography:

> In this age when there is an abundance of planners who mesmerise themselves with computers, statistics and each other, there is more than eer a need to understand history and use creative imagination. I hae learned from experience neer to miss a main chance.

And he never did.

Christopher Wren's epitaph in St Paul's Cathedral translates as , "If you seek his monument, look around you." With all modesty, I think that we in Perth can say that of Gordon Stephenson, C.B.E. If Utopia was to be a city, then Gordon Stephenson was destined to be its city planner. And if Utopia is a real city, which I think he wanted it to be, then thanks to Gordon, Perth is, I believe, his and our Western Australian Utopia.

Martyn Webb

The Urban History Association

Recipients of the Urban History Association's annual prize competitions conducted during 1996 for scholarly distinctions are:

Best Dissertation in Urban History completed during 1995: Max Page, 'The Creative Destruction of New York City: Landscape, Memory and the Politics of Place, 1900-1930', University of Pennsylania, 1995. (Max Page is Assistant Professor of History at Georgia State University. He wrote his dissertation under the direction of Michael Katz.)

Best Book in North American Urban History published during 1995: Carol Willis, *Form Follows Finance: Skyscrapers and Skylines in New York and Chicago*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press,

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1995. (Carol Willis is Adjunct Associate Professor of Urban Studies at Columbia Uniersity.)

Best Article in Urban History published during 1995 (co-recipients): Harold L. Platt, 'Invisible Gases: Smoke, Gender and the Re-definition of Environmental Policy in Chicago, 1900-1920', *Planning Perspectives* 10 (1995), pp.67-97. (Harold L. Platt is Professor of History at Loyola University Chicago.) Thomas J. Sugrue, 'Crabgrass-Roots Politics: Race, Rights, and the Reaction against Liberalism in the Urban North, 1940-1964', *Journal of American History* 82 (1995), pp.551-578. (Thomas J. Sugrue is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania.)

New Officers of the International Planning History Society

Following the recent amendments to the IPHS constitution, circulated with the last issue of *Planning History*, new officer appointments can now formally be reported. The Council provisionally endorsed these changes at its meeting last October or subsequently by communications with the President. The complete list of officers of the IPHS, together with their full contact details are attached for the information of members. As reported elsewhere in this issue, the new editor of *Planning History* assumes his duties for the next issue (volume 19, no 2).Most readers will probably know at least some of the new officers announced for the first time in this issue. With Rob Freestone, whose position as

Conference Convenor was announced in the last issue, we are fortunate indeed to have assembled such an array of talents. The new Secretary General, Ursula von Petz, has written extensively on planning history in Germany, her current interests focusing on how Berlin has changed since German reunification. The Membership Secretary, Robert Home, is also a very active scholar in several aspects of planning history and current practice. His most recent book examines British colonial town planning and alludes to his very wide range of international contacts which will stand IPHS in good stead in his new role. Finally, as mentioned elsewhere in this issue, the new editor of Planning History is Peter Larkham, well known for his publications in the field of conservation and urban morphology. The President, on behalf of the membership of IPHS, also takes this opportunity to record our tremendous thanks for all the efforts of our outgoing editor, Michael Harrison. We hope that we can continue to benefit from his experience and advice as editor.David Massey continues for the present as our Treasurer, though in view of his many other duties he has indicated a wish to step down when a suitable replacement can be found. (Readers will know that he is much the longest serving officer of the IPHS and its precursor, the Planning History Group). Since the IPHS operates in British currency, this effectively limits the range of choice to the United Kingdom. Any UK members who is interested in taking over David's role as Treasurer, or would like further information, should contact the President or David himself.

Stephen V Ward

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NON-URBAN DETERMINANTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF WARSAW

SLAVOMIR GZELL, WARSAW UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY., POLAND

Introduction

Every city has to live both through calm and dramatic periods,whch change its history or, at least, its appearance.The city of Warsaw is rich in those events. Elementary disasters (fires, plagues and floods), and those induced by the people themselves. (wars, demolition as well as stupidity) were part of Warsaw's everyday life and contributed to its urban form(Fig.1).

In 1556 this capital city was twice captured by the Swedes (who destroyed and pillaged everything, including stone floor tiles at the Royal Palace). Next, battles were fought in, or near, Warsaw in 1794, 1831, 1920 (when the Russian Red Army was defeated by Polish soldiers near the city), 1939 and 1944 (to mention just the most bloody and ruinous conflicts). During the same period of time, only two battles took place in Moscow (1612 and 1812) and only one in Berlin (1945). The Turkish Army did not manage to enter Vienna neither in 1529 nor in 1683. Rome went through just a single Sacco di Roma (1527), and Paris suffered physically only in 1870. So, it is no wonder that evidence of Warsaw's experiences, "enriched" by the Russian Marshal Law, which lasted more than one century (19th), and the Communist regime (1945-1989) may be seen even now in the City'structure, its buildings and the behaviour of its inhabitants.

Kings, chiefs and a grateful nation

In 1969 we celebrated the 400th Anniversary of changing of the capital from Cracow to Warsaw. After the fire of 1596, the Royal Family came to Warsaw looking for a new residence, even though Cracow Castle was already being rebuilt. It could be said that Warsaw became a Capital City through pure chance, but that would be an inadmissible simplification.

In the mid 17th Century, there appeared a possibility for a definite union between Poland and Lithuania, giving a real meaning to the name "Rzeczpospolita (Respublica) of Both Nations". Cracow was too far from the centre of such a State, and it was easier there to talk aboutmore proximate Russian and Habsburg issues than activities up North, in Lithuania.

Further more, the dynastic interests of King Zygmunt III, who was son of the King of Sweden, John III, evolved around the Swedish throne. He wanted to be nearer the Baltic Sea. Maybe he was drawn there by the executors of his Baltic policy, who came from the North of Poland.
Perhaps the King, an introvert and a solitary figure, surrounded by the Jesuits, had had enough of Mazopolska and Cracower potentates, influenced by heresies and ready to encourage anarchy. He might have prefered Church-loving lesser noblemen. Maybe Warsaw, an average city in the Mazovian Region (a region which not long before was an idependent state), was easier to accept both by Polishmen as well as Lithuanians. Both were afraid that a new Capital placed in one of the large, Polish or Lithuanian, cities would destroy the balance of power.
Natural topography helped also. The main North-South crossroad was located here — the Vistula River connecting the Baltic Coast with South of Poland, and an West-East route land leading across the watershed line of the Dniepr and the Niemen.(It had been possible since 1596to use a bridge across Vistula River in Warsaw.)

So, in 1596 King Zygmunt III came to Warsaw. The city with difficulty prepared for its new role. For example, each National Council doubled the number of representatives, while during king's election the city was overflowing with noblemen. People lived wherever it was possible, more than often throwing out of homes their rightful inhabitants. In time, noblemen began to build their own homes. By 1643, there were more than 60 large residences, out of which approximately 20 were classified as "jurydyka" (territories, where the city rules were not applicable)(Fig.2). So, by the end of 16th Century the second phase of Warsaw's growth had begun. (The first being the Medieval City closed within the walls.)This period lasted slightly over a 100 years. As there were no planning rules, many decisions of that time still influence later and contemporary development of the city. The time of "jurydyka" was the period of anarchy, of the division of Warsaw into various regions, each living its own life. City walls were encompassed by a ring of noblemen's residences, some of them located on plots of land comparable with the area of the Old City itself. The street network within the"jurydyka' was subjected to the exterior street pattern, but this did not mean that they were a thought out, composed solution.[1]

Only in the third development phase in the 18th century appear solutions consisting of large axial developments such as: the Saxon Axis of King August, built 1713-1748 (Fig.3); the Stanislaus Axis, started in 1619; the rapid expansion between 1766-1779, during the rule of King Stanislaw August Poniatowski (Fig.4). Similar urban developments did not appear in Warsaw until the second quarter of 20th Century, and, paradoxically enough, they were designed to celebrate two declared enemies. During construction, appeals were made to the non-material values, which together with the presence of their sponsors, would enrich the City of Warsaw.

The Marszalek Pilsudski Developmentwas started at the end of 1930s and was intended to become " a Memory of the Victorious Chief and Resurector of our Country". Independence Avenue (realized), the Field of Glory and a Temple of Providence were going to be main elements to "hand down the Józef Pilsudski Style" to succeeding generations.[2] (Fig.5).

The second development is related to the name of Josef Stalin: the Maszalkowska Housing Development (MDM) with a Stalin Square and a Josef Stalin Palace of Culture and Science ("a gift from the Russian Nation to Poland") on its axis[3] (Figs.6 and 8). This gift, or, as it is now described, "a boot of a Soviet Soldier driven into the city centre", dates from the early 1950s. It is the largest Polish monument of Social Realism.[4] For decades, this building has remained the main feature of central Warsaw and its landscape, and it has shaped the taste of provincial visitors as to what is considered beautiful. Yet, there is no other Warsaw edifice that is so close to the Postmodern search for a link between the present and the past. This was one of the reasons why Robert Krier took the role of a judge in the architectural competition for the square surrounding the Palace of Culture and Science. There is no evidence that this unwanted and unloved monster might soon change.

It also should be added that both developments were created on the basis of 18th century plan of King Stanis3aw. Hence the will of a king and nation, of chiefs — both wanted and unwanted, loved and unloved — became one.

Wars, ideologies and eager executors.

Warsaw came out of the Second World War as a totally destroyed city. Nearly 90per cent of buildings lay in ruins. It is no suprise that in 1945 people thought about moving the Capital to Lódz or Cracow. Yet it was decided to rebuild Warsaw. This decision had its political and social aspect. It was not influenced by calculations, but much more by emotions. It speaks well of all those interested in the project — of those who had said "a whole nation is rebuilding its capital city", and of those who actually realised this slogan. Nowadays,it is known that Warsaw was rebuilt from bricks brought from the demolished cities located in the West on Recaptured Lands. Fifty years ago, even if known, that fact would not have meant anything.

Figure 1. The street pattern of central and northern Warsaw: 1. Old and New Town; 2. Terraain of "jurydykas"; 3. Saxon Axis; 4. Stanislaus Axis; 5. Citadel; 6. Zoliborz District; 7. Steel Mill; 8. Mashal Pilsudski Axis; 9. MDM and Palace of Culture

The Rebuilt Warsaw was going to be different. This information may be found in speeches made in 1945 by Communist politicians. "A whole nation should build a new Warsaw, Warsaw which had been destroyed by the German occupants and the traitorous policy of our reactionary movement" (as the results of the tragic Warsaw Uprising in August 1944 was judged by the Communist leaders).

Urban planners began their work. Actually, they had worked under cover during the war. Amongst them could be found such people as Jan Chmielewski and Szymon Syrkus, the creators of Functional Warsaw — one of the most interesting projects dating back to the epoch of CIAM and the Athens Charter. Hence, it is no wonder that new Warsaw was planned according to the new rules - landscape, functional division of districts, housing complexes with buildings standing freely in green areas - all in oposition to the Capitalist pre-war city. This plan was shown on 6th March 1945, in the Urban Department, Capital Reconstruction Office, by Zygmunt Skibniewski, partner of Jan Chmielewski.[5] At that time in Warsaw was present a delegation of Supreme Council of USSR led by Nikita Chruszczow. They were going to decide what purpose the financial means given to Warsaw by the Soviet Government might be used. The sum inoled was to be an equivalent of half of the payments needed to rebuild Warsaw! We don't really know if this sum was true. What we do know, is that the Chief Architect of Moscow came here often and in 1949, all that had a touch of "cosmopolitan western planning" was discarded, including Maciej Nowicki's designs.(He later became the author of the Chandigarh Plan.)

After1949, all urban projects became different: gone were Chmielewski's large scale regional visions, Syrkus' housing complexes, Skibniewski's green belt along the Vistula escarpment, and Roman Piotrowski's idea to prefabricate structural elements from rubble. Since 1949, urban thinking had to accord with the ideas of Social Realism introduced as doctrines during a National Meeting of Polish Architects by a 28 years old architect, just arrived from Moscow, Edmund Goldzamt. Henceforward, Warsaw was to be developed in the manner envisaged by Goldzamt in his diploma work made at the Moscow Institute of Architecture with large Baroque-like axes and a tower - a symbol of freedom. By chance (?) the tower was designed more or less in the same place as, in the 1940 Hubert Gross Project, a tower showing a Gauforum of "A new German City of Warsaw".[6] The Gross Plan, usually known as the Pabst Plan, (as the project was found in January 1945 at Pabst's apartment)

Figure 2. Surroundings of Old Town about 1700. Terrain ownership: 1.the city, 2.the crown, 3.the church, 4.lesser noblemen plots, 5."jurydykas" boundaries: A.Leszno(1648), B.Grzybów(1650), C. Alexandria(1670), D.Wielopole(1693).

destroyed the existing Warsaw and planned a new City in its place.It was never realised (Fig.7). Yet, it slowly became a reality designed, or coordinated, by E.Goldzamt - hence MDM and the palace of Culture and Science - and it ended right there with the political changes of 1956, the end of the Social Realism (Fig.6).

Unluckily, there was no new idea which would logically reshape Warsaw. The Athens Charter Codes returned with strong force, but the comeback of prefabricated housing complexes was in fact just an athrophied caricature (Fig.8). What became important was quantity - the Communist policy of "giving" a flat to each family killed the quality of buildings and architecture. Warsaw flowed out into the surrounding fields. While having the same number of inhabitants as before war, the city was spread over a much wider area (Fig.1).
Problems appeared with transport, the infrastructure and trade and commerce. Such a city emerged from the next political ovethrow of 1989.

It should be mentioned here that only the Old Town remained untouched. Rebuilt in the early 1950s, accepted by the politicians, and related to such people as Jan Zachwatowicz, Piotr Biegański, Waclaw Ostrowski.[7] It was also accepted by Edmund Goldzamt, as it was in accordance with the type of architecture he fought for, "National in form and Socialistic in content". In the end it was blessed even by Charles Jencks, who located it among the ancestors of Postmodern in the Straight Revivalism branch of the Architectural Evolutionary Tree.

Political traps.

On 26th October 1945, the Council of Ministers passed a law which decreed all private land became the property of the City of Warsaw. It was further argued that there was a need to undertake fast decisions while rebuilding the city. At the same time, all buildings standing upon the plots remained private property. In this way Warsaw joined into a family of Socialistic Cities, where an inhabitant did not own the land upon which he was living. He had no mortgage payments, but at the same time had to take care of building inhabited by people paying very low rent established by the Government not by the market needs. As the rent paid for one square metre was usually lower than price for refurbishment, the result was therefore obvious - whole districts became delapidated, and in a short time bulldozer reconstruction was introduced. On such plots, new five or eleven storeys high prefabricated buildings were constructed. Traditional streets disappeared, settlements and districts became alike. People stopped caring where they lived. Hence in Socialist Warsaw, a Socialist Inhabitant lived indifferent to the

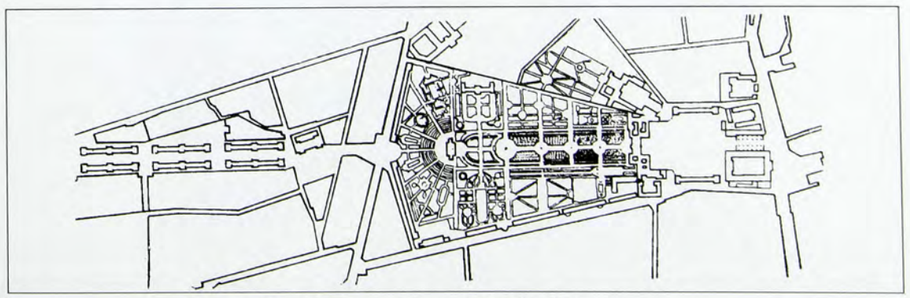

Figure 3. Saxon Axis, as designed in 17th century.

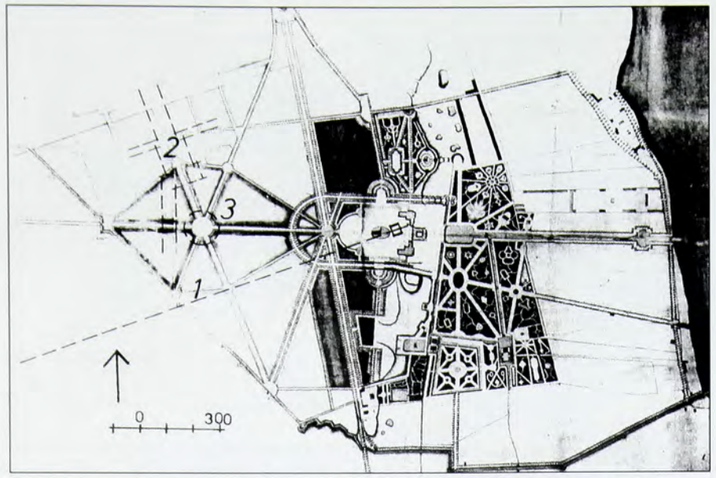

Figure 4. Stanislaus Axis, Plan of 1768-1770. Future city complexes : 1. never implemented Marshal Pilsudski Axis, 2.Zbawiciela Square, 3.MDM.

city that was being created around him (Fig.8).
Urban planning was characterized by the following:

Plans were created not as a tool for local administration, but for Central Government;
Only large Government developers were introduced into plans which were totally dependend upon Government loans and large panel housing plants;
Complexity and dynamic issues of the city life were non-existant, plans were simply a rigid view of the future - never to be achieved;
There was no private property, all decisions were undertaken centrally and placed within the environment. At the same time this type of planning was based on irrational political ideas and false statistical information.

Such a case was Warszawa Steel Mill constructed in 1950s in the Zoliborz District. The issues was to change the social balance of the district. The workers (regarded as the most important class of people) were to balance the high percentage of people with higher education (amongst whom the Government was seeking its opponents) residing in this district. (This was a mistake because, in the end, it was the workers from large factories who overthrew Communist Rule.)

While this Mill was being constructed, Warsaw was "cut off" from a large forest region (Kampinowski National Park - KNP). Part of the green area was destroyed together with one of the city's aeration routes and the possibility to develop Warsaw North towards KNP.

Such a solution has a tradition in Warsaw. since 1830, after the anti-Russian Uprising. Poland was at that time divided between three countries, Warsaw became a small city on the outskirts of Great Russia and was treated as such by the officials. There were some exceptions, when the Russian President Sokrat Starynkiewicz brought William Lindley, an Englishman who during 1876-77 designed the still existing sewage and water installations. In their honour a square and a street were named.

After 1830, to ensure dominance over Warsaw, a Citadel was build North of the Old Town, near the river bank. For the construction of this edifice Russians destroyed part of Zoliborz District. When 120 years later the Steel Mill appeared, we understood that this was to be an industrial equivalent of the 19th Century Citadel — chimneys instead of cannons, a sanitary zone instead of an esplanade. Still, after 1918 (independence) the esplanade was used for the construction one of the most beautiful green residential Warsaw areas. The

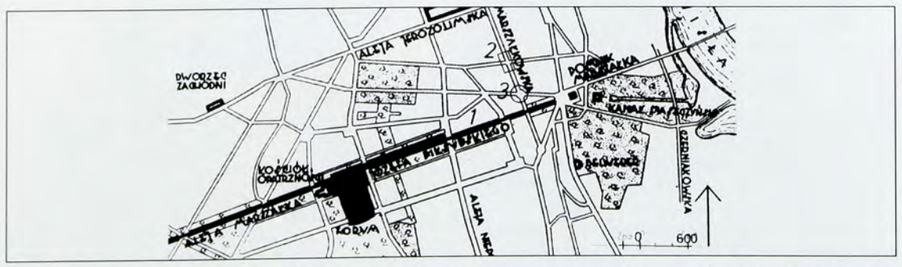

Figure 5. Proposed Marshal Pilsudski Axis with Marshal's Monument, Alee, Forum, and the Providence Church.

environment destroyed by the industrial plant will not revive for years to come.

In 1989 we won our independence once more, and Capitalism, awaited for 50 years, re-appeared. The general belief was that it was to become a remedy for all the city's troubles and a source of hope for the inhabitants. Everybody was to become rich and free to do as they pleased. In the beginning, the need to create any plans at all was discussed. It was said that they were the tools of oppression, and that all which was not forbidden was considered within the law. Hence, it is no wonder that after the transformation hundreds of undesigned buildings, with no building permits, appeared around Warsaw. At the same time urban designers started a race "in modern planning". New words,such as zoning, monitoring, negotiations and participation appeared. They were placed in the texts of plans without any real knowledge as to what they really meant. It was, and still is, a sad, "shallow westernization" of our profession. In three dimentional space this means a construction process of buildings unknown in the Socialist City - mainly banks and other financial institutions. They are accompanied by large malls on the city outskirts. These "Cathedrals of Money" are a very poor imitation of Grand Architecture. They are simply cheap, because financed by foreign capital in a country and city characterized by a high risk coefficient.

Another new, and more painful, issue for an average person is social stratification. It is no longer unimportant where one lives, and we cannot afford to live where we would like to. In the best located environments, closed small housing complexes are being realised. There is a shortage of cheap homes, no social housing. The city has no money and fights to acquire some, while on the other hand it has no power to shape the level of tax in its area. At the same time the land and industrial plants which become privatized after 1945 are still not being

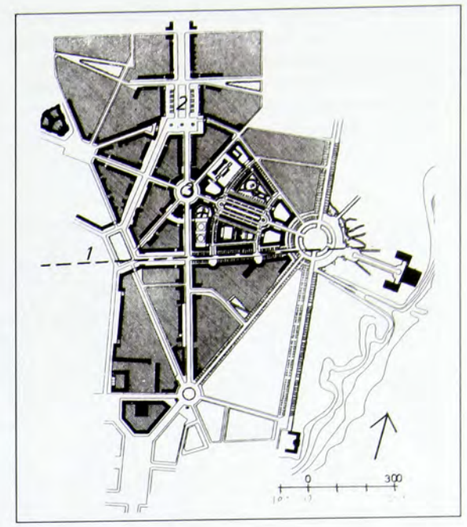

Figure 6. MDM: 1. former Marshal Pilsudski Axis, 2.Konstytucji Square as a main point of MDM, 3.Zbawiciela Square.

returned to their rightful owners. Land speculation and unofficial contacts prevail.

The Division of Warsaw into 7 and then 11 (we are still waiting for a new division) independent districts, with power to lead their own policy and their own planning, does not help in the overall development of the city.

More efficient officials draw developers to their districts while the biggest square in Central Europe (a competitor to Potsdamer Platz), Parade Square around the Palace of Culture and Science, is still empty. Not quite empty - it is a large bazaar,

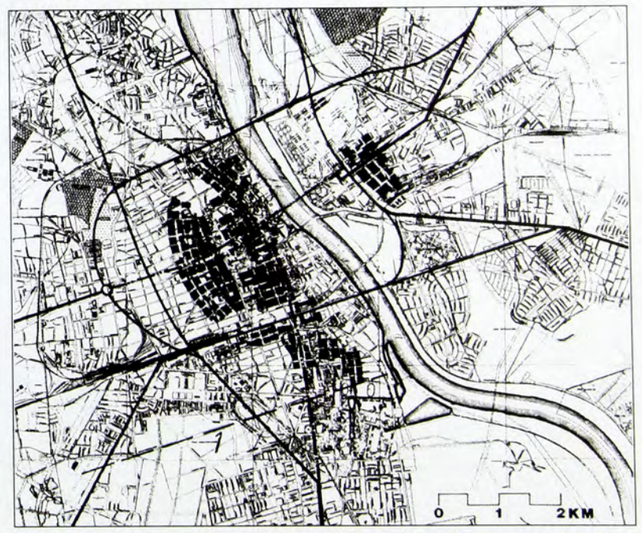

Figure 7. "Die neue Deutsche Stadt Warschau" on Warsaw plan of 1935.

where amongst disgusting barracks thousands of newcomers from the post-Soviet countries (including Vietnam and Mongolia) sell everything they have - false Addidas, Sony, Chanel, overterminated food from Germany, weapons and cheap Russian women. It is the area!

Is there a possibility of breaking this circle? As urban designers we should work more, Government should undertake better decisions and the inhabitants have more independence and patience.

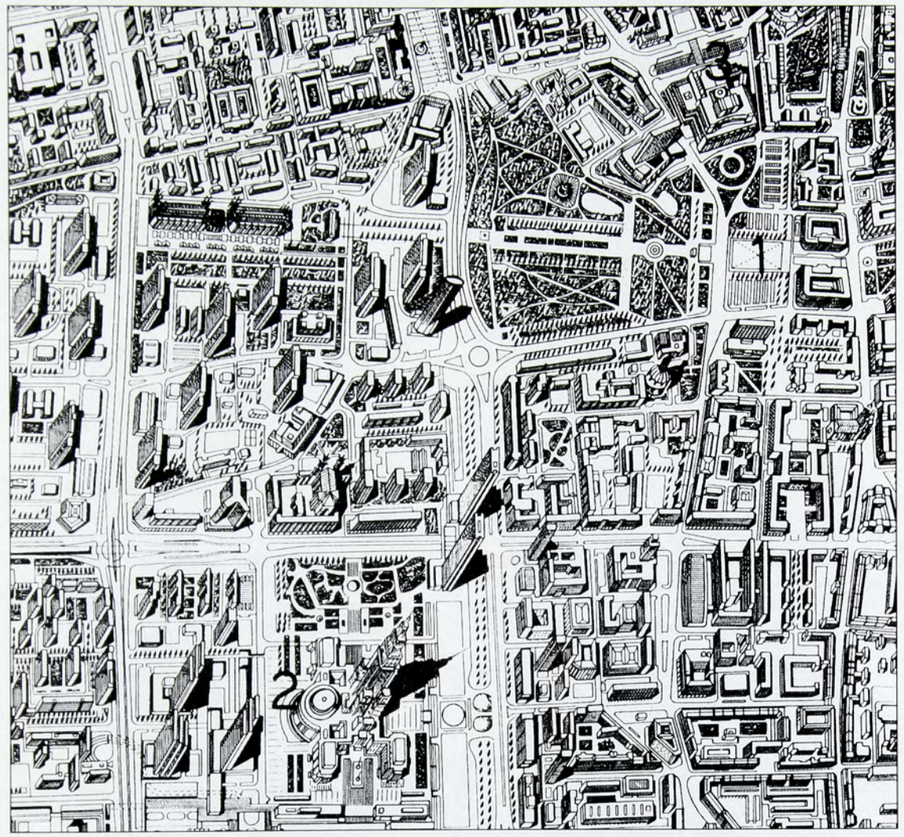

Fig.8. Multifamily housing built on Saxon Axis (1) and Palace of Culture (2).

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HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN TURKEY: POLICY AND PROBLEMS

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In Turkey, the beginning of the conservation activities dates to the second half of the 19th.century. The first law related to the architectural heritage dates from 1874 and it aimed to prevent the pillage of Anatolian archaeological sites and objects. With the extension of this law in 1906, Turkish Islamic buildings were included in the legal system. Actually, these buildings, such as the mosques, medrese's (Ottoman institutions for higher education), tekke's (derviche lodges), tombs etc. were preserved in the earlier period, by the Ottoman foundation system. In this foundation system, these monumental buildings used for public purposes, were built by the sultans, as well as the important bureaucrats, and were conserved by means of some regulations. But with the establishment of the Republic in 1923, political changes caused the repeal of this system. However in 1935, a new Pious Foundation Act was agreed, and by this act, the General Directorate of Pious Foundations was responsible for the preservation of these Turkish-Islamic buildings. Thus, the same responsibility of the ancient foundation system continued for this directorate. At this time, apart from these, non-Islamic historic monuments were the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. The only rule for the urban plans was that "at least 10 metres of the area surrounding the monuments should be kept empty".

In 1951, a new institution which was very important for the conservation of buildings and sites, was founded. Its name was the 'High Council for the Historical Properties and Monuments'. Until this time, the conservation of historical urban areas was not taken into consideration . This council was very restrictive in its policies for interventions affecting old buildings and areas, as well as their registration. From about 1955 to 1970, accelerated urbanization and economic pressures on the historical urban areas influenced the cities. Two main new facts affected this period: immigration from rural areas to cities, and the growth of a new upper class. The opening up of new broad streets and the increased of height of buildings caused great land speculations. In spite of the policies of the High Council, the developers, with the support of the politicians, began to raise the prices of housing, and to cause the destruction of old areas for new high and modern constructions. So, during this time many historic urban sites lost their characteristic aspects. Regional differences, so important for the Anatolian settlements, began to change. The new and high constructions which replaced the old ones were very homogeneous and monotonous.

The image of westernization and modernization was related to the convenience of the apartments. So the local upper and middle classes of the settlements preferred to live in new apartments, which caused an important social change within the historical urban areas. Old historic houses were abandoned by their real owners, and used by totally different social groups from the rural environments. These new groups, unaware of the original use of these historical buildings and without financial possibilities for their maintenance, changed the

Figure 1. Historical urban site (Safranbolu,a small Anatolian town).

Figure 2. Archaeological site (Efes, city of Antiquity).

physical appearance of these buildings and areas enormously. So, beginning with Istanbul, Ankara, other big cities and continuing throughout Anatolia, the historic urban sites became real transitional areas.

Meanwhile in 1973, the first important Turkish Preservation Act came into effect and included all modern terms and regulations relating to conservation. Besides single monumental buildings and large estates, the conservation of sites were divided according to their characteristics as urban, archaeological, historical and natural, and described in this act. So after the 1973's, according to the regulations of the Preservation Act, several conservation plans were prepared and applied under the supervision of the High Council for Historical Properties and Monuments, despite the opposition of municipalities and owners of the historical houses.

In 1983, a new Preservation Act -which is still current- replaced the former one. By this act, a new organizational system for the conservation of the heritage was established. According to the new system, instead of the High Council for the Historical Properties and Monuments, the regional councils (13 at this time) were established throughout Anatolia, their centres installed in historically important cities. In this act, the local authorities were also represented in the body of these councils whose members were restorer-architects, city planners, art historians and archaeologists. It appeared that this new system was an improvement over the former High Council which was established in Istanbul. Under these conditions, it is easier to control the changes of historic urban areas more closely, prevent demolitions and to maintain the old monuments in place. But since the number of

Figure 3. Fountain of Sultan Ahmet III, 18th.century (Istanbul).

specialists, present in each of these councils is insufficient for the task, and their opinions relating to conservation policies differ, this system can be vulnerable to local pressures. So, in spite of the obvious advantages of this new system, a sustainable cultural policy is still not established in Turkey. That is why, since 1993, federal organizations are in the process of drafting a new preservation act and organizational system.

The current regional councils are all connected to the Ministry of Culture which is responsible for the constitution of legal policies for the preservation of around 4,000 urban sites in Turkey (Fig.1), as well as around 3,000 archaeological areas (Fig.2), and museums. Another duty of this Ministry is the registration of old buildings and other historic urban sites, through museums and local bureaux of conservation. The role of the Ministry is to support different projects at different scales, to increase public consciousness of the importance of conservation by means of exemplary restoration projects, congresses, conferences, exhibitions etc.

The second important organization related to conservation is the General Directorate of Pious Foundations mentioned above. Its basic task is to conserve and maintain religious and public monuments, including mosques, medrese's, khans, caravanserais, baths, fountains etc.(Fig.3). Other official organizations such as the Ministry of Tourism (Conservation and tourism), the Ministry of Public Works (Conservation of old town halls, schools, hospitals), the General Directorate of National Palaces (19th.century palaces and kiosks of Istanbul), the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (Conservation of national parks) have different responsibilities. As a result, the administration of monuments and sites are so divided between these institutions that it is usually difficult to reach agreements on basic policies for conservation.

Some private organizations are also interested in the conservation of cultural heritage. Among them, TURING (Turkish Touring and Auto Club) restored some important mansions and rehabilitated an historic street in Istanbul (Fig.4).

Educational Aspects of Conservation in Turkey

Since the 1960's, several graduate programmes in Historic Preservation were established in Turkey, in order to educate architects, city planners, archaeologists, art historians etc. The graduate programme of Restoration of the Faculty of Architecture of Middle East Technical University in Ankara was the first. Other universities in Istanbul, such as Istanbul Technical University, Yildiz University and Mimar Sinan University, and the universities of Izmir and Ankara followed it. So, the number of specialists in conservation increased over time. Some conservation laboratories, such as the Laboratory of the Department of Restoration of METU, and the Conservation Laboratory of the Ministry of Culture in Istanbul, are the basic centers for the scientific analysis of old buildings.

Preparation and Approbation of the Restoration Projects and Conservation Area Plans

According to a recent regulation, the restoration project for a monument or an old house which necessitates certain specialties must be prepared only by an architect-restorer. The complete restoration project should be based on a detailed measured drawing of the building, as well as on its historical documentation and evaluation which is the Restitution Project. In the preparation of the restoration projects, the role of the Restitution Project, which is necessary for the analysis of buildings before the final decisions, is more emphasized now. When an old building is listed and registered, any intervention to it must be approved by the regional councils. And when an area is designated as a 'Conservation Area' by them due to its dense architectural, historical or cultural characteristics, the councils must prepare 'Transitional Construction Rules' for this special area, until the conservation plan is approved.

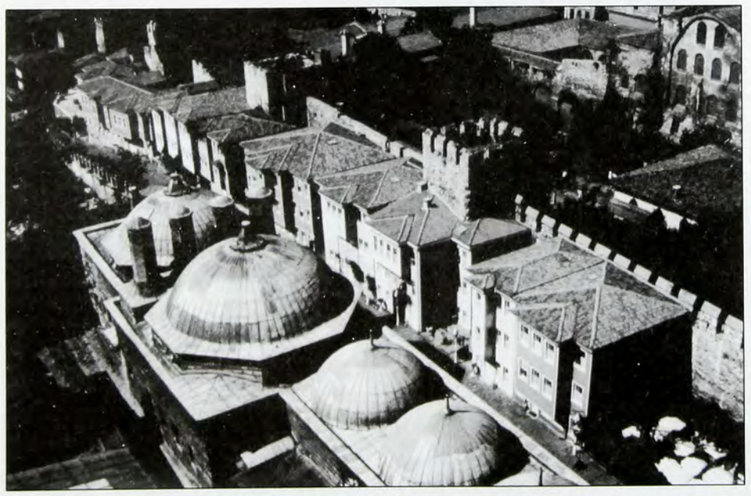

Figure 4. Historic street (Sogukcesme Street, Istanbul).

Figure 5. 19th.century timber framed house (Kula, a small Anatolian town).

area, until the conservation plan is approved. Buildings which will be restored, others to which new additions will be made, and those which will be constructed in nearby vacant lots must respect these rules. The conservation plan for a registered historic area must be completed within a year after its designation and registration as a 'Conservation District'. These conservation plans must be executed by the municipalities. The municipalities request private bureaux of conservation of the related departments of the universities to prepare the plans for execution. If there is no disagreement between the municipalities and the preservation councils about the new plan, it is approved and executed by the local authorities. The duty of the municipalities is to implement the plan.

For any new construction or restoration in this area, one must request the permission of the regional council. But unfortunately, there is no effective means for controlling the application of the approved Restoration Project or Conservation Area Plan. Only if an illegal application is noticed by chance, by a member of a council, museum or another bureau of the Ministry of Culture, the application is stopped, and the issue resolved by the Court.

Until two years ago, there were three essential categories for listed historical buildings. The first group included the important buildings which conserve their exterior and interior characteristics. They should be kept without any new interventions, except the modernization of the sanitary installations. These buildings were few in number. The buildings of the second group were those which had lost their planimetric characteristics, while their traditional facades and exterior details remained. Most of the historical buildings were listed in this second group, which permitted the owner to make all kinds of changes inside the building, in order to keep its exterior characteristic appearance. It was the same for the third group of buildings which had lost some of their traditional exterior details too, as well as the interiors. Some changes and new interventions were permitted to their facades as well. That is why, most of the listed building owners preferred the third group. There were also pressures to switch the preservation groups. While this categorization was in effect, the second and third group buildings lost many of their characteristics during their restoration. The permission to change the interior gave to the owners and architects the possibility to tear down the original building, and rebuild it according to a new plan. During this rebuilding process, the building lost its originality and historic characteristics, and sometimes its dimensions and proportions. In the case of timber-framed houses, a very common building type in Anatolia (Fig.5), usually listed in the second or third group, the procedure approved by the councils was to reconstruct the building in concrete and cover the facades with wood. Finally, many buildings were "new" instead of "restored" and unfortunately, were listed as "monuments". Thus, as they had no historic characteristics related to their past, the procedure was completely contrary to the meaning of "restoration" and "conservation".

At present, according to the current new regulation, there is no categorization of old buildings. Every part of the architectural heritage, once listed, must be evaluated according to its own characteristics. This might probably prevent the building from the kind of applications cited above. So, every listed building will be preserved with its original historic architectural value, with authorized changes to its plan and so it will be rehabilitated according to the modern needs of time.

ThePresent State of Conservation of Monuments and Sites in Turkey

The first decision to conserve an historic urban site was taken in 1970, for the conservation of historic timber-framed shore-houses of the Bosphorus, in Istanbul (Fig.6). The major goal of this project was to keep intact the topography and the landscape of the Bosphorus. Eventually, the Bosphorus area had a Conservation Site Plan too, prepared by the Municipality of Istanbul. Since 1973, detailed conservation plans have been prepared for several Anatolian cities. Among them Antalya, a town of the south, on the shore of the Mediterrenean Sea can be mentioned as the first. The shore district of the old town was rehabilitated between 1974-1985, for tourism purposes. It is now one of the preferred areas of the South Anatolia, especially for tourists who arrive there by yacht. However, in spite of isolated examples of conserved areas, generally the architectural heritage of the cities is deteriorating. The legal, administrative and educational aspects of conservation seem to be solved, but the available financial and technical sources necessary to the owners for the restoration of their buildings, as well as the governmental and public consciousness in

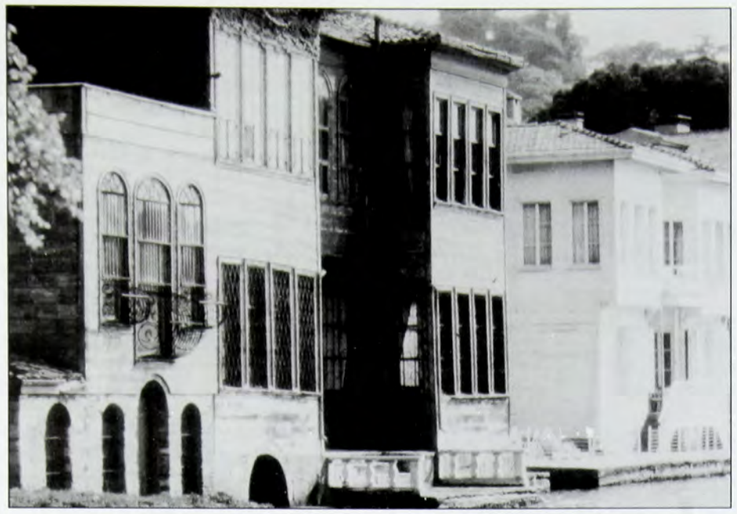

Figure 6. Timber framed shore-houses of the Bosphorus (Istanbul).

conservation, are still missing. The historic urban sites, declared as 'Conservation Areas' by regional preservation councils are the central parts of the cities directly effected by the transformations due to accelerated commercialization. For example, the old districts of Istanbul are in such condition. The historical peninsula, which represents the most ancient core of Istanbul with the monuments dating from the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, as well as the residential areas of the 19th.century, and Galata, a region located directly opposite the peninsula with its European appearance have lost their importance. At present they are occupied by a lower income group. The changes in the social structure of the residential areas, due to the people of lower income level moving from other Anatolian cities, influence the architectural character of these areas. Many 19th.century buildings of historical Istanbul are left empty, and so deteriorate rapidly. Also some conversions called 'rehabilitations' change the physical fabric of this architectural heritage completely.

These conditions are the same for the old parts of small Anatolian towns. Without the required public consciousness and governmental support, it is impossible to conserve them. For example, Safranbolu or Kula,two small Anatolian towns,are changing rapidly, in spite of their conservation plans. In both of them, speedy urbanization threatens the traditional environment. The houses of the pre-industrial times which are too large for the nuclear family are inconvenient for their recent inhabitants. In this case, dividing the buildings into small units or reducing their height by one or two stories, means changing the exterior appearance of the building. So both "overuse" and "underuse" influence enormously the originality of the old buildings.

Either people do not value the importance of their heritage, or even if they want to conserve it, there are no financial incentives, like long-term, low-interest loans to create favourable conditions for preservation. The changes in the traditional construction systems and materials (especially in most parts of Anatolia where the buildings are timber-framed) need special treatment for their conservation. The kitchens and baths or restrooms are generally placed in the courtyard and therefore do not conform to modern living conditions. The renovation of an old house needs, first of all, the installation of modern sanitary equipment to the building. When it is divided into smaller units, it necessitates the addition of service spaces to each unit. And if this intervention is inwardly done, without any restoration project and permission, as in the case of old buildings in most small towns, the buildings rapidly lose their historic characteristics. Beside all this, the insufficient infrastructure of historic sites is a very important factor which affects the deterioration of historic buildings. But whatever these great handicaps may be, the old buildings registered as historical landmarks must be conserved by their owners.

In Turkey, the government obliges the owners to conserve their properties without supporting them in anyway. The one aid is the exemption of the real estate tax. That is why the helpless low income owners leave the buildings unused, and so they are left to deteriorate.

These are the most important current common conservation problems in Turkey which need to be solved. But it is apparent that, without any technical and financial aid to the owners for the conservation of their properties, and without any exemplary restorations (not as museum-houses or for tourist purposes but for private use) and finally without the consciousness of local authorities and awareness of the inhabitants of the architectural heritage, it will not be possible to preserve our historical properties.

PLANNERS AND SOCIAL CHANGE: MILTON KEYNES SINCE THE 1960S

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Milton Keynes came into existence by the North Buckinghamshire New Town (Designation Order) of January 1967. This was passed within the Labour Government's commitment to extend the scope of the new town programme in order to accommodate the population increases forecast for the South East of England.[1] The area designated for the new city comprised 44,000 people, the majority of whom lived in the existing towns of - in order of size - Bletchley, Wolverton, Stony Stratford and New Bradwell. By 1991, Milton Keynes' population had grown to over 143,000. However, whilst the architectural and planning history of this new city has drawn considerable attention, the ideas behind the social planning for Milton Keynes have been largely ignored. For example, the official historians of Milton Keynes have admitted that their work is " only very indirectly about the people who live in the city".[2] Hence this article discusses the social thinking of the new city's planners.

The article is in three parts. First, it highlights the transition in planning thought away from the idea of `neighbourhood units' towards less prescriptive residential designs. This culminated in specific planning texts, notably the two-volume Plan for Milton Keynes (1970). This document was researched, argued over and finally written by the consultant team to Milton Keynes Development Corporation (MKDC) of Llewelyn-Davies, Weeks, Forestier-Walker and Bor. David Donnison, of the Centre for Environmental Studies (CES), was an advisor to the Llewelyn-Davies team.

Second, the article explores ideas about social change in the social development programme of the Plan. The social dimension of the Plan was equally as important as the planner's understanding of economic and technological change. Anticipations of social change explain why Milton Keynes looks so different to other new towns and established settlements. It is, after all, `the little Los Angeles of North Bucks'.[3] Finally, and in conclusion, the article argues that Milton Keynes, so often the butt of popular jokes and misrepresentation, deserves serious interpretation as a city which reveals much to the social and urban historian of the late twentieth century.

Beyond the neighbourhood

The first generation of new towns resulted from the New Towns Act of 1946. Earlier practical garden city experiments and ideological positions informed the Act. In terms of design, the cottage-style semi-detached and short terraces of houses, and the estate layouts of the proposed new towns, were influenced by the low-rise and low-density housing exemplars of the garden city and garden suburb movements of the Edwardian and interwar years. To be sure, there was apartment building in new towns, but it rarely exceeded 15 percent of a new towns' housing stock.[4]

Socially, the ethos of the new towns may be summed up in two key terms: social mix and social balance. As World War Two came to a close, many planners and politicians felt that a new spirit of co-operation between the classes had come into being, a consequence of the shared crises of war, and of cross-class mixing due to, for example, evacuation and war work. Planned new communities were intended to transcend class divisions. To this end, the neighbourhood unit was conscripted. The neighbourhood became the local residential area designed by the first phase of new town development corporations to incorporate manageable and integrated chunks of population. For example, Lewis Silkin, the Minister for Town and Country Planning, hoped:

> The towns will be divided into neighbourhood units, each unit with its own shops, schools, open spaces, community halls and other amenities. [I] am most anxious that the planning should be such that different groups living in the new towns should not be segregated. No doubt they may enjoy common recreational facilities, and take part in amateur theatricals, or each play their part in a health centre or a community centre. But when they leave to go home I do not want the better off people to go to the right, and the less well off to go to the left. I want them to ask each other "Are you going my way?"[5]

Before such cozy class relations could be realised in new towns, however, economic imperatives had to be addressed. Development corporations were empowered to purchase land for construction, to get houses built, and to guide enough and varied employment into the new towns to make them economically prosperous. New industrial units and offices, complete with highly competitive rental or purchase prices, helped these processes along. Workers, moreover, were to be tempted out of the poorer and often dilapidated inner urban areas of London and other large cities, by the Industrial Selection Scheme (ISS). If they took work in the new towns, they gained a new house. This process continued into the first decade of Milton Keynes' growth. During the early 1970s, the ISS was replaced with the New and Expanded Towns Scheme (NETS), which guided over spill Londoners, and others from a wider South Eastern catchment area, into MK during the 1970s.[6]

The concept of the neighbourhood emphasised localism. However, the impact of the motor car and of increasing mobility, widened people's horizons: they did not have to use the pubs or shops within walking distance any more, because now they owned a car.[7] Moreover, both voluntary and planned migration out of established town and city centres had widened people's kinship and friendship networks, thus requiring more travel.[8]

There was a fashionable intellectual pessimism about such changes. Peter Willmott and Michael Young, of the Institute of Community Studies (ICS) argued that people felt a sense of spiritual emiseration at the loss of close-by extended family or community.[9] Yet a considerable amount of lesser-known sociological research showed that most people were happy to escape from `traditional' working-class areas for a materially enriched life on a new estate. For example, H. E. Bracey, J. B. Cullingworth, Norman Dennis and J. M. Mogey provided empirical and impressionistic evidence that once families had settled into a new home on a new estate, be it in a suburb or a new or expanded town, they enjoyed a new balance between privacy, sociability, family and community. Local orientations still persisted, but these too were balanced with a wider potential for family mobility through the possession of a motor car.[10] Nor was there much evidence, in new towns, of class mixing, and of social class balance. Most were largely comprised of manual workers, the majority of whom were skilled and semi-skilled. The middle class presence was small.[11]

These observations were indicative of some critical and often expansive thinking about the nature of social interaction. Hence, at the 1968 conference of the Centre for Environmental Studies and the Social Science Research Council, entitled `the Future of the City Region', some planners spoke to the idea that local identities in the older-established urban-industrial communities were being replaced by newer and increasingly diverse points of collective reference. F.J.C. Amos, for example, argued that English society was witnessing a fundamental "transition from an urban society based on local industrial communities to a new urban associational society".[12]

Such thinking was also evident at the sociological think-tank, the Centre for Urban Studies. Ruth Glass, for example, argued that planners should break free from outmoded notions of `community'. Her celebrated attack upon the ICS was one element of her desire to make sense of what she called "the chaos of a new order". The Californian cities of Los Angeles and San Francisco were paradigmatic of the forces making for a new order of urban diffusion. Greater affluence and mobility, and huge strides in transport and communications technologies, accelerated and expanded suburban sprawl as people migrated away from the town and city centres to settle in more privatised residences.[13]

In California itself, the planning thinker Melvin Webber was busy thinking through the implications of such changes. Some of Webber's key phrases will give the sense of his arguments. The city, he argued was becoming a "nonplace urban realm", as communications technologies, notably the telephone, television, satellite and the computer, and enhanced geographical mobility through faster transport, and enabled "community without propinquity". Instead, interests and tastes would increasingly cause people to communicate and associate with each other on the basis of shared enthusiasms. This, felt Webber, was an expression of the freedom of choice allowed by affluence and progress. However, Webber was careful to point out that neighbourhood and locality as bases of community identification would not die, they would merely take their place among a range of variables which brought people together.[14] In 1968, Webber was invited, by David Donnison, to become an advisor to Llewelyn-Davies, Weeks, Forestier-Walker and Bor. He informed them that Milton Keynes would be unlike the towns of the industrial era. Instead it would be of the `post-industrial era.'[15] This meant that planners had to think less in terms of local communities, and more in terms of heightened mobility. They an urban design which kept abreast of technological developments in rapid communications. This, in turn, required new thinking about social relations in such a new urban framework.

Milton Keynes and the new thinking

A 1969 briefing paper on social development demonstrated the importance which the Llewelyn-Davies team attached to the wider planning debates discussed here. First, unlike earlier new town development corporations, social aspects of the Plan were given equal emphasis to the physical. Second, the principles of choice and flexibility were stressed. "The city's resident's" it argued:

> should have freedom to exercise choice over as wide a range of options as possible. This is at one and the same time an imperative for social development action and the denial of any imposition of a given quality of life.[16]

This principle was to inform choices made in all areas of life, choices about social connections and relationships, work, education, leisure, shopping, and general movement around the city. How, it might be asked, were these ideas given expression in the new city's urban fabric? There are two very different answers to this question. One was apparent in the fate of the erstwhile Milton Keynes, of `Pooleyville'. Second, the way in which social development was anticipated by MKDC has, with qualifications, borne out some of the key ideas of social development which fed into the Plan. Each area will now be discussed in turn.

Frederick Pooley, the Chief Architect and Planner of Buckinghamshire County Council, was the original driving force for a new city for North Bucks since the early 1960s. He originally proposed a city not unlike a figure of eight in shape. This was a Corbusian - inspired design, of relatively high-density residential townships of blocks of flats and houses, and employment areas, linked together by a monorail (Fig. 1) Walter Bor, John de Monchaux and other consultants to the Plan have remembered how Pooley's ideas were intellectually but humanely

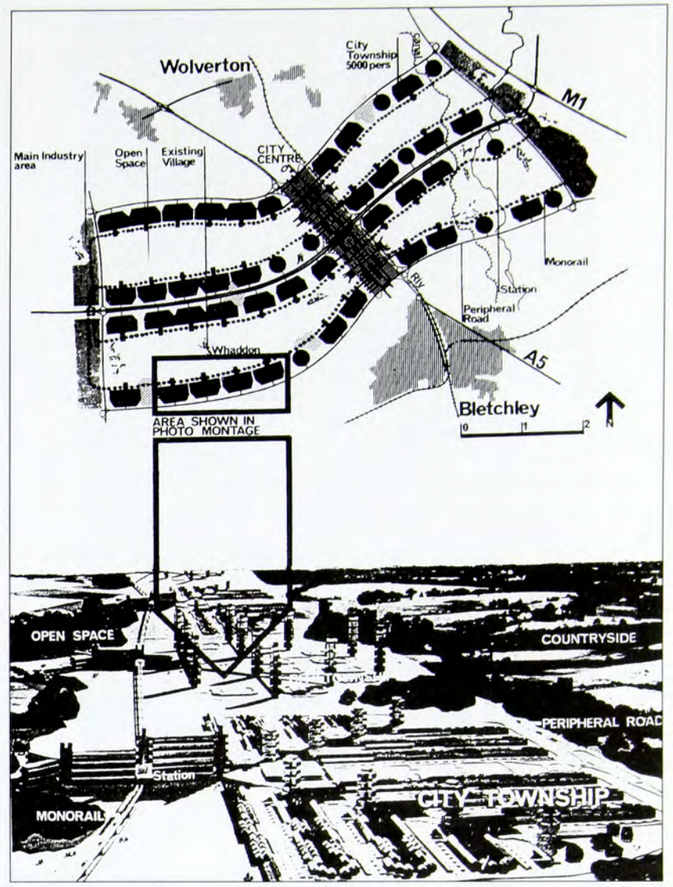

Figure 1. Plan and visual detail of Pooley's erstwhile new city. (F. Pooley, North Bucks New City, *Aylesbury, 1966)*

destroyed in the early years of the Plan's formulation. Pooley's plans were criticised as territorially deterministic in an era of enhanced mobility. The Llewelyn Davies team thus favoured the different models of social and spatial movement, an example of which is given in Fig. 2. Such was the team's respect, however, for Pooley's and his assistant Bill Berrett's enthusiasm and intellect, they were brought onto the MKDC team.[17]

The planners favoured a main grid of fast roads segmented into grid squares. These were to be zoned into residential, employment and retail areas. This was what Derek Walker, Chief Architect and Planner to MKDC in the 1970s, referring to Melvin Webber's influence on MKDC's social thinking, termed "an open matrix for selection". The new city was `"ntended to aid 'maximum flexibility' and should prove a great asset to the future population".[18] `Choice' was the key word. For example, people could shop locally if they wished, and all gridsquares were provisioned with shops. Yet people could also shop in retail sites dotted about the city. The motor car, and the ill-fated Dial-a-Bus system, were central to this vision.[19] Choice, however, has proved to be greater with car ownership, a point emphasised by feminist critics of the spatial layout of Milton Keynes, and of the constraints of the built-environment on women, whose ownership of cars, and access to them in general, has remained considerably lower than that of men.[20]

These principles of choice and selection can be seen in the concept of `Activity Centres'. These were to comprise shops where necessary, but also meeting places and leisure facilities. These were not, originally, to have been sited within the centres of the gridsquares, but on their edges. They were intended to draw people not simply from within a gridsquare, but from a wider area. They also held an orientation function: a distinctively designed Activity Centre, situated near to the main carriageways, was to provide a visual point of reference when navigating around the new city by car. Neath Hill's Centre (Fig. 3) has been praised by planners as a realisation of some of the ideas they had in mind. But the frustration of the original planners with the

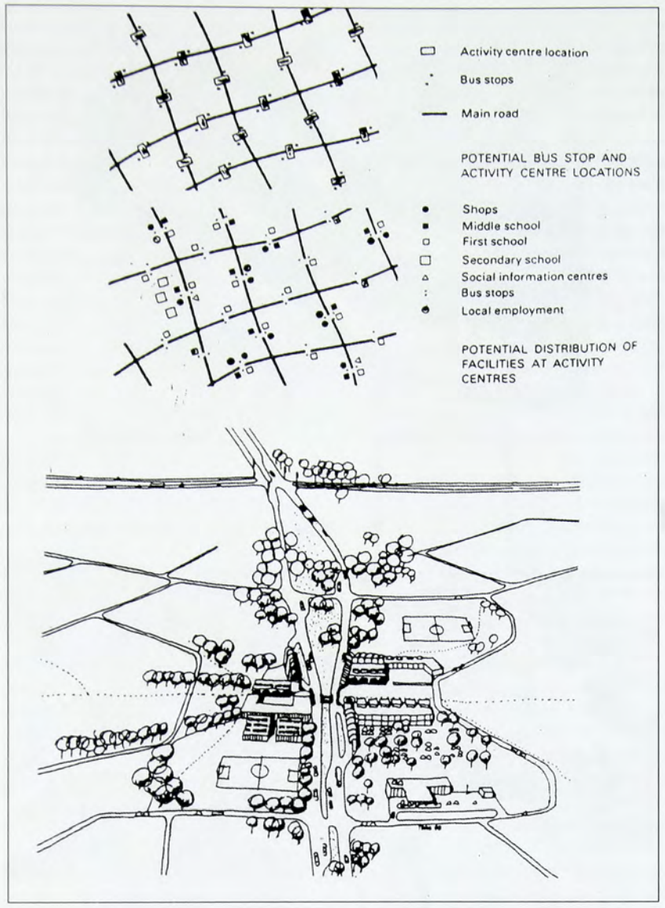

Figure 2. One version of road-based movement around the city, with Activity Centres and hard-edges used to orientate drivers. (Illustration courtesy of Walter Bor)

placement of some subsequent centres has since become apparent. Walter Bor, one of the consultants to the Plan, has since castigated architects in MKDC for the `Pavlovian reflex' of seeing a square and then automatically placing the centre in the middle.[21] The need to accommodate greater levels of personal mobility than Pooley had allowed for stemmed from Webber's ideas of social change, and the urban fabric of Milton Keynes reflects that. However, MKDC also attempted to discern the ongoing nature of social life in the new city, and to provide for it. Since 1946, all new towns were supposed to provide support for social development, but MKDC's social development programme went further than any previous or simultaneous new town.

Social development in Milton Keynes operated on a number of different but interlocking levels. First, as Peter Waterman, an ex-MKDC social development officer has summarised, it was directed to policies and programmes which aimed to meet social needs, notably education, health and community services.[22]

Second, social development aimed to help newcomers to settle into the raw new environment of Milton Keynes, and to avoid the problem of urban dissociation known as `the new town blues'. This was a myth fostered by media misinterpretation of a number of studies of movers to new towns such as Harlow and Crawley in the 1950s and 1960s. For example, a Ministry of Housing and Local Government report, The Needs of New Communities, published in 1967, had found that of movers to new towns the majority settled in relatively easily, and that `new town blues' was an inaccurate and emotive term.[23] Certainly, most studies of the `problem' could not prove it.[24] However, MKDC was keen to do as much as it could to minimise any difficulties that might occur.[25] The development corporation appointed arrivals workers to help people to settle in. They responded to the articulated needs and demands of newcomers, and assisted more active people who wanted to engage in building local tenants associations, or to establish interest-based groups and organisations.[26] By encouraging and facilitating organisations, clubs, societies or groups, of varying degrees of formality and informality, MKDC was keen to fulfil a third aim of social development. In the words of The Needs of New Communities, new communities

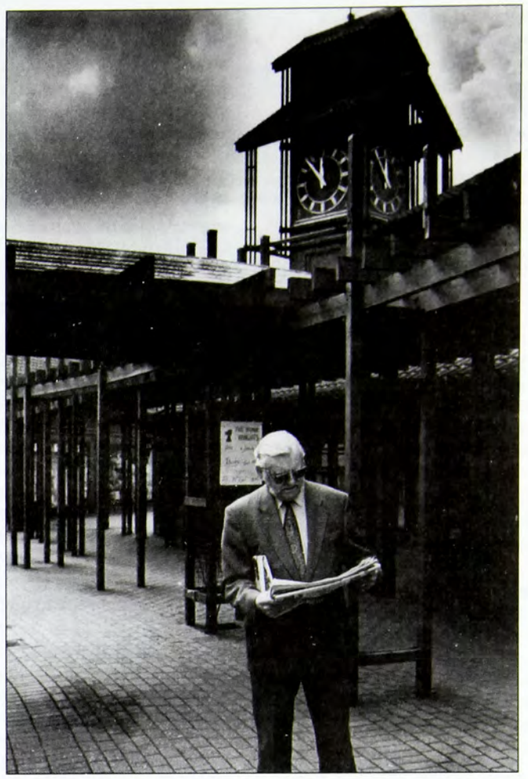

Figure 3. Neath Hill (Photo: Carl Vivian)

aim of social development. In the words of The Needs of New Communities, new communities should enable `the growth of and participation in community activity while not imposing patterns of behaviour'. MKDC was strongly influenced by such thinking.[27]

Social development was at the juncture between the planners and the people, and thus between planning and social action. But how can social historians research the connections between social change and planning intention? Fortunately, a variety of sources exists for this purpose. The usual local primary sources are invaluable, notably the newspapers and oral history collections. And MKDC created an important archive. Its Household Surveys, undertaken in 1973, 1976, 1983, 1988, and its Annual Reports, provide important qualitative and quantitative data upon, for example, the number and nature of associations of the new city, on home-based and public leisure, and on the uses of the Meeting Places within the gridsquares. Since MKDC wound up in 1992, such monitoring has been taken up by the Borough Council.

The voluntary act of association of committed individuals, and the interest-led movements of participants is central to associative action. It is pertinent to emphasise that `neighbourhood' as a basis for such action has not withered away, as many tape recordings at the Living Archive Project in Wolverton testify to. Nor did MKDC think it would. Organised neighbourliness within gridsquares has developed in the form of tenants association. In this, Milton Keynes shares in a wider national trend since 1970.[28]

However, it is important to evaluate the significance of neighbourhood within social action. That neighbourhood as a basis for communal interaction has but one variable, and not necessarily the most important one, in the social formation of the new city, is evident in the extent and nature of associations within the new city. Milton Keynes has a thriving associative culture based on voluntary action and commitment to a wide range of sports, leisure, religious, philanthropic and charitable groups, clubs and societies Over 50 per cent of the city belonged to one or more groups by the mid 1990s.[29] Some groups recruit more locally than others, depending on the organisation. However, membership or participation networks range from a few streets to city wide. In the case of national organisations, such as political parties, or the Open University, they involve networks beyond the city itself.[30]

Conclusion: the relevance of Milton Keynes to social change in England since 1970

This final section is intended to be discursive.

It points to some, but by no means all, historically significant aspects of the accelerated social evolution of the new city since 1970. It is to be regretted, however, that the lessons we could already have learned from Milton Keynes have to some extent been obscured by music hall jokes and knocking copy which present it as a soulless concrete jungle.[31] Moreover, the image of Milton Keynes has perhaps suffered from being born into the `crisis decade' of the 1970s, following the `golden age' of the 1950s and 1960s.[32]

Milton Keynes, however, has much to tell us about social change in the later twentieth century. As noted above, one important approach is to compare the demise of what historians and sociologists have termed `traditional' urban-industrial communities for more affluent, more mobile, and less spatially restricted suburban and new town patterns of social behaviour. These changes were intertwined with profound economic restructuring, as the de-industrialisation of Britain accelerated from 1970. Milton Keynes reflects this. The proportion of those working in manufacturing within the designated area declined from 70 percent to 30 percent of the work force between 1967 and 1988.[33] The majority of new workplaces have been comprised of small numbers of employees, and there has been a considerable growth of part time work, mostly within the expanding service sector of the local economy, and mostly filled by women.[34] Due to these structural factors, trades union organisation has remained low in the city.[35]

However, social action beyond the workplace is worthy of further historical analysis. A diverse range clubs, organisations, societies and tenant's associations may be interpreted as socially integrative, and whilst both men and women have been active in fostering such integration, women's contribution has been highest. Of 392 organisations in existence by 1988, and sampled by this writer, 56 per cent were co-ordinated by women. Women also spearheaded some of the most important and informal local campaigns to fight for improved services, such as the new hospital, or more and better shops.[36] These campaigns, moreover, cut across class and tenure divisions, and transcended grid square (or new estate) boundaries. Such findings pose questions for the idea that social relations are becoming more fragmented by `consumption sector cleavages' such as private versus public transport, and public versus private housing tenure.[37] It is no contradiction of Melvin Webber's ideas to argue that common interests have united people in a city of both diversity and of rapid change.

Of course, any contemporary historical evaluation of this new city in relation to wider social and economic changes requires qualification. For example, the role of an unelected development corporation in interpreting and managing social and economic change and growth is one of many local specificities that must be addressed. However, it is equally viable to argue that this new city enables the social historian and the planning historian to make some important observations about the relationship of the planning process to the social process.

Of course, any contemporary historical evaluation of this new city in relation to wider social and economic changes requires qualification. For example, the role of an unelected development corporation in interpreting and managing social and economic change and growth is one of many local specificities that must be addressed. However, it is equally viable to argue thatthis new city enables the social historian and the planning historian to make some important observations about the relationship of the planning process to the social process. Milton Keynes is stocked with a rich archive to facilitate this historical interpretation.[38] For these reasons, the new city may yet come to be viewed as paradigmatic of key social and economic changes in late twentieth century England, just as Manchester was to the Victorian era, and Los Angeles has been for post-war America.[39]

Cars outside shopping centre, Central Milton Keynes (Photo: Carl Vivian)

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VOGEL'S FOREST SETLEMENTS: A REGIONAL RESOURCE PLANNING EPISODE FROM 19TH CENTURY COLONIAL NEW ZEALAND

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This research note is anchored around two questions - when does utopian dreaming about the future become far sighted regional and urban planning and when does economic development become incorporated into a form of national regional resource development planning? The setting in which these questions are explored is that of colonial New Zealand during the 1870s, particularly through Sir Julius Vogel's plans for region resource development and settlement.

Memon argues of the 1870s-80s that "wider social and environmental issues, including utilization and management of New Zealand's wealth of land, water, forestry, and mineral resources, appear to have been ignored as legitimate concerns of planning at the local and regional level".[1] Given his emphasis on the progress towards national legislation in 1926, 1953 and 1977 this viewpoint is understandable. It does, however, tend to discount the early town plans of the New Zealand Company and diverts attention away from a number of colonial initiatives dating from the 1850s, 60s and 70s.[2] Some of these, particularly the attention given to early street specifications and reserves have already been discussed.[3] Hargreaves, however, makes the point that the Plans of Towns Regulation Act that was finally passed into law in 1875, on the third attempt, was shorn of many of its more important clauses.

To more fully appreciate and understand the origins of systematic planning in New Zealand, and the conditions for the development of a professional group to support it, it is necessary to identify and examine some early and often ad hoc approaches to planning. Memon recognises that some early responses to "resource planning issues" took place at the national level, a not altogether unexpected situation given the limited jurisdiction and even more limited financial resources of local government at the time. As Bush observes, "Wellington was given a town board in 1863 - only to see such a miserly rate struck that it scarcely covered the clerk's salary".[4] By the 1860s in the wake of declining Provincial government, local government itself was rapidly becoming disorganised and ineffective. Vogel attempted to rationalise and strengthen local government in 1875 in his proposed Counties Bill which would have merged roads boards and counties into 17 municipalities and 39 counties, which appeared more than adequate for a population of 400,000. Parochialism reared its head, however, and the 39 counties blossomed to 63. In these circumstances, and particularly in the period to the mid-1900s, local government tended to concentrate on basic functions such as roading, and were often unwilling to use the powers provided by a range of legislation to undertake basic planning functions.

Thus, if one is to look at early examples of planning in its broadest sense, in the period prior to 1926, then the nature of institutional arrangements would suggest that one looks at the national level. Central government initiations were essential in encouraging and in turn shaping the nature of growth including its physical manifestation in the form of settlements. (Equally in the wake of the enactment of the Resource Management Act of 1991, with its emphasis on the sustainable management of natural and physical resources, it is important to track the development of natural resource-based planning, particularly as in the case where it interacts with the development of settlements).

The choice of Vogel's special forest settlement scheme therefore becomes clearer, as one of the early manifestation of concern for the efficient use of resources, and initiated at a national level. However, Special Settlement Acts specific to particular provinces were passed in the early 1870s so that Vogel's does not entirely conform to Memon's categorisation of the 1870s and 1880s as an era when land and forest management has ignored.[5]

Vogel's Immigration and Public Works Scheme

Sir Julius Vogel (1835-99) defies easy categorisation as a colonial politician.(Fig.1) Dalziel observes that "He was described as brilliant, a far seeing strategist, and a clever politician; he was called a dangerous financier, a snob, a carpetbagger, and a corrupting influence in politics".[6] British-born and arriving in New Zealand after a spell in Melbourne in 1852, Vogel prospered in journalism before entering provincial politics then successfully making the transition to the national stage in 1863. The colonial economy stagnated in the late 1860s as the impetus of the gold rushes was lost and wool prices were low. As Colonial Treasurer he was a decisive force in Fox's ministry.

In an attempt to stimulate the economy Vogel implemented a boldly conceived intertwined scheme of overseas borrowing to fund road and rail development in conjunction with an assisted immigration and settlement scheme. Dalziel reflects that Vogel's programme set New Zealand "on the path towards national unity and economic growth".[7] Vogel's popularity waned in the mid 1870s and he resigned to become the New Zealand government's Agent-General in London before returning briefly to the

Figure 1. Sir Julius Vogel (1835–99)

the national stage a decade later. His political significance rests largely on the public works and immigration scheme and his part in the abolition of provincial government in New Zealand. This latter event was triggered by opposition to his forest conservation proposals which, although passed into law, were stripped of their key provisions for acquiring forest lands.[8] Vogel had suddenly become interested in forest conservation attracted by the economic advantages of ending the wanton destruction of forests, although he did also seem to grasp the flood and erosion control possibilities.

Burdon, in an earlier biographical treatment of Vogel, concludes that he was very much a 'big picture' strategist who was concerned more with the general lineaments of a land settlement and public works scheme than with its detail, of which he little grasp or interest. The boom economy of the gold fields era of the early 1860s Burdon sees as fundamentally informing Vogel's outlook:

> Vogel was curiously slow to perceive the indissoluble connection between immigration and land settlement. He regarded them as natural evolutionary processes, which, once the situation favourable to their initiation had been created, might be expected to advance steadily under their own self-generated motive power with the least possible supervision and direction by the State. It seemed that he could never avoid looking back upon those tumultuous irruptions of humanity which had invariably followed the discovery of gold, as models for the conduct of all subsequent colonisation. He had hoped, somewhat vaguely, that the problem of land settlement would solve itself, and that as the public works were completed the men who had been employed on them would become small farmers, buying land for themselves out of what they had saved from their high wages. The land boom forced him to realise that soon there would be no suitable land left on which to settle anyone at all, and, what to his mind was more important still, the last chance of securing a national railway estate would disappear.[9]

This assessment of Vogel and his evolving ideas about regional resource management forms an hitherto overlooked subplot of Vogel's immigration public works and land development schemes.

Regional Resource Development: the Forest Settlements

Vogel's more detailed thoughts on forest settlement in Westland were outlined in a memorandum to the Superintendent of Wellington Province in 1874 and subsequently reprinted as part the official correspondence relating to forests in New Zealand.[10] When large scale European settlement commenced in 1840, some 50 per cent of New Zealand was covered in forest. By 1868 the scale of deforestation attracted official attention, though with limited effective action.[11]

It was against this background of extensive deforestation, economic stagnation, and tensions between provincial and central government that Vogel developed his ideas about forest settlements. He began by outlining six principles on which they were based. These included:

1. Special settlements should be used to concentrate settlement in thinly settled areas or those not yet settled;
2. Immigration policy is at least in part directed to the promotion of settlement in selected localities;
3. Special settlements are required to ensure that jobs are available for new migrants;
4. Immigrants recently arrived in the colony may volunteer to join special settlements;
5. Success of the settlements will depend on the first settlers paving the way for later arrivals;
6. Success will depend on employment being available during the first two years.

There are some familiar themes advanced in Vogel's list of principles. That concerning the concentration of settlement has resonances with Edward Gibbon Wakefield's settlement schemes given form by the operations of the New Zealand Company in the 1840s.[12] Wakefield specifically identified the easy

availability of land as leading to a dispersal of capital and labour to the detriment of colonial settlement, and he specifically saw the foundation and development of settlements as an integral part of a systematic settlement process.

Vogel's view of frontier expansion is notable with regard to his attitude to the forests, which reached fruition in his Forest Bill of 1874. A contrasting and more typical depiction of the forests was that put forward a few years later by Taranaki farmer politician Thomas Kelly.

> Bush felling is a noble work; there the effort of colonisation is more palpably displayed than perhaps in any other mode of utilising waste lands. It is literally carving a home in the wilderness.[13]

The rhetoric identifying forests as lands 'going to waste' and as a wilderness requiring settler energy to convert it ordered and productive use were powerful colonial motifs. Vogel himself testifies to the extent of these sentiments, observing that, "to the ordinary occupier of small means the destruction as rapidly as possible of the timber which covers it"[14]. Vogel's stance was pragmatic, a fusion of strategies for pursuing economic development, and the question of planned settlements, on the frontier to which he grafted some utilitarian ideas about forest utilisation. The crux of his proposition was summarised as follows:

> From an economic point of view, the destruction and the reckless use of he forests of the country do not probably entail so much loss as the improper treatment of timber.[15]

Proceeding onward he laid out a four point plan for forest settlements. His initial proposition was that the settlement would eventually be linked by rail to a port or major settlement. This included:

1. Appointment of a competent overseer to select trees for felling at the proper season;
2. Roads and tramways (i.e. light horse drawn railways through the forest) to be laid out enabling logs to be stockpiled for transport or processed by forest sawmills;
3. Land was not to be sold until it was cleared of timber;
4. Co-operative sawmills and other timber working plants might be built.

Here Vogel touched on some issues of much contemporary interest. The best season for felling timber was hotly debated and quite central to his newly emerged concern for efficient utilisation of natural resources.[16]

Given the expense of clear felling and burning the forest prior to settlement, estimated at £2 to £2 10s per acre by Kelly, the notion of both recovering monies from the sale of forest products and of speeding the land settlement process was extremely attractive.[17]

Although Vogel specifically acknowledged the importance of location, in the sense of directing migrants to particular areas and his forests scheme was in effect a plan for settlement and natural resource use, he does not appear to have depicted his ideas in cartographic form. In his 'Memorandum as to the proposed settlement in Westland' he provided some important details against which the scale of his plans can be evaluated. He suggested that an area of 100,000 acres be made available, of which 50,000 acres be set aside as a Forest Reserve, and the other 50,000 acres as a settlement area. In 1874 the European population of New Zealand totalled 299,514 and the Maori 45,470.[18] A settler population of 250 families (about 1000 adults) was envisaged for the 50,000 acres. Adults were able to purchase 50 acres per annum over a seven year period. The concern for promoting genuine settlement rather than speculative land aggregation is also evident in the arrangements for land purchase. But it is the interrelationship between farming and the timber industry which is notable. Vogel sought to bring together two enterprises, usually regarded as antithetical, to their mutual advantage. Sawmilling at this time was a significant employer outside farming, even in districts where sawmilling it self was not particularly important.

A simple diagrammatic representation of Vogel's forests settlement scheme is shown below (Fig. 2). For purposes of simplicity, the land and forest blocks has been represented on a grid as if the physical environment was uniform. Obviously this is a major simplifying assumption, but one which helps illustrate the fashion in which Vogel sought to link efficient use of the forest resources with the expansion of land settlement.

In terms of the fate of some of the settlements established under special legislation in the years prior to Vogel's initiative, his 1874 scheme may be seem as an attempt, albeit modest to improve the success of these efforts at town establishment and economic expansion. Special settlements legislation was enacted for Otago, Wellington, Nelson and Hawkes Bay provinces for 1871 to 1872. (Fig. 3) Although the schemes were not identical, they share a common philosophy of government assisted land development. The scale and duration of the Acts are laid out in Table 1.

TABLE 1
SPECIAL SETTLEMENT SCHEME CHARACTERISTICS

Province: Otago (1871).
Area (acres):100 000.
Duration: 4 years.
Maximum Area per Individual: 500 ac. Class C.

Province: Wellington (1871)
Area (acres): 100 000
Duration: 3 years

Maximum Area per Individual: 200 ac. (?)

Province: Hawkes Bay (1872)
Area (acres): 30 000
Duration: 2 years
Maximum Area per Individual: 200 ac.

Province: Nelson (1872)
Area (acres): 100 000
Duration: 2 years
Maximum Area per Individual: 200 ac.

Source: Otago Settlements Act, 1871; Wellington Special Settlement Act, 1872; Hawkes Bay Special Settlement Act, 1872; Nelson Special Settlement Act, 1872.

Attention was focused primarily on the area set aside and details of land acquisition. The special settlement established at Bruce Bay in Westland was soon regarded as a failure. Hargreaves and Hearn observed that:

> Conceived in the fertile, expansive imaginations of the politicians and nurtured during the boom of the early 1870s, the settlements were ill-devised, funded with little more than passing regard to their economic base, established in regions whose physical climate and resource character was little known but of which the best was believed.[19]

Likewise the more successful bush towns of Dannevirke, Woodville and Norsewood situated in the Seventy Mile Bush on the line of the proposed railway and designed to open the region to settlement were neither models of efficient forest utilisation nor agrarian utopia. Although the forest industry was regionally significant much forest was felled and burnt to facilitate the establishment of pasture and the creation of a rural economy.

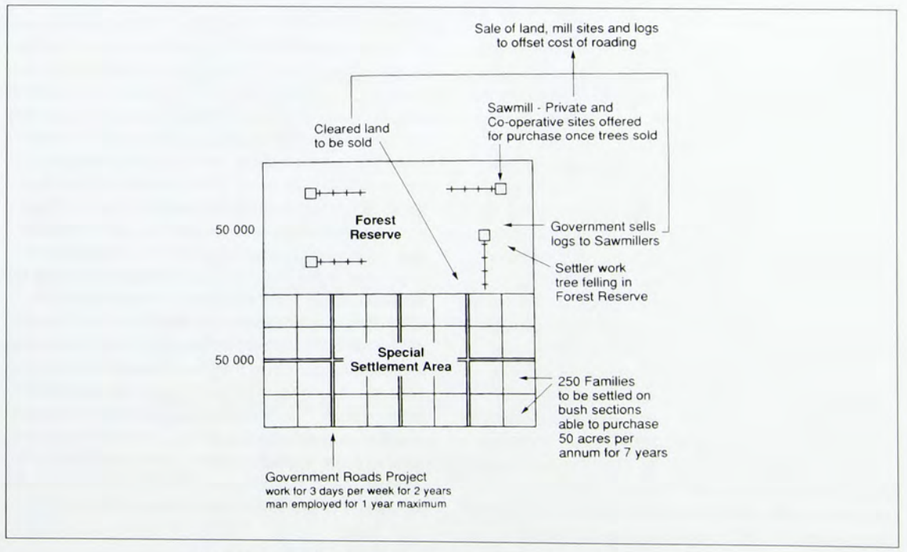

Figure 2. Vogel's Ideal Proposed Forest Settlement Scheme. 1874

Conclusion

This research note does not attempt to promote Sir Julius Vogel as some pioneering and neglected figure in the history of town planning in New Zealand We do, however, point to some blurring and overlaps between proposals for new settlements and regional economic and natural resource development and planning. Vogel's concern to see forests utilised rather than wasted was unusual, thought not exceptional, for the time when the general attitude was that they were virtually inexhaustible and a barrier to land settlement and infra-structural development. Vogel sought to bridge state legislation and the economy by making provision for the rational exploitation of forests for timber. He fully appreciated that timber would only have sufficient value for this to happen if transport networks were in place and there were urban or overseas markets in which to sell the timber. Vogel's vision of forest settlements is also of interest in that it foreshadows by 50 years Sir David Hutchins' ideas. Hutchins, an eminent Colonial forest administrator, was commissioned to report on New Zealand's forests by the government in 1919. His report was largely mainstream forestry science but he did touch on the sorts of forest communities that his proposals for indigenous forest management would produce:

State forest employees are settled more permanently on the land than most farmers; they earn more than the average dairy farmer, and, settled in model hamlets, escape the isolation and monotonous life of the isolated farmer.[20]

This examination of the forests scheme also throws additional light on Burdon's judgement that Vogel hoped "the problem of land settlement would solve itself." In one very major way he is correct. Vogel was stronger on the big picture than on the fine detail , but this is a criticism to which many politicians of the 19th and 20th centuries remain open. There is, however, another unintended meaning to Burdon's assessment, for by co-ordinating population, infra-structure and efficient natural resource utilisation, Vogel could not without justification believe that land settlement could "solve itself" in the sense of the colonial state providing conditions for creating growing rural settlement and economies.

In effect, Vogel's settlement schemes can be viewed as part of the patchwork of developments which would eventually turn the attention of the central state to the need for systematic town planning which was first achieved in the 1926 Town-planning Act. By addressing such diverse elements and relating them to the wider issue of the state's involvement in resource use and management in its broadest sense, it is possible perhaps to more clearly discern the inspiration for much later developments and to suggest a much wider research agenda for the planning history of 19th and 20th century New Zealand. This does not deny the significance of Schrader and Hamer[21], who have contributed much detailed analysis on the establishment and development of New Zealand's urban fabric, or of Memon's[22] 1990 overview of the origins of planning in New Zealand. Rather, we advocate the adoption of an eclectic approach with perhaps less emphasis on "town planning" and more on resource use in its widest definition. In this way it is possible to encompass the town planning aspects while looking forward to the resource focus of the most recent legislation.

There is a substantial literature on early town planning and the city beautiful movement in the British Empire. One example is provided by Home, writing in *Planning Perspectives* in 1990. It is useful to compare how Vogel's initiatives conform to the broader patterns of colonial town planning that Home discusses. Home grounds his discussion of town planning in the British colonial empire on the careers of Albert Thompson, who worked in Africa and Charles Reade (1883-1933) whose professional career was spent in Australia, Malaya and Northern Rhodesia. Their work is placed against a backdrop of A D King's writings on colonial urban development. (It is coincidentally worth noting here that Reade was New Zealand born and that he publicised the garden city/garden suburb movement on a New Zealand tour before World War I.) Home deliberately focuses attention on "the conflicts created by the relationship of British town planning activity to the politics of colonial rule".[22] Given that the model of colonial town planning activity (based on King) laid out by Home suggests that in white settler colonies, town planning activities were typically company towns and garden cities, with the usual mechanism being the private sector, the present focus on Vogel and state initiatives is important in that it indicates that the scope of "planning" in New Zealand was somewhat wider than the New Zealand company settlements or the garden suburb movements of the early 20th century. Freestone and Hutchings' review of the state of Australian planning history has some significant resonances for New Zealand readers, particularly their final statement about the main challenges ahead; "more original research; more integrated effort; a touch more national co-operation; more theory; more applied analysis; more contribution to current and emergent issues"[23]. This they observe is an agenda which is not restricted to planning historians.

NEW ZEALAND.

TRICESIMO SEXTO

VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

No. XLIII.

ANALYSIS.

AN ACT to provide for the Sale of Land in the Province of Hawke's Bay on Deferred Payments, and for the setting apart of Land in the Province for Special Settlement. [25*th October*, 1872.] Title.

BE IT ENACTED by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. The Short Title of this Act shall be "The Hawke's Bay Special Settlements Act, 1872," and it is divided into two Parts, as follows:— Short Title.

PART I.—Land on Deferred Payments.
PART II.—Special Settlements.

Figure 3. Special Settlements Legislation for Hawkes Bay, 1872

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Third Australian Planning History/urban History Conference, Melbourne, December 1996
Robert Freestone, University of New South Wales

The Third Australian Planning History/Urban History Conference was held in Melbourne, Victoria from 11-14 December 1996. The Conference was a collaborative effort between two Melbourne universities: Monash and RMIT. It was jointly sponsored by the Faculty of Business and Economics at Monash and the Department of Social Science at RMIT, with logistics co-ordinated by the Monash Office of Continuing Education. Mark Peel, Graeme Davison and Anne Gartner all had a demonstrable role in organising the paper, social and fieldwork programmes. Tony Dingle from Monash was the most visible frontperson, having taken on the convenor's role at the close of the Second National Planning/Urban History Conference held in Canberra in mid-1995.

The Conference was held at the RMIT campus in the heart of Melbourne's Central Business District. Building 22, the main venue and formerly a sewing machine factory, was very conveniently located. Trams rattled along outside, an underground station and the State Library were opposite, hotel and other accommodation options were close by, and bookshops abounded. A range of lunch and dinner venues also lay close at hand, maximising the possibility of those pleasant and productive 'casual urban encounters' anticipated by Dingle in his opening remarks.

Around 85 delegates were formally registered with some 50 papers delivered. All six Australian states were represented, with three welcome international delegates (from South Africa, New Zealand and Hong Kong). The broadest of themes — 'The Australian City-Future/Past' — called forth an eclectic mix of papers. Coupled together in 90 minute sessions providing for half hour presentations and ample opportunity for discussions and feedback, there was the kind of quality time not always evident in larger conferences.

The informal mixing of planning and more mainstream urban historical perspectives has been one of the strengths of these conferences. Once again, the paper topics ranged broadly: from aboriginality to industrial development, from residential flat development to Chinese cemetaries, from public housing to planning education, from open space planning to modernist architecture, from garden suburbs to skyscrapers, and so on.

Within this stimulating mix were several innovatie sessions. Patrick Troy of the Urban Research Program at the Australian National University and the doyen of Melbourne's economic historians, John McCarty, were invited to reminisce on their long careers in Australian urban studies. A special session featured three films of historic interest — 'Christmas under the Sun', a 1950s pro-immigration propaganda film featuring the Adelaide garden suburb, Colonel Light Gardens, 'A Place to Grow', the 1960s equivalent for the planned town of Elizabeth, and 'Born to Die', on the last days of the doomed brown coal township of Yallourn in the 1970s.

The organisers arranged several instructive field trips, including an informal inspection of RMIT's Storey Hall, a post-modern recycling of an 1880s building, which has attracted considerable interest in architectural circles. Graeme Davison led a city walk past and into the surviving bluestone warehouses and Venetian Gothic commercial palaces of the colonial city. There was a cruise to the upper reaches of the Maribyrnong River, one of the main tributaries of the Yarra, and an excursion into the post-war suburban landscape of regional shopping centres, former drive-in sites, freeways and house-and-garden suburbs.

With three parallel sessions running over as many days, the matrix of possibilities was too much for a single mortal. Fortunately, the proceedings are to be published and enquiries can be directed to the Office of Continuing Education, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria 3168, Australia.At the end of the paper sessions it was resolved to integrate the Fourth Australian

Planning/Urban History Conference into the Eighth International Planning History Conference to be held at the University of New South Wales in Sydney in July 1998.

REPORT

Melbourne from the River Yarra in the late 1950s

PUBLICATIONS

Andy Coupland (ed.)*Reclaiming the City*, London: E. and F.N. Spon, 1996, 304pp., ISBN 0 419 21360 0, Paper £29.95.

This is a book based on a research project taking a critical look at mixed use development. It examines the history and development of land use zoning and the reasons why concerns about more sustainable cities lead to a greater mix of uses. Mixed use deelopment is about retaining or creating a mix of different uses in cities or neighbourhoods. This study examines examples of policies and schemes which have created new mixed use developments and the attitudes of developers inoled in such schemes.

Thomas Hall, *Planning Europe's Capital Cities*, London: E. and F.N. Spon, 1997, 448pp., ISBN 0 419 17290 4, Cloth £45.00.

During the 19th century many of Europe's capital cities were subject to major expansion and improvemnet schemes. From the boulevards of Paris to the Vienna Ringstrasse, the townscape which emerged still shape today's cities and are an inalienable part of the cultural heritage of Europe. Thomas Hall examines the planning process in fifteen of those cities. His detailed analysis shows us that the capital city projects of the 19th century were central to the evolution of modern planning and of far greater impact and of importance than the urban theories and experiments of the Utopians.

Robert Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The making of British colonial cities*, London: E. and F.N. Spon, 1996, 260pp., ISBN 0 419 20230 7, Cloth £49.00.

This is the first book to cover the whole sweep of British colonial urbanism — from the plantation of Ulster in the 17th century through to the era of decolonisation after the Second World War. The colonies of the British Empire gae rise to many of the biggest cities in the world. Colonial policy and planning had a profound effect on the form and functioning of these cities. In this critical assessment of the impact of British colonialism on urban deelopment Robert Home addresses a number of themes: the legacy of Shaftesbury's Grand Modell in the New World and elsewhere; the origins of racial segregation from Raffles' Singapore to apartheid South Africa; the building and renewal of port cities across the continents; the new house forms devised, from the erandah bungalow to the barrack block; the control of space by engineers and doctors.

Dirk Schubert, *Stadterneuerung in London und Hamburg. Eine Stadtbaugeschichte zwischen Modernisierung und Disziplinierung*, Braunschweig/Wiesbaden: Vieweg Verlag, 704pp., 364 Ill., ISBN 3 528 08137 6, Cloth DM 98.00.

This is a comparative study of urban development in London and Hamburg from the mid-19th century through to the period after the Second World War. A comparatie analysis of slum clearance programmes in the period forms the basis of the study. Slum clearance is presented as a Janus-faced form of modernisation, and it is discussed within the framework of the urban development policies of the time. The many illustrations and maps help to document the different renewal projects in both cities. The study verifies that the causes, forms, perceptiions, measures and results of slum clearances were subject to several historic shifts. The book also reviews the discussions and conflicts about urban renewal that took place in the scientific community in both countries, for example, at international conferences. Dirk Schubert presents us with a detailed assessment of the wide-ranging and multi-faceted perceptions of the problems and practices of urban renewal as a strategy for modernisation. He also believes that the study of past problems can shed light on current debates.

Robert Tennenbaum (Ed.), *Creating a New City: Columbia, Maryland*, Columbia: Perry Publishing, 5087 Columbia Road, Columbia, MD 21044, 1996, 152pp., ISBN 0 9643728 7 8, Paper $25.

This book tells how the new town of Columbia was planned and built in the early 1960s. The editor, Robert Tennenbaum, the developer's chief architect and planner during the early years and a long-time resident in this idealistic settlement. The sixteen chapters in the book were written by fourteen people actively inolved in creating Columbia. They provide first-hand accounts of the rationale, conceptualising, managing, planning, design, marketing and construction of this experimental town.

This well-illustrated set of personal recollections does not claim to be a scholarly history based on extensive research. This fascinating and wide-ranging account of the aims and objectives of the idealistic founders of Columbia and their early trials and tribulations will provide future historians with a starting point for reviewing the dreams and realities of this "new city".

PUBLICATIONS

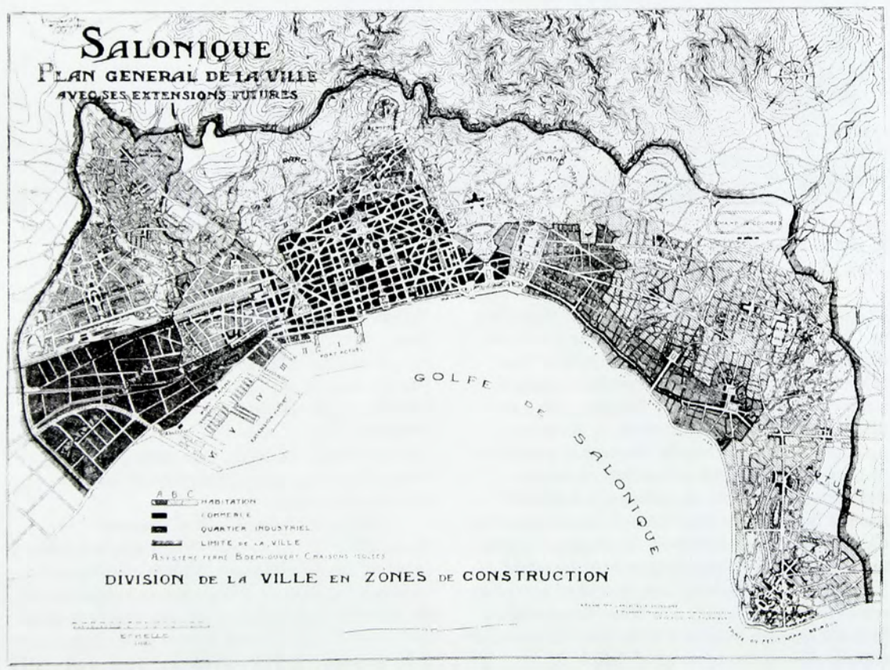
Brenda Vale, *Prefabs: The history of the U.K. Temporary Housing Programme*, London: E. and F.N. Spon, 1995, 200pp., ISBN 0 419 18800 2, Cloth £48.00.

This book provides an insight into the history of the 'temporary bungalow' and examines how this unique housing form survived way beyond its given life of fifteen years, when other post-war housing types have been condemned and even demolished. Brenda Vale offers a well-researched and thoughtful analysis of the subject, and clearly explains the architectural and technical aspects of prefabs.

Alexandra Yerolympos, *Urban Transformations in the Balkans (182-1920)*, Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1996, 137pp., ISBN 960 12 0553 5, Paper.

This book will begin to fill a noticeable gap in the planning literature. It introduces to English readers some of the tremendous changes that took place in the Balkans in the period from 1820 to 1920. Situated between the western and eastern world, between powerful metropolitan states and colonised teritories, the Balkan countries, Alexandra Yerolympos rightly suggests, provide an intermediate link in the history of town planning which deserves our attention.

This well-illustrated study introduces us to the process of urban restructuring that took place in the Balkan countries in the 19th century. The early chapters contrasts traditional layouts with the new planning values penetrating the Balkans during a period of dramatic political change. Yerolympos explores in more detail the decline of the traditional city of Adrianople at the turn of the 20th century. Taking her analysis a little further she looks at the transition from the traditional to the modern city by studying the urban expansion and changing uses of city walls in the late Ottoman Balkans. This attractive and useful book concludes with a finely illustrated account of the replanning of Thessaloniki after the fire of 1917 and the beginning of modern town planning in Greece.



General master plan of Thessoloniki , 1918

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.

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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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- 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.

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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.

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