PLANNING HISTORY

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BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

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EDITORIAL

PETER J. LARKHAM, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL ENGLAND

Celebrating the anniversary

This is another bumper issue of *Planning History*, partly in celebration of the 25th anniversary, and partly since the material submitted for publication neatly focuses on aspects of 'what is planning history and how do we do it', together with a re-appraisal of some of the materials produced by and for that key figure in planning history, Patrick Geddes.

We have a welcome contribution from Professor Tony Sutcliffe, Editor of *Planning Perspectives* and joint organiser of the very first meeting of what developed into the Planning History Group, forerunner of the IPHS. One final personal view, from one of the speakers at that first meeting, Peter Hall, should appear in the next issue.

I welcome two papers on the substance of planning history. It is pure coincidence that both come from the same University department in South Africa. I carry editorial responsibility for one, having particularly encouraged its author to think in this direction whilst he was otherwise enjoying a resident visiting professorship in my own Faculty. Is this an incentive for others to take up this theme from other national perspectives – perhaps addressing the question posed by Tony Sutcliffe's final paragraph? I would encourage some debate about this crucial issue.

In looking back and forwards in this 25th anniversary year I reiterate my view that we should also be thinking about some of the educational issues surrounding planning history. Why do we teach it? How do we teach it? Why do students seem to feel that it is boring and irrelevant? Can we use new educational concepts and methods, or IT, to reinforce the relevance of planning history?

Developing the journal

Peer reviewing continues, and all comments received so far have been favourable: although one key issue has been raised, which I discuss below. Indeed, one of the papers in this issue generated the most enthusiastic and positive response that I have ever seen from a reviewer. I hope that this standard can be maintained!

Readers may notice another innovation in this issue. That is, a change to permit the use of both Harvard and Oxford referencing systems, at the choice of the author. The bulk of papers submitted have used Harvard, and this has led to considerable expenditure of effort by the editor and authors in converting to the former house style. There has, of course, been considerable debate over these styles – most notably perhaps by the geographer Derek Gregory in a guest editorial for *Environment and Planning B*. Notably, and entertainingly, Gregory (1990)[1] provided the same argument but structured in the two formats. Interestingly, in this very issue, Roger Boden also passes comment on the implications inherent in these systems (pp. 26, 29).

I certainly do not wish to dispense with the style that has served the journal well so far: however, weighing the pros and cons, it now seems appropriate – as, indeed, some other journals do – to offer authors the choice of reference style.

Problems of refereeing: academic cultures

There is a clear problem in any academic journal that seeks to reflect the varied needs and styles of an international readership. That is, that there are evident differences in academic standards, writing styles, acceptable rhetoric, and even the willingness to use references, thus acknowledging the intellectual influence of others.

To what extent, therefore, should a journal whose roots are firmly within the North Atlantic axis of academic culture seek to shape contributions to fit that model? How can reviewers be instructed to be flexible, and is there some abstract notion of 'academic quality' that transcends such things as writing style, referencing style and so on?

Obviously, this is an issue faced by many mainstream academic journals. It is, perhaps, more of an issue for a journal such as *Planning History*, which has a responsibility to reflect the views of the IPHS and its members. Yet I see little evidence in the majority of academic journals that the diversity in traditional styles and approaches is being catered for.

This issue has arisen several times in my editorial experience, and can result in fundamental disagreements between author and reviewer. The negotiations to arrive at an agreed publishable output can be delicate. One contributor has usefully expressed these issues to me (and I am grateful for his permission to quote them here):

> "this is a major issue between French and English/American rhetoric: [the] French try to build something we consider [to be] subtle, where the reader must find his way until, at the end, he sees the light of our cleverness ... Hence a lot of things are implicit. The anglo-saxon rhetoric is much more authoritative, nomothetic I would almost say: the game is to stress from the beginning what one wants to prove, show, demonstrate ... Hence a very direct writing style. Even when you try to speak a foreign language, you cannot get rid of that way of thinking and writing."

As editor, I was being reminded here that an international journal that uses only one language is – albeit perhaps unintentionally –

> "bending the ways of writing and of displaying an argument. I say without intention, because those things are so incorporated in languages and in academic cultures that we are only aware of then when confronted with other languages and cultures."

This does raise a very significant point in terms of how a journal can service the needs of a membership / readership of such differing origins, linguistic and cognitive traditions, and academic cultures. Yet we do need to retain, indeed improve, the 'quality' of the journal's contents.

My own preference is for clarity in writing to allow the broadest understanding: although this might go against the 'mystification' that some see in much academic discourse:

> "Do, as a concession to my poor wits, Lord Darlington, just explain to me what you really mean."
> "I think I had better not, Duchess, Nowadays, to be intelligible is to be found out."
>
> (Oscar Wilde, *Lady Windermere's Fan*, 1892)

This is a fertile field for future debate. I would welcome opinions from the IPHS membership on how the journal should proceed in this respect. And perhaps it is high time that editorship passed out of the North Atlantic axis?

References

It is extremely difficult to give traditional references for these editorials: one is entitled 'Gregory D. (1990)' and the other simply '(1)', in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* Vol. 8, 1990, pp. 1-6.

EDITORSHIP OF *PLANNING HISTORY*

Time for a change

The Editorship of *Planning History* has customarily been a three-year job – although the IPHS Constitution actually allows four years. This has been sufficient time to learn the processes, make some impact upon the journal, and then hand over to a fresh mind before one becomes stale or overwhelmed!

This issue marks two years of my editorship. The time has passed remarkably quickly; and it is now appropriate to invite expressions of interest from potential future editors. I would be very happy to discuss the job specification and requirements with all interested IPHS members – and this is not as onerous as it sounds! Briefly, it includes

- editing papers, including operating the newly-introduced reviewing process; selecting publishable papers, reviews, news items etc
- producing camera-ready copy
- arranging printing
- co-ordinating distribution.

Access to relevant IT equipment and expertise is essential. (But this does not necessarily imply cutting-edge technology: I use a 286 PC that is now 10 years old, running DOS Word Perfect v.5.1 – and this does everything we need!) Support, of some form, is essential. In the past this has been via an academic institution, and includes moral, technical and perhaps financial contributions, students to stuff 400 envelopes, and so on. Printing and distribution arrangements have changed with each Editor, according to local convenience. All (reasonable) costs are paid directly by the IPHS Treasurer, who has also managed the address database and produced sets of address labels on demand.

Planning History does have an Editorial Board. I have been trying to make increasing use of Board members as a sounding-board for the improvements we have made, for reviewing papers, and for recommending material. There are also useful links with our American affiliate societies.

The flow of material has been steady although not large. One editorial job – I find quite an interesting and rewarding one – has been to encourage potential contributors through contacts at conferences, other universities, noticing other related publications, and so on. (Of course, this has had benefits for my own personal research area too!)

I have not found that this editorial commitment – three times per year – has significantly affected whatever else I do. My teaching load remains high, my own publications have continued, and my wife and I have restored a vintage car! It has proved easy to spread the workload evenly through the year to accommodate all of these other commitments.

Personally, I have found that this has been a good way to become more directly involved in a sizeable and varied international contact network.

Applications invited

Although not a formal procedure, we feel that the IPHS is now sufficiently mature and large that the Editorship should be open to all interested members worldwide – rather than a private gentlemanly agreement (however successful that may have been in the past!) Questions about the job, its requirements, procedures and level of commitment, should be addressed to me; 'applications' should be made to the IPHS President, Stephen Ward. Our addresses are on the journal's inside cover.

NOTICES

Preliminary Notice

International Conference on University planning

A major international conference on University planning – including the planning, design and use ofbuildings, campuses, entire property portfolios – is proposed for Easter 2001.

This builds on recent interest in this topic in planning history, urban form and elsewhere. The conference will be designedly inter-disciplinary and international. It will be a joint event of the IPHS and ISUF, the International Seminar on Urban Form. It will be convened by Peter J. Larkham (University of Central England, Birmingham, UK) and Professor John Muller (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa), and will be held in Birmingham, UK.

Preliminary paper proposals are now invited. Anyone interested should contact Peter Larkham (address inside front cover).

A welcome to new IPHS members

Among new members joining since our last issue we welcome:

Phil Jones
5 Stoughton Street South, Leicester, LE2 0SH, UK
(*Research interests in system building in the UK*)

Stephen Musgrave
Department of Planning, Anglia Polytechnic University, Chelmsford, Essex, CM1 1LL, UK
(*Research interests in the European influence of garden cities*)

Mercedes Volait
Urbanisation dans le Monde Arabe, University of Tours, 37075 Tours, Cedex 2, France.
E-mail: volait@droit.univ-tours.fr

(*Current research focus is on the relation between the growing attention devoted by European artists, architects, antiquarians and collectors during the 19th century to Islamic art and architecture in Egypt – and the founding there in 1881 of the 'Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe'. This was particularly active in Cairo.*

Also interested in planning history in modern Egypt (1870-1950), with special focus on the domestication of European models at work in the shaping of Cairo and the building of a local expertise in planning)

Euro-Urban website

At its Paris meeting in February 1999 the International Committee of the European Associatioon of Urban Historians agreed to give its support to the creation of a European website for urban history, with links to the existing H-URBAN site.

This initiative is being sponsored by the University of Leicester (Prof. P. Clark, Dr R. Rodger) in conjunction with Dr P.-Y. Saunier (Lyons), Prof. P. Kooij (Groningen), Prof. L. Nilsson (Stockholm) and Prof. H. Reif (Berlin).

It is hoped that the website will provide an up-to-date noticeboard for publications, urban history courses, research projects etc. Contributions by younger scholars are welcomed.

Please send information and contributions in either English or French to James Brown at jb87@leicester.ac.uk

The website is
www.le.ac.uk/urbanhist/euro-urban

CIAM in Latin America

Arturo Almandoz points out that during the Bienial Iberoamericana de Arquitectura, which will take place in Mexico during 2000, there will be an event about 'La herencia moderna. Los CIAM en Iberoamérica', which is being organised by the University of Alcalá de Henares, Spain.

Further details from: Roberto Goycoolea Prado, Escuela de Arquitectura, Universidad de Alcalá. Tel: 91 885 65 11; Fax: 91 885 65 05; E-mail: roberto.goycoolea@uah.es

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NOTICES

Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes

This is a 'new' quarterly academic journal, an evolution of the former *Journal of Garden History*. Its scope appears to have been widened particularly through the introduction of the term 'designed landscapes'. Although retaining the focus on gardens, it also promises to carry features of somewhat broader interest, which may have some relevance to planning history (broadly defined).

Vol. 18 No. 2, for example, has a paper on the landscape architecture activities of the Olmsted brothers at Castle Hill, Mass.

That issue carried 98 pages (6 papers and book reviews). Subscriptions are £93 ($152) personal, £223 ($368) institutional, from Taylor & Francis Ltd, 1 Gunpowder Square, London, EC4A 3DE, UK.

Thomas Mawson and Sons: plea for information

Larry McCann (Department of Geography, University of Victoria) asks whether any member knows of any archival holdings for the landscape architecture & planning firm of Thomas Mawson & Sons, who did work in Canada just before the First World War.

Please respond to lmccann@office.geog.uvic.ca

Geddes exhibition

An exhibition of memorabilia belonging to Sir Patrick Geddes, who designed Ramsay Gardens in Edinburgh's Old Town (see Sofia Leonard's paper in this issue) opened at the University of Strathclyde in May. It will also run at the Talbot Rice Art Gallery, University of Edinburgh, 17 June - 15 July 2000.

The Collecting Cities exhibition will draw together material collected by Geddes for the first time in more than 50 years.

"There are original town maps used by pilgrims visiting temples in Indian cities and beautiful drawings of early Orcadian settlements"

said Laura Hamilton, curator of the University's Collins Gallery in Richmond Street, Glasgow, which is hosting the exhibition.

The exhibition is sponsored by the EDI Group and the Burrell Company, which recently completed the restoration of three of Geddes' houses in Ramsay Gardens.
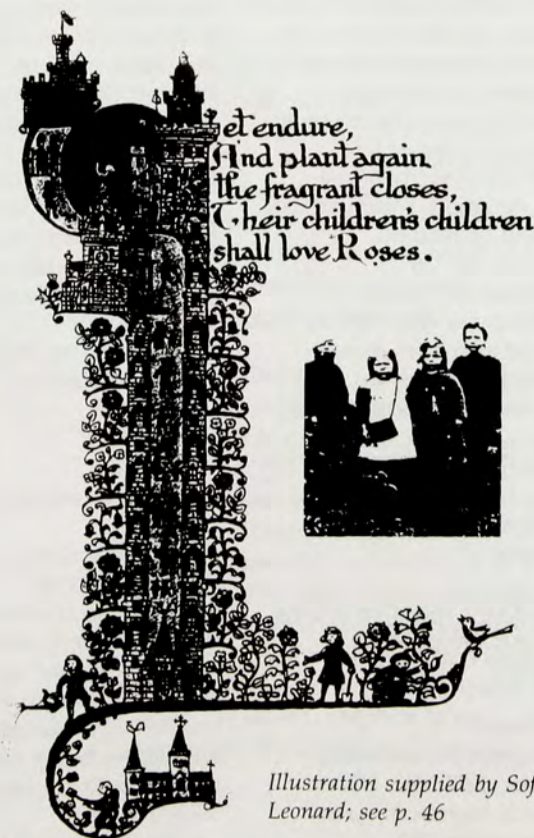*(From Planning, May)*

et endure,
And plant again
the fragrant closes,
Their children's children
shall love Roses.

Illustration supplied by Sofia Leonard; see p. 46

OBITUARY
DAVID ALLAN HAMER

Many within the international urban history and planning history community will have been shocked to learn of the premature death of David Hamer, Professor of History at Victoria University, Wellington, on 15th May 1999.

He was born on 26th January 1938 and completed his first degrees at Auckland University, before completing a doctorate at Oxford University focusing on British politics, particularly the Victorian-era Liberals. This interest in Liberal politics was a consistent feature of his earlier work both in Britain and New Zealand. It led to a number of papers and books including *John Morley: Liberal intellectuals in politics* (1968) and *The New Zealand Liberals; the years of power* (1988). He taught history at the University of Lancaster between 1964 and 1970 before being appointed Associate Professor at Auckland University in 1970. His stay at Auckland was short and, in 1971, he took up a Professorial appointment at Victoria University, where he remained until his death.

David managed to combine his research and teaching duties with broader administrative duties within the University, and between 1991 and 1994 he served as Assistant Vice Chancellor. Throughout his career he was known as a staunch defender of academic standards and the role of universities in the face of growing tide of managerialism and badly-developed models of tertiary reform. His interest in historic issues took practical forms and he served on the Historic Places Trust for some years. More recently, he was closely involved in preparing a case for the Campaign for a Better City to preserve the historic areas around Te Aro which were under threat from motorway extensions.

David's most enduring legacy will be his extensive and prodigious scholarly output. He produced ten books and numerous articles which covered both his original interest in political history and his latter work in urban history and heritage areas. Urban history is a poorly-established area of scholarly endeavour in New Zealand and David, almost single-handedly, established a body of literature which explored the origins and nature of urban development in this country, primarily in the nineteenth century.

The depth and breadth of his explorations of the development of urban areas in New Zealand allowed him to identify the comparative aspects of these developments, which were derived from their shared frontier origins. In doing this, he linked New Zealand's early development to that in Australia, Canada and the United States. This produced the award-winning *New Towns in the New World: images and perceptions of the nineteenth century frontier* (1990), which unequivocally established the international quality and contribution of his work. He also did much to explore and document the origins and development of Wellington.

In recent years, he had explored the links between urban history and heritage issues which, once again, produced another book – *History in urban places: the historic districts of the United States* (1998). He also served on the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Urban History*. At the time of his death he was preparing a biography of one of New Zealand's leading Liberal politicians, Richard Seddon; a chapter for Rob Freestone's edited book deriving from the IPHS Sydney conference, and a monograph – again on New Zealand's

urban history – which will be published posthumously by the Victoria University Press.

Many will remember David as a reserved and quite private man who, nevertheless, did much to enthuse and inspire others with an interest in New Zealand's urban history. He combined his prodigious research efforts with an often heavy teaching and administrative load; but is remembered by students and others as a genial man with a strong commitment to social justice. It is perhaps a testimony to his achievements that he was recognised with an obituary in Wellington's *Evening Post* which was headed "Gifted historian with a broad love of learning", which surely sums up his life and work. David is survived by his wife Bea and his children Paul and Harriet.

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TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PLANNING HISTORY

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All of my files from the early years of the Planning History Group went into the bin some years ago. Although I am a great hoarder of papers, I felt that the work of the IPHS had superseded our early efforts and that I needed to look forward, not back. The Editor's request for an anniversary account has therefore embarrassed me, and the following piece of oral history is the result. Some of this tale has been told before, so readers are advised to skip over familiar sections.

The initiative for a meeting of historians of urban planning came from Gordon Cherry. We had come to know each other when we both worked at Birmingham University in the late 1960s, mainly as the result of a train conversation during which our common interest in the history of planning had emerged. In 1973, by which time I had moved to Sheffield University, Gordon asked me out of the blue whether I would join him in inviting a broad group of planners and historians to a national meeting on the history of planning. He would handle the 'planner' constituency if I would tackle the 'historians'. We met to draw up the invitation list and Gordon then took over the administration, sending out letters, inviting speakers, and organising the event at his own Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, Birmingham University.

Gordon took care that this inter-disciplinary occasion should not offend existing learned societies. In particular, he asked me to sound out H.J. Dyos, whose Urban History Group was at the peak of its activity at the time. Dyos always wanted anything remotely urban to be under the umbrella of his Group, but all he could offer me was *one* session at one of the annual Group meetings. By this time, responses to Gordon's soundings were indicating support for a much larger scale of activity in the history of planning, and Gordon and I declined the Dyos offer.

As a convinced believer in the 'souvenir programme', I suggested to Gordon that I draw up a bibliography. There was an element of rationalisation here, as I was already responsible for the bibliography in Jim Dyos's *Urban History Yearbook*. Without too much labour I put together a bibliography of several pages. It was not, however, until the participants had taken it away that its significance began to strike me.

Our meeting, which took place in the roomy cellar of the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies (then at Selly Wick House, a Victorian house close to the main University campus) in early 1974, had a relaxed programme of speeches and papers, with Gordon providing a warm welcome. What impressed me most, however, was unique effect generated by the encounters of people with common interests who knew one another by reputation, but who had never met. There was, clearly, a general wish that we should meet again. Definitions of town planning were much discussed, with Gordon and I clinging to statutory planning, while many favoured a more generous approach. The man who said that "for me, planning started when the first caveman had to decide whether to turn left or right when he came out into the light" sounded a bit grotesque at the time but, in practice, he has had more influence than the 'statutory planners' as a growing membership has brought more fields of interest.

Gordon and I quickly made plans for the extension and deepening of the bibliography. This turned out to be an obsessive commitment. Far more important, however, was the strong impression, generated by my work on the 1974 bibliography, that the history of planning was a world-wide field of knowledge. I started to collect non-English books on the subject, notably when, on holiday with my wife in Florence in 1975, we went into a score of bookshops and bought everything they had on the history of *urbanistica*. Less successful was my effort to buy original planning texts from Ben Weinreb, where the price was a big deterrent.

Gradually, I hatched the idea of putting on, in London, a rerun of the RIBA Town Planning Conference of 1910. This would move outside our British group and create a world forum in which the British members would not necessarily take the lead. This meant writing multiple letters to people I did not know, raising more money than such conferences normally required, choosing an inspiring and appropriate venue, and organising excursions which could be seen as the equivalent of those featured in 1910. I did not organise a ladies' programme, but in most other respects past and present came together in what the French would call a 'hallucinatory' way. I even found a new Stuebben in the shape of Gerd Albers, who launched the conference with a keynote lecture on European planning which recreated Stuebben's role in 1910.

The London conference of 1977 laid the

foundations of the IPHS that we know today. I went on to organise our second international conference at the University of Sussex in 1980. This was a 'themed' meeting on the Metropolis 1890-1940, and it attracted a smaller number of participants, but it held to the 1977 formula as a truly international conference sited in Britain purely for convenience. As a Head of Department from this time onwards I never organised another international conference, but much was now afoot in the publications area, leading to volumes of essays, the development of what would become *Planning History*, and the international journal, *Planning Perspectives*, launched in 1986.

The history of planning was now becoming a self-sustaining field, one which did not need a handful of activists to promote it. This was how planning itself had developed after about 1910, when the legions of practitioners began to make their own mark and the prophets, though still influential, could no longer dominate.

One disappointment remains. Right from 1974 I argued that history could contribute to planning theory and practice. Now, in 1999, I still cannot see that it has done so. Indirectly, perhaps, it has, through the creation of context. As a historian, it is difficult for me to appreciate current planning debates fully, although I teach in the Institute of Urban Planning at the University of Nottingham. Perhaps that will be the task for the next few years, to identify and apply some of the 'lessons of history'.

ALTHOUGH GOD CANNOT ALTER THE PAST, HISTORIANS CAN: reflections on the writing of planning histories

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One of the great English satiric wits and a master of irony, Samuel Butler, had the ability to expose the essence of an issue in plain unadorned prose. His aphorism "although God cannot alter the past, historians can" is splendidly illustrative of this, of his ironic literary bent and, equally, of his grasp of an intrinsic element in the interpretation and writing of history. There is, of course, no history until it is written, and what is written is a product of the perceptions and predilections of the author. This is evident in the recorded annals of many disciplines, including planning. It is, perhaps, not surprising that the post-modern era has generated an incisive critique of previously penned chronicles of planning's history – particularly when those chronicles are perceived as both totalizing and exclusionary – and has recently presented alternatives versions of that history.

The matter of alternative histories pushes the issue of interpretation to the fore, and raises questions as to whether or not the new approaches can be absorbed into the old (thereby deepening and enriching the story) or should logically stand outside of, and possibly in opposition to, the older conventions. Will the past then be altered? This is an exciting yet difficult debate that might best be viewed against some of the premises attaching to the terrain of planning history. This paper seeks to posit a few

thoughts in this regard.

The reflections that are outlined here are neither new nor exhaustive. As is usual, they represent the writer's areas of interest – to which embellishments, modifications and contrary views can certainly be added. The thoughts are simply parts of the body of study that is concerned with the purpose, problems, themes and theories that grow out of the fertile field of planning history.

Context

The utility or worth of history extends beyond the vistas it traditionally opens to the literature, science and art of the past. Its value lies also in the uncovering of the temporal and contextual conditions attaching to a discipline or field of activity – which serves to expose the characteristics of, and contributions made to society by, the discipline over the years. In this sense, the history of planning cannot but be the history of the circumstances within which planning has operated and developed. This is, of course, a familiar proposition; a statement of "the blindingly obvious",[1] but it remains valid and is worth repeating since studies of the beginnings and unfolding of the planning profession do ultimately rest on the bedrock of historical circumstance. Further, while an interest in the past for its own sake – in the habits of thought and action of former states of society – may be defended as a rational intellectual exercise,

the explanations that history can yield of the provenance of institutions and ideologies, of beliefs and prejudices, are at the cusp of our understanding of the contemporary world. This is essentially the viewpoint that perceives the past as parent of the present.[2] It is the position held by Bronowski, who asserts that the study of history makes us "the heirs to a long development, and elucidates for us the cultural gifts which we owe those who lived and struggled and thought before us".[3]

As history has shown, the present and probably the future are constrained by the force of the grip that the past might exert on them. That grip slackens with the effluxion of time, which suggests that there should be a logical congruence between the purpose of the study and its backward reach into history. In the case of 'modern' planning, most investigations stretch back about one hundred years; certainly no further, it has been argued, than the mid-nineteenth century. The temporal boundaries of today's planning can thus be delineated with relative confidence. It is, however, true that it is necessary to dig deeper into the past to uncover some of the conceptual roots of present planning thought. The Platonic/ Baconian/Cartesian/Kantian philosophical underpinnings of the rational planning paradigm are illustrative of this. This paper addresses planning primarily within the 20th century frame of reference.

While our grasp of the nature of the present is largely a legacy of history, the argument is advanced that that legacy also propels humanity out of the present into the future. Our plans for the future emanate from a sense of history; a consciousness that Bronowski equates with a sense of mission. "Since the beginning of the nineteenth century", he says,

"this sense of mission has been formed by images of progress and of evolution; we search for the movement of history - the play of ideas and the tempo of events. This is the search that should inspire our interest in history today; for history is not so much a book as a movement, not a story but a direction, and not a reverie in the past but a sense of the future".[4]

Perception

The orientation to the future has, of course, an immediate and logical appeal to the planning discipline. Within the corpus of planning history literature there is a general accord that an understanding of the past opens the door to the fashioning of both the present and the future. Beauregard tells us that we "read planning histories in order to swell with pride at our heritage, discover our identity, and draw analogies to present predicaments".[5] Abbott and Adler contend that historical awareness and reasoning can give to the present-minded and future-oriented planning profession an increased effectiveness.[6] Silver states that the profession has always had "an acute awareness of its antecedents and appreciation of its legacy",[7] and holds that precedent has been as influential as innovation in the moulding of planning practices. In saying that there is a correlation between an appreciation of the past and a concern for the future, Johnson and Schaffer[8] characterise planning as an act of assembling and history as an act of re-assembling: of recalling the mass of past experience to uncover cause and pattern, which then serves to inform present planning endeavours. Contemporary professional culture is moulded around memories of past struggles and triumphs, and professional identity thus derives form and meaning from stories of the history of planning.[9]

In Mandelbaum's estimation,[10] pre-occupation with innovative design expertise has had an inhibiting impact on the linkage between the construction of pasts and the construction of futures. History provides the most extensive human record relating to current circumstances ("where we are") but, in Hancock's judgement some years ago,[11] we should attempt to sever the ties with that record if a different and better future is to be achieved – a stance that, on the evidence, enjoys somewhat limited support.

In questioning the axiom that an understanding of the past facilitates decision-making for the future, Cherry stops short of Hancock's position, but puts the proposition that

"planning history is a 'soft' social science: general rules may be observable but explanatory power is weak from the point of view of forecasting the future, although this has not precluded planning historians engaging in future planning scenarios ...".[12]

It is, of course, true that historical analysis does not generate predictive precision, but perhaps the perspicacity born of the study of precedent provides a tenable cerebral base from which to venture into the future. It would seem sensible, reasonable, to embark upon the exploration of unchartered seas from the secure mainland of established knowledge gained from past experience.

In philosophising about reason in science, Santayana declares that historians engage in the reconstruction of heroic episodes and commanding characters because they find in them reflections of their own ideals. The historian will probably be "led by moral affinities with certain phases of the past to attribute to those phases ... a material efficacy which they did not really have". Further, the "historian's politics, philosophy, or romantic imagination furnishes a vital nucleus for reflection ..." and the "private interest which guides a man in selecting his materials imposes itself inevitably on the events he relates and especially on their grouping and significance".[13] Since deconstruction, interpretation and presentation cast up models that, on occasion, enter the mainstream of professional consciousness and emerge as conventional wisdom, a glance at the contentious matter of historians' interpretations might be useful.

Interpretation

The burden of responsibility should weigh heavily upon the shoulders of those seeking to interpret the past. In his account of American city planning since 1980, Scott[14] acknowledges his limitations in attempting to free himself from biases and attachments; while Hall makes no effort to conceal his prejudices in his "necessarily personal and judgmental" choice of themes in *Cities of Tomorrow*.[15] White, in rejecting the notion of the historical text as a reflection or mirror of

past events, highlights the exclusion by authors of certain happenings antipathetic to the thrust of the narrative.[16] The reality of historical experience is thus passed through the deconstructive or phenomenological filter of the contemporary analyst and emerges as an imaginative and idiosyncratic version of that reality.

But today's interpretation of yesterday's happening will be perpetually inconclusive because, as Bernard Williams contends, "even if one manages to play music on old instruments, one cannot hear it with old ears".[17] And the hearing of history resonates differently from generation to generation, ideology to ideology and culture to culture.

Throughout history, portrayals of past events have, by and large, accorded with the prevailing predisposition of society. It is axiomatic that historians stand spatially and temporally on the hard soil of societal conditions existing at the time of their writing. The historians cannot abstract themselves from society and are caught up in a socio-political march that, over time, veers from centre to left or right and back again. The place in the march in which historians find themselves is inevitably influential in the formulation of their value systems and hence in the adoption of particular perspectives of the past.

While the past can be perceived as the parent of the present, the present can equally be conceived as the creator of the past. The 'facts' of history do not exist for any historian until she/he creates them, from which it follows that the value-based selection, ordering, inclusion or omission of past happenings is at the heart of historical inquiry. Expressed in more direct terms, the essence of the study of history resides in the exercise of evaluation – since, without evaluation (which is an intellectually sophisticated relative of interpretation) of the historical evidence, there can be no judgement on what evidence is worth recording. Evaluation is tied to descriptions of causation, and "behind the search for causalities, there always lies, directly or indirectly, the search for values".[18] Since the exercise of interpretation/evaluation is in the hands of the historians, they do have the opportunity to impose their

literary will on the reader.

Readers in an educated society will naturally apply their own discretion in assessing the persuasiveness or ostensible validity of the written word. As the record shows, that word may well and justifiably fall foul of accusations of bias and bigotry. One recalls Mark Twain's acerbic comment that the "very ink with which all history is written is merely fluid prejudice".[19]

Convention
It is contended that one of the significant offshoots of a consciousness of history is the composite sense of solidarity, identity and pride that it lends to the profession. Indeed, it is argued by Mandelbaum[20] that planners have resorted to the past to remedy the flagging sense of identity and purpose that has beset the profession at times. The dominant view is, however, that the path of progress along which the profession has walked during the 20th century provides a story, a heritage, about which there is justifiable pride. The presentation of the story varies, but it is essentially that of the rise of planning from the early public health reformist movements, through to the civic/social responses of such persons as Burnham, Geddes and Howard, and on to the institutionalisation of the profession and its attendant theoretical and methodological refinement.

This progression has been widely chronicled[21] and has, by and large, been absorbed into the family folklore of planning. It is the convention. It is, in Sandercock's words, the oft-repeated "official story" which she characterises as

"the story of the modernist planning project, the representation of planning as the voice of reason in modern society, the carrier of the Enlightenment mission of material progress through scientific rationality ... [this] ... official, or modernist, version of planning history is the story of planning by and through the state, part of a tradition of city and nation building".[22]

There is, in the commonly-accepted version or official story of planning's history, an indispensable – indeed inescapable – component: that of the seminal contributions made to the discipline by singular individuals. A predisposition to see planning history as the history of planners is evident in the writings of a number of authors. This is referred to as the "Great-Man Theory of History" by Carr[23] and is a theory that elevates certain individuals to the status of social phenomena of exceptional importance, whose actions personify the era in which she/he lived and whose innovative contributions are profound and enduring. Thus the annals of the Cadburys and Levers, of Raymond Unwin or Frederick Law Olmsted; of Camillo Sitte, Soria y Mata or Clarence Stein, have become vehicles for driving the accomplishments, the successes – and hence the image – of the profession forward.

This is the premise underlying Cherry's compilation of pioneers in British planning[23] and is Hall's viewpoint.[24] Hall is firm in his belief that most of the events impacting on the world's cities since the mid-century can be traced back to the ideas of a handful of visionaries who put their creative pens to paper many years ago. And so the figures of Howard, Geddes and Le Corbusier, and to a lesser extent such personalities as Unwin, Parker, May, Wagner and Frank Lloyd Wright, loom large in his narrative of planning's past.

It is worth mention that his approach lacks neither detractors nor proponents, being assessed on the one hand as "an encyclopedic historical survey of much of twentieth century Western planning ideas, supplying what is perhaps one of the very best introductions to canonic individuals and projects",[26] and on the other as a "rounding up [of] all the usual suspects"[27] and as a "metonymic drive to grasp the complex history of modern planning in terms of mechanistic cause-effect relationships".[28]

None the less, while accepting that the making of planning history cannot sensibly be ascribed to celebrated personalities only, the milestones that they have embedded along the highways of history have become points of reference and orientation to the profession. The "Great-Man Theory" is an integral component of the conventional version of the history of planning and, as such, has held sway for many years. It is only in recent years that this seemingly authoritative interpretation has been challenged.

Alternatives
No narrative can remain unchallenged, and revisionist forces have recently invaded the previously secure domain of the modernist model. The premises of that model – planning as a rational, enlightened and socially-just activity directed toward the public good and undertaken by, notably, men of vision – have been confronted by alternative interpretations of the history of planning. Deconstruction of the essentially descriptive, purportedly objective and chronologically ordered modernist convention has exposed the omission in that convention of such fundamental issues as gender and race. A blind eye has similarly been turned to questions of power and to considerations of theoretical orientation and methodological approach.

A number of concerns that touch on the basic ontology of planning history emerge from the challenge/critique, including the omission (or suppression) of elements inimical to the conventional perspective and the possibility of a revision of that perspective by the incorporation of the previously neglected elements. The latter point is in many ways tied to conceptions of the *raison d'être* of planning.

Reverting to the issue of a viable description or definition of the basic nature of planning (a familiar and hardy chestnut), the early and sustained notion of planning as a discipline dedicated primarily to the formulation of physical means to address the problems of the urban environment, is not palatable to proponents of alternative histories. Those alternative approaches – those "insurgent planning histories"[29] – see planning as "a field that is inevitably concerned with questions of action, of change, of transformation, of empowerment"[30] which must then place such matters as class, gender, race, ethnicity, power, knowledge and theory at the door of the discipline.

A number of authors – provoked no doubt by Hall's contention that there are "alas, almost no founding mothers"[31] of modern city planning – have sought to redress the gender imbalance in the conventional planning history narrative.[32] The reduction of the role, place and contribution of women to meagre – if not meaningless – dimensions in that narrative, is illustrative of the concept of "subjugated histories" which, when consolidated and more widely disseminated, will offer new alternative stories. Other writers have brought racial consciousness to the historical fold by relating black urban experience to periods in planning history.[33] New insights will be brought to the discipline's evolutionary story by the inclusion of accounts of racial oppression and professional response. Minority categories – gays, lesbians and ethnic groupings – are now being included in debate on re-interpretations of planning history.[34]

The broadening of the base of planning constitutes the cornerstone of Beauregard's discourse on "subversive histories". In asking not why but how historical texts are written, his interest is in the form in which

"planning histories might be written to empower or disempower their readers. Histories that undermine the possibility of effective action, that disempower, are subversive".[35]

The conventional deterministic modernist approach expediently writes out material of a non-conforming nature. This exclusionary practice thus disempowers those whose legitimate contributions are ignored or trivialised, as well as those who, in reading the text, are denied access to relevant, perhaps pivotal, elements that make up the history.

In the end, the post-modern eye sees the search for knowledge and truth in history as a multi-faceted endeavour. Planning narratives written from below – from the viewpoints of affected and disadvantaged communities, minority groups and feminist interests – provide insights and understanding not readily available in narratives of the top-down genre. The presentation of alternative histories should logically lead to an enrichment of the intellectual and indeed

practical foundations of the planning discipline, and represents both an opportunity and a challenge.

Challenge

Seen from the high ground of the late-20th century, a deconstruction of standard narratives is arguably overdue. Campbell and Fainstein[36] have expressed the opinion that certain critical histories are flawed in their replacement of the historical logic of capitalism with the heroicism of the "great men". The latter is characterised as a simplified, benign and debilitating historicism which, it is argued, must be confronted and replaced by a critical and revisionist mode of analysis.

While Hall takes the Marxian basis of historical events "almost as given" in *Cities of Tomorrow*, he displaces Marxist economic reductionism with the explanatory language of his founding fathers.[37] In so doing he (and others) tend to discount the ingredients provided in the Marxist critique for a counter-factual history. The relationship of planning to capital, to the state and to class interests offers constructs that could render the conventional account more complete, and perhaps more convincing.

In exploring these relationships in America from colonial times to the 1920s, Foglesong[38] applies a critical framework adopted from Marxist theoretical tenets found in the work of Poulantzas, Offe, Castells and Harvey. His critical analysis is important, first in its use of the Marxian perspective to elucidate the role and performance of planning over an appreciable span of time and, secondly, in its endeavour to ascertain the adequacy of the leftist lens to bring the historical experience into focus.

Reference to Marxist theory brings the question of the interface between theory and history into the discussion. The argument has been advanced that purely descriptive versions of past events lack the depth and credibility that interpretations built around clear theoretical principles provide. Philosophical/theoretical approaches emerge from, and within, the cauldron of prevailing societal conditions and reflect the psyche of the society – which informs the ways in which, *inter alia*, the past is investigated from time to time. Consequently, the cohort of theory acceptable and accessible to each generation brings a freshness of interpretation to the subject of study.

In planning, Foucauldian theory of power, Habermasian critical communicative theory, Husserlian phenomenological philosophy, Rawlsian theory of justice and pragmatic philosophising from Dewey to Rorty and West, and to the political pluralism of Nancy Fraser, all have distinctive attributes that provide grist to the mill of our understanding of the historical world. In this light, the challenge is to deconstruct and reconstruct the generally theory-thin traditional metanarrative with new theoretically defensible interpretations.

Particular conceptual predilections have been evident in approaches to the study of planning history in the past. The historiography of British planning, for example, shows a differentiation between the socio-administrative emphasis of Ashworth and the design-driven method pioneered by Creese.[39] The political leaning is, in broad terms, exemplified by the division between the leftist mode of analysis found in Continental Europe and the functional method characteristic of North American historical studies. The latter grounds the growth of planning in its response to perceived urban societal need and in its function as a residual activity undertaken by public authorities. The other, basically Marxist, approach posits planning as part of the superstructure of institutions built on foundations of the socio-economic organization of society.

Marx himself postulated that history was divided into five separate epochs: the primitive, communal, slave, feudal, capitalist and (as a prediction of the future) socialist/communist. He concluded that conflict in the class and material order of society had led to the unfolding of the epochs[40] and, in so doing, set the direction of Marxist historical analysis. The division is similarly echoed in the categorisation of the historical domain into radical and conservative camps by Mandelbaum[41] which has been extended by Sutcliffe by means of the addition of a liberal-progressist position.[42]

The latter stance stresses the continuity of growth and improvement over time and forms the core of much of the work on the evolution of British planning.

Method

How plans are produced and progressed – i.e. the methodology of planning – has been the subject of limited study, according to Batey and Breheny.[43] In stressing the validity and utility of investigations into the history of planning methodology, they set out a chronological review of the progression of method: from the contributions of Geddes, Booth, Unwin and Abercrombie, to the post-Second World War developments in planning legislation, decision theory, systems thinking and the rational paradigm. This interest in the history of procedural planning theory has been pursued further by Muller[44] in a study of Western planning method from survey to strategy.

Procedure or process is, of course, synonymous with the planning function and is integral to historical investigation. Both planning and history are rooted in the common ground of rational inquiry. It is illuminating to open the pages of *The Idea of History*, penned by the Oxford philosopher R.G. Collingwood.[45] In that work he advances a conception of history that embodies four essential attributes: first, "that it is scientific, or begins by asking questions ...", secondly "that it is humanistic or asks questions about things done by determinate men at determinate times in the past", thirdly "that it is rational or bases the answers which it gives to its questions on grounds making appeal to evidence" and finally "that it is self-revelatory, or exists to tell man what he is by telling him what man has done".[46] With the possible exception of the last, these attributes of historical inquiry could well be presented as properties of planning; as raw conceptual material underpinning any planning methodology.

Method frequently relates to particular circumstances; to particular case studies. The notion of "symptomatic history"[47] holds that events in a specific locality at a definite time point to more general patterns of thought and action. It is an approach that asserts that definitions of reality at various periods in history are manifest in institutional structures and territorial arrangements - which in turn mirror a time-related taxonomy of thought, ideas, action and experience. A shift in the taxonomy, a change in institutional form, signifies the culmination of a discrete historical epoch and the commencement of a new.

Thoughts

One wonders if, in the sphere of planning's history, we are approaching the conclusion of an epoch. Time will tell. The writing of the historical development of planning is absorbing, enlightening and, above all, demanding. The highways of history are criss-crossed with byways that can terminate in an intellectual cul-de-sac or become a route to revelation. The current thrust toward the writing of counter-factual, of alternative, planning histories cannot but add dimensions to the terrain. Innovative incursions into the conventional territory will, in all probability, increase in the new millennium as the social concerns of the contemporary world bear upon the ethos of scholars of history.

The discernible tendency of the loosely organized anti-establishment group to undermine the unrepresentative official story is perhaps understandable, but the inclination to rub out the old writing to make room for the new seems questionable. The way of the palimpsest will, ironically, deprive writers of the new insurgent planning histories of a frame of reference, a backdrop, against which to place, develop and justify their contributions. It is in the interest of planning history, and the continuity of that history, that the old and the new stand side by side; that pluralism in opinion be encouraged. Returning to Samuel Butler, a stance of this sort would not have the historian "altering the past" but would have her/him opening new vistas to broaden the horizons of history.

A liberal, open-minded analysis of the history of planning is, in any event, congruent with the soul-searching syndrome of the planning profession. Bertrand Russell's advice[48] is apposite:

"the essence of the liberal outlook lies not in what opinions are held but in

how they are held; instead of being held dogmatically, they are held tentatively, and with a consciousness that new evidence may at any moment lead to their abandonment".

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HISTORICAL ANALYSIS IN HISTORICALLY-UNPREPARED PLANNING CONTEXTS

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Introduction

Over the past two decades, the field of planning history has enjoyed renewed interest and considerable growth (Abbott and Adler, 1989 p. 469) in those first-world centres from which modern planning emerged (Benevolo, 1967). Planning history is not as popular in the developing world, for reasons related to other priorities such as survival, economic growth imperatives, or even embarrassment over perceived 'shortcomings' in the historic and cultural evolution of these countries, judged by narrowly-conceived and frequently irrelevant economic and technological criteria.

Furthermore, from a historical research perspective, the world can be divided into two categories. There are the regions where ancient civilisations (from Mesopotamian to Mayan, Roman and Indo-Chinese) provided written records on custom, belief, administration and so on, which predate the advent of Western colonialism by over a thousand years. Then there are those regions lacking written records predating the Age of Expansion - most of Africa, large parts of Southern and Northern America and Australia.

Modern historical methods, developed for the first category of regions, have normatively assumed written (or even statistical) evidence as a primary data source, fine-tuning specific analytical and interpretative methods accordingly. Other types of evidence have supplemented these written records – notably mapping originally generated for military, tax, or trade purposes, but with the later addition of insurance documentation. Oral evidence from interviews of the agents of urban planning and change has only recently become scholarly acceptable. By contrast, historical investigations into urban planning in the second category of states have frequently had to rely heavily on archaeological evidence, or passing textual references. The available mapping tends to be inadequate, sporadic in coverage of planning topics, temporally aperiodic, and geographically concentrated around major colonial administrative and economic centres. Explorers, missionaries and colonists wrote virtually all of the early source materials for this second group of regions. Attempts to depict their indigenous, pre-colonial development and human settlement thus depend on archaeology and oral tradition (e.g. Wilson and Thompson, 1985, introduction), given that pictographic records, such as the San rock paintings, are ritualistic rather than linguistic or cartographic in nature. For these regions, the historic pattern of colonial and subsequent events and settlement shifts present other methodological problems related to biased or inconsistent reporting. Yet these countries struggle with complex, heterogeneous cultural forms, and widespread needs to reconstitute their past

as a foundation for a sufficiently culturally-integrated future to avoid political dissension, which has plagued countries as diverse as Cambodia, Nigeria and South Africa.

Owing to unreliable, incomplete or nonexistent records, these regions can therefore be classified as historically unprepared. As these post-colonial societies attempt to reclaim their pasts, unravelling their complex proto-histories within a confused, spatial palimpsest, all but lost under colonial smudging, it seems desirable to reassess the tools available for this task. The aims of this paper consequently are to define historical research for this unprepared condition, assuming a planning focus; to determine the value of an accurate historical basis for contemporary urban planning; to identify problems peculiar to this unprepared historical environment, and to evaluate the ability of a range of historical research methods to cope with these contextual problems in answering significant urban planning questions.

The significance of an accurate historical base

Recent trends have created demands for greater historical accuracy, or at least clarity, in the unprepared regions of the world. As contemporary culture moved from the modernist to an increasingly fractured post-modernist era, this shift is reflected in inconsistent values, in societal conflicts over what to salute or retain in specific planning contexts, causing clashes over whose version of history is 'correct'. A price has been paid in many post-colonial contexts where the search for truth is replaced by less-demanding Hegelian 'syntheses'.

However, attempts have been made since the early 1980s to refocus first-world historic research from grand narratives to more populist themes, in arguments for cliometrics (Fogel and Elton, 1983) and Foucaultian methods (e.g. Boyer, 1983, 1994). Furthermore, quickening change, as technological eras spin by, generates huge waves of angst (Toffler, 1970), accentuating the desire for security found in explicit historic ties (Lynch, 1972).

To resist creeping multinational standardisation by strengthening regional

identities requires deep understanding and awareness of local history and its expression in physical planning. This resistance is championed by theorists (e.g. Nyberg, 1988; Frampton, 1988; Hough, 1990) and by the economic benefits that unique regional qualities attract via tourism.

Historical analysis

What sort of historical analysis is most suited to these needs? Normative historical analysis seeks systematically and rigorously to reclaim material facts and evidence, in order to answer questions about the past which may or may not have a bearing on the future. From a planning perspective, the primary focus has been on answering questions with implications for professional solidarity and pride, or to know the background to specific problems and issues (Johnson and Schaffer, 1985). There is also a bias towards procedural and policy issues, undercutting other legitimate substantive concerns reflecting local contextual interests rather than broader theoretical understandings. Historical research in planning is, therefore, "an intellectual battleground where images of the past count, not only because they serve as justification for current policy, but because they help to set the agenda within which the debate takes place" (Mandelbaum, quoted in Johnson and Schaffer, 1985, p. 132).

In contrast to more abstract locational, economic or political models of urban analysis popular with policy planners, sequential morphological study of settlement development, form and typologies has grown in significance since 1980. This topic is extensively covered in German, British, Italian and American sources (Moudon, 1986, 1997; Slater, 1990; Whitehand and Larkham, 1992).

Practising planners also face the major issue of improving theory and praxis by unravelling the political, institutional and physical context of their planning activities. Abbott and Adler (1989) dissect this usage of historical analysis as an everyday planning tool in depth. Rigorous case studies can also improve links between theory and practice (De Neufville, 1983). These efforts to use

historical understanding will be effective if

"We analyse the past systematically – as facts related to issues, as issues related to values, as values related to purpose and direction ... to uncover those critical junctures when influential choices are available to planners and policy makers, choices that have made a difference in the shape and functioning of cities and regions. In studying these critical decision moments ... [to] ... uncover essential issues and values that have shaped the planning profession and the institutions it has served ... [makes] ... future policy options more comprehensible" (Johnson and Schaffer, 1985, p. 132).

Abbott and Adler (1989, p. 472) claim that the tools which they describe represent "universal approaches and tools for use by practising planners, [which] apply to all sorts of situations, both within and beyond normal realms of activity". But this assumes access to first-world quality archival resources: an assumption that will be disputed later.

Mandelbaum (1984) further identified the value of planning history as a means of knowing the immeasurable present by artifice, through the known past – a past which (particularly in a post-colonial context) may "morally bind the future", particularly in former colonial countries.

Historical planning analysis therefore relies on material that describes human processes for determining and customizing the use of geographical space, whether through physical traces, eyewitness accounts, personal and official records and/or scientific technology. These offer a basis for evaluating issues, ideas, events, organizations and procedures, and the complex patterns containing them, to identify their effects on planning within a specific society or culture (Bolan, 1969).

Typical historical foci of assistance to planners

Historical investigations then assist in four areas of planning activity, and in two educational facets of planning - training planners, and educating affected communities.

Project or policy development
Customarily, comprehensive land-use plans occur at most spatial scales. Structure or local plans, urban renewal plans and development plans, forming the basis of much past planning, began with a nod to the settlement's history. These included short narratives listing major dates, milestones in the growth of the town or city, and previous planning policies or frameworks. However, they seldom went further. Even Great Britain, with its strong conservation lobby, tended to identify specific culturally-significant or historic buildings, sites or districts, but to ignore other options. Nor were conservation choices related to structured sustainable agendas (critical coverage in the RTPI's magazine *Planning Weekly* is too extensive to cite individually).

The planning of many post-war British and American suburbs disregarded contemporary sociological critiques of new town life and wasted formal and contextual opportunities (as in the Smithsons' [1968, 1970] and Willmott's [1962] critiques of much new town planning between 1947 and 1968). Nor was subsequent local experience adequately utilised: the emerging 1990s American 'edge city' (Garreau, 1991) is still socially sterile, hostile to resident needs for free mobility and local street surveillance (Langdon, 1994). Similarly, over the past few years, the British Department of the Environment attempted to defend existing town centre shopping components from threats posed by new peripheral retail centres. This aping of American customs failed to balance new development and truly sustainable conservation policies. In ironic contrast, the transatlantic popularity of the "new urbanism" (Langdon, 1994) suggests that historic behavioural patterns, based on street-oriented inter-war suburban life and mixed use nodes, serve social and cultural needs of persistent relevance.

More significantly, cities as organisms should be understood to behave consistently with their collective memory. Geddes (in Tyrwhitt, 1947) initiated this awareness, which has only recently acquired popular credence. Historical analysis can reveal dominant features of

that memory so that proposals and policy can be framed for rapid assimilation in their milieus, as witnessed by the contrasting fortunes of Battery Park City, New York and London's Canary Wharf. In redesigning the former site, which stood vacant from *c.* 1968 until 1978, Cooper and Eckstutt (1984, 1986) employed their familiarity with New York culture to produce a solution acceptable to local developers. By 1985 it was fully let and profitable. The mini-Manhattan exotica at Canary Wharf, however, for years remained an incongruous addition to the Thames waterscape, bankrupting its Canadian developers.

Developing theories
Most substantive planning theorists have relied on historical analysis to support their theories. For example, physically-directed contributions included conservative (Geddes, Mumford and Unwin), Modernist (Le Corbusier and Giedion), Brutalist (the Smithsons, Team 10), structuralist (Lynch, Appleyard and Maki) or contextualist (Rowe and Koetter, and Bentley *et al.*, 1985). Socially-driven cases include Willmott, Jane Jacobs, Herbert Gans, and John Friedmann's (1982) argument for a commune-based metropolitan structure. Peattie (1987) and Appleyard (1977) founded their views on city development on studies of Ciudad Guyana.

The history of planning theory
This field of study is under-developed, as theorists tend to be considered synchronically. Precedents include Sennett's (1969) reader on sequential theories of urban culture, and the importance of specific historical contexts in the genesis of the Burgess, Hoyt, Harris and Ullmann, Meltzer (1984) and Curitiba urban morphology models. They show the value of an historical perspective in correlating the development of theories with the dynamic socio-economic and physical contortions of modern cities.

Educating planning students via historical analysis of urban growth
As a corollary, extended experience in teaching undergraduates shows the unique value of historic analysis in helping

students comprehend the complex interplay of economic, social, technological, political, military and religious forces behind urban forms. The process is unavoidably dynamic: historical analysis is the best, if not the only, way to fully grasp this.

Thus London (Rasmussen, 1948) and Delhi (King, 1976) reveal the roles played by political, trade and military inputs in permanently shaping these – and many other – great capitals.

Trend identification
How can transient fashions be separated from more durable trends? Can unique characteristics, which cause a city to contradict national trends, be explained without exploring historic trajectories and identifying when and why its polity rejected custom and habit? How else can one explain cases such as the decision of Portland, Oregon to reverse anti-planning practices after 50 years (Abbott, 1983)?

Collective memory
If, as Geddes (in Tyrwhitt, 1947), Rossi (1982, p. 7), Boyer (1983) and others have argued, cities like cultures possess a shared memory, then understanding this

"casts new light on past policies, altering in the process our perceptions of which programmes can or cannot succeed ... as memory gives purpose and meaning to people, the past supplies direction to institutions. Organizations and institutions are not organic, but like people, they display collective memories, and what they choose to remember has a bearing not only on the past, but on the present and future as well" (Johnson and Schaffer, 1985, p. 131).

The other concomitant educational aspect of historical research is its ability to penetrate and dispel myths that people harbour about the past, particularly when these are used to entrench privilege or power. Historical analysis can dispel confusions about the past and prevent planning disasters entailing proposals that ignore generative forces and choices active in the past, but which remain operational (Boden, 1992). Inadequate hindsight

almost invariably condemns these studies to the ash-heaps of time.

Specific historical research methods
Given these broad historical foci, five analytical methods suited to one or more of these foci are now described and assessed for use in historically-unprepared regions. All of these techniques incorporate three activities – the collection of descriptive information, analysis of this data and its interpretation. Treatment of each stage, however, varies by method. The familiar traditional approach is narrative; the Foucaultian version draws out the collective memory through indiscriminate data review; cliometrics uses statistical data manipulation; artefactual analysis employs archaeological, formal, technological or psychological reconstruction, and psychological analysis attempts to reconstruct the subject's thought processes. The central characteristics of each method are described below, together with susceptibilities to bias and limitations on their application to historically-unprepared regions.

The traditional narrative approach
This method relies on literary sources – books, diaries, government archives and reports, newspapers and the media, as major evidence: if possible, key participants are also interviewed. After reviewing this material, points of view are assessed for mutual agreement or disagreement, and conflicts probed, much as a detective would do. Points of view approximate to hypotheses, and the intention is always to build a narrative model explaining how and why things happened. This method moves from inductive to deductive reasoning as the theories are tested.

Cherry's writings on famous English planners (1981) and the evolution of the Royal Town Planning Institute (1974), and Warner's (1972) studies of American urban planning typify this method; although Warner combined these sources with archival photographs of urban conditions, mixing narrative and artefactual analysis. Fogel's criticisms of this method (in Figel and Elton, 1983) fall into two areas – concentrating on poor execution, which is

not a concern here, and on an inherent tendency to focus on powerful, glamorous and dramatic persons or events, rather than everyday life and people. He also questions the rigour with which assumptions are initially established. Unless authors are prepared to resort to oral traditions, narratives in unprepared settings are severely restricted by the availability of sources, particularly those reflecting the views of indigenous groups, and the importance of avoiding biased reporting owing to eyewitness prejudice, whether by colonist, official, missionary or aborigine.

Cliometrics
In contrast to the narrative approach, cliometricians argue that statistical methods and computer capacity permits more rigorous analysis of events. They also provide tools for extending the historical perspective to include the total populace – to explore how they fared through history, rather than focusing predominantly on the princely and the powerful.

Dependence on quantifiable material inclined researchers to select topics related to supply, demand, employment and transportation, and possibly an interest in Marxist concerns. Economic history therefore became an initial vehicle for cliometric studies.

Computer technology has transformed the techniques of the cliometricians, largely replacing bibliographies with discs loaded with copies of original data, to permit fellow historians to review the studies and assess software programmes, methodology and conclusions. Elton (in Fogel and Elton, 1983, p. 66), however, warns that this emphasis on quantitative methods could lead users into adopting a mechanistic view of mankind:

"preoccupation with statistics and behavioural models ... [gives] ... cliometricians such extraordinarily simplistic views of human motivations, relationships, personalities and ethics that they are incapable of sensibly interpreting their own findings".

Hoped-for universal applications from these studies may, in fact, be mirages:

"Few generalisations cover such vast stretches of human experience, and those that do are so vague as to be of little operational value. Far from diminishing historical specificity cliometric techniques have often shown ... [apparent historical continuity to be] ... quite discontinuous ... cliometrics has led to ever deeper probing into the details of issues rather than permitting universal scientific conclusions to be drawn (Elton, in Fogel and 1983, p. 68).

Cliometrics also denies the importance of particular events, shunning the identification of generative forces, and disclaiming the unpredictability of human behaviour.

For the group of historically-unprepared countries under consideration, it is unlikely in most cases that adequate base data will be available. Thus many third-world countries, such as South Africa or the SADEC countries, have had unreliable census data before, during and since their colonial eras. Poorer, indigenous populations were normally associated with the least reliable data, for the least defensible, most prejudiced reasons.

Compensatory roles
To summarise, these opposites only make sense as a dualism, as poles of a spectrum. Both methods have value, but cannot supplant each other. The skill lies in finding valid, effective combinations to fit available data, as Fogel and Elton (1983, p. 3) conclude:

"We start from the proposition that if these two species exist, they are both legitimate ... and in some respects competing models of research, they are neither mutually exclusive nor intrinsically antagonistic. Quite the contrary, precisely because each mode has a comparative advantage in certain domains of research: they supplement and enrich each other".

But both methods are inoperable without suitable historical base material. By taking similar precautions to those of cultural anthropologists, oral traditions could fill in some narrative data gaps. However, the

cliometric method is impotent where essential baseline data were never, or poorly, collected.

Psychological investigation
This is mentioned but dismissed for two reasons. Unprepared contexts, which are short of conventional material for narrative or cliometric studies, are even less likely to offer suitable, unbiased secondary sources for psychological investigations. Also, Erikson's pioneering use of this approach (1969) confused spiritual and psychological issues.

Foucaultian or genealogical method
Strangely, it may be easier to 'psychoanalyse' society than individuals. Foucault's method, based on Nietzschean philosophy, has gained support in recent years. The method seeks to uncover the stream of societal consciousness, to find a way of analysing systems of thought as they emerge in response to human drives, fears, dreams and ambitions. No attempt is made to test a rational, progressive theory where events develop logically through the interplay of conflicting forces.

"[A] genealogy of values, morality, asceticism and knowledge will never confuse itself seeking their origins [but] cultivate details and accidents accompanying each beginning, it will be scrupulously attentive to their petty malice, it will await their emergence, once unmasked as the face of the other" (Nietzsche, in Foucault, 1977a, p. 144).

However, no effort is permissible with this approach to map the destiny of a people:

"on the contrary, to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion: it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations" (Nietzsche, in Foucault, 1977a, p. 146).

The method accepts that, at any time, what emerges is the product of a particular stage in the development of various forces, depending on who has appropriated the rules of the system.

This 'effective history' differs from other forms of history in that it recognises

no overt yardstick for measurement. The world is a mix of entangled events. The 'objectiveness' of the historian is seen as a mask, distancing history from reality. Religiously followed, it would avoid those 'politically correct' historical distortions which have characterised some post-independence revisionist histories, as much as their colonial-era predecessors.

Foucault's requirement not to adopt any specific stance on a topic does not guarantee that all sources of information are consciously and subconsciously treated equally: it is often difficult to decide whether an author has been even-handed, or is pursuing a hidden agenda. This inherent weakness is exacerbated by the method's proclivity for immense quantities of detail and its insistence on not tying material together into a neat conclusion. Certain citation methods aggravate this flaw: using numbered references rather than authors' names conceals possible bias in sources from any but the most ardent sleuth, although this would be mitigated where the data pool is severely limited.

Nevertheless, Foucault's method has significant strengths for historically-unprepared contexts because it is not biased towards either patrician or plebian perspectives, enables collective concerns and ideals to emerge from the particular cultural milieu, and encourages surprising conclusions to float to the surface, of their own volition. As with the narrative method there could, however, be difficulties in gathering sufficient written evidence for use in unprepared contexts, although the greater breadth of admissible data reduces this probability. The method does not preclude bias in material selection because evidence would have been controlled by power brokers hostile to indigenous interests.

Artifactual investigations
This approach is concerned with any object providing evidence about the nature, history and development of an urban area. Where historians have concerned themselves with tools and other impedimenta, planning historians are concerned with the city, town or settlement as an artifact. Summerson (1963) could, at that time, find only one outstanding example of this approach -

Rasmussen's (1948) study of London. Kostof's recent attempts produced lengthy studies on city shape and components (Kostof, 1991, 1992). Despite a stated concern for the city as an artefact, Kostof (1991, pp. 9-14) pays minimal attention to precedents found outside the first world and the ancient Middle East, India and China.

In the case of Southern Africa, significant regional historical revisions have followed extensive post-colonial era archaeological research. Archaeological discoveries and aerial photography (Hall, 1988) and a combination of historic and anthropological perspectives (Wilson and Thompson, 1985) have identified organised settlement hierarchies, linked by authority structures and trade routes. These existed (before 1200 AD) between central Botswana, the Northern Transvaal, Great Zimbabwe and Arab trading posts such as Kilwa (Tanzania). The extended nature of most of this system was previously unsuspected, because no written records existed, and colonial interests denied that complex civilizations could exist in the region at that early date.

With artefactual analysis, context is often crucial. Careful description must precede the interpretation, to avoid premature judgement or overlooking clues. Furthermore, attention must focus on the cultural reasons for the creation of the artefact (e.g. symbolism, power or technological implications) and on the case being made – whether generic or specific.

Such methods have been employed worldwide. The difference in unprepared contexts, however, is that there are no written records to guide interpretations. Consequently these contexts demand a method more akin to the unique combination of artefactual analysis and typological motivations offered by Glassie's (1975) study of folk housing in Middle Virginia. He reconstructed mental prototypes for these farmhouses, in terms of which their plans and forms had been generated and built by artisans without recourse to pattern books or plans.

Four traps emerge: ignorance about the significance of the artifact to the community at issue could result in flawed evaluations; the values and knowledge we carry with us can trigger interpretation

errors, e.g. Von Schliemann's 'discovery of Troy', and flawed ethnocentric interpretations of exotic cultural material. Not all artefacts survive over time – those that do usually remain because they are more durable, or of more expensive materials (e.g. coins [Jones, 1969], jewellery, tombs, temples, and palaces) and so belong to movers and shakers rather than commoners.

Case studies
I now briefly review three cases: Warner's discussion of folk settlement during the early unprepared phases (as debated in this paper) of Western colonization in New England; a hybrid narrative / artefactual exploration of the evolution of Mafikeng, South Africa (1860-1990), and Boyer's Foucaultian investigation of American city planning history (because no comprehensive third-world application exists).

Warner's narrative analysis of New England
Sam Bass Warner's basic thesis revolves around American fear of the city and American society's inability to build humane cities. In an effort to explain this phenomenon, he uses three related, but independent, conflicting themes: open competition, community and innovation.

He begins by showing how, in 17th century New England, a community ideal developed, based on commitment to Christian principles, the congregation as community together, and the family as central principles in the generation of the New England town, "the most completely planned of any American settlement" (Warner, 1972, p. 7). Warner stresses that these were the only American settlements which put community before competition and innovation, and ascribes their demise to an inability to handle 'innovation' (more accurately the pressure of expanding, increasingly diverse populations) and competition (more accurately the opportunities the vast hinterland offered for independence and material acquisition).

Writing at a time when American society was embroiled in a battle between conservative groups and radical elements eager to overthrow the restrictive social

mores of the past, he correctly indicated the need to consciously plan for change and uncertainty, since this vernacular society, typically, could not absorb stresses from a rapidly-growing and increasingly culturally heterogeneous population. But he overlooked two points.

First, a culture by definition "is the total of behaviour patterns and technology, communicated from generation to generation" (*Webster's New Dictionary*). Vernacular methods, therefore, last only while the culture is coherent: here, the stress on Christian values glued the puritan community together; holding competitiveness and innovation in balance. Any culture will collapse when sizeable 'nonconforming' groups intrude, since the lack of shared values prevents the emergence of genuine community (a point covered by Warner later in his book).

Secondly, growth and greed for material possessions have always tended to undermine community coherence, as in the fall of classical Athens. It can also be argued that his own context and sympathies biased him against Puritan society and values.

Potential problems with inadequate written source material and the extent to which personal preferences decide or influence the setting of agendas and interpretation of material are the other inherent weaknesses of this method. Where these points could be significant, Foucault's method might be preferable, especially where 'working-class' perspectives are required.

The evolution of Mafikeng – a hybrid
It was impossible to grasp the planning history of the settlements of Mafikeng using only one method. Problems regarding the choice of methods to reconstruct its physical and socio-political planning history are discussed below: substantive findings have been recorded elsewhere (Boden, 1989, 1992, 1996) and are not repeated here. Mafikeng's history falls into four periods, each of which is reviewed against three methodological considerations: what source material exists on the growth and changing form of the settlement? What contemporary information on planning was available in each of the stated eras? Which research

methods did this hybrid set of data necessitate?

Source material on Mafikeng's evolution before 1884
Archaeological evidence is growing on a scattered hierarchy of dispersed settlement patterns, dating from *c.* 400 to 1500 AD, in Botswana and South Africa's Northwest Province (Hall, 1988). The size and something of the linkages between these sites is known, but many require excavation to be fully understood. Thereafter, there is a gap in data until the first European explorers traversed the area. Wilson and Thompson (1982, pp. 139-140, 153) quote the explorers Daniel, Burchell and Campbell (*c.* 1800-1813) as referring to sizeable towns, "with stone hut foundations, byres and enclosing walls". These early explorers described a social structure of extended families and tribal groups reflected in *Kgotlas*, or circular courtyards, surrounded by family compounds. This town building tradition continued until 1884 with few apparent changes, as is shown in early photographs in the Mafikeng museum.

Founding period (1884-1899)
The layout of the various urban segments when Mafikeng was founded can be gleaned from two sources. A roughly-drawn plan shows the indigenous *Kgotlas*, the military outpost and scattered colonists' homes (undated, *c.* 1884, Mafikeng Museum). The unchanged character of much of the traditional residential area South-West of the original CBD is also shown in large-scale aerial photography flown around 1976.

The Boer War until 'independence' (1900-1978)
Maps of the town appeared irregularly, largely ignoring tribal areas, during this era. Only three parts of the current city were formally planned: the gridiron colonial settlement dates from 1884, early in the years of British administration; a few segregated townships were laid out to inhuman apartheid standards (1960-1976), and extensions were planned East of the town, during the housing boom of the 1970s, to house professionals involved in providing new governmental and private

facilities and infrastructure.

'Independent' Bophutatswana (1979-1990)
The planning and construction of the Capital complex – Secretariat, Law Courts and Parliament, together with new formal and informal residential areas, occurred in this period as the town grew from 60,000 to 130,000 people. The only spatial record of this growth is in extensive aerial photography taken between 1976 and 1986. Systematic records of many of the decisions behind the form, phasing and character of this growth do not exist.

The historical data
In general, local historical narrative (and limited statistical information) is clustered around three major events – the struggle between Rhodes and the Barolong for territorial hegemony (1880-1884) (Shillington, 1985; Molema, 1966); the Boer War siege and the choice of, and rapid growth of, Mafikeng as the Tswana 'capital' (1977-1989). Only the last of these has a planning thrust. There are no references to the planning of the pre-existing indigenous settlement at Montshiwastad: information had to be gleaned from specific descriptions of Tswana culture by Schapera (1955, 1956, 1976), Breutz (1955), Hull (1976), Hardie (1981) and Frescura (1985) and archaeological evidence (Hall, 1988). The early history of the settlement is also referred to in Mathew (n.d.) and McKenzie (in Dachs, 1975). Eyewitness descriptions of the Boer War siege (Mafikeng Museum), and the only African siege biography (Plaatje, in Komaroff, 1973) ignores the impact of the siege on Mafikeng's growth. Fairly extensive material is available on the proposals behind the planning of the new capital (1978-1990). However, only by interviewing the professionals involved could the contested background to these reports, and to the contentions between President Mangope and the Secretariat's architects, be revealed (Boden, 1989, 1992).

Extensive interviews with local leaders and residents were also necessary, to discover conceptual, cultural and psychological influences behind the informally-planned residential

neighbourhoods built between 1960 and 1990. Rapoport's non-verbal communications method provided a structure for these interviews (Rapoport, 1982). In relation to the methods covered above, this is a variant of the artefactual approach, since informants are asked to evaluate places and orthogonal photographs of typical elements and housing types within the study area. Efforts to draw residents into using Lynch's legibility methods failed, as local residents invariably functioned by referring to the simplest path and node configurations, ignoring other components.

A by-product of the political reorganization of the region was the relocation of municipal and governmental records from Mafikeng to South African Government archives at Kimberley, Cape Town or Vryburg. The disposition of this material was not recorded: tracing the history of formally-developed areas was almost as difficult as it was for informal areas (where the original inhabitants had died, and current residents did not know the sequence of development. Official records did not exist for these areas, as families living on 'tribal' lands paid no rates, and received no municipal services).

In this case, anthropological, environmental and historical research methods were unavoidably combined to answer the questions of what was planned, where, when, how and why. In the process, influences and priorities could be discovered, but messy research realities in historically-unprepared environments preclude sole dependence on conventional methods, despite the claim discussed earlier advanced by Johnson and Schaffer (1985). The combination of historical, archaeological and anthropological evidence for the founding eras (1801-1884), and Rapoport's method with conventional narrative data for the later growth era, provided a sound basis for discerning links between the two periods, explaining influences behind the form of various parts of Mafikeng.

Foucaultian – Boyer's study of American planning: 1890-1980
Boyer's (1983) study of American planning used Foucault's method to grasp the values behind the continuing quest for

order in the American city. She rigorously followed Foucault's prescription, concealing emerging themes as long as possible. These themes were Jeffersonian anti-urbanism (a lesser key), planning as social control of the proletariat, and the appropriation by 1909 of planning by business interests (main themes). Her research depicts the planner diving "increasingly into more abstract and more extensive dreams after each rebuff by the real powermongers" (Boyer, 1983, pp. 135, 205, 273, 284-5).

This method unveiled the influence exerted over ideas and activity fields by those in dominant positions, and stresses the unyielding grip on power exerted by big business. This exposure of covert forces was exactly what Nietzsche sought. Some of the methodological issues involved have already been discussed. Three major weaknesses are consequently identifiable. First, Foucault's method is heavily dependent on extensive written documentation in books and the media. Secondly, Boyer's numerical citations obscure an unstated preference for left-wing sources. Lastly, the determination not to synthesise the material, which this philosophy requires, leaves the reader 'hanging' without readily-identifiable conclusions at the end of the book.

Boyer also displayed the method's value. Fresh insights were gained, detailing how business interests subverted and infiltrated the planning process. She also spells out how planning became the servant of capital accumulation through the zoning game, and by organizing engineering and transport infrastructure, on which the materialistic post-war suburban boom relied.

Conclusion
The revival in popularity of historical analysis has much to offer to both first- and third-world planners. These opportunities lie in theory-building – for policy and procedural investigation and development; in improving the fit between proposals and the form and decision-making structures of a city, metroplex or region; in uncovering truths about the development of the profession; in dispelling 'urban (planning) legends' and distortions in understanding theory

development. Historical analysis also softens the harshness of an unbridled scientific, technical and financial future, which otherwise discounts so much of value to humanity. Planning proposals produced with inadequate historical awareness are frequently rejected as inappropriate.

However, difficulties confront the historical planning analyst in unprepared contexts, which demand modified or alternative methods. These problems revolve around faulty or incomplete population and census data, patchy geographic and dynamic mapping of areas, and biased administrative and political records. Eyewitness accounts are also unrepresentative of all points of view, particularly in relation to growing interest in the tides of popular, rather than élite, history.

Several prominent historical methods were assessed for their ability to perform in these restrictive circumstances. Difficulties exist in every example, as was shown in the three case studies. The truly unprepared context, characterised by incomplete data, cross-cultural issues, huge prejudices aroused by colonial conflicts, inaccurate census material, and sporadic mapping exercises, undermined the efficacy of the narrative and

Foucaultian methods by themselves. Instead a hybrid of archaeological, narrative, and artefactual analysis, combined with extensive interviews with professional and peasant sources alike, was necessary in order better to uncover differences of interpretation, explore values, physical mnemonics and artefactual meanings. Without these, the forces and decisions behind urban spatial growth and change could neither be identified nor understood. This eclectic methodology is akin in spirit to the desire of Foucault and Nietzsche to reveal the obscure and covert elements of history, avoiding convenient, conventional foreclosure of what are really untidily tangled themes, without being narrowly restricted to their procedural prescriptions.

Shortage of conventional resources cannot be an excuse for abandoning an historical dimension in planning. Rather, it demands some ingenuity and greater persistence:

"the only antidote to a shallow knowledge of history is a deeper knowledge, the knowledge which produces not dogmatic certitude but diagnostic skill, not clairvoyance but insight" (Schlesinger, 1969, p. 535).

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THE REGENERATION OF THE OLD TOWN OF EDINBURGH BY PATRICK GEDDES

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Introduction

Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, has suffered much in its turbulent history. Even now the Old Town shows visible scars from the wounds caused by the many battles fought over it, some won and some lost. With the installation of a new Scottish Parliament focusing more attention on the city, it seems appropriate to review the replanning of the Old Town by Geddes at the turn of the last century.

This paper reviews two elements of this regeneration: first his survey method and, in particular, the drawings commissioned to illustrate it; secondly, the action that followed, via regeneration and development schemes. It begins, however, with some context on the place, the man and his approach.

Context

After the departure of the wealthy to the New Town in the 18th century, all that were left in the heart of the city were the old, the unemployed, the poor and the destitute. It is true that lawyers still came to town, since the Courts remained in the centre. They conducted their businesses from local taverns, but they no longer lived among the poor as in previous centuries. Many wealthy citizens never set foot in the Old Town, since it was their servants who came to the markets in the High Street to buy necessities. The elegant parties and lifestyle had long since departed from the Old Town.

Thus dereliction and disrepair took over the Old Town's fabric in the absence of necessary maintenance. Living conditions further deteriorated as a result of the great fire of 1826. There were many attempts by the Town Council to make improvements, but these were mostly in response to some crisis, and were piecemeal, incomplete and largely ineffective. There were some notable exceptions, including the work of Lord Provost Chambers, for example, who had promoted the City Improvement Trust in 1867 in order to bring piped water, sanitation and a measure of light and air to the choked and overcrowded Old Town; but these measures also brought the clearance and wholesale demolition of old buildings. Some sixteen new streets were created.

The first informal recording of 16th- and 17th-century houses was made by the self-taught artist and engraver Bruce Home from 1908. His work was published in the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*[1] and his drawings were exhibited in the Survey of Edinburgh by Patrick Geddes. Bruce Home became an active collaborator with Geddes and his sister became Geddes' secretary.

In 1875, the Cockburn Association of Edinburgh was created in response to the dreadful environmental conditions in the city, and as a reaction to threats to its amenity in the absence of legislation for the protection of old buildings of merit. The Association, since then, has been working for the preservation and enhancement of the built environment of

the city of Edinburgh; counting among its members many eminent citizens including Patrick Geddes.

Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) was born in Ballater, grew up in Perth and studied botany at the School of Mines under Huxley. Although trained in biology, he was the archetypal 'lad o' pairts' whose generalist interest soon led him to become social geographer, practical administrator, historian, dramatist and philosopher.

Geddes soon involved himself in the renovation movement in the Old Town of Edinburgh, through his connections with the 'Secular Positivist' debating group. Members of this group included Dr and Mrs Glasse of the Greyfriars Church and James Oliphant, then headmaster of the Charlotte Square Institution for the education of girls. James was married to Edith Morton, daughter of Frazer Morton, a Liverpool merchant originally from Northern Ireland. She was one of three sisters who had received an excellent education in Germany, including training in music. The other two frequently visited their sister in Edinburgh. Rebecca Morton later married Peter Dott of the firm of Aitken Dott and settled in Colinton, a village near Edinburgh. Geddes, Oliphant, and the Morton sisters, among others, were founder members of the 'Environmental Society' in 1884. In 1886, the third sister – Anna – married Patrick Geddes.

This original group soon evolved into the better-known circle called the 'Edinburgh Social Union'. Their immediate aim was to make the best of present conditions and to raise the standard of comfort without waiting for the operation of legislative processes. In this, they set out to do something about the unwholesomeness of the homes of the poor, and to provide opportunities for "healthy enjoyments and higher tastes and pleasures by a process of aid and example".[2] There are similarities with the methods of Canon Samuel Barnett working in Whitechapel in London[3] and of Octavia Hill, whose work was deeply admired by Anna Morton.

After marriage, Geddes chose to live in James Court, in the slums of the inner city. There, he developed a method for the regeneration of the Old Town of Edinburgh, a model for the world, which would turn the downward spiral of degradation and despair into an upward spiral of hope. How did he achieve such a feat?

Dereliction and degradation, according to Geddes, are man-created: he was sure, therefore, that regeneration could be also man-directed. Armed with this conviction, and with all the zeal of his young years and the unconditional support of his new wife, he started his married life with a purpose, setting for himself the real objective for any planner: "To improve the living conditions and standard of life of the inhabitants of their Town".[4] He was convinced that, as in war, a strategy was needed to fight for regeneration. In order to win, the attack had to be concerted, systematic and sustained. Let us first examine the Diagnostic Survey of Edinburgh, then the Strategy for Regeneration that resulted from it.

Diagnostic civic survey

"The Survey of our City and its region is of fundamental importance alike in the understanding of its past and present, and towards the preparation of the Greater Edinburgh of the near future".[5]

Geddes considered it essential for any city to carry out a careful 'Diagnostic Civic Survey' before action. In recent times, the City Survey has gradually become sectorial, an expensive and sometimes meaningless forest of statistics, which simply confuses the lay person. Critically, it has lost the diagnostic element. The Geddesian Survey, by contrast, went beyond the interpretation of the conditions of the city in the present, seeking rather to connect contemporary conditions with their origins – local, regional and general.

As a botanist, Geddes knew that plants require specific environmental conditions or habitats in order to flourish. In a botanical survey, it is customary to start by detailed observations of an area, recording on a base map the distribution of types of vegetation and their associations. This, then, can be studied in relation to climate, topography and soil conditions. A search of past distribution of plants is then correlated with geology and earlier geographical and climatic changes in order to arrive at a dynamic conception of the stock of vegetation.

For Geddes, the procedure was similar in the study of human settlements and cities, except that the problem is, of course, more complex. Human beings interact in much more diverse ways and have greater power to alter their environment. Here, there are other factors such as sociological characteristics, levels of education, as well as psychological forces at work which are not relevant in the study of plants. Geddes' City Survey is, therefore, an extension and an adaptation of the principles of the botanical survey to people living in cities, interpreting the observations of the present in the light of the past, and even discerning something of the future: "for the future is already incipient, as next season buds are already here".[6] The City Survey required the assistance of all the sciences to encompass Geddes' triad of 'Place-Work-Folk'.

In plants and animals, evolutionary forces dictate that one generation must communicate itself to the next. Geddes inferred from this that, in the human case, civilisation's evolution is reflected in history. Therefore, history is of great importance in seeking the affiliation of the present to the past. The tracing of the process of change and the identification of the phases of change, whether progressive or degenerative, are vital for the better understanding of the present and to discern something of the future. This link with the past – the recognition of trends, the identification of problems and possibilities – is the *diagnostic* element that many city surveys now fail to recognise or ignore altogether. Geddes recognised that a detailed and comprehensive survey of this kind is necessarily difficult and laborious, but not insuperable. He also anticipated that many would hesitate to undertake or even discourage such surveys as too time-consuming.

The First Planning Survey of Edinburgh by Patrick Geddes is a perfect example of how to make a City Survey prior to development. It took shape at the Outlook Tower over many years, and was first exhibited in London in October, 1910 as part of the famous Cities and Town Planning Exhibition organised by the Royal Institute of British Architects in the Galleries of the Royal Academy.[7] Working closely with Frank C. Mears, who was later to become his son-in-law, Geddes used Edinburgh as a case study, a demonstration of how to make a diagnostic city survey of the kind that he was advocating prior to planning action. The Survey included maps, plans, models, drawings, photographs, documents and statistics.

This paper next discusses the drawings by Mears, which were part of the total survey. These are a remarkable demonstration of Geddes' ideas. They were made especially for the Survey of Edinburgh as an example of his method to demonstrate, in a visual form, phases in the development of Edinburgh over several critical historical periods.[8] They effectively make the connection of the present with the past.

The illustrations are in pencil and water-colour, and to a large scale. They were made with the lay person in mind, avoiding the use of maps. The public in general finds it difficult to relate to maps since these are abstractions for the trained mind of architects, surveyors or engineers. Mears' illustrations are, consequently, in the tradition of 'bird's eye views' that dates back at least to the early 1500s. For the Survey they were complemented by specially-taken photographs of street scenes (c. 1904-10). The use of photographs is an innovation for this period in Edinburgh although, elsewhere, topographical recording had been undertaken since Fox Talbot.

The study of place, or site analysis, undertaken by Geddes in Edinburgh, starts from the region – the natural setting of the city. The study thus seeks to understand the area's geological beginnings, its geography, climatic conditions, natural resources, distribution of population and settlement patterns on the wider regional scale.

The first of the Mears drawings (Fig. 1) shows Edinburgh in this context. Here, we are meant to observe and understand the city both in its immediate and in its wider landscape or regional setting. It
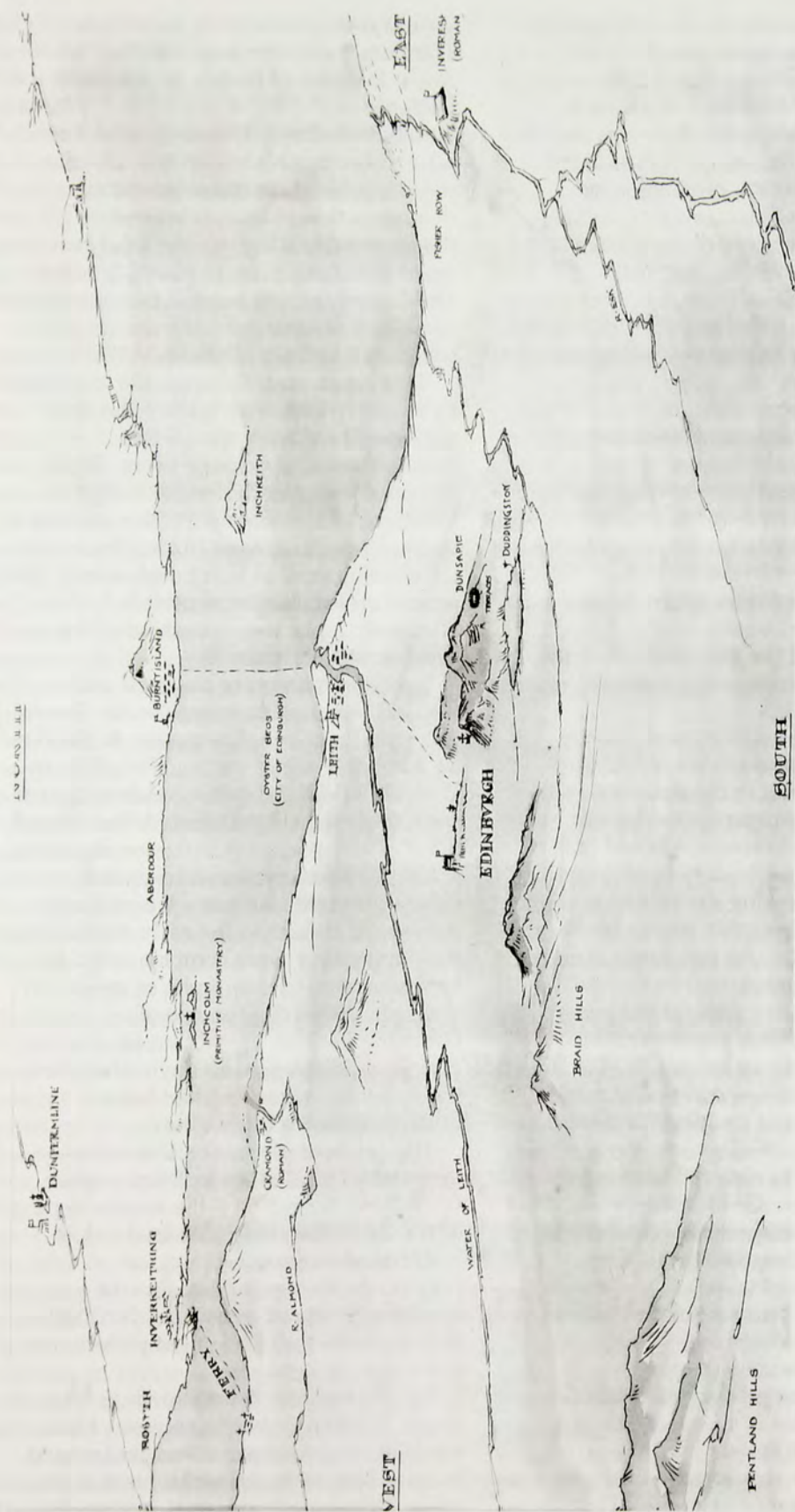
Fig. 1: The regional setting of Edinburgh (Frank C. Mears)

shows the upland ranges from the Pentland Hills to the Firth of Forth, and it also shows the city fringed with rustic life

"... from the sportsman's solitudes and pastoral hamlets of the Pentland slopes such as Stevenson's Swanston Village, through the agricultural and the mining villages of the Lothian Plain, to the characteristic fishing villages on the coast. Thus the real country is accessible and its villages are not yet mere dormitories around the city ...".[9]

To the north and east it shows the widening estuary of the Firth of Forth, with Fife and its strings of fishing villages visible along the coast on the opposite shore. Towards the West, the historic crossing of the 'Queen's Ferry' is indicated where eventually the Forth Bridges were to be built. The regional view includes the City of Dunfermline with its extension in Rosyth. Finally, far beyond Stirling, the great Highland hills are set against the sunset.

Regional analysis is complemented and deepened by historical understanding. The first signs of human habitation in prehistoric times are found, according to Mears, on Arthur's Seat. Some photographs show traces of cultivation terraces on the sides of this extinct volcano.[10] The rest was, presumably, covered by forest. There was extensive marshland and several small lakes, but also potential cultivable land.

It is well known that in the Roman period there existed two small camps at this corner of Empire – one in Inveresk and one in Cramond, joined by a road linking them with the rest of Britain. The Roman camps were well located for sea access; they were near a good source of water and good cultivable land. Edinburgh might well have developed around these original camps, vestiges of which are still visible. However, insecurity following the decline and eventual disappearance of the Romans in Britain, especially at the time of Norse invasions, made the inhabitants of these lands seek refuge in the strategic outcrop where the Castle now stands.

In the second drawing of the Mears series (Fig. 2) the main purpose was to

convey the role that the city has performed since the earliest historic periods. In this drawing, Edinburgh Castle is depicted perched atop another great volcanic rock – the surviving lava plug of a crater itself eroded away, and with a long ridge or 'tail' running down eastwards from the crag to low ground at the foot of Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat. The drawing shows the incipient Edinburgh as a citadel or local hill-fort associated with a sea port (Leith) and an agricultural plain. In this, Geddes found a direct parallel with Athens with its Acropolis, the Piraeus and Attica - a common combination in Mediterranean Europe, but less common this far north. Thus "Edinburgh the Athens of the North" had, for Geddes, more to do with its geographic and historic origins than with the 18th- and 19th-century borrowings of Greek architecture in the city.

Mears' drawings are based on detailed observation; as he himself said,

"it is difficult, at first, when one is walking the streets of a crowded city, to visualise the ancient open site on which it is built, but continued observation, coupled with the study of models and maps, has resulted in the conclusions set forth in the series of drawings of the Edinburgh Survey".[11]

Mears further observed that

"... the earliest inhabitants were free to take their pathways by the best routes over the open moors untrammelled by boundaries or vested interest, and in the main these early tracks, consecrated by centuries of use, form the framework on which the modern city has grown".[12]

The greater city of today has grown over and around the old centre, and all of its modern developments have been profoundly affected by ancient and sometimes prehistoric road lines and boundaries. Thus the Geddesian analysis shows that the ancient road pattern is still crucial for this difficult site, and modern transport planners ignore it at their peril. The next two Mears drawings show Edinburgh *c.* 1450, in profile as seen from the South (Fig. 3) and from the air in a
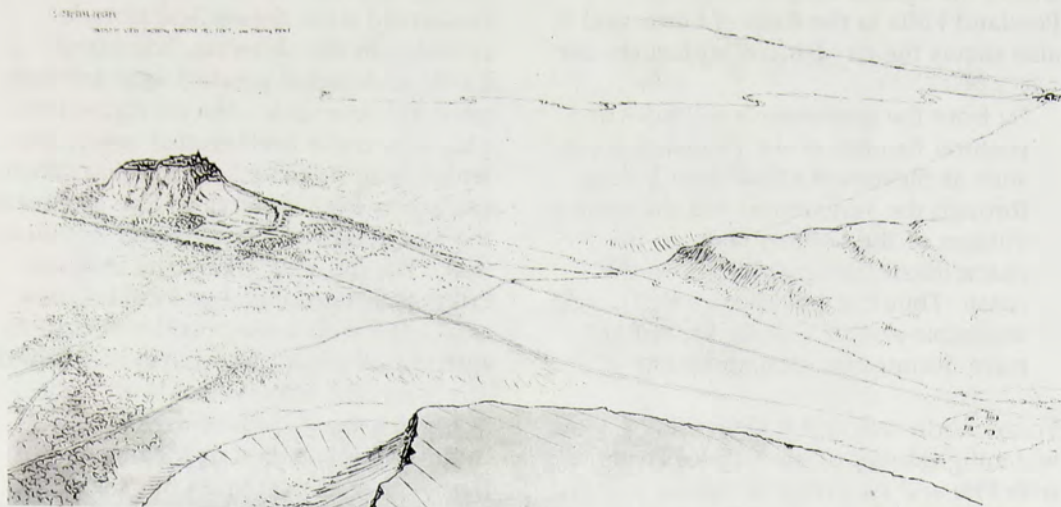
Fig. 2 Edinburgh: bird's eye view showing the primitive hill-fort and fishing port
(Frank C. Mears)

Fig. 3 Edinburgh: bird's eye view from the south as at c. 1450
(Frank C. Mears)

'bird's eye view' from the East looking towards the Castle (Fig. 4). They show the medieval development of Castle and Royal Burgh with Holyrood Abbey and the beginnings of the Burgh of Canongait.[13] The 'bird's eye view' conveys the nature and feel of the city on a ridge, a perception now compromised by the infilling effect of the George IV Bridge and North and South Bridges. The 'bird's eye view' clearly shows the city walls at their greatest extent, including the 'Flodden Wall' built in 1513, the development of

Nor' Loch as a partial moat, and the growth of ecclesiastical foundations outside the city walls to the south, such as Greyfriars and Blackfriars.

Geddes pointed out that the overcrowding and underhousing of Edinburgh, with high rents and high land values, could be traced to the restricting defensive walls of the medieval city. Its geographical siting explains the difficulty of providing an efficient water supply for the old city, this being the cause of the city's dirt. Geddes observed, incidentally,

Fig. 4 Edinburgh: bird's eye view looking west as at c. 1450 (Frank C. Mears)

that this dirt and overcrowding were responsible for the intensity and variety of diseases in the population of the Old Town which, in turn, may have been the prime factor in the development of Edinburgh as a centre of medicine.

"... it is no mere accident that Pasteur, and his foremost disciple Lister, should have been aroused to their cleansing tasks in the midst of cities so pre-eminent in their overcrowding, their dirt and disease as old Paris and old Edinburgh".[14]

There followed a period of intensification of the disastrous wars between England and Scotland. The immediate consequence of such repeated conflicts was a community denuded of its active male population for many successive generations, with only women, children and old men left in town. The situation was further aggravated by the sheltering of fugitives from the devastated countryside in the already-crowded city centre. This, Geddes rightly points out, is Edinburgh's most tragic legacy from the past.

The Union of the Crowns and subsequently of the Parliaments deprived Edinburgh of its prime function as a capital. The city lost important revenues and suffered a stagnation of trade. Notable, too, was the collapse of the Darien scheme, a vain attempt to break out and establish a 'Scottish' trading colony in what is now Panama. The civil wars of 1715 and 1745 had a further depressing effect. Each of these events is recorded in the monuments and buildings of the city.

The next Mears drawing (Fig. 5) is a diagrammatic plan rather than a view. It shows that the necessary expansion of the city, once overcrowding became intolerable, could not take place to the south even though this was physically the easier route. During medieval times, great areas of land to the south had been granted to religious orders, leaving only small areas, such as George Square, for development. Private development, therefore, had to expand to the north where the first New Town was eventually built, following the construction of the

North Bridge and later The Mound. A succession of New Town extensions concentrated residential development in Edinburgh on the north side for a long time.

In the south, properties previously owned by religious institutions reverted to the Town after the Reformation. Gradually, this land was granted for secular uses such as the University, the Hospital, the Museum and the College of Art (Fig. 6).

Thus Edinburgh developed, according to the Geddes analysis, as a city with three parallel axes: (1) an administrative axis along the ancient High Street, (2) an educational and cultural axis in the south, and finally (3) a commercial axis along Princes Street in the first New Town. The study of 'Place', therefore, is no mere study of geography or history, but of the interconnections of history, geology, geography, archaeology and anthropology.

"... It goes deeper than what is directly observable on the ground ... [or what is] to be found in Archives. It looks at the [richer] connections of different areas within the city as well as the regional, provincial, national and world wide connections of the city itself".[15]

Examination of the city fabric over the years shows periods of prosperity and periods of dire poverty. The city should be seen as the direct expression of the long interaction of a particular people ('Folk') with a particular place, causing characteristic structures (physical, social, economic and institutional) to evolve. This interaction has taken place from the beginning of human habitation and it is also happening now.

In any development, it is important to examine the pattern of growth and its rhythm; then to correlate this with the needs of society, the level of education and the rate of participation of active citizens, on which the city depends. Structures of trade and commerce, of economic activity, institutional structures of government and local administration, social structures, income levels and education levels, physical structures of road networks and utilities, water and sewerage, all collectively came under the
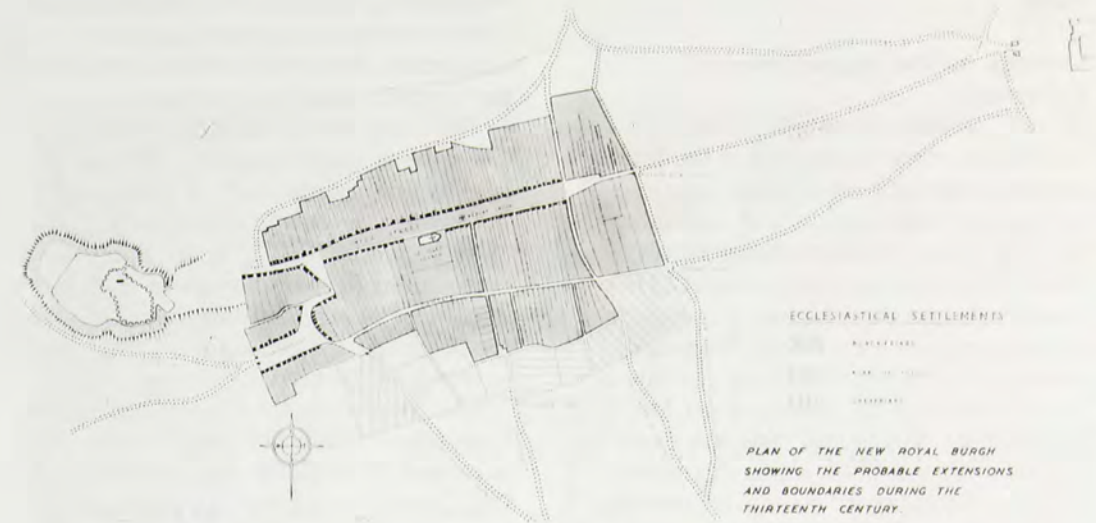

Fig. 5 Edinburgh: Ecclesiastical settlements. Plan of the new Royal Burgh showing the probable extensions and boundaries during the 13th century (Frank C. Mears)

Fig. 6 Edinburgh up to 1765, showing secular institutions on sites of monasteries etc. and carrying some of their functions (Frank C. Mears)

category called 'work'. Geddes' triad of 'place-work-folk', based on Le Play's *'Lieu -Travaille-Famille'*, was represented in the symbol of three doves which appeared in all publications from the Outlook Tower. Recently, the three doves have been included in a city street plaque in the newly-named Patrick Geddes Steps (formerly Castle Wynd) going down to the Grassmarket. They summarise, in a simple and symbolic form, the three interconnecting main elements of the city

Survey.

The impact of the Survey was felt deeply by Geddes' followers. These included, among others, Abercrombie, Pepler, Unwin, and Howard in England; Mumford and others in America; Frank and Mary Tindall and Robert Grieve in Scotland; Percy Johnson-Marshall in Scotland and then in India; and John Turner, Kenneth Watts and Max Lock in South America, South-East Asia and Africa respectively. Thus the seeds of the

Geddesian Survey were spread far and wide.

Strategy for the regeneration of Edinburgh

Patrick Geddes, bursting into the Edinburgh scene at the end of the last century, and fully conscious of the richness of past history, had no doubt that the Old Town could be raised from the ashes of despair and degradation. He was also convinced that the best planning is not accomplished by doing things for others, who then sit back and opt out, but by empowering the people to act for themselves. This conviction was based on Reclus and Kropotkin's anarchist ideas, but also, Boardman[16] claims, on the Bible.[17] In childhood, Geddes had learned that the Israelites, returning after their long captivity in Babylon, had found the city of Jerusalem in ruins. Their leader required each head of family to rebuild or rehabilitate first their own house and the piece of ground in front (individual responsibility), and then also to take turns in rebuilding the city wall (shared responsibility). In this way, everybody took part in the realising of the New Jerusalem. Like an Old Testament leader, Geddes set about galvanising his neighbours into individual and community action to achieve similar ends.

Social improvement

The building boom of the late-19th century provided replacement for nearly two-thirds of the old fabric, and many buildings were in danger of demolition. People were deserting the city centre in droves. Geddes involved himself in the work of regeneration, especially through his 'Social Union' connections. By then these were organised in Ruskinian Guilds.[18]

The first was the Artistic Guild, led by John Duncan, which was later to become the Old Edinburgh School of Art. The Guild's aim was to beautify interiors and exteriors in the Old Town. Much of its work survives in buildings such as Ramsay Garden, and its ideas in *The Evergreen*, a quarterly published by Geddes and colleagues at the Outlook Tower in 1896-7 and edited by 'William Sharp', alias Fiona McLeod.

The second was the Educational Programme, organised by James Oliphant, offering training and work skills to adolescents from the Castlehill School with the support of the School Board.

The third was the Entertainment Committee, which aimed to provide healthy enjoyments such as music and poetry, as opposed to the supposed brawling and boozing[19] spare time occupations of the urban poor. Led by Ana Morton and Marjorie Kennedy-Fraser, the committee organised music and poetry evenings at the Outlook Tower.

The fourth was the Public Open Spaces Committee, chaired by Frank Mears, who surveyed all available open ground in the Old Town with a view to convert such grounds where possible into gardens.

Lastly, the Housing Guild was where Geddes had more direct action and influence. This also provided a link with the Edinburgh Architectural Association (EAA), which he had joined in 1884.

The built environment

Geddes's first lecture for the EAA was called, rather modestly, "A layman's view of architecture".[20] Among the members of the EAA of the time were Hippolyte Blanc, Thomas Ross (of MacGibbon and Ross), Robert Rowand Anderson, Sydney Henbest Capper, and the University's Professor of Fine Art, G. Baldwin Brown.[21] One of the founder members of the EAA was George Aitken (1836-1921), who had a practice in Dundee. He became a close collaborator of Geddes and was involved in the work for the Dunfermline Report and later in Geddes' proposals for the Royal Mile. Aitken and Geddes were responsible for the 'conservation' of Lady Stair's House (Fig. 7), now the Writers' Museum, which was then in danger of demolition.

At this stage, Geddes was able to link his biological repertoire with the stylistic concerns of his new associates, especially Aitken and Capper. Aitken was very much in the classical *Beaux Arts* tradition, while Capper was more interested in romanticism and Arts and Crafts movement.

Geddes had wanted to improve the conditions of the poorly-lodged students of Edinburgh University and the Watt
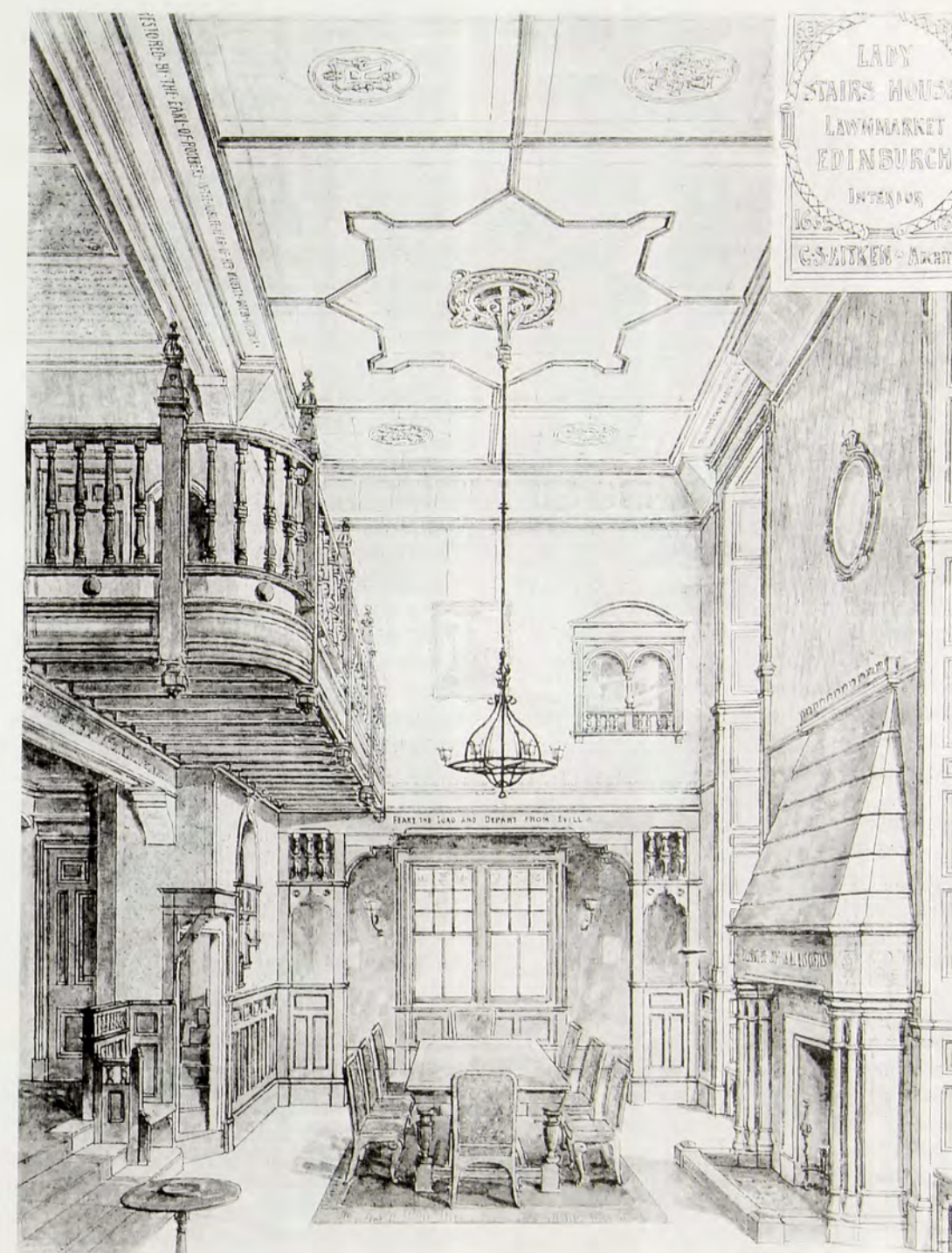

Fig. 7 Lady Stair's House renovation by G.S. Aitken, Architect, 1897 (collection of the Patrick Geddes Centre for Planning Studies)

Institute. As part of his strategy for regeneration, he set about providing accommodation for them in the Old Town in what he called University Halls. The first renovation for this purpose began with the purchase of three flats on the top floor of an 18th-century tenement on Mound Place, near his own residence in James Court. The rehabilitated accommodation was called Blackie House, in honour of the Professor of Classics at the University. Capper provided its characteristic Arts and Crafts treatment in 1894, with three vertical stacks of bay windows linked by panelling and a harled and painted façade and with a bust of Blackie in a medallion. Student accommodation increased rapidly following Geddes' action in the Lawnmarket.

Soon he acquired Riddle's Court for the University Halls extension. Riddle's Court was a decaying historic property in multiple ownership and occupation, badly in need of sanitary upgrading. From the beginning, the University Halls were to be self-governing, in contrast with the paternalistic 'Oxbridge' collegiate system. This is a characteristically Scottish move to demonstrate Geddes' motto *vivendo discimus* (by living we learn), which was inscribed in the stone arch of Riddle's Court. The Halls were originally intended only for young men, but soon they were available for young women. Other properties acquired and renovated for this purpose were in Milne's Court and St Giles Street.

The Social Union's Housing Guild gradually built up a fund by managing property for owners and organising rent collection by volunteers. When there was a surplus of rental income beyond immediate expenses and 5% interest due on the capital, the money was put in a fund for renovation of the property.[22] With this method, the Guild became very successful in maintaining its properties. In its heyday, it had about £100,000 invested in a rolling fund to provide housing improvements in Edinburgh. The breakthrough came with the 1890 Scottish Housing for the Working Classes Act and Geddes, now in high standing in architectural circles, was appointed as administrator of the Lawnmarket area.

With the boost of new funding, Geddes was able to continue with his work in 'conservative surgery'; that is, renovating and upgrading most sites capable of renovation with a minimum of demolition. He was the administrator and manager of the schemes, but the actual design and site supervision was carried out by the architects George Aitken, Henbest Capper and Sidney Mitchell.

Wardrop's Court, yet another University Hall, was reserved for women students. It was known as Crudellius House and completed in 1892.[23] It was indeed a pioneering action well ahead of its time. Predictably, it was viewed with admiration by some and disapproval by others.

Wardrop's Court was the product of a close collaboration by Geddes and Capper, and is another manifestation of the Arts and Crafts movement in Edinburgh. Capper here used the same dominant design feature of the bay windows as in Blackie House, with exposed timbers in the gables and, originally, cream and white rendering.[24] The brackets below the windows are carved as heads: an architect, a woman and a boy scholar complete with school bag.[25] On the street front, the entrance to the pend is flanked by brackets representing mythical beasts similar to those used under the projecting balcony window of the Geddes' flat in Ramsay Gardens.

It was at this stage that Geddes acquired the Outlook Tower - one of his most significant projects. The fabric needed very little work, but its location at the top of the Royal Mile, and especially the camera obscura which had been installed in the roof by its previous owners, the Short family, allowed him to convert it into the powerhouse of his regeneration strategy. The building was to house, in its six storeys, not only the architectural and planning offices dealing with the regeneration work in the Old Town, but also a colourful variety of people from all walks of life whom Geddes had attracted and encouraged. Among these were artists, poets, geographers, anarchists, philosophers and writers who, by their interaction, were to inspire one another in an evolutionary upwards spiral towards what Geddes called "The Ascent of Man".

The organisation of the Tower as an 'Index Museum' no longer exists, however it is still admired by local and foreign visitors to the Patrick Geddes Centre for Planning Studies in the Edinburgh Room on the fourth floor of the Tower. The Tower was organised from the top down in ever-increasing scales of knowledge, "from the known to the unknown", "from the particular to the general", and also in geographical scales: Edinburgh, Scotland, Europe, the World – each to a floor. It was interactive and interdisciplinary, and it was meant to change the attitudes of visitors. It was rightly called a 'Sociological Laboratory' – Geddes' thinking in several dimensions. With this 'Urban Observatory', he aimed to change the attitudes of the next generation. Here, live issues of the city would be observed and discussed, and people would come to learn how best to interact with their environment.

Meanwhile, at the other end of the Royal Mile, Geddes convinced Dr Barbour and his sister, also members of the Social Union, to buy Whitehorse Close in the Canongate. This historic courtyard building had been the arrival and departure point of the London stagecoach. It was later renovated by the firm of Sir Frank Mears, and it is the last survivor of its type in Edinburgh.

Geddes was fully acquainted with Ruskin's writings and therefore aesthetically close to Capper's romanticism. This may have been why Capper was chosen to develop Geddes' *pièce de résistance*, Ramsay Garden, the largest, most conspicuous and the best of his schemes.[26] It was to be a new element in the regeneration of the Old Town which, so far, had included conservation, rehabilitation, and 'Conservative Surgery', in Geddes' famous phrase. Finally, there was to be new construction.

Geddes purchased the garden ground of the existing late-18th century villa of the poet Allan Ramsay, on the northern slope of Castlehill. Having already attracted students to live in the Old Town, Geddes now wanted to attract lecturers of the University by providing " ... a rich and delightful living background - be one student or professor". The fashion at the time was for building in the neo-classical style; but Geddes wanted something in the vernacular which would express national romanticism, with opportunity for historical reference – yet with the most up-to-date lighting and services.

Typically, Geddes' brief to the architect was to "... take the house of the poet as an irritant in an oyster and build me a pearl around it". Both Henbest Capper in 1892 and Sidney Mitchell in 1893 rose to the challenge, and they built for Geddes a pearl in the form of a five-storey Scottish tenement. Ramsay Garden is a unique site that commands spectacular views over Edinburgh, the Forth and Fife. It is one of the great buildings of Edinburgh; and one which, in setting and style, totally fulfils its original brief.

The University Hall Extension, that part of Ramsay Garden facing north, was formally opened in 1894 to be occupied by students. Life in the Halls must have been inspiring, combining creature comforts with the intellectual stimulus of John Duncan murals and spectacular views. This was the setting for Geddes' Edinburgh Summer Meetings, with their interdisciplinary curricula and memorable evening parties.

The building was decidedly modern. It had an electricity supply. The sanitary arrangements were the last word in design and convenience, and there was even an ingenious form of ducted warm air central heating. The present occupant of Geddes' own flat still keeps the original telephone; one of the first connected in Edinburgh, its original number of two digits only. The whole venture was financed using the methods of the Old Town improvements – an early type of housing co-operative. Each prospective owner-occupier purchased their flat in advance of its construction, forming a rolling fund.

Environmental improvements
The heroic effort of renovation, clearance, conservation and new building was matched by the no less important work of the Open Spaces Guild chaired by Frank Mears. With a group of collaborators, among whom the most enthusiastic were Alasdair Geddes and Mabel Barker (Geddes' god-daughter), Mears made a detailed survey of vacant land in the Old

Town, as recorded in the Geddes Centre's photographic collection. They identified 75 pieces of land suitable for conversion. The group then converted these derelict sites into inner-city gardens with the help of the children and residents, thus bringing life into the previously stark, dreary and dark alleys of the Old Town (Fig. 8). The Committee also distributed bulbs to be planted in pots on people's balconies. The Old Town came to life as Geddes had predicted

"... let endure, and plant again the fragant closes.
Their children's children shall have roses".

After a period of obscurity and neglect following the death of Patrick Geddes, the City Council created the Old Town Conservation and Renewal Committee to continue his work. The Committee has now been in existence for some 12 years, and the results are beginning to be appreciated. Edinburgh's Old and New Towns have been designated as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1997.

The people of Edinburgh should never forget the work done by Patrick Geddes towards the regeneration and renewal of the Old Town, the heart of the Scottish Capital. As Mumford said, "... what he accomplished as a solitary thinker and doer has become the task of our whole generation".[27]
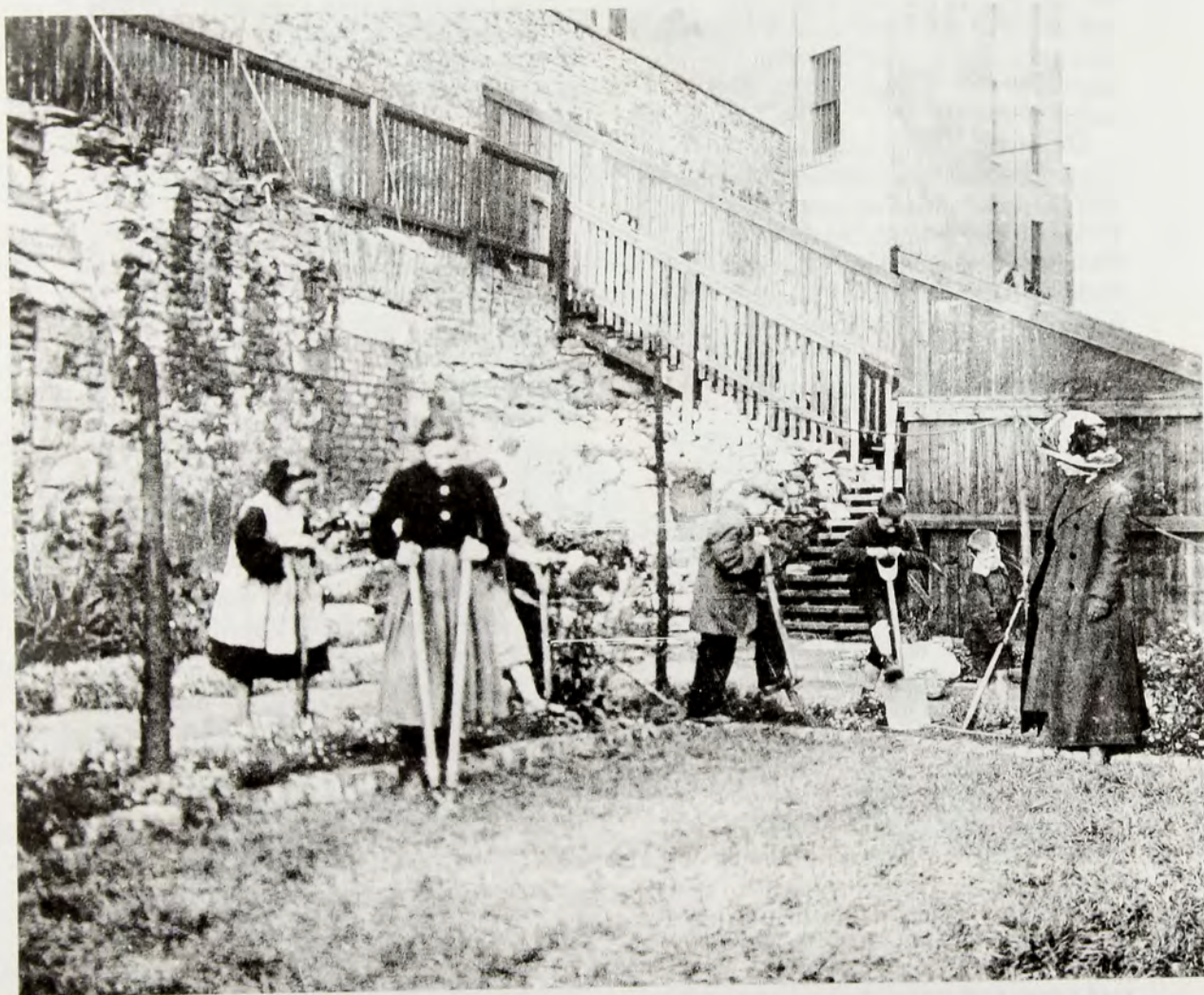

Fig. 8 Children from Castlehill School and their teachers cultivating the gardens (collection of the Patrick Geddes Centre for Planning Studies)

NOTES

1. *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, Edinburgh: printed by T. & A. Constable for members of the Club, first volume 1908.

2. Edinburgh Social Union, *Minute Books*, Edinburgh Room, Edinburgh Central Library, 1885-1892.

3. S. Barnett, *The Ideal City*, edited with an introduction by H. Meller, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979.

4. Minutes of the meeting of 6 January 1885, Edinburgh Social Union, *Minute Books, op. cit.*

5. P. Geddes, 'Beginnings of a Survey of Edinburgh', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* Vol XXXV, 1919, pp. 281-298.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

7. Sociological Society: Cities Committee, *City Survey Preparatory to Town Planning*, London: Sociological Society, 1911.

8. It is interesting to compare the views and interpretations of the early town by Geddes and Mears with a recent commentary on planners' views of the medieval town: K.D. Lilley, 'Mondern visions of the medieval city: competing conceptions of urbanism in European civic design', *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* Vol. 26, 1999, pp. 427-446.

9. Geddes, 'Beginnings of a Survey', *op. cit.*, p 282.

10. See the *Catalogue of the Archives of the Patrick Geddes Centre for Planning Studies*, Volume II, Edinburgh: Patrick Geddes Centre for Planning Studies, 1998.

11. F.C. Mears, 'Primitive Edinburgh', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. XXXV, 1919, p. 298.

12. *Ibid.*

13. P. Geddes and F.C. Mears, *Outline of a Survey of Edinburgh*, reprinted from the Catalogue of the Royal Institute of British Architects' Town Planning Conference Exhibition at the Royal Academy, p. 5. Printed by Wm Clowes & Sons Ltd, London, 1910.

14. Geddes, 'Beginnings of a Survey', *op. cit.*, p. 284.

15. A. Geddes, *L'Etude de la Ville*, article written in Montpellier, 1912-1914; in Strathclyde University Archives, T. Ged 23.9. 14.

16. P. Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.

17. Old Testament, Book of Nehemiah, Chapter 3.

18. Edinburgh Social Union, *Minute Books, op. cit.*

19. *Ibid.*, Minutes of the meeting of 6 January 1885, p. 1.

20. P. Boardman, *Not Housing but Home Building. The Life-Centered Approach of Patrick Geddes*, Oslo: AAS & Wahls Bokyrykkeri, 1948 (reprint).

21. Interestingly given this connection with Geddes' conservation and regeneration activities, G. Baldwin Brown became a key figure in the study of conservation at the turn of the century: see his *The Care of Ancient Monuments*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905.

22. Edinburgh Social Union. University of Strathclyde Geddes Archives. MS T.Ged 20/2/91.

23. K. Michaelson, 'The Old Town Years', Lecture delivered at the Outlook Tower at the inauguration of the Geddes Exhibition in 1995.

24. According to an existing drawing in the Centre's collection. *Catalogue of the Archives, op. cit.*, Volume I.

25. P. Geddes, *The Masque of Ancient Learning*, Edinburgh: Patrick Geddes and Colleagues, Outlook Tower, 1913, Prologue: The School bag.

26. S. Leonard, *Ramsay Gardens*, Edinburgh: Patrick Geddes Centre for Planning Studies, University of Edinburgh, 1989.

27. L. Mumford, 'Introduction', in Tyrrwhitt, J. (ed.) *Patrick Geddes in India*, London: Lund Humphries, 1947.

Inclusion in these announcements of publication does not preclude fuller review at a later date

Colin Chant (ed.), *Cities and Technology*

This is a series of texts and readers produced by Routledge in association with the Open University, in support of an undergraduate module of that name. The books are well-produced and fluently written; the readers contain interesting material. The paperbacks are especially good value for money.

The series presents a new illustrated social history of technology, using primarily urban settings as a source of historical evidence and a focus fr the interpretation of the historical relations of technology and society. Drawing on perspectives and writings from a number of disciplines, including archaeology, urban history, historical geography and architectural history - this series explores how towns and cities have been shaped by applications of a range of technologies and how such technological applications have been influenced by their social contexts, including politics, economics, culture and the natural environment.

The series comprises:

Colin Chant and **David Goodman**, *Pre-Industrial Cities and Technology*, London: Routledge, 1998, 368pp, ISBN 0 415 20076 8, £16.99 pb (hb @ £55.00).

Colin Chant (ed.), *The Pre-Industrial Cities and Technology Reader*, London: Routledge, 1998, 288pp, ISBN 0 415 20078 4, £16.99 pb (hb @ £50.00).

David Goodman, *European Cities and Technology: Industrial to Post-Industrial City*, London: Routledge, 1999, 284pp, 260 illustrations, ISBN 0 415 20080 6, £16.99 pb (hb @ £55.00).

The book is divided into three principal sections: cities of the Industrial Revolution including case studies of Manchester, Glasgow, London and Paris; European cities since 1870, including London, Paris, Berlin, Milton Keynes, and the rise of modern urban planning and post-war reconstruction; and urban technology transfer covering Colonial India and Russia.

David Goodman (ed.), *The European Cities and Technology Reader: Industrial to Post-Industrial City*, London: Routledge, 1999, 304pp, 120 illustrations, ISBN 0 415 20082 2, £16.99 pb (hb @ £50.00).

Gerrylynn K. Roberts and **Philip Steadman**, *American Cities and Technology: Wilderness to Wired City*, London: Routledge, 1999, 272pp, 190 illustrations, ISBN 0 415 20084 9, £16.99 pb (hb @ £55.00).

Chronologically this volume ranges from the earliest technological dimensions of American settlements to the 'wired city' concepts of the 1960s and internet communications of the 1990s. Geographically, its focus is the continental United States; however, as the context for the study of modern electronic communications in relation to cities transcends national boundaries, some of the later texts extend to global coverage.

Gerrylynn K. Roberts (ed.), *The American Cities and Technology Reader: Wilderness to Wired City*, London: Routledge, 1999, 288pp, 74 illustrations, ISBN 0 415 20086 5, £16.99 pb (hb @ £50.00).

Volker Welter, *Collecting Cities: Images from Patrick Geddes' Cities and Town Planning Exhibition*, Glasgow: Collins Gallery, University of Strathclyde, 1999, 56pp, 34 colour illustrations, ISBN 0 907114 26 1, £7.00.

This is the catalogue of the exhibition displayed at the Collins Gallery (see Notices, this issue). The Geddes Exhibition is familiar to *Planning History* readers (see Volker's research report in Vol. 20 No. 1). This small-format publication contains a chronology of the Exhibition material, an introductory essay on Geddes and his civic survey approach, and on the vast range of materials gathered for the Exhibition.

The 'Collecting cities' exhibition itself contains 76 items, and there is a full and detailed listing of them - including their dates, origins, authorship (where known): all of which make this a useful catalogue.

Copies from the Collins Gallery, 22 Richmond Street, Glasgow G1 1XQ.

The Most Revolutionary Measure: A History of the Rural Development Commission 1909-1999, Salisbury: Rural Development Commission, 1999, ISBN 1 869964 71 3, £17.00.

A commissioned history of the RDC following its merger with the Countryside Commission to form the Countryside Agency.

London Suburbs, London: Merrell Holbertson, 1999, 240pp, 250 illustrations, ISBN 1 85894 077 X, £25

Regarded by some as idyllic, by others as tormenting, the suburban ideal has impulses steeped in architectural, social and historical significance. From the Chaucerian vigour of the medieval outskirts to the Utopian visions of post-World War II planners, the dynamic outward growth and ingenuity in planning around central London is a unique and trend-setting example of this phenomenon which still resonates world-wide. This official definitive history examines this revolutionary development from the variety of perspectives that have shaped it, fully illustrated with maps, plans, paintings and photographs, many specially commissioned, and is the first book to examine London's suburban growth in its entirety. Of great importance to architects, planners, sociologists, historians and the two-thirds of us who choose to have our homes in the suburbs, this volume will raise questions and help us understand the evolving reconciliation between city and country.

(from publisher)

Richard Harris and **Peter J. Larkham** (eds) *Changing Suburbs: Foundation, Form and Function*, London: Spon, 1999, 280pp, ISBN 0 419 22050 X hb

This, no. 24 in the series 'Studies in History, Planning and the Environment', demonstrates how suburbs and the meaning of suburbanism change both with time and heographical location. The disciplines of history, geography and sociology,

together with subdisciplines as diverse as gender studies, art history and urban morphology, are brought together to reveal the nature of suburbia from the nineteenth century to the present day and from Britain to North America and Australia.

Eleven chapters together with the editors' Introduction comprise this volume. They include: Peter Newby and Mark Turner, 'British suburban taste, 1880-1939', Richard Turkington, 'British "Corporation Suburbia": the changing fortunes of Norris Green Liverpool', Jeremy Whitehand and Christine Carr, 'England's garden suburbs: development and change', Richard Harris, 'The making of American suburbs, 1900-1950s: a reconstruction', Larry McCann, 'Suburbs of desire: the suburban landscape of Canadian cities, c. 1900-1950', Robert Lewis, 'Running rings around the city: North American industrial suburbs, 1850-1950', Veronica Strong-Boag, Isabel Dyck, Kim England and Louise Johnson, 'What women's spaces? Women in Australian, British, Canadian and US suburbs', Tony Dingle, '"Gloria Soame": the spread of suburbia in post-war Australia', Andrew Jonas, 'Making Edge City: post-suburban development and life on the frontier in Southern California', David Ames, 'Understanding suburbs as historic landscapes through preservation', and Peter J. Larkham, 'Conservation and management in UK suburbs'.

Peter Reed (ed.), *Glasgow: the Forming of a City*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999, ISBN 0 7486 1200 9, £17.95, revised paperback edition

Linda E. Smeins, *Building American Identity: Pattern Book Homes and Communities, 1870-*

1900, AltaMira Press, 1999, 320pp, ISBN 0 7619 8962 5, £32.00 hb (pb also available)

Lisa C. Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee*, University of North Carolina Press, 1999, 312pp, ISBN 0 8078 2466 6, £39.95 hb (pb also available)

Donald A. Krueckeberg, *The American Planner: Biographies and Recollections*, Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, NJ, 1994 (2nd edition, new to Europe 1998), 552pp, ISBN 0 88285 148 9, £19.95 pb

W. Boesiger et al., *Le Corbusier*, Switzerland: Birkhauser, 1999, 1708pp, 2687 illustrations, ISBN 3 7645 5515 8, £375

David V. Mollenhoff and **Mary J. Hamilton**, *Frank Lloyd Wright's Mononna Terrace: The Enduring Power of a Civic Vision*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1999, 320pp, ISBN 0 299 15500 5, £43.95

Robert A.M. Stern et al., *New York Architecture and Urbanism*, Monacelli Press, 1999, 1008pp, 1200 illustrations, £45

Richard Longstreth, *Drive-in, the Supermarket and the Transformation of Commercial Space in Los Angeles 1914-41*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1999, 256pp, ISBN 0 262 12214 6, £38.50

(Titles and details taken from publishers' catalogues and the trade press. Contributions for this section are very welcome!)

PUBLICATIONS: RELEVANT JOURNAL ABSTRACTS

Keith D. Lilley (1999) 'Modern visions of the medieval city: competing conceptions of urbanism in European civic design', *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, vol. 26 pp. 427-446

In Europe, during the early 20th century, new civic designs often drew upon images of medieval cities. In order to create the 'city of tomorrow', and define what was 'modern' in new city design, the medieval city frequently became characterized and depicted as 'natural' and 'irregular' in its development and form. This can be seen in the writing of particular urbanists, planners and designers working on European civic designs in the period between 1890 and 1950. I examine the writing of Camillo Sitte, Le Corbusier and Thomas Sharp to chart how they, as well as some of their contemporaries, called upon particular visions of the medieval city to develop and mobilize their own competing conceptions of modern urbanism.

Karen L. Jessup (1999) 'The National Park Service - professionalising the conservation of America's historic landscapes', *Journal of Architectural Conservation* vol. 5 pp. 24-42

The United States National Park Service, established by an Act of Congress in 1916 and signed into law by President Woodrow Wilson, has traditionally focused on the designation, protection and development of landscapes for their scenic and recreational values. In 1990, the NPS began to progressively expand its purview to embrace the importance to the Nation of cultural landscapes, defined broadly as natural spaces shaped by human intentions. Durng the last ten years, the Park Service's many programmes for cultural landscapes have established the agency as a professionalising force for the evaluation of this heritage. Its efforts have themselves become models to emulate for other stewards of hlstoric landscapes.

This paper describes the intentions, scope, successes, lessons learned and plans for the future of the NPS cultural landscape activities. It assesses the Park Service's landscape programmes and their impacts on selected properties within the National Park system, evaluates the intellectual rigour of its appli cation of methodology and practice in landscape preservation, and explores its dual mandate as owner of significant cultural landscapes and as the preservation agency of the federal government. The paper concludes with a description of the newly created Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park in Woodstock, Vermont, the NPS's only site devoted exclusively to conservation history and the changing nature of land stewardship in America.

Built Environment: theme issue on 'Eastern Urban Form and Culture', vol. 24 no. 4, 1998.

Papers in this issue include:

Vincent F. Costello, 'The morphology of Tehran: a preliminary study', pp. 201-216

The urban form and development of Tehran - an extremely fast-growing city - is explored with relation to current approaches to urban morphology. Topography, historic form and culture are all significant in shaping more recent development and the detail of the current urban landscape.

Shigeru Satoh, 'Urban design and change in Japanese castle towns', pp. 217-234.

This paper explores urban form and design in Japanese castle towns of the Edo period - the most common urban type, from which most of today's cities have developed. Original layouts, *Feng-Tsui* design principles, and more modern adaptations of form are explored.

Kwang-Joong Kim, 'New form, classic problem: pseudo-public residential redevelopment in Seoul', pp. 235-250

The residential redevelopment programme in Seoul, South Korea, is reviewed: how the programme has evolved, what the consequences were, and what its planning implicatons are.

Piper Gaubatz, 'Understanding Chinese urban form: contexts for interpreting continuity and change', pp. 251-270.

The fundamental changes in Chinese economy and society since the announcement of the 1979 reforms have had a substantive impact on the form of Chinese cities. This paper identifies and characterises 5 distinct eras of Chinese urban form.

(Contributions for this section are welcome: particularly of English-language abstracts from journals published in other languages.)

PUBLICATIONS: BOOK REVIEWS

Wolfgang Voigt, *Atlantropa. Weltbauen am Mittelmeer. Ein Architektentraum der Moderne.* Dölling und Galitz Verlag, Hamburg, 1998). 144 pages, with numerous illustrations, ISBN 3-933374-05-7. 48 DM.

The most astonishing thing about the Atlantropa Project – the plan of the German architect Herman Sšrgel to block the Straits of Gibraltar with a dam – is its inventor's amazing optimism about mankind's abilities. Sörgel, who was born in Regensburg in 1885 and died in Munich in 1952, lived at a time which did not as yet fear that a butterfly flapping its wings on one side of the world would inevitably cause a tornado on the other. Rather, for Sörgel the world was an unsatisfactory reality and it was mankind's task, and obligation, to improve it.

Towards this end Sörgel proposed, in 1927-8, to erect a gigantic dam in the Straits of Gibraltar. Smaller dams across the mouths of the rivers around the Mediterranean Sea would control their water flow. The basic concept behind this proposal was to cut the water supply of the Mediterranean, allowing the water table to sink by hundreds of meters over a period of several hundred years owing to natural evaporation. Vast stretches of 'new' land along the existing coastline would emerge, and the dams could also produce nearly unlimited amounts of hydroelectric energy. Sörgel traced the initial inspiration for the project to H.G. Wells' *Outline of History*, published in a German translation in 1926, in which Wells described how the Mediterranean came into existence only about 50,000 years ago when the fertile plains and valleys between Europe and Africa were flooded. Subsequently, Sšrgel based his project on hard scientific facts, for example on a detailed oceanographic study of the Mediterranean by the scientist Otto Jessens, who had calculated that the current water level of the sea was maintained by 88,000m^3 of water which streamed each second into the Mediterranean.

Once Sšrgel had outlined the basic principles of the project, he could convince a number of well-known architects from Germany and other countries to design both the technical infrastructure and to plan the new cities which would be built on the reclaimed land. Leafing through the pages of Voigt's lavishly-illustrated and beautifully-produced book, one encounters projects by Peter Behrens, Emil Fahrenkamp, Hans Döllgast, Lois Welzenbacher, Fritz Höger, and designs by many other, today forgotten, architects and engineers.

Their projects, nearly all employing the language of architectural modernism, illustrate the new Marseilles, the new Genoa, the new Tangier, the new Port Said, the new Naples, the new island of Pantelleria, the new Messina, to name but a few. For example, Emil Fahrenkamp and his students at the Academy in Düsseldorf suggested that the dam at the Straits of Gibraltar should become a tourist attraction with an airport, hotels and other facilities. Peter Behrens added a huge tower to the dam; Europe's answer to the American skyscraper.

Land and unlimited power point towards the political and cultural background of Sörgel's scheme: he dreamt of nothing less than the final redemption of mankind from the evils of an industrialised mass society which seemed to be unable to beat poverty and war. Initially, he concentrated on mastering the Mediterranean for the benefit of mankind. Later, he envisaged development and 'civilisation' of the African continent with the help of the newly-gained electricity. He even had the idea of speeding the lowering of the Mediterranean by diverting some of its water into an artificial sea at the centre of the African continent.

One welcome side effect envisioned by Sörgel envisaged was the lasting improvement of the African microclimate. *Atlantropa* – the land adjacent to the Atlantic ocean – was the name eventually given by Sörgel to his brainchild of an emerging new continent, which comprised Africa and Europe but was, of course, dominated by the white race.

In addition to working on architectural, technical and planning practicalities of his scheme, Sörgel was also engaged in enrolling political support. Incessantly, he praised Atlantropa as a palliative for mankind's need for more space, increased demand for food and energy, and the perceived need to control the African population. Sörgel, who edited an architectural journal and wrote a well-respected architectural theory (which has just been reprinted in Germany) was a charismatic figure in the German, especially the Munich, architectural scene. Well connected and known, he could enrol German politicians and representatives of large companies, in addition to many enthusiastic individuals, in support of his idea.
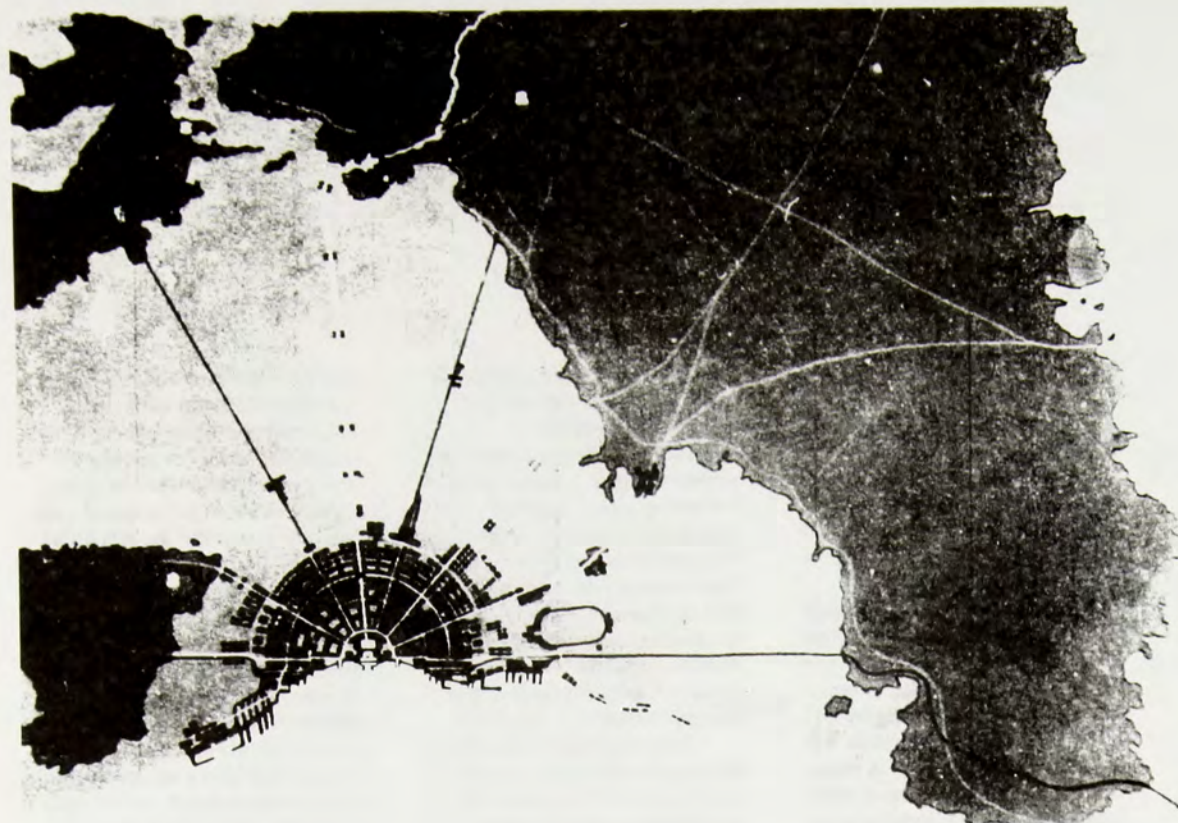
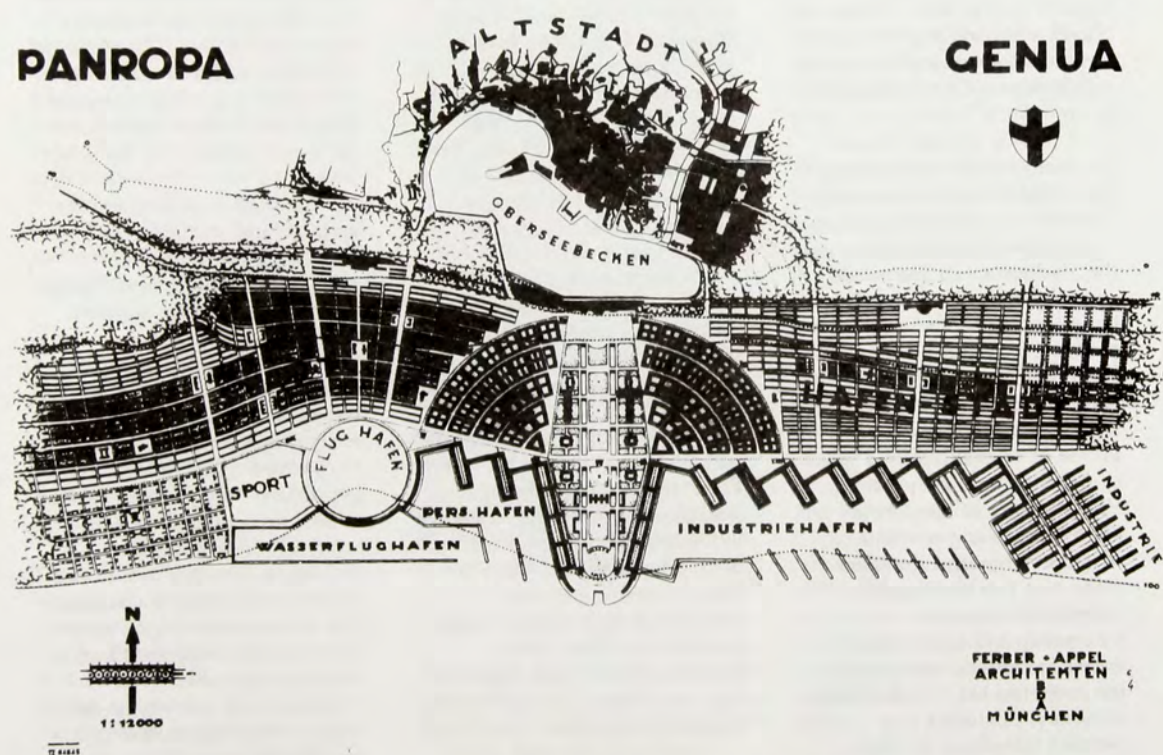Fig. 1 'The New Athens', built on reclaimed land with formal radial plan (Deutsches Museum, München)

Fig. 2 'The New Genua': note relationship to old town. Ferber and Appel, architects.
(Deutsches Museum, München)

Nevertheless, his project never came close to realisation. Sörgel himself was Atlantropa's greatest obstacle. When Germany set out to dominate the world in the Second World War, Sörgel continued to propagate an Atlantropa exhibition which presented the project as an co-operative initiative, which would peacefully unite all human races and people. Once the Third Reich had collapsed, Sörgel re-emerged from the ruins of his home town of Munich and praised Atlantropa as the only available means to reconstruct not only Germany, but the whole of Europe, in order to achieve lasting world peace. Apparently, it was inconceivable for him that, in 1945, the rest of mankind was not particularly susceptible to redemption theories originating in Germany.

Voigt's study emphasises that the personality of Sörgel himself offers an important key to the understanding of the emergence and development of the project. Everything that Sörgel touched became penetrated by an apparently unavoidable sense for some kind of larger truth. The longer that Sörgel pursued his one, great idea, the more that the project developed into a kind of architectural pseudo-religion. At some point during the late 1930s and 1940s, Sörgel had lost any serious support from well-known architects; some of his

earlier collaborators such as Mendelsohn being, of course, in exile. But, by then, the project was given a new lease of life in the pages of light fiction depicting technological utopias; a genre of literature with a long tradition in Germany, where the *Herr Ingenieur* was – and is – a highly-esteemed figure.

Beyond the figure of Sörgel and the history of the Atlantropa project, in the final chapters of this excellent book Voigt places the project into the contemporary context of so-called macro-projects: planning and engineering exercises on the scale of the enclosure of the Dutch Zuidersee or the Tennessee Valley Project in the USA. Paraphrasing Bruno Taut, Voigt calls this mentality of Modernity *Weltenbauen* – the building of a new world. Yet its optimism causes him difficulties.

Voigt's attempt to describe a curve stretching from Atlantropa to today's ecology debate is, in its current form, unsatisfactory. To accuse Bruno Taut, Frank Lloyd Wright, Constructivists, Metabolists, Constantinos Doxiades, Fritz Haller, Superstudio and others of not having known 'ecological doubts' is too simplistic. A critical evaluation of the consequences of the emerging modern way of life, even if initially in a probably rather naïve form, accompanied from the outset the development of

Modernity: witness John Ruskin, Leberecht Migge, Lewis Mumford, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, Artur Glikson, Buckminster Fuller, and Doxiades and his Ekistiks movement.

Nevertheless, Voigt's book opens an interesting and timely debate about a possible relationship between large-scale architectural projects and today's alleged ecological crisis. But, for this debate to be fruitful, both opposing positions must, of course, be questioned. In this debate, Atlantropa will only occupy a marginal role, for Sörgel's idea did not turn into a triumph for mankind, but remained a project which was planned past contemporary political realities and needs.

While its inventor was knocked over by a car in Munich on Christmas Day 1952, his project lingered on. The Atlantropa Association and Institute only dissolved themselves in 1958, after the then German government minister responsible for questions relating to atomic weapons and energy had lectured to the remaining members that the future depended no longer on taming the Mediterranean since mankind had recently mastered the splitting of the atom.

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PUBLICATIONS: BOOK REVIEWS

Mark Clapson, *Invincible Green Suburbs, Brave New Towns*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998, 241pp, ISBN 0 7190 4135 X (hb)

Clapson offers a socio-political critique of fifty years of post-Second World War planned migration of people from the inner cities of England to new estates in the outer metropolitan suburbs and new towns. In that period, the tide of deconcentration — which had been running since the mid 19th century — came to carry the working class, having previously borne almost exclusively the well-to-do fleeing urban pollution and the proximity of their economic inferiors.

Clapson's standpoint is that suburbanisation brought an accumulation of negative myths. He objects to the extreme prejudice characterised by such as Nairn and Betjeman (and later the punk bands of the 1970s) that suburbs are the epitome of visual and social monotony. At another extreme, he condemns novelists and such as the *Sunday Mirror* who infer sexual licence to be the prime suburban culture.

Building his case to restore respect for the suburbs and the new towns as living environments, Clapson outlines the history of residential dispersal, particularly interpreting the reasons for the post-war movement of the working-class. He assesses the problems for dispersing households which were primarily suffered by women, and suggests that migrants more readily re-established social networks than was credited by those hymning requiems for the lost security of inner-city communities. He concludes by

commending the positive social benefit obtainable from urban deconcentration and good new housing, and he denies that the suburbs should be condescended to whether by journalists, minor poets, novelists, sociologists or planners.

Only after 1919 did public initiative become of major significance in deconcentration and suburbanisation. Of the four million houses built in England between the wars, 1.5 million were by local authorities, when Victorian and Edwardian private suburbs like Ealing, Hampstead and Burnage were joined by major council suburbs like Dagenham, Wythenshawe, Speke and Kingstanding. There was extensive differentiation. Car ownership went with private housing and not with the council estates. People moving to the public estates tended to find their social facilities now less accessible than did new home owners.

The peak growth of suburbanisation was in the first 20 years after 1945, hugely dependent upon households relocated from inner-city slums to edge-of-town council estates and new towns built by government corporations. The new towns (as also country towns expanded in association with metropolitan local authorities) drew a distillation of younger and particularly aspiring and socially secure people, whereas the edge-of-town council estates had a broader profile of households decanted from the inner cities.

Clapson attempts to draw a picture of migrants and their new environments settling into well-adjusted maturity, comparing a general success with the varied anticipations of sociologists and planners. Some

had either extolled the good life which the suburbs and new towns would offer, while others had thought it implausible that the best qualities of life in old Bethnal Green or old Digbeth could be rebuilt on green fields. Young and Willmott and their lost image of Bethnal Green do, indeed, represent Clapson's particular targets for contradiction in his study.

Pursuing his own conclusions, Clapson points to evidence that a suburban house with its own garden and a good degree of privacy had been the preference of people trapped in city flats or terraced housing for long before post-1945 efforts in public housing. People had not shown widespread resistance to being moved to the edge of the cities; only after the peak of the slum clearance programme in the 1960s did extensive rehabilitation become socially and physically feasible, after the density and squalor of inner-city working-class housing had been much reduced.

Initially, migrants to council estates were widely appreciative of their new accommodation. Where there was less enthusiasm to move to estates which acquired a poor reputation, such as Kirkby outside Liverpool, Clapson argues that new tenants became warmer once established in their new area. As with the council estates, the generally higher-skilled movers to the new and expanded towns were similarly motivated primarily by the desire for a new house. The economic vigour of most of the new towns, and emphasis on job growth parallel to housebuilding, also offered their new residents relatively secure opportunities for work.

As they aged, the council estates frequently fell into

disrepair and sometimes into disrepute, while the new towns became old towns. The outer estates were seen as having adopted old inner-city problems of violence and social breakdown, and 'new town blues' were alleged to be a spreading infection. Clapson suggests that, to the extent that isolation fostered these conditions, it could be a benefit to those who had found family life in the inner city claustrophobic. From the sources and surveys from which he draws his evidence, he infers that migrants adapted well enough to their new environments in a period when there was a national tide of change in social customs, household relationships, mobility and leisure opportunities. The suburbs did not monopolise those effects commonly thought to be damaging; social life in the inner cities was altering as in the suburbs and beyond.

Clapson accepts that new suburbanites and new town dwellers had some distinct problems in resettling. He focuses on women of working-class background, but interprets a range of psychiatric and social studies as pointing to problems deriving from circumstances familiar to women within older urban areas as to new settlers in the suburbs or ex-urbs. In cases, the design or management of new estates exacerbated inevitable difficulties. However, Peter Willmott, at least, is given credit for coming to the view that much criticism of the problems of adapting to suburban life was

premature, when after early difficulties many areas adequately stabilised, even if not reconstituting a series of idealised Bethnal Greens.

In the 1980s, the new towns swung from being overwhelmingly tenanted to overwhelmingly of home-owners. There was less opportunity for 'Right-to-Buy' to cause so full a tide in the suburban council estates, where pockets of poverty became more conspicuous. Clapson looks at what he describes as 'suburban solidarities', or the suggestion of planners and architects that their work and designs would achieve social as well as physical engineering. After 20 years, the concept of 'neighbourhood' social structure in early post-1945 planning had been largely overridden by recognition that social relationships extended in a more diffuse and distant way. The early joint action by settlers over collective grievances tended to dissipate as public housing estates matured, when residents became attached to new but fragmented social networks. He concludes that, in the suburbs and new towns, there was a flowering of what is described as associative culture, sometimes to challenge public bureaucracy but increasingly to pursue private social interests.

Clapson emphasises that 'official' urban deconcentration and dispersal was highly popular. A downside existed, but not enough to deny the general success of the great policy. On the internal development of peri-urban

England (almost exclusively of Greater London and the South East), the book fairly convincingly argues that the benefits of new housing to their new occupiers outweighed any inherent problems of distant relocation. However, although concluding that the new 'edge cities' had no independent existence, the book makes little comment on the impacts of deconcentration on the social life and the economies of the inner cities. Nor does it seek to discuss the degree to which better use might have been made of the derelict and under-used land opening up from about 1970 in the northern metropolitan regions of England in particular. Clapson accordingly examines only half or less of the grand issue of deconcentration, looking only at outer metropolitan areas, and there not to any depth in regard to the urban impacts of decentralised industrial and commercial developments.

Incomplete as its chosen and worthwhile purpose is with regard to a comprehensive evaluation of urban dispersal policy, the book is helpful in its more modest task. It valuably reviews the evidence on how the new suburbanites of England of the second half of the 20th century settled down, reasonably supporting the view that the new suburbs and new towns did not themselves cause social damage to their now long-settled residents.

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University of Strathclyde

INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS
(Revised June 1999)

Length
Main articles should normally be in the region of 3,000 words. In exceptional circumstances longer papers *may* be carried. Research reports and reports on conferences and events should normally be 1,000-2,000 words. Book reviews are usually 700-1,000 words.

Non-sexist and non-racist language
All contributions should be written as far as is possible using non-sexist and non-racist language. Guidance on such matters is given in the *Journal of Geography and Higher Education*, 1996, pp. 123-136.

Illustrations
Illustrations are encouraged, either in the form of clear line drawings or black and white photographs with good contrast. It is rarely possible to print satisfactorily from colour transparencies or prints, or from photocopies. High-quality laser print is usually acceptable. The IPHS reserves the right to charge contributors for additional costs incurred in scanning and rectifying poor illustrations.

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Normally only one heading is used, in the form of bold lower-case. Exceptionally authors may use a second-rank heading of standard lower case, or a third-rank heading of italic lower case. See Boden's paper in *Planning History* Vol. 21 No. 2.

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Planning History now accepts submissions using either Oxford (sequential numbered endnotes) or Harvard referencing.

Authors should use the following conventions for books, chapters and journal papers respectively. For the Oxford system, authors' initials are placed before the last name; for the Harvard system, the reverse is true.

for Oxford:
1. M. Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
2. J. Holston, 'Spaces of insurgent citizenship', in L. Sandercock (ed.), *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
3. C. Abbott and S. Adler, 'Historical analysis as a planning tool', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol. 55 No. 4, 1989, pp. 321-345.

For Harvard:
Scott, M., *American City Planning Since 1890*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
(and so on)

For archival sources, the guideline is to give as much detail as possible, for example:

Letter from Arthur Geddes to the Town Planning Institute, 7 October 1946, in National Library of Scotland, MS 19264, f. 47.

Electronic sources may be referenced giving the author (where known), title, full site address, and date of access:

RGS/IBG, *Notes for Contributors* (www.rgs.org/pu/8publano.html), accessed 1 December 1998.

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All papers are now subject to a peer review process. Views are sought from at least one reviewer; identities of author and reviewer are usually not revealed. Comments from reviewer and editor are passed to the author, and changes approved before a paper is finally accepted for publication.

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PLANNING HISTORY

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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 of the International Planning History Society alike, for any section of *Planning History*. Non-native English speakers should not be concerned if their English is not perfect. The Editor will be happy to help improve its readability and comprehension, but unfortunately neither he nor the Society can undertake translations.

Contributors should supply one copy of their text, clearly printed, in double spacing and with generous margins. Do not supply copy already in column format. A disk copy is also encouraged, which should be in Word Perfect or Word for PC if possible. Illustrations should be clear black and white photographs with good contrast (it is rarely possible to print satisfactorily from colour transparencies or photocopies) or good quality line drawings. Contributors are responsible for securing any necessary copyright permissions to reproduce illustrations, and to ensure adequate acknowledgement. Captions should be printed double-spaced on a separate page.

ARTICLES

These should be in the range of 2,500 - 3,500 words. They may be on any topic within the general remit of the IPHS and may well reflect work in progress. Articles should normally be referenced with superscript numbers and endnotes. Refer to recent issues for guidance on referencing and text style.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

Other types of contribution are also very welcome. Research reports should not be of more than 2,000 words. They need not be referenced, but any relevant publications should be listed at the end, in the standard format. 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.

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

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